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Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

An Archaeological Inquiry into Texts and Their Transmission

PART I Study

Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke
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Table of Contents

Part 1

List of Illustrations .................................................................................................................. 15
Introduction .................................................................................................................................. 51
Acknowledgements ..................................................................................................................... 65

The Reception and Transmission of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought

1 Monographic works .................................................................................................................. 69
   1.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 69
   1.3 Works received in Šīʿī circles and beyond (I): K. Tanzih al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma ................................................................................................................................. 102
   1.4 Works received in Šīʿī circles and beyond (II): K. Ğurar al-fawāʾid and Takmilat al-Ğurar ......................................................................................................................... 114
   1.5 Adab and poetry: Dīwān, Ṭayf al-ḫayāl, al-Šihāb fī l-šayb, and Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba ...................................................................................................................... 173
   1.6 Legal theory: K. al-Ḏarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa ........................................................................ 195
   1.7 Doctrinal thought: K. al-Ḏaḫīra, K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ, and al-Mūḍiḥ ʿan ġihat iʿgāz al-Qurʾān .......................................................................................................................... 222
   1.8 al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra, and “al-Ḥikāyāt” ............................................................................. 240
   1.9 Refutations of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, and K. al-Inṣāf .................................................................. 248

2 Miscellanies ............................................................................................................................... 251
   2.1 Transmitting al-Murtaḍā’s writings during the Safavid period ...................................... 278
   2.2 The “al-Fāḍil al-Hindī Codex” and its reception ............................................................. 322
   2.3 The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ....................................................................... 339
   2.4 Transcription of al-Murtaḍā’s writings during the twentieth century. ............................... 358

3 From manuscript to print ........................................................................................................ 395

4. Doubtful and spurious works ............................................................................................... 411
5. Al-Murtaḍā’s lost writings on jurisprudence .......................................................... 423
6. Towards a chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s writings .................................................. 433

Appendices

1. Structure of Zaydī, Muʿtazilī, and Imāmī uṣūl al-fiqh works in the fifth/eleventh century .................................................................................................................. 449
2. al-Murtaḍā’s K. Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ, a principal source for Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s K. ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ .......................................................................................................................... 455
3. Introductory phrases to al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar .................................................. 477
4. Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar ......................... 481
5. Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poem’s rhymes (qawāfī) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition .................................................................................................................................................. 488
6. Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān (volumes 5 and 6) as arranged in Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 412 (copied by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Raǧab 1299 [25 May 1882]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (qawāfī) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition .................................................................................................................................................. 494
7. Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān as arranged in Muḥammad al-Ṭūnǧī’s commentary versus its arrangement in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition (1958–1959) ................................................................. 503
8. Sequence of texts in the various eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex .......................................................................................................................... 530
10. Editions, manuscripts, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā’s extant works in secondary sources mentioned in this study, works erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, and manuscripts of selected works by others ................................................................. 560
11. Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings .................................................................. 620
13 Tentative transcription of Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88, containing an epitome of several sections of Inqāḍ al-bašar ................................................................. 648

Bibliography ................................................................. 661

Indices

Index of personal names ................................................................. 759
Index of book titles ........................................................................ 795
Index of places ................................................................................ 829
Index of institutions ........................................................................ 832
Index of manuscripts ....................................................................... 836

Part 2

Illustrations
List of Illustrations

Situated in Part Two

Fig. 1  *K. al-Šafi,* by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, lithograph print, Tehran 1301 [1883], title page

Fig. 1a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 3971, title page

Fig. 1b Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 3971, beginning of text

Fig. 2 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 13732, fol. 143v

Fig. 3 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 13732, fol. 144r

Fig. 4 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 13732, fol. 144v

Fig. 5 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 13732, fol. 145r

Fig. 6 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 13732, fol. 145v

Fig. 7 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 13732, fol. 146r

Fig. 8 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1364, p. 426

Fig. 8a Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa Ǧaʿfariyya [no shelfmark], beginning of text

Fig. 8b Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa Ǧaʿfariyya [no shelfmark], end of text

Fig. 9 Ms. Qum, Muʾassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 503, fol. 25r

Fig. 10 Ms. Qum, Muʾassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 503, fol. 42v

Fig. 10a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13174, beginning of text

Fig. 10b Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13174, end of text

Fig. 10c Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13174, end of text (cont.)
Fig. 10d Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15677, beginning of text
Fig. 10e Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15677, end of text
Fig. 10f Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272, end of Muqniʿ
Fig. 10g Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272, end of Ziyāda
Fig. 11 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿaṣi 13732, fōl. 146v
Fig. 12 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿaṣi 3598, title page
Fig. 13 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿaṣi 3598, beginning of text
Fig. 14 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿaṣi 3598, fōl. 89r
Fig. 14a Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 5268, fōl. 4r
Fig. 14b Dīwān by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (sold at Sotheby’s) [individual double page]
Fig. 14c Dīwān by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (sold at Sotheby’s) [individual double page]
Fig. 14d Dīwān by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (sold at Sotheby’s) [individual double page]
Fig. 15 Dīwān by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (sold at Sotheby’s) [individual page]
Fig. 15a Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reisülküttab 877, title page
Fig. 15b Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reisülküttab 877, end of text
Fig. 15c Ms. Istanbul, Hamidiye Kütüphanesi 1097, inner cover
Fig. 15d Ms. Istanbul, Hamidiye Kütüphanesi 1097, fōl. 1r
Fig. 15e Ms. Istanbul, Hamidiye Kütüphanesi 1097, fōl. 1v
Fig. 15f Ms. Istanbul, Hamidiye Kütüphanesi 1097, fōl. 306v
Fig. 16 Ms. Karbalā’, Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 129, p. 204
Fig. 16a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77, table of contents
Fig. 16b Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77, title page
Fig. 16c Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77, beginning of text
Fig. 31  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15303, fol. 151v
Fig. 32  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15303, fol. 152r
Fig. 32a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Mişkāt 689, fol. 147r
Fig. 33  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282, beginning of text
Fig. 34  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282, end of text
Fig. 35  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3165, fol. 131v
Fig. 36  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Laleli 2168, fol. 112v
Fig. 36a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 292, p. 34
Fig. 36b Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿaši 282, beginning of codex
Fig. 36c Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿaši 282, beginning of text
Fig. 36d Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿaši 282, end of part one
Fig. 36e Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿaši 282, beginning of part two
Fig. 36f Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿaši 282, end of part two
Fig. 37  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1805, p. 472
Fig. 38  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1805, p. 553
Fig. 38a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4900, p. 6 (of table of contents)
Fig. 39  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1805, table of contents
Fig. 40  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1805, table of contents (cont.)
Fig. 41  K. Tanzīḥ al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma, lithograph print, Tabriz 1290 [1873–74], opening page
Fig. 41a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2744, p. 403
Fig. 42  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10204, fol. 98r
Fig. 43 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10204, fol. 98v
Fig. 44 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10204, fol. 183r
Fig. 45 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 757, fol. 86r
Fig. 45a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2756, end of text
Fig. 46 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 396, p. 123
Fig. 46a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4261, fol. 70v
Fig. 46b Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 32852, beginning of text
Fig. 46c Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 32852, end of text
Fig. 47 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1692, beginning of text
Fig. 48 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1692, end of text
Fig. 49 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 12373, p. 382
Fig. 49a Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 12373, title page
Fig. 50 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 12373, opening page
Fig. 50a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 36r
Fig. 50b Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 80r
Fig. 50c Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 117v
Fig. 50d Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 36v
Fig. 50e Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 38v
Fig. 50f Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 89r
Fig. 50g Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223, fol. 95r
Fig. 51  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kutûphanesi, Reisûlküttab 53, fol. 281v
Fig. 52  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 16626, fol. 150v
Fig. 53  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 16626, fol. 151r
Fig. 54  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 7885, end of text
Fig. 54a Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kutûphanesi, Reisûlküttab 53, page opposite title page
Fig. 54b Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kutûphanesi, Reisûlküttab 53, fol. 45v
Fig. 54c Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kutûphanesi, Reisûlküttab 53, fol. 171r
Fig. 54d Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kutûphanesi, Reisûlküttab 53, fol. 230r
Fig. 55  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kutûphanesi, Reisûlküttab 53, title page
Fig. 55a Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Millî İrân 32342, final colophon and ǧâza
Fig. 55b Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Millî İrân 32342, final colophon and ǧâza (cont.)
Fig. 56  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 325v
Fig. 57  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 1v
Fig. 58  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 2r
Fig. 59  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 7r
Fig. 60  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 1r
Fig. 60a Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 5v
Fig. 60b Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 1485, fol. 6r
Fig. 61  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 1044, table of contents (beginning)
Fig. 62  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 1044, p. 1
Fig. 63  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 1044, p. 114
Fig. 64  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 1044, p. 238
Fig. 64a Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 9067, title page
Fig. 65  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 5829, end of part one
Fig. 66  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 5829, end of part two
Fig. 67  Ms. Tehran, Kitâbâna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi İslâmî 5829, end of part three
Fig. 68 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 5829, end of part four
Fig. 68a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1089, p. 30
Fig. 68b Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1089, p. 319
Fig. 68c Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 2v
Fig. 68d Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 42r
Fig. 68e Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 70v
Fig. 68f Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 72r
Fig. 69 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 232r
Fig. 70 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 233r
Fig. 71 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 31136, end of K. Ġurar al-fawāʾid
Fig. 72 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 31136, end of Takmilat Ġurar al-fawāʾid
Fig. 73 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9314, table of contents (last page)
Fig. 74 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9314, fol. 238v
Fig. 75 Ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 283r
Fig. 75a Ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 244v
Fig. 75b Ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 245r
Fig. 76 Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 711, fol. 229r
Fig. 77 Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 711, title page
Fig. 77a Ms. Istanbul, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa Kütüphanesi 131, fol. 2v
Fig. 77b Ms. Istanbul, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa Kütüphanesi 131, fol. 182r
Fig. 77c Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 2840, fol. 298r
Fig. 77d Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Kılıc Ali Paşa 787, beginning of text
Fig. 77e Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Kılıc Ali Paşa 787, end of text
Fig. 77f Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1296, title page
Fig. 77g Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1296, opening page
Fig. 77h  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1296, beginning of Ġurar
Fig. 77i  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1296, end of Ġurar
Fig. 77j  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1296, beginning of Takmila
Fig. 77k  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1296, end of Takmila
Fig. 77l  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 986, title page
Fig. 77m  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 986, beginning of text
Fig. 77n  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 986, end of text
Fig. 77o  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 987, title page
Fig. 77p  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 987, beginning of text
Fig. 77q  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 987, end of text
Fig. 77r  Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 712, end of Takmila
Fig. 78  Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577, fol. 1r
Fig. 78a  Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577, fol. 166v
Fig. 78b  Ms. Riyāḍ, Ǧāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ, adab 810 [319], table of contents (final page)
Fig. 78c  Ms. Riyāḍ, Ġamiʿat al-Riyāḍ, adab 810 [319], title page
Fig. 79  Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380, fol. 122v
Fig. 80  Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380, fol. 233v
Fig. 81  Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Millī Īrān 24510, end of text
Fig. 82  Ms. Tehran, Marwī 750, end of part four of K. Ġurar al-fawāʿid
Fig. 82a  Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, title page
Fig. 82b  Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, table of contents Takmila
Fig. 82c  Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, table of contents Ġurar
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Fig. 82d Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, title page Takmila

Fig. 82e Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, beginning of Takmila

Fig. 82f Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, end of Takmila

Fig. 82g Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, title page Ġurar

Fig. 82h Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, beginning of Ġurar

Fig. 82i Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881, end of codex

Fig. 83 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Millī Īrān 681, opening page

Fig. 84 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Millī Īrān 681, p. 13

Fig. 85 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Millī Īrān 681, end of Takmilat Ġurar al-fawā’id

Fig. 85a Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābkhatā-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār 895, p. 1

Fig. 85b Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābkhatā-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār 895, p. 63

Fig. 85c Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābkhatā-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār 895, p. 507

Fig. 86 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī 7334, fol. 1r

Fig. 87 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhatā-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī 7334, fol. 177v

Fig. 88 Ms. Naḡaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Čiṭā’ al- Ěmma 296, end of text

Fig. 89 Ms. Naḡaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Čiṭā’ al- Ěmma 296, title page

Fig. 90 Ms. Naḡaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Čiṭā’ al- Ěmma 296, table of contents (beginning)

Fig. 91 Ms. Naḡaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Čiṭā’ al- Ěmma 1661, end of text

Fig. 92 Ms. Los Angeles, University Research Library of the University of California, Caro Minasian Collection M164, p. 1

Fig. 93 Ms. Los Angeles, University Research Library of the University of California, Caro Minasian Collection M164, p. 306

Fig. 94 Ms. Los Angeles, University Research Library of the University of California, Caro Minasian Collection M164, p. 19

23
Fig. 95 Ms. Los Angeles, University Research Library of the University of California, Caro Minasian Collection M164, p. 304
Fig. 95a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891, waqf statement
Fig. 95b Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891, beginning of text
Fig. 95c Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891, end of text
Fig. 96 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 3794, p. 360
Fig. 97 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10073, fol. 91r
Fig. 97a Ms. Nağaf, Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1967, p. 223
Fig. 97b Ms. Nağaf, Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1967, p. 426
Fig. 98 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1054, p. 287
Fig. 99 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḩaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Nağafī Mar‘aši 6738, p. 2
Fig. 100 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 154v
Fig. 101 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 136r
Fig. 102 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 136v
Fig. 103 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 137r
Fig. 104 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 137v
Fig. 105 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 138r
Fig. 106 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 138v
Fig. 107 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 139r
Fig. 108 Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Arab. 111, fol. 139v
Fig. 109 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 16029, opening page
Fig. 110 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 12409, fol. 101r
Fig. 111 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann II 169, fol. 275r
Fig. 112 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann II 169, fol. 274v
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Fig. 112a Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann II 169, fol. 287v
Fig. 113 Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374, p. 258
Fig. 114 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 298/5, final page
Fig. 115 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10010, opening page
Fig. 115a Ms. Cairo, Dār al-kutub 20313 bāʾ, fol. 82r
Fig. 116 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 1r
Fig. 117 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 46v
Fig. 118 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 44r
Fig. 119 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 44v
Fig. 119a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 47r
Fig. 119b Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 62v
Fig. 120 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 77r
Fig. 120a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 97r
Fig. 121 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 116v
Fig. 121a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 117r
Fig. 122 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 126v
Fig. 123 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 96v
Fig. 124 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 136v
Fig. 125 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15825, fol. 255v
Fig. 126 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15825, fol. 275v
Fig. 127 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8283, fols 1v–2r
Fig. 128 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8287, pp. 266–267
Fig. 129 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971, pp. 372–373
Fig. 130 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080, fol. 344r
Fig. 131 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080, fol. 344v
Fig. 132 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080, fol. 78v
Fig. 133 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080, fol. 79r
Fig. 134 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080, fol. 79v
Fig. 135 Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Ǧaʿfariyya 140, p. 290
Fig. 136 Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Ǧaʿfariyya 140, p. 291
Fig. 136a Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Ǧaʿfariyya 140, p. 423
Fig. 137 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I 40, part two, fol. 101r
Fig. 138 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I 40, part one, fol. 1r
Fig. 139 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I 40, part one, fol. 41r
Fig. 140 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Śūrā-yi Islāmī 18404, fol. 1r
Fig. 141 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Śūrā-yi Islāmī 18404, fol. 55r
Fig. 142 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I 40, part two, fol. 28v
Fig. 143 Ms. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 1015, fol. 292v
Fig. 144 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Śūrā-yi Islāmī 14128, fol. 1r
Fig. 144a Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 1408, fol. 2r
Fig. 144b  Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 1408, fol. 3r
Fig. 144c  Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 1408, fol. 300v
Fig. 144d  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlīs-i Sinā 502, title page
Fig. 144e  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlīs-i Sinā 502, fol. 49r
Fig. 145  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 14128, fol. 97v
Fig. 146  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 14128, fol. 98r
Fig. 147  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 14128, fol. 105r
Fig. 148  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645, fol. 92r
Fig. 149  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645, fol. 99v
Fig. 150  Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185, p. 64
Fig. 151  Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571, p. 255
Fig. 152  Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571, description by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī
Fig. 154  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 2r
Fig. 154a  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār 2533, first page
Fig. 154b  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār 2533, p. 1
Fig. 154c  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār 2533, p. 409
Fig. 154d  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār 2533, end of codex
Fig. 155  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 25v
Fig. 156  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 47r
Fig. 157  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 48r
Fig. 158  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 80v
Fig. 159  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 81r

27
Fig. 160 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 181r
Fig. 161 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 185r
Fig. 162 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 8759, p. 156
Fig. 163 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 8759, p. 157
Fig. 164 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 8759, p. 186
Fig. 165 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 202r
Fig. 166 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 207r
Fig. 167 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 228r
Fig. 168 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 228v
Fig. 169 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fol. 231r
Fig. 170 Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭā’ al-‘Āmma 451, beginning of text
Fig. 171 Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭā’ al-‘Āmma 451, end of text
Fig. 171a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9579, title page
Fig. 171b Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9579, fol. 2v
Fig. 171c Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9579, end of text
Fig. 171d Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10192, beginning of text
Fig. 171e Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10192, end of text
Fig. 171f Ms. Riyāḍ, Ġami‘at Riyāḍ 1865, fol. 8r
Fig. 171g Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2750, title page
Fig. 171h Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2750, p. 3
Fig. 171i Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2750, p. 4
Fig. 172 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 3r
Fig. 173 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 2r
Fig. 174  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 6r
Fig. 175  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 1r
Fig. 176  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 14673, fol. 1r
Fig. 177  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 370r
Fig. 178  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 380v
Fig. 179  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 26r
Fig. 180  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 47v
Fig. 181  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 48r
Fig. 182  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 57r
Fig. 183  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 66r
Fig. 184  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 67v
Fig. 185  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 111r
Fig. 186  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 69v
Fig. 187  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 75v
Fig. 188  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 76v
Fig. 189  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 108r
Fig. 190  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 108v
Fig. 191  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 109r
Fig. 192  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 124v
Fig. 193  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 125r
Fig. 194  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 149v
Fig. 195  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 150r
Fig. 196  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 152v
Fig. 197  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 207r
Fig. 198  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 223r
Fig. 199  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 241r
Fig. 200  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 258r
Fig. 201  Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374, p. 367
Fig. 202  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4471, p. 254
Fig. 203  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4471, p. 255
Fig. 203a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8461, p. 298
Fig. 203b Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8461, p. 299
Fig. 204 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 17380, p. 299
Fig. 205 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 17380, p. 300
Fig. 206 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 17380, p. 301
Fig. 206a Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536, title page
Fig. 207 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 17380, p. 302
Fig. 207a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawi 33059, table of contents
Fig. 207b Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawi 33059, p. 1
Fig. 207c Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawi 33059, fol 36r
Fig. 207d Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawi 33059, fol 37v
Fig. 207e Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawi 33061, beginning of Inqāḏ al-bašar
Fig. 207f Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawi 33061, end of Inqāḏ al-bašar
Fig. 207g Ms. Ḫwānsār, Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Wali-yi ʿAṣr [no shelfmark], beginning of text
Fig. 207h Ms. Ḫwānsār, Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Wali-yi ʿAṣr [no shelfmark], end of text
Fig. 207i Ms. Kāšān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ġaʿfariyya [no shelfmark], beginning of text
Fig. 207j Ms. Kāšān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ġaʿfariyya [no shelfmark], end of text
Fig. 208 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-ī Ŵabātabāʾī 1132, p. 129
Fig. 209 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-ī Ŵabātabāʾī 1132, p. 130
Fig. 210 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1132, p. 131
Fig. 211 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1132, p. 136
Fig. 212 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1132, p. 137
Fig. 213 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1132, p. 138
Fig. 214 Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 11340, fol. 76v
Fig. 215 Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 11340, fol. 77r
Fig. 216 Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 7615, fol. 28r
Fig. 217 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147, fol. 3r
Fig. 217a Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Ganǰina-yi Iṣfahān 1382, end of text
Fig. 217b al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih, lithograph print, Tehran, 1312 [1894–95], title page
Fig. 217c al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih, lithograph print, Tehran, 1312 [1894–95], p. 2
Fig. 217d Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Ṣūrā-yi Islāmī 8940, fol. 120r
Fig. 218 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147, fol. 134r
Fig. 218a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15015, title page
Fig. 218b Ms. Cairo, Dār al-kutub 349 tafsīr Taymūr, title page
Fig. 219 Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 914, fol. 22v
Fig. 220 Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 914, fol. 28r
Fig. 220a Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Ṣāḥib Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 17254, fol. 1r
Fig. 220b Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Ṣāḥib Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 17254, fol. 32v
Fig. 220c Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Ṣāḥib Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 17254, fol. 83v
Fig. 220d Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi Marʿašī 17254, fol. 111r
Fig. 221 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg (“Āḡā Buzurg codex”), p. 319
Fig. 222 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg (“Āḡā Buzurg codex”), p. 1
Fig. 223 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg (“Āḡā Buzurg codex”), p. 236
Fig. 224 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg (“Āḡā Buzurg codex”), p. 275
Fig. 225 Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi Marʿašī 255, table of contents
Fig. 226 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438, end of codex
Fig. 226a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13832, title page
Fig. 226b Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13832, end of text
Fig. 227 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433, p. 17
Fig. 228 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433, end of text block
Fig. 228a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10365, fol. 25r
Fig. 228b Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10365, end of al-Qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar
Fig. 229 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10007, fol. 40v
Fig. 230 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10007, fol. 41v
Fig. 230a Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087, beginning of text
Fig. 230b Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087, end of text
Fig. 231 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2904, p. 45
Fig. 232 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 2904, p. 48
Fig. 233 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10005, table of contents
Fig. 234 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79, beginning of Masʿala fi aḥkām ahl al-āḥira
Fig. 235 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79, end of Masʿala fi aḥkām ahl al-āḥira
Fig. 236 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79, beginning of al-Muqniʿ fi l-ʿayba
Fig. 237 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 863, fol. 71r
Fig. 238 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 863, opening page
Fig. 239 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Millī Īrān 863, fol. 13r
Fig. 241 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 18, p. 1
Fig. 242 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 18, p. 37
Fig. 243 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 18, p. 39
Fig. 244 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 18, p. 170
Fig. 245 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 18, p. 1 (separate pagination), beginning of al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Iqtiṣād
Fig. 246 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 18, p. 63 (separate pagination), end of al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Iqtiṣād
Fig. 246a Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Mar’aṣī 243, titlepage
Fig. 246b Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Mar’aṣī 243, p. 113
Fig. 246c Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Mar’aṣī 243, p. 124
Fig. 247 Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn, lithograph print, Tehran, 1315 [1897], p. 540
Fig. 248 Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn, lithograph print, Tehran, 1315 [1897], p. 531
Fig. 249 Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn, lithograph print, Tehran, 1315 [1897], p. 534
Fig. 250 Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn, lithograph print, Tehran, 1315 [1897], p. 538
Fig. 251 Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn, lithograph print, Tehran, 1315 [1897], p. 539
Fig. 251a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 12109, fol. 2v
Fig. 251b Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 12109, fol. 60v
Fig. 252 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10188, p. 66
Fig. 253 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10188, p. 74
Fig. 254 Ms. Šīrāz, Library of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Šīrāz (Kitābhāna-yi ‘Allāma-yi Ṭabaṭabā’ī) 867/4, beginning of text
Fig. 255 Ms. Šīrāz, Library of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Šīrāz (Kitābhāna-yi ‘Allāma-yi Ṭabaṭabā’ī) 867/4, p. 3
Fig. 256 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509, opening page
Fig. 256a Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9738, fol. 174v
Fig. 256b  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9738, fol. 188v
Fig. 256c  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9738, final page
Fig. 256d  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9738, fol. 169v
Fig. 256e  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9738, fol. 174r
Fig. 257  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21004, fol. 351v
Fig. 257a  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10143, final colophon
Fig. 257b  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10143, final colophon (cont.)
Fig. 257c  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10452, final colophon
Fig. 257d  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10144, final colophon
Fig. 258  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 4320, beginning of text
Fig. 259  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 4320, end of text
Fig. 260  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 8821, beginning of text
Fig. 261  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 8821, end of text
Fig. 262  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 6862, title page
Fig. 263  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 6862, beginning of Amal al-āmil
Fig. 264  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 6862, end of Amal al-āmil
Fig. 265  Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī [no shelfmark], beginning of catalogue
Fig. 266  Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma [shelfmark uncertain], beginning of text
Fig. 267  Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma [shelfmark uncertain], end of text
Fig. 268  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1284, title page
Fig. 269  Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1531, beginning of text
Fig. 270 Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kâşif al-Ǧiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1531, end of text
Fig. 271 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna wa Mūsa-yi Milli-yi Malik 1099, beginning of text
Fig. 272 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna wa Mūsa-yi Milli-yi Malik 1099, end of text
Fig. 273 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 74a
Fig. 274 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 74b
Fig. 275 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 75a
Fig. 276 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 75b
Fig. 277 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 76a
Fig. 278 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 76b
Fig. 279 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 7539, fol. 77a
Fig. 280 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 3185, final colophon
Fig. 281 Ms. Maşhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazî-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916, beginning of text
Fig. 282 Ms. Maşhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazî-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916, final page
Fig. 283 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmî-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Nağafî Mar’āšī 14523, title page
Fig. 284 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmî-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmâ Nağafî Mar’āšî 14523, end of part two
Fig. 285 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmî-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmâ Nağafî Mar’āšî 14523, final colophon
Fig. 286 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 10073, fol. 130r
Fig. 287 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 3093, title page
Fig. 288 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 3093, fol. 174r
Fig. 289 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmî 3093, end of text
Fig. 290 Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ganǰîna-yi Iṣfahān 5442, end of Awā’il al-maqlālāt
Fig. 291 Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ganǰîna-yi Iṣfahān 5442, end of codex
Fig. 292 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi Islâmî 2833, p. 89
Fig. 293 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi Islâmî 3864, p. 104
Fig. 294 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrâ-yi Islâmî 3864, p. 120
Fig. 295  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 3864, p. 122
Fig. 296  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8110, p. 48
Fig. 297  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8110, p. 52
Fig. 298  Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250, title page
Fig. 299  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1550, final page
Fig. 300  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2182, title page
Fig. 301  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2182, final page
Fig. 302  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 393, beginning of text
Fig. 303  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Qods-i Raḍawī 393, end of text
Fig. 304  Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 6992, final page
Fig. 305  Ms. Istanbul, Selim Aqa 1218, title page
Fig. 306  Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250, p. 683
Fig. 306a  Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250, beginning of text
Fig. 306b  Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250, p. 682
Fig. 306c  Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250, p. 684
Fig. 307  Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250, p. 50
Fig. 308  Ms. Ārān (Kāšān), Kitābḫāna-yi Imāmzāda Muḥammad Hilāl 106, title page
Fig. 309  Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 49, colophon
Fig. 309a  Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 49, title page
Fig. 309b  Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 49, Āḡā Buzurg’s description of the manuscript
Fig. 309c Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 49, Āgā Buzurg’s description of the manuscript (cont.)

Fig. 310 Ms. Qum, Bunyād-i ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī [no shelfmark], beginning of text

Fig. 311 Ms. Qum, Bunyād-i ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī [no shelfmark], end of text

Fig. 312 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 3215, beginning of text

Fig. 313 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 3215, margin note

Fig. 314 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412, end of text

Fig. 315 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 2380, beginning of text

Fig. 316 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 2380, end of text

Fig. 317 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 497, beginning of text

Fig. 318 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 497, end of text

Fig. 319 Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 205, fol. 2v

Fig. 320 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 7031, beginning of text

Fig. 321 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 7031, end of text

Fig. 322 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 8630, beginning of text

Fig. 323 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 8630, end of volume one

Fig. 324 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 8630, end of text

Fig. 324a Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1468, opening page

Fig. 325 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1468, title page
Fig. 326  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1468, beginning of text

Fig. 327  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1468, end of text

Fig. 328  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 1574, title page

Fig. 329  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 1574, beginning of text

Fig. 330  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 1574, end of text

Fig. 331  Ms. Iṣfahān, Muḥammad ʿAli Rawdātí [no shelfmark], title page

Fig. 332  Ms. Istanbul, Bayezit, Veliyüddin 437, end of text

Fig. 333  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Hafiz Ahmed Paşa 39, fol. 219r

Fig. 334  Ms. Qum, Fayḍiyya 88, final colophon

Fig. 335  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ǧīm, fol. 3r

Fig. 335a  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ǧīm, fol. 10r

Fig. 336  Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108, p. 12

Fig. 337  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ḥikmat 235, fol. 144r

Fig. 337a  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8867, 17v

Fig. 338  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8867, fol. 18r

Fig. 339  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ǧīm, fol. 78v

Fig. 340  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13301, fol. 216r

Fig. 341  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13301, fol. 217v

Fig. 342  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13301, fol. 218r

Fig. 343  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13301, fol. 218v

Fig. 344  Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 485 šīr Taymūr, title page

Fig. 345  Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 485 šīr Taymūr, beginning of text

Fig. 346  Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 485 šīr Taymūr, end of text
Fig. 347  Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 18662, end of text
Fig. 348  Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 18662, end of text (cont.)
Fig. 349  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8133, p. 39
Fig. 350  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8133, p. 43
Fig. 351  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7940, p. 147
Fig. 352  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 348, title page
Fig. 353  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 348, fol. 102v
Fig. 354  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 348, fol. 103r
Fig. 355  Ms. San Lorenzo, Real Monasterio de El Escorial 348, fol. 103v
Fig. 356  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 5470, fol. 199v
Fig. 357  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519, title page
Fig. 358  Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519, fol. 257r
Fig. 359  Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13901 (Maḥmūd al-Marʿašī’s description)
Fig. 360  Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13901, fol. 75v
Fig. 361  Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13901, fol. 76r
Fig. 362  Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 13901, fol. 145r
Fig. 363  Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 3665, title page
Fig. 364  Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108, title page
Fig. 365  Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108, end of part one
Fig. 366  Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108, end of part two
Fig. 367  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 302, title page
Fig. 368  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 302, fol. 147r
Fig. 369  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 302, fol. 149r
Fig. 370  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 302, fol. 149v
Fig. 371  Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-ʿIrāqi (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya) 3784, title page
Fig. 371a Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqī (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya) 3784, end of first part

Fig. 371b Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqī (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya) 3784, end of second part

Fig. 371c Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqī (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya) 3784, final colophon

Fig. 372 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḵāna-yi Maḏlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15816, excerpt

Fig. 373 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḵāna-yi Maḏlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15816, excerpt

Fig. 374 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḵāna-yi Maḏlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 15816, excerpt

Fig. 375 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḵafī Marʿašī 13678, fol. 229r

Fig. 375a Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4769, fol. 1r

Fig. 376 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4769, fol. 1v

Fig. 377 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4769, end of text

Fig. 378 Ms. Istanbul, Atīf Efendi 593, title page

Fig. 379 Ms. Istanbul, Atīf Efendi 593, end of text

Fig. 380 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4105, fol. 94r

Fig. 381 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4105, fol. 98v

Fig. 382 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4105, fol. 126v

Fig. 383 Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4105, fol. 127v

Fig. 384 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḵafī Marʿašī 273, pp. 829–830

Fig. 385 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḵafī Marʿašī 273, pp. 831–832

Fig. 386 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḵafī Marʿašī 1144, beginning of text

Fig. 387 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḵafī Marʿašī 1144, end of text

Fig. 388 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḵāna-yi Maḏlīs-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1235, fol. 1v

Fig. 389 Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. fol. 1393, title page

Fig. 390 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymanîye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1777, title page
Fig. 391  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hacı Beşir Ağa 633, title page
Fig. 392  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hacı Beşir Ağa 633, opposite title page
Fig. 393  Ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 221, title page
Fig. 394  Ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 221, opposite title page
Fig. 395  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 255, final colophon
Fig. 396  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 255, antigraph and editorial principles
Fig. 397  Ms. Rampur, Raza Library 1190, end of Nahţ al-balâga
Fig. 398  Ms. Rampur, Raza Library 1190, beginning of Ḥaṣā‘iṣ al-a’īmma
Fig. 399  Ms. Rampur, Raza Library 1190, end of Ḥaṣā‘iṣ al-a’īmma
Fig. 400  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi İslāmī 8344, beginning of text
Fig. 401  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi İslāmī 8344, end of text
Fig. 402  Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqi (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya) 1662, fol. 2r
Fig. 403  Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqi (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya) 1662, beginning of text
Fig. 404  Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqi (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Irāqiyya) 1662, end of text
Fig. 405  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazi-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 44139A, title page
Fig. 406  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazi-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 44139A, beginning of text
Fig. 407  Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazi-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 44139A, end of text
Fig. 408  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Mudarrisī = Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 1818, p. 386
Fig. 409  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Mudarrisī = Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 1818, p. 388
Fig. 410  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḵaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafī Mar’āšī 5690, fol. 1r
Fig. 411  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5690, fol. 2r
Fig. 412  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5690, fol. 2v
Fig. 413  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5690, fol. 3r
Fig. 414  Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḡīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1082, beginning of text
Fig. 415  Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḡīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1082, end of text
Fig. 416  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 850, fol. 1r
Fig. 417  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 850, fol. 68r
Fig. 418  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi İslāmī 5541, fol. 9r
Fig. 419  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi İslāmī 5541, fol. 107r
Fig. 420  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5692, title page
Fig. 421  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5692, beginning of text
Fig. 422  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5692, fol. 15r
Fig. 423  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5692, fol. 131r
Fig. 424  Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 5692, end of text
Fig. 425  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1371, fol. 1r
Fig. 426  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1371, fol. 207v
Fig. 427  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1371, fol. 227v
Fig. 428  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1371, fol. 236r
Fig. 429  Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1371, fol. 252v
Fig. 430  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 7044/2, beginning of text
Fig. 431  Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-ī Mīrāţ-ī Islāmī 3139, beginning of text
Fig. 431a  Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-ī Mīrāţ-ī Islāmī 3139, end of text
Fig. 432  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Dāniškada-yī Ilāhiyyāt 313D, beginning of text
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Fig. 433  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 12392, title page
Fig. 434  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 12392, beginning of text
Fig. 435  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 12392, end of text
Fig. 436  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, fol. 1v
Fig. 437  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, fol. 4r
Fig. 438  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, p. 261
Fig. 439  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, p. 502
Fig. 440  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, p. 504
Fig. 441  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, p. 505
Fig. 442  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 164, p. 585
Fig. 443  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8932, p. 192
Fig. 444  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 604, p. 371
Fig. 445  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 878, fol. 201v
Fig. 446  al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, K. al-Ġurar, lithograph print, Iran, 1272 [1855], beginning of text
Fig. 447  al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, K. al-Ġurar, lithograph print, Iran, 1272 [1855], end of text and table of contents
Fig. 448  al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, K. al-Ġurar, lithograph print, Iran, 1272 [1855], end of text and table of contents (cont.)
Fig. 449  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13112, p. 4
Fig. 450  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13112, p. 85
Fig. 451  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 13112, end of text
Fig. 452  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4250, fol. 251v
Fig. 453  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4250, fol. 252r
Fig. 454  Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4250, fol. 298r
Fig. 455  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 4867, beginning of text
Fig. 456  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9067, fol. 62v
Fig. 457  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9067, end of text
Fig. 458  Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Īrān 2542/‘ayn, title page
Fig. 459 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 9514, title page
Fig. 460 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 10246, opening page
Fig. 461 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087, beginning of al-Ḥillī’s Istiqṣā’ al-naẓar
Fig. 462 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087, end of al-Ḥillī’s Istiqṣā’ al-naẓar
Fig. 463 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 903, Masʿala fi mīrāţ al-anbiyā’ (beginning)
Fig. 464 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 903, Masʿala fi mīrāţ al-anbiyā’ (cont.)
Fig. 465 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 903, Masʿala fi mīrāţ al-anbiyā’ (end)
Fig. 466 Ms. Qum, Bunyād-i Muḥaqiq-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī in Qum (no shelfmark), beginning of text
Fig. 467 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī Īrān (no shelfmark)
Fig. 468 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī Īrān (no shelfmark)
Fig. 469 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 593, fol. 1r
Fig. 470 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna wa Mūsa-yi Millī-yi Malik 593, fol. 1v
Fig. 471 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 3357, title page
Fig. 472 Ms. Qum, Bunyād-i Muḥaqiq-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī in Qum (no shelfmark), end of text
Fig. 473 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4471, p. 327
Fig. 474 Ms. Yazd, Kitābkhāna-yi Wazīrī 1708/56
Fig. 476 Ms. İstanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa 131, title page
Fig. 476a Ms. İstanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa 131, fol. 339v
Fig. 476b Ms. İstanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa 131, fol. 340r
Fig. 477 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8822, title page
Fig. 478 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8822, end of text
Fig. 479 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4129, fol. 2v
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Fig. 480 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4129, fol. 4r
Fig. 481 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 4129, fol. 333v
Fig. 482 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no shelfmark), title page
Fig. 483 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no shelfmark), beginning of text
Fig. 484 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no shelfmark), end of text
Fig. 485 al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿUdda, lithograph print, Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D T Parsād, 1312 AH, title page
Fig. 486 al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿUdda, lithograph print, Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D T Parsād, 1312 AH, beginning of part one
Fig. 487 al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿUdda, lithograph print, Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D T Parsād, 1312 AH, end of part one
Fig. 488 al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿUdda, lithograph print, Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D T Parsād, 1312 AH, beginning of part two
Fig. 489 al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿUdda, lithograph print, Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D T Parsād, 1312 AH, beginning of part two (cont.)
Fig. 490 al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿUdda, lithograph print, Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D T Parsād, 1312 AH, end of part two
Fig. 491 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 5244, title page
Fig. 492 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528, colophon
Fig. 492a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528, table of contents
Fig. 493 Ms. London, British Library, Or. 19, beginning of text
Fig. 494 Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1208, end of text
Fig. 495 Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 3853, title page
Fig. 496 Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 3853, fol. 280v
Fig. 497 Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 3853, end of codex
Fig. 498 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 1015, fol. 273r
Fig. 499 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8347, title page
Fig. 500 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 8347, fol. 71r
Fig. 501 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1806, title page
Fig. 502 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1806, colophon
Fig. 503 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1807, opening page
Fig. 504 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Murat Molla 1808, opening page
Fig. 504a Ms. Baghdad, al-Muṭḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (shelfmark uncertain), book cover
Fig. 505 Ms. Baghdad, al-Muṭḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (shelfmark uncertain), beginning of text
Fig. 506 Ms. Baghdad, al-Muṭḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (shelfmark uncertain), end of text
Fig. 507 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḵāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi İslāmī 8508, beginning of text
Fig. 508 Ms. Istanbul, Selim Aqa 1218, end of text
Fig. 509 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 12923, fol. 194r
Fig. 510 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374, p. 366
Fig. 511 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185, fol. 234v
Fig. 512 Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḩiyā-yi Mīrāṭ-i İslāmī 2719), p. 430
Fig. 513 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 255, beginning of text
Fig. 514 Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī Marʿašī 255, beginning of text
Fig. 515 Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1517
Fig. 516 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 187
Fig. 517 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 188
Fig. 518 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 189
Fig. 519 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 190
Fig. 520 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 191
Fig. 521 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 192
Fig. 522 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 193
Fig. 523 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 194
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Fig. 524 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 195
Fig. 525 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 196
Fig. 526 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ţihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 53B, p. 197
Fig. 527 Ms. London, British Library Or. 7965, beginning of text
Fig. 528 Ms. London, British Library Or. 7965, end of text
Fig. 529 Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Maġlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 278, fol. 10v (Takmilā)
Fig. 530 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 83, title page
Fig. 531 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Sayyid Čalāl al-Ḥin Yūnīsī (no shelfmark), beginning of text
Fig. 532 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 2699, final colophon
Fig. 533 Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Čaʿfariyya 140, opening page
Fig. 534 Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūǧirdī 374, opening page
Fig. 535 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 33, waqfīyya
Fig. 536 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 2513, waqfīyya
Fig. 537 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 18499, opening page
Fig. 538 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 18499, beginning of text
Fig. 539 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 18499, end of text
Fig. 540 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 4403, title page
Fig. 541 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 55, end of text
Fig. 542 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markāz-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 9882, opening page
Fig. 543 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 12513, opening page
Fig. 544 Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī Marʿašī 12513, title page

47
Fig. 545  Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 5451, end of text
Fig. 546  Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 5451, fol. 160v
Fig. 547  Ms. Istanbul, Suleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 1015, title page
Fig. 548  Ms. Tehran, Kitabhâna-yi Maqlis-i Şûrâ-yi İslâmî 278, fol. 235v
Fig. 549  Ms. Tehran, Dânişgâh-i Tihrân, Miškât 5470/1, title page
Fig. 550  Ms. Tehran, Dânişgâh-i Tihrân, Miškât 5470/1, end of text
Fig. 551  Ms. Istanbul, Suleymaniye, Laleli 3425, title page
Fig. 552  Ms. Istanbul, Suleymaniye, Laleli 3425, fol. 2r
Fig. 553  Ms. Istanbul, Suleymaniye, Laleli 3425, fol. 96r
Fig. 554  Ms. Maşhad, Kitabhâna-yi Markazi-yi Âştân-i Quds-i Rađawî 34424, one of the first pages of the text
Fig. 555  Ms. Maşhad, Kitabhâna-yi Markazi-yi Âştân-i Quds-i Rađawî 34424, end of text
Fig. 556  Ms. Maşhad, Kitabhâna-yi Markazi-yi Âştân-i Quds-i Rađawî 34425, beginning of text
Fig. 557  Ms. Maşhad, Kitabhâna-yi Markazi-yi Âştân-i Quds-i Rađawî 34425, end of text
Fig. 558  *al-Ǧawâmiʿ al-fiqhiyya*, lithograph print, Tehran 1276 [1860], title page
Fig. 559  *al-Ǧawâmiʿ al-fiqhiyya*, lithograph print, Tehran 1276 [1860], final page with table of contents
Fig. 560  Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imâm al-Ḥakîm 4, title page *Takmilâ with iǧâza*
Fig. 561  Ms. Tehran, Dânişgâh-i Tihrân, Daniškada-yi Adabiyyât 119 ǧîm, end of part one
Fig. 562  Ms. Tehran, Kitabhâna-yi Maqlis-i Şûrâ-yi İslâmî 5392, fol. 65r
Fig. 563  Ms. Tehran, Kitabhâna-yi Maqlis-i Şûrâ-yi İslâmî 5392, fol. 65v
Fig. 564  Ms. Tehran, Kitabhâna-yi Maqlis-i Şûrâ-yi İslâmî 5392, fol. 149v
Fig. 565  Ms. Tehran, Dânişgâh-i Tihrân, Miškât 518, opening page
Fig. 566  Ms. Tehran, Dânişgâh-i Tihrân, Miškât 518, fol. 1r
Fig. 567  al-Šarîf al-Murtaḍâ, *Tanzih al-anbiyâʾ wa-l-aʿîmma*, Nağaf: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥaydariyya, 1350 [1931], title page
Fig. 568  al-Šarîf al-Murtaḍâ, *Tanzih al-anbiyâʾ wa-l-aʿîmma*, Nağaf: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥaydariyya, 1350 [1931], end of text
Fig. 569 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Miškāt 920, opening page with table of contents

Fig. 570 Ms. Qum, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīġāt-i Islāmī) 359, end of text

Fig. 571 Ms. Qum, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīġāt-i Islāmī) 174, end of text

Fig. 572 Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī Sinā 514, opening page

Fig. 573 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 137r

Fig. 574 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527, opening page

Fig. 575 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527, end of text

Fig. 576 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 950, end of text

Fig. 577 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7, beginning of text one

Fig. 578 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7, beginning of text two

Fig. 579 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7, beginning of text three

Fig. 580 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182/2, beginning of text

Fig. 581 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182/2, end of text

Fig. 582 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182/3, beginning of text

Fig. 583 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182/3, end of text

Fig. 583a Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912, fol. 65v

Fig. 584 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912, fol. 90r

Fig. 585 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912, fol. 90v

Fig. 586 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912, fol. 91r

Fig. 587 Ms. Mašhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912, fol. 93v

Fig. 588 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 294/3, beginning of text
Fig. 589  Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3, end of text
Fig. 589a Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3, addendum
Fig. 590 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3, longer addendum
Fig. 591 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3, longer addendum (cont.)
Fig. 591a Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3 longer addendum (cont.)
Fig. 591b Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3 longer addendum (cont.)
Fig. 591c Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 294/3 longer addendum (cont.)
Fig. 592 Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375, title page
Fig. 593 Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375, end of text
Fig. 594 Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ġiṭāʾ 1082, table of contents
Fig. 595 Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ġiṭāʾ 1082, beginning of text
Fig. 596 Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ġiṭāʾ 1082, beginning of text
Fig. 597 K. al-Šihāb by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Qusṭantaniyya 1302 [1884], title page
Fig. 598 Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa [no shelfmark], end of text
Fig. 599 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-İmām al-Ḥakīm 282, fol. 52r (end of text)
Fig. 600 Ms. Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūrā-yi İslāmī 896/3, beginning of text
Introduction

And it is related that Abū l-Huḍayl al-ʿAllāf said to Hišām b. al-Ḥakam: I wish to have a debate with you on the condition that if you defeat me, I shall adopt your faith; and if I defeat you, you must accept mine. Hišām said: You have not dealt justly with me. Nay, I will have a debate with you on the condition that if I overcome you, you will accept my faith; but if you overcome me, I shall refer to my Imam [for a proper answer].

Abān [b. Taġlib] told him: Abū l-Bilād, do you know who are the Šīʿa? The Šīʿa are those who, when people disagree on the Prophet (peace be upon him and his family), they follow the saying of ʿAlī (upon whom be peace), and when people disagree on ʿAlī, they follow the saying of Ġaʿfar b. Muḥammad (upon whom be peace).

For scholars engaged in the study of Islamic thought, whether it is legal traditions and jurisprudence, dogmatics and discursive rational theology (kalām), exegesis, philosophy, or philosophical mysticism and ʿirfān, Imāmī Šīʿism constitutes one of the richest and most variegated and fascinating fields of inquiry. Since the time of the occultation, Imāmī thought has been marked by an unparalleled diversity: an extended and intensive period of involvement with different strands of Muʿtazilism was followed by centuries of engagement with a wide spectrum of philosophical schools, a tendency that characterizes Imāmī Šīʿism until today. Philosophical mysticism and ʿirfān were and continue to be another important constituent of Imāmī thought from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards. In addition, Imāmī scholars developed legal theory, or the science of legal argumentation, into a highly sophisticated discipline, which was continuously refined through their ongoing engagement with kalām and later on with philosophy. None of those phases was static, and alternative thought systems constantly posed new challenges to the intellectual status quo. Moreover, the representatives of the various intellectually

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1 Ibn Bābawayh, Iʿtiqādāt, p. 22; trans. Fyzee, A Shiite Creed, p. 43. We have slightly modified Fyzee’s translation.
2 Al-Naḡāši, Riḡāl, p. 12. For the Šīʿi traditionist Abān b. Taḡlib (d. 141 [758]), a student of Imāms Muhammad al-Bāqir (d. 114 [732–33]) and Ġaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148 [765]), see Modarressi, Tradition and Survival, pp. 107–116 no. 10.
driven strands were at all times challenged by coreligionists endorsing alternative, opposing views, questioning any involvement in ratiocination (be it in jurisprudence or in doctrine), and stipulating that the teachings of the family of the Prophet were sufficient to arrive at true knowledge, either through infallible reports (ḥadīṯ) or via more esoteric ways of reaching religious truths. If there is one trait that distinguishes Imāmī Šīʿism over the past thirteen hundred years from other denominations within Islam, it is the highly varied, continuous, and ever-evolving intellectual activities of its followers.

Some of this intellectual diversity can be observed already during the lifetime of the Imāms. According to the extant biographical and doxographical literature, mutakallimūn became particularly active in the circle of the Imāms from the time of Imām Ġaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148 [765]). The attitude of the Imāms towards their followers’ engagement in kalām was ambiguous. Some accounts relate that they condemned manifestations of speculative reasoning, whereas other reports attest to disputations between the Imāms and their companions on theological issues. There is also evidence that the mutakallimūn enjoyed the encouragement and explicit support from the Imāms, who appreciated their ability to aptly defend Šīʿī doctrines in disputations with their opponents, both Muslim and non-Muslim. Moreover, the Imāms unambiguously affirmed the primacy of reason over revelation, and they repeatedly encouraged their followers to apply methods of reasoning to infer legal precepts in minor issues on the basis of general principles and rules, whose explanation remained their prerogative. Rational analytical modes of reasoning in law are accordingly attested among the Šīʿīs from the second/eighth century onwards as reflected in a large corpus of legal writings.

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5 This is also attested by the second/eighth-century Ibāḍī theologian ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazid al-Fazārī; see Madelung, “Early Ibāḍī Theology,” p. 244. Cf. also below.


produced by Šīʿī scholars during the first three centuries of Islam. The engagement of the mutakallimūn in defense of Šīʿī notions in turn is indicated by the many titles of works preserved in the biographical and bibliographical literature that are concerned with the imamate and related Šīʿī doctrines. These demonstrate that the early Šīʿī mutakallimūn were also interested in other hotly debated theological issues that went beyond the narrow thematic confines of the imamate, and they testify to the wide intellectual spectrum these scholars had mastered—the early Šīʿī theologians were not only extremely well versed in kalām, taking an active part in the theological discussions of their time, but also engaged in other rationally driven disciplines.

At the same time, the early Šīʿī mutakallimūn were constantly challenged by coreligionists who defined their role as unquestioningly receiving and transmitting knowledge from the Imāms alone, without engaging in theological debates. The aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṯ blamed the mutakallimūn, as well as the jurists, for challenging the authority of the Imāms by expressing independent views. Even so, it is important to note that in contrast to Sunnism, where mutakallimūn and muḥaddiṭūn as a rule opposed one another in the evaluation of aḥādīṯ, early Šīʿism did not feature such a split. The Šīʿī mutakallimūn were disciples and companions of the Imāms and faithful transmitters from them, and they derived their doctrinal notions by and large from the teachings of the Imāms, whom they considered the ultimate source of knowledge. Just as the jurists focused on minor issues, the mutakallimūn relegated reason to the role of a dialectical tool and a means by which to delve into the subtleties of kalām (laṭīf al-kalām or daqīq al-kalām). Doctrinally, the mutakallimūn were thus often in basic agreement with their opponents among the traditionalists, an observation that applies equally to the Šīʿī jurists during this period.

Another important division among the early Šīʿīs was prompted by conflicting conceptions of the role and nature of the imams, which had developed since the death of the Prophet Muḥammad. Is the Imām a manifestation of the Divine,

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9 See, e.g., van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft, vol. 5, pp. 66 (Muʾmin al-Ṭāq, who was known among his adversaries as Šayṭān al-Ṭāq), 69 (Hišām b. Sālim al-Ǧawālīqī), 70–72 (Hišām b. al-Ḥakam), 100 (ʿAlī b. Mīṯam); see also ibid., vol. 1, pp. 272–403. See also Modarressi, Tradition and Survival, pp. 259–268 no. 87 (Hišām b. al-Ḫakam), 269–271 no. 89 (Hišām b. Sālim al-Ǧawālīqī). See also Madelung, “The Shiite and Khārijite Contribution to Pre-Ashʿarite Kalām”.

10 See, e.g., Crow, Roots of Radical Sunni Traditionalism, p. 4 n. 8.
made of a Divine essence, and bestowed with supernatural qualities and powers, including miraculous knowledge of the unseen? Or is he basically an ordinary human being, albeit one with thorough knowledge of religious law and the correct interpretation of the Qurʾān? The conflict between these positions raged already during the lifetimes of the Imāms, and both teachings (as well as those that were situated somewhere between the two opposites) left their mark on the Šīʿī ḥadīṯ collections. Both the Imāms and later mainstream Imāmism anathemized the position of the “extremists” (ġulāt) as heresy, ġuluww being a derogatory label for a tendency to claim a superhuman nature for the Imāms. The tension between esoterism and gnosticism, on the one hand, and an exoteric approach (whether based on ratiocination or traditionalism), on the other, gave rise to yet another type of diversity within Imāmī Šīʿism throughout its history.¹¹

The teachings of the Imāms that are recorded in the Šīʿī ḥadīṯ collections brought together by traditionalists such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī (d. 274 [887–88] or 280 [893–94]) and Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329 [941]) affirmed the primacy of reason over revelation.¹² This general tendency notwithstanding, various distinct circles of theologians have emerged among the Šīʿīs since the second/eighth century, with numerous differences in the minutiae of their argumentation and in their doctrinal conclusions.¹³

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Despite the fact that intellectual diversity is one of the principal characteristic traits of Imāmī Šīʿism that affects all the major religious disciplines, Western scholarship on the history of Imāmī thought is highly compartmentalized.¹⁴ While

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¹¹ For the genesis and early history of the conflict in detail, see Modarressi, Crisis and Consolidation, pp. 19–51. For the evolution of the doctrine of the imāma, see Ansari, L’imamat et l’occultation.


¹³ A detailed account is provided by van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft, vol. 1, pp. 316–403; see also Ansari and Schmidtke, “The Shiʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II),” pp. 196–198.

¹⁴ For accounts of the history of Šīʿī studies in Western academia, each with a different focus, see Kohlberg, “Western Studies of Shiʿa Islam”; Brunner and Ende’s “Preface” to The Twelver Shia in Modern Times; Gleave, “Recent Research”; Daftary and Miskinzoda’s preface to The
Some scholars focus on exegesis and hadith, the latter often in conjunction with jurisprudence and fiqh, others are primarily engaged with the history of kalām, or focus on the later philosophical tradition among the Twelver Šīʿīs of Iran, and in all areas the desiderata abound. On the other hand, the availability of primary sources and the quality of the available material are increasing exponentially—be it through the production of manuscript catalogues and biobibliographical reference works, the digitization of entire manuscript libraries, or the production of critical editions—both in Iran (since the Islamic Revolution of 1979) and more recently also in the Šīʿī shrine cities of southern Iraq. This development has been accompanied by a significant body of critical studies produced by scholars in both countries, which continues a long tradition of solid, critical scholarship, particularly among Iranian scholars, throughout the twentieth century and beyond. All of this has turned the study of Šīʿism into an even more vibrant and dynamic field.

Moreover, Western scholarship on Imāmī Šīʿism suffers from being situated between, or rather confined to two opposing trends. One direction originated with Henri Corbin (b. 1903, d. 1978) who essentially identified Šīʿism with esoterism, relegating all other manifestations of Šīʿism to an inferior, marginal position. His...
idiosyncratic privileging of what, in his eyes, constitute “esoteric” approaches—namely, Ibn Sinā’s (d. 428 [1037]) so-called “Eastern philosophy” and Šihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardi’s (d. 587 [1191]) Ḥikmat al-išrāq in the realm of philosophy, as well as Mullā Şadrā (d. 1050 [1641]), Šayḫ Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (d. 1241 [1826]) and the Šayḫī tradition, and other manifestations of mystico-theosophical thought in Šī‘ism—was part of his overall quest to rediscover an otherwise long-lost Gnostic tradition that dates back to ancient times. Corbin’s assumption that Šī‘ism is an essentially esoteric religion that revolves around the institution of the Imām has been taken up, with some modifications, by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (b. 1956), whose interpretation of Šī‘ism’s core nature focuses on the ġulāt traditions, to the exclusion of other, conflicting material. Amir-Moezzi, who has made significant contributions to the study of early Šī‘ism and inaugurated a new phase in scholarship on this period, distinguishes between two opposing traditions in Imāmism: “the ancient nonrational esoteric tradition, which had originated in Kufa and found its continuation in Rayy and Qum” and a more recent, rationalist tradition in Baghdad, “visible primarily in the fields of theology, law, and legal theory.” He largely disregards both the question of authenticity and the history of the texts he is using, and he considers major parts of the historical development of Imāmism from the occultation to today largely irrelevant. Amir-Moezzi’s eclectic approach to the sources has to some extent rehabilitated Corbin’s notion of Šī‘ism as an esoteric movement. The opposite position has been taken by Hossein dévelope au niveau de la conscience philosophique.”


17 See Amir-Moezzi, “Early Shi‘i Theology,” p. 82.

18 An overview of Amir-Moezzi’s oeuvre and discussion of his guiding principles is provided by Crow, “Shi‘i Spirituality”. For Amir-Moezzi’s response to Crow’s evaluation, see Amir-Moezzi, “On Spirituality of Shi‘i Islam”. See also Gleave, “Recent Research,” p. 1598. Amir-Moezzi’s most recent pertinent publication is Amir-Moezzi, Ali, le secret bien gardé, especially chapters 2 (Muḥammad le Paraclet et ‘Alī le Messie) and 3 (Considérations sur l’expression din ‘Alî: Aux origines de la foi shiite). For a discussion of Amir-Moezzi’s thought in the context of Twelver Shi‘ithought in the eighteenth through twentieth centuries CE, see our Imām Thought in Transition, Chapter Seven.
Modarressi (b. 1942), who continues an older lineage among Western scholars of Šī‘ism of which Wilferd Madelung (b. 1930) is the most prominent representative.\(^{19}\) Modarressi emphasizes the rational element of Šī‘ism as its main characteristic beginning as early as the lifetimes of the Imāms. For him, the early Šī‘ī movement was a moderate one whose representatives considered the Imām to be protected from error but otherwise a human being. According to Modarressi, the view that the Imāms possessed supernatural powers and partook in the Divine essence infiltrated mainstream Šī‘ism and constitutes a marginal phenomenon only. Whereas Amir-Moezzi suggests that much of the earliest material pointing in an esoteric direction has been “censored” by later Imāmī mutakallimūn such as al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436 [1044]) and, to a lesser extent, al-Šayḥ al-Ţūsī (d. 460 [1067]),\(^{20}\)

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\(^{19}\) See our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter One for a critical discussion of Madelung’s understanding of the relation between Muʿtazilism and Twelver Šī‘ism.

\(^{20}\) See, e.g., Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 13 (= *Le guide divin*, p. 32); Amir-Moezzi, *La preuve de Dieu*, p. 281. However, it should be noted that al-Murtaḍā’s criticism of al-Kulaynī was prompted exclusively by his rejection of Ḫabar al-wāḥid, this being a key bone of contention between the mutakallimūn and the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṯ, and by disagreements between the theologians and the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṯ among the Imāmīyya on doctrinal issues such as *tawḥīd*, *tašbīh*, and *ǧabr*; see, for example, *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 410–411 (al-Ţarābulusiyyāt III). Accordingly, the conflict was not between ġulāt and muqaṣṣira, or esoteric and exoteric Šī‘ism, as Amir-Moezzi suggests. An example that clearly contradicts Amir-Moezzi’s interpretation is the discussion on the possibility of the Prophet’s absent-mindedness regarding prayer (*sahw al-nabī*). Traditionists such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 343 [954]) and Ibn Bābawayh (d. 380 [991]), who, according to Amir-Moezzi, represent the first phase of Šī‘ism, allowed the possibility that the Prophet could be subject to absent-mindedness. They justified their position by explaining that denying this possibility would be a first step towards ġuluww. By contrast, the mutakallimūn criticized Ibn Bābawayh’s position, arguing that it would rather be a first step in the opposite direction—namely *taqṣīr*, or falling short of recognizing the true nature of the Imāms. They defined *ʿisma* for both the Prophet and the Imāms in much stricter terms, excluding the possibility of *sahw al-nabī*, and denying that either could have committed any offense, major or minor, before or after receiving their call, a position that could be seen to be much closer to that of the esoterists than was that of Ibn al-Walīd and Ibn Bābawayh. For additional details of this discussion, see McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 41, 355–358; Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, pp. 171ff. See also below, Chapter Four. It is also noteworthy that Ibn Bābawayh denied the possibility of the falsification of the Qurʾān; see Modarressi, “Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qurʾān,” and Kohlberg and Amir-Moezzi (eds), *Revelation and Falsification*, introduction. For Amir-Moezzi, the belief in the falsification of the Qurʾān was characteristic of the first phase of Šī‘ism. It should also be noted that Ibn Bābawayh, who flourished during the Būyid period, further undermines Amir-Moezzi’s suggested periodization of the process. For the
Modarressi argues that some of the earliest extant Shi‘i hadith collections deserve “serious suspicions . . . of interpolation in the case of the material of the current ‘greater’ version of Šaffār’s Baṣāʾir al-daraḏāt . . .”\(^{21}\) —Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Šaffār al-Qummī’s (d. 290 [902–3]) work being one of Amir-Moezzi’s favorite source texts.\(^{22}\)

In sum, whereas Amir-Moezzi focuses exclusively on the esoteric aspects of Šī‘ism and regards its exoteric dimension as a distortion of primitive Šī‘ism, Modarressi considers Šī‘ism to be an essentially moderate, exoteric movement and dismisses manifestations of its non-rational, esoteric dimension as later infiltrations.\(^{23}\)

Like
Amir-Moezzi, however, Modarressi neglects the sources of the sources he consults, disregarding for the most part the question of the authenticity of both the *riwāyāt* and their sources, and his selection and usage of the material is an ahistorical one.\(^{24}\)

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The present study is an attempt to demonstrate that both approaches are too limited in scope to do justice to the intellectual diversity and richness of Imāmi Šīʿism through time. At any point in history, the Imāmīs’ approach to questions of jurisprudence and doctrine was marked by competing currents, set out along two major lines of conflict: first, the question of whether certainty of knowledge can be reached through recourse to *ʿaql* or whether it is accessible only through *naql*, and, secondly, the conflict between “moderate” and “extreme” conceptions of the nature and role of the Imāms, “extremism” implying that the Imāms conveyed their esoteric knowledge only to a select few (*aṣḥāb al-bāṭin*). The two lines of conflicts were largely unrelated to one another—we find “moderates” among the

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*Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 14 (1998), which characterizes Modarressi’s approach as follows: “H.M. considère l’enseignement des imams comme un tout indissociable. Cette approche est possible dans une étude phénoménologique (je l’ai moi-même adoptée dans la plupart de mes travaux) mais elle est inadéquate dans une analyse purement historique. . . . Le point de vue (pour ne pas dire la prise de position) de H.M. est dû à une conception a priori selon laquelle l’imamisme est une doctrine fondamentalement ‘orthodoxe’ et ‘rationelle.’ C’est le point de vue usūli, tendance rationaliste qui domine l’imamisme depuis plus d’un millénaire. . . . Cette conception constitue une des thèses centrales, sinon le fil conducteur, de plusieurs travaux de H.M. . . . H.M. tente de démontrer à tout prix que les imams pratiquaient d’īqṭīḥād et encourageaient leurs disciples à en faire autant et à pratiquer la méthode dialectique du kalām. Mais pour étayer ses thèses, il ne se réfère qu’aux sources tardives appartenant au courant rationaliste (à partir d’al-Mufid) et lorsqu’il veut avoir recours aux sources plus anciennes (qui naturellement vont contre ses idées), ses renvois deviennent vagues ou franchement erronés.”

\(^{24}\) Modarressi has reconstructed earlier, otherwise lost works of Šīʿī *ḥadīṯ*, but he has failed to apply this approach to his analytical work, especially his *Crisis and Consolation*, which is more an introduction to early Šīʿī thought than a deep analysis of it. The latter has been achieved by Hassan Ansari by distinguishing the “sources of the sources”. See Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, for legal material; Ansari, *L’imamat et l’occultation*. For an evaluation of their respective methods, see also Kohlberg, “Introduction [to Part III: Shi‘i Ḥadīth],” pp. 169–170. The largely ahistorical approaches of both Amir-Moezzi and Modarressi are also revealed in the lack of attention paid by either to the pertinent manuscript tradition.
aṣḥāb al-ḥadīt as well as among the mutakallimūn, the philosophers, and the uṣūlīs, while “extremist” positions were endorsed by traditionalists as well as by others who made use of concepts originally formulated by proponents of philosophy and mysticism when developing their own idiosyncratic systems of thought.

Much of the horizontal and vertical diversity of Imāmī thought results from the fact that Šīʿism, unlike Sunnism, is centered on the institution of the Imāms, the ultimate source of certainty of knowledge (ḥuǧǧiyya). In contrast to the Ismāʿīlīs, who believed that God is beyond recognition and cannot be known and salvatory knowledge can be gained only through inspired instruction (taʿlīm) by the Prophet and the Imāms,25 the majority of the Imāmīs considered ʿaq ī a sufficient, valid, and approved tool for attaining knowledge in most doctrinal questions (takālīf ʿaq iyy a), while the role of the Imām as a source of knowledge was confined to questions of law (takālīf samʿ iyy a) and to points of disagreement in doctrine.26 It was the conviction that certainty of knowledge was ultimately and perpetually within reach through the Imām that enabled Imāmī thinkers to experiment with a wide variety of methods and approaches, including speculative reasoning, philosophy, and gnosticism, in their quest for knowledge, as expressed in Hīşām b. al-Ḥakam’s statement quoted at the beginning of this introduction. It is this ultimate certainty that permitted explorative and continuously evolving thought experiments among the Imāmīs that were unthinkable among Sunnīs, for whom a revelatory statement invariably constituted the starting point for any rational argument and among whom skepticism led into inescapable uncertainty about the truths of religion, eventually suffocating rational thinking. Whereas Sunnīs saw presumption and conjecture (ẓann) in the realm of jurisprudence as unavoidable constituents of analogy (qiyās) and iǧtihād from very early on, Imāmī mutakallimūn considered both qiyās and iǧtihād to be incompatible with rationality and, thus, with certainty.27

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25 For the Ismāʿīlī notion of taʿlim, see Madelung, “Aspects of Ismaili Theology”; see also Madelung’s and Walker’s introduction to “The Kitāb al-Rusūm”. See also Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission*; Badakhchani, “Shahrastānī’s Account”; Badakhchani’s edition of *Contemplation and Action*, attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; Madelung and Mayer, *Struggling with the Philosopher*; Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis*, pp. 50ff.; see also Lalani (ed. and trans.), *Degrees of Excellence*, passim; Hollenberg, *Beyond the Qurʾān*, passim.

26 For the role of the Imām as a lutf (Divine assistance) to fulfill moral obligations in the realm of doctrine, see Ansari and Husayn, *Caliphate and Imamate*, passim.

The present multivolume study (“Studies on Imāmism”) revolves around the evolution of Imāmī thought and its literary legacy from the second half of the fourth/tenth century up until the contemporary period, probing distinct but, at the same time, complementary methodological approaches. This inaugural volume is a detailed analysis of the reception and transmission of the doctrinal, legal, literary, and exegetical oeuvre of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, arguably one of the most important thinkers of the medieval period, within and beyond Twelver Šīʿism. Our goal is to shed new light on the relation between al-Murtaḍā and his erstwhile student al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī and on their respective intellectual contributions. Inspired by similar quests undertaken by scholars of early modern Europe, this study also pays special attention to the various clusters of one-volume libraries of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, the earliest witnesses of which can be traced back to the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, and undertakes an archaeological inquiry of sorts into these texts and their transmission. The volume further discusses the astoundingly linear transition from manuscript to print. Also remarkable is the parallel continuation of manuscript production over the course of the twentieth century. The insights that can be gained into the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre also allow a more refined approach when preparing a new critical edition of his writings, this being one of the major desiderata in scholarship on al-Murtaḍā.

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28 For the transition from manuscript to print in Egypt and parts of the Maghreb, see El Shamsy, Rediscovering the Islamic Classics. For the case of Cairo, see also Dayeh, “From Taṣḥīḥ to Taḥqīq”.

29 Manuscript production in the twentieth century is a rich and interesting phenomenon that has largely been neglected in scholarship. For the case of Yemen, see, e.g., Schmidtke, Traditional Yemeni Scholarship, passim; for the case of Saudi Arabia, see, e.g., Witkam, “Copy on Demand”; for the contemporary community of Bohras in India, see Akkerman, “The Bohra Manuscript Treasury”; Akkerman, A Neo-Fatimid Treasury of Books.

30 Among the few examples in which a similar approach has been used within the realm of Islamic literature, mention should be made of Reisman’s study of Ibn Sīnā’s Mubāḥaṯāt; see Reisman, The Making of the Avicennan Tradition. Also of relevance is Love’s Ibadi Muslims of North Africa, which examines the circulation of manuscripts, drawing on prosopography and digital tools used in network analysis. Studying the transmission of texts and distinguishing different versions are also the basis of Mahdi’s work on The Thousand and One Nights (Mahdi, The Thousand and One Nights), and the (only partly successful) recent collaborative endeavor under the aegis of the Institute of Ismaili Studies to prepare new critical editions of the Epistles of the Brethren of Purity. See https://iis.ac.uk/series/Epistles-of-the-Brethren-of-
Until it is achieved, future studies of al-Murtaḍā’s thought must consult the relevant manuscript traditions. This study further offers a careful reconstruction of the relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s works in the various disciplines, a necessary foundation for future indepth analysis of the development of his theological, legal, and exegetical thought.\footnote{Abdulsater’s description al-Murtaḍā’s doctrinal thought (Abdulsater, Shi‘i Doctrine, Mu‘tazili Theology), which gives no consideration to the chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s works or the wider intellectual framework, is not helpful. Moreover, although he states that he has compared al-Murtaḍā’s thought with that of al-Mufīd and the prominent Muʿtazilī thinker ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (d. 415 [1025]), his approach is too reductionist. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār is only one representative of the Bahšami tradition, and in addition to the latter’s summae it would have been essential to pay attention to the philosophical foundations of al-Murtaḍā’s thought and to how it relates to the doctrines of the Bahšamīs on the one hand and earlier Imāmī thinkers on the other. Those foundations are primarily discussed in the context of natural philosophy, i.e. the subtleties (daqīq) of kalām. For the Bahšamīyya, for example, Ibn Mattawayh’s (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century) K. al-Taḏkira constitutes the most important extant source, but it remains unmentioned by Abdulsater. In terms of analysis, Martin McDermott’s brief 1978 analysis of al-Murtaḍā’s thought (McDermott, Theology, part III) is methodologically superior to Abdulsater’s study, although it is now outdated in view of the narrow range of primary sources he was able to consult. For a critical assessment of McDermott’s study, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter One. An additional major flaw in Abdulsater’s monograph is his reliance on prints of al-Murtaḍā’s doctrinal works, to the exclusion of manuscripts. As shown in this study, only a few of his works are available in a reliable critical edition, and a careful consultation of selected manuscript witnesses is indispensable. According to Abdulsater, al-Murtaḍā regularly engages with the writings of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and his circle, including Ibn Mattawayh; see Abdulsater, Shi‘i Doctrine, Mu‘tazili Theology, p. 9. Conversely, Abdulsater suggests that Ibn Mattawayh also consulted al-Murtaḍā’s Šaḥīra; as an example, Abdulsater refers to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Šaḥīra, pp. 295–298, which in his view is cited verbatim in Ibn Mattawayh, Maǧmū‘, vol. 3, pp. 342–346; see Abdulsater, Shi‘i Doctrine, Mu‘tazili Theology, p. 15 (“Ibn Mattawayh often discusses Murtaḍā’s position verbatim [sic]”). However, a close comparison of the two texts does not support this conclusion. Omid Ghaemmaghami’s discussion of al-Murtaḍā in his Encounters with the Hidden Imam (pp. 121–132) also suffers from a lack of attention to the chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and thus to the development of his thought on the notion of the ġayba. Of al-Murtaḍā’s authentic works, Ghaemmaghami quotes from al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt (pp. 122–123), the Šaṭī (pp. 123–124), the Tānzīḥ al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma (p. 124), and the K. al-Muqni‘ (pp. 125–126) but ignores al-Murtaḍā’s discussion of the ġayba in his Šaḥīra. Further, Ghaemmaghami has not consulted any manuscripts of the}
The next forthcoming volume, *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, constitutes a *longue durée* account of Twelver Šīʿī doctrinal thought from the fifth/eleventh until the fourteenth/twentieth century, to demonstrate the diverse approaches taken by Imāmīs over time to obtaining knowledge about the truth of religion. Here, we discuss the transition from Bahšamī doctrine to the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436 [1044]), and then the eventual replacement of *kalām* by philosophy from the early Safavid period onwards, which saw the gradual integration of elements of philosophical mysticism and *ʿirfān*. Particular attention has been paid to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 [1274]), who, like al-Murtaḍā, embodies another central turning point in the development of Imāmī thought. Unlike studies on al-Murtaḍā, scholarship on al-Ṭūsī is legion. In view of the many controversies around his biography and his thought, our analysis focuses on the different approaches to his oeuvre taken by various contemporary scholars. Our point of departure is the question of the authenticity of writings attributed to him as well as the development of his thought over the course of his lifetime. Although some of the intellectual developments since the fifth/eleventh century are linear, others are not, as we show in the final chapter of *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, which is devoted to intellectual countercurrents since the eighteenth century. In addition to pointing out some of the most glaring desiderata in the study of Imāmī intellectual history, we demonstrate in this chapter the extent to which the various realms of intellectual pursuit, including *kalām*, philosophy, and *ʿirfān*, as well as jurisprudence and law, informed one another at all times and thus need to be studied in conjunction. The Epilogue discusses the challenges in the scholarly exploration of Imāmī intellectual history caused by the fact that much of the Imāmī literary heritage has not come down to us. To illustrate the impact that continually evolving intellectual debates had on the preservation of earlier works, we discuss the transmission and reception of al-Murtaḍā’s writings on legal theory, notably works he uses and is thus unaware of the disputed authorship of *Masʿala waǧīza fī l-ġayba*. See Chapter Four for a discussion of this tract. In addition, he mistakenly attributes a passage from al-Ṭabrisī’s *Fīlām al-warā* to al-Murtaḍā (p. 122; see below, n. 83), and he refers to *al-Faṣl fī l-ġayba* (p. 123 n. 172), which may or may not have originated with al-Murtaḍā. See below, n. 924. It should be noted that Madelung in his “Imāmism and Muʿtazilite Theology” (pp. 25ff.) also bases his analysis of al-Murtaḍā’s doctrinal thought on *al-Muqaddima fī l-uṣūl*, which, as will be seen in Chapter Four of this study, is not by al-Murtaḍā.

32 A radically different, and largely undocumented account of Imāmī intellectual history since the Būyid period and up to the present day is offered in Amir-Moezzi, *La preuve de Dieu*, pp. 271–309.
his *al-Ṭabbānīyyāt* and his notion of ḥabar al-wāḥid and iǧmāʿ, and their relevance until the mid-twentieth century.

The forthcoming volume three of this study, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, contains editions of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. These make use of the findings of Volume One regarding the transmission of his oeuvre, along with some doctrinal texts by Imāmī scholars of the following generations.

When finalizing this book, we were not able to access the editions of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that were recently published within the framework of the *Kungirih-yi bayna l-milāl-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā* (*al-Muṭamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*), under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiş-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī).
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Bayezit Library, and Süleymaniye Library; in Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya and Dār al-Kutub; in Riyadh, King Saud University Library; in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz; in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; in Dublin, the Chester Beatty Library; in Milan, the Ambrosiana Library; in Oxford, the Bodleian Library; in Cambridge, the Cambridge University Library; in Leiden, Leiden University Library; in Spain, the library of Real Monasterio de El Escorial in San Lorenzo; in Ṣanʿāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt and Maktabat al-Awqāf; in Montreal, Osler Library at McGill University; in Russia, the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg; in the United States of America, Princeton University Library in Princeton, NJ, Special Collections Library at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, University Research Library at the University of California in Los Angeles, University of Pennsylvania Library in Philadelphia, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, CT. We also thank the Kungirih-yi bayna l-milali-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍāʿ ʿAlam al-Hudā (al-Muʿtamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Šarif al-Murtaḍā) for having provided us with selected images of a number of manuscripts. The Historical Studies–Social Science Library of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, NJ, kindly agreed to make available surrogates of all the manuscripts we have consulted in the work on this study under the file name “Medieval Imāmī Thought Collection.” These may be consulted by scholars by appointment. Financial support for the purchase of digital surrogates of manuscripts consulted during the preparation of this study was generously provided by the Gerard B. Lambert Foundation. Moreover, we gratefully acknowledge the Carnegie Corporation New York, which provided funds through the Shī Studies Research Program to support the final production of the present study. We also express our gratitude to the two anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions, to Linda George and Hanna Siurua for their careful copyediting of the final manuscript, to María Mercedes Tuya for her help in designing the book covers and preparing the images, and to Maribel Fierro and Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala for accepting the study for publication in the Arabo-Islamica series at UCOpress.
The Reception and Transmission of al-Šarif al-Murtadā’s Oeuvre and Thought
Chapter One
Monographic Works

It was through al-Murtaḍā that this school turned into a school, for he composed works on theology and jurisprudence and the imamate, and he stood up for the school, introducing the [doctrines of] Divine unicity and justice to it.\(^{31}\)

1.1 Introduction

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī ("ʿAlam al-Hudā," b. 355 [967], d. 25 Rabī‘ II 436 [19 November 1044]), the descendant of a prominent ʿAlid family,\(^{34}\) became the undisputed head of the Twelver Šīʿī community following the demise of his erstwhile teacher, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad

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\(^{31}\) Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, al-Risāla fī l-naṣīḥa al-ʿāmma, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 74, fol. 24v. A digital surrogate of the manuscript is accessible at https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735408572 [accessed 4 December 2020]. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī has two entries on al-Murtaḍā in the section on the history of the Muʿtazila in volume 1 of his Šarh ʿUyūn al-masāʾil, one in faṣl fi ṣikr ṭabaqa al-Muʿtazila: al-ṭabaqa al-ṯāniya ʿašar min al-Muʿtazila (on which see below, n. 74), and another in faṣl fi man ḏahaba maḏhab al-ʿadl min al-ʾitra alayhim al-salām, were he also mentions al-Murtaḍā’s father Abū Aḥmad and his brother, Raḍī. This second entry is richer than the first one. Besides praising al-Murtaḍā, al-Ǧišumī mentions that al-Murtaḍā wrote many books, and he specifically mentions the latter’s works on tawḥīd and ʿadl, a clear indication that he was familiar with a fair amount of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. We consulted the following witnesses of the Šarh al-ʿUyūn for the present study: Mss Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 2584 A and B, Mss Şanṭāp, Maktatab al-Awqāf 706 and 707. A critical edition of parts 1–4 of the work is currently in preparation by Hassan Ansari and Ehsan Mousavi Khalkhali. As will be shown in the following chapters, there is evidence that al-Ǧišumī was familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, Šāfī, and Tanzīḥ and that he consulted these works when composing some of his own.

b. al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUkbarī “al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd,” in 413 [1022], and he left a rich and multifaceted oeuvre, ranging from belles lettres, exegesis, ḥadīṯ, and kalām to law, legal theory, and other areas. Yet despite his preeminence as a religious and scholarly authority and the continuous popularity of a number of his works throughout the centuries, a significant portion of his writings, particularly on kalām and legal theory, eventually fell into oblivion for a variety of reasons—the most important one being changing intellectual tastes among the Imāmīs. Some works were entirely lost, while others resurfaced only centuries later during the Safavid period. Al-Murtaḍā’s works continued to circulate in manuscript form

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**Footnotes:**

35 For a comprehensive list of al-Murtaḍā’s teachers, see Muḥammad Mahdi Naḡaf’s editorial introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Intiṣār, 1438/2017 ed., vol. 1, pp. 30–37. For al-Murtaḍā’s šayḥs in ḥadīṯ, see above, n. 20. That al-Murtaḍā also studied with Sunnī experts in ḥadīṯ is mentioned by Ibn Šahrāšūb, who relates in the introduction to his Manāqib (1376 [1956] ed., vol. 1, p. 9) that he transmits the K. al-Manāqib by Abū Ḥaṣb ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Šāhīn (d. 385 [995]) through al-Murtaḍā who in turn had studied the work with the author; see also al-Ṭabrisī, Iḥlām al-warā, ed. Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāṭ, vol. 1, p. 358, where Ibn Šāhīn is also quoted through al-Murtaḍā. For Ibn Šāhīn, see ʿAlī Akbar Ḍiyāʾī. For Ibn ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī’s statement in his Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl, p. 179, where he praises al-Murtaḍā profusely, stressing the continuous high esteem al-Murtaḍā has enjoyed until the time of the Ḫulāṣa’s composition in 693 [1293–94]: wa-bi-kutubihi istafādat al-Imāmiyya munḏu zamānihi raḥimahu llāh ilā zamāninā hāḏā wa-huwa 693, wa-huwa ruknuhum wa-muʿallimuhum . . .

36 A comprehensive list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is al-Bayātī’s “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” which is largely based on the data provided by Dirāyatī in his Fihristgān and Fihristwāra (1st edition) and other secondary sources. Since al-Bayātī apparently did not consult most of the codices he includes, the information he provides should be used with great caution. A concise list and discussion of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is also included in Abdulsater, Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology, pp. 22–51. In view of the author’s uncritical approach, it, too, should be used with great caution.

37 In addition to the following chapters, see also the Epilogue to our Imāmī Thought in Transition. See, however, al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī’s statement in his Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl, p. 179, where he praises al-Murtaḍā profusely, stressing the continuous high esteem al-Murtaḍā has enjoyed until the time of the Ḫulāṣa’s composition in 693 [1293–94]: wa-bi-kutubihi istafādat al-Imāmīyya munḏu zamānihi raḥimahu llāh ilā zamāninā hāḏā wa-huwa 693, wa-huwa ruknuhum wa-muʿallimuhum . . .
over the following centuries to the twentieth century, when they made a gradual transition from manuscript to print.

The transmission of al-Murtaḍā's writings was a highly variegated process and, in view of the centuries-long interruptions in the works’ circulation, problematic. A fair number of his works were possibly destroyed during his lifetime or shortly after it during incidents of violent unrest in Baghdad, which saw attacks against Šīʿīs in Karḫ in 416 [1025–26], 38 417 [1026–27], 39 and again in 422 [1031]. 40 Towards the end of 448 [1056–57] or in early 449 [1057–58], the house of al-Murtaḍā’s former student, al-Šayḫ al-Ţūsī, was destroyed; the destruction encompassed the latter’s library, which must have contained a comprehensive collection of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. 41 Further loss occurred in 451 [1059], when the academy of learning (dār al-ʿilm) with its rich library, founded in Karḫ by the Šīʿī Šāpūr b. Ardašīr (b. 330 [942], d. 416 [1035–36]), the erstwhile vizier of the Būyid ruler Bahāʾ al-Dawla,

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40 See Ibn Kaṯīr, al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 15, p. 636; for more details on the incident, see al-Ḏahabī, Tārīḫ al-Islām, n.d. ed., vol. 29, p. 10. The repeated attacks on al-Murtaḍā’s home and the destruction that resulted from those attacks may have been the reason he moved repeatedly. The details of his various living quarters and his moves have been reconstructed by Muṣṭafā Ǧawād; see al-Amīn, Mustadrakāt Aʿyān al-Šīʿa, vol. 4, p. 138. See also the richly documented study by ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Ḥasanī on al-Murtaḍā’s biography, “ʿAlā hāmiš sīrat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 34–37; al-Ǧaʿfarī, Ṭuqūs al-šiyaʿ al-dīniyya, pp. 93–94 and passim; see also below, n. 192, for detailed information on al-Murtaḍā’s dwelling in 429 AH. Cf. also al-Bayāṭī, “Yawmiyyāt”. For the attack on al-Murtaḍā’s house in Bāb al-Šarāt, see also Ibn Ǧazm, Čamharat ansāb al-ʿarab, p. 63. For al-Murtaḍā’s personal library, see also below, n. 673.

41 The attack is mentioned for the year 449 AH by Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kāmil, vol. 8, p. 151; al-Subki, Ǧabaraṯ al-Šāfīʿiyya al-kubrā, vol. 4, pp. 126–127, mentions specifically that al-Ṭūsī’s books were burned; Ibn Kaṯīr, al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 15, p. 743, points out that al-Ṭūsī’s entire library, including his notebooks and writings, was destroyed (see also ibid., vol. 6, p. 16). See also Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Muntaẓam, vol. 16, p. 16. Ibn al-Ǧawzī relates the same event also for the year 448 AH at vol. 16, p. 8. Cf. also Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, Lisān al-mīzān, vol. 7, p. 83 no. 6682, citing Ibn al-Naḡār al-Bağdādī (b. 578 [1183], d. 643 [1245]) from the lost portions of his Ǧayl Tārīḫ Baḡdād.
was destroyed during the Seljuq Tuğril Beg’s march on Baghdad. Among the holdings of the library was a collection of Shi’i books. Even so, what is preserved in manuscript demonstrates the manifold ways in which al-Murtadā’s oeuvre was read, studied, used, and transmitted over time. The extant codices allow glimpses into the modes of studying Shi’i classics during the medieval as well as the early modern and modern periods, when this literature gained a new and probably unprecedented popularity. This field of inquiry has barely been touched upon until now, but recent advances in the scholarly exploration of the “archeology of reading” focused on the classical heritage among European readers during the late medieval and early modern periods may provide relevant insights into this history too.


“Wa-fīhi muṣannafāt āl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām”; see Sibṭ Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Mirʾāt al-zamān, vol. 18, p. 69; cf. also al-ʿIšš, Dūr al-kutub, p. 135. Šāpūr b. Ardašīr had commissioned a catalogue of the library’s holdings but it has not come down to us. For the history of libraries of Baghdad two centuries later, see Biran, “Libraries, Books, and Transmission of Knowledge”.

See also al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī’s comment about al-Murtadā in his Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl, written in 693 [1294]: “Wa-lahu muṣannafāt kāṭira ḍakarnāḥī fi kitābinā al-kabīr wa-bi-kutubihī istafādat al-Imāmiyya munḏū zamānihi raḥimahu lālā zamāninā hāgha wa-huwa sanat 693”; see al-Ḥillī, Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl, p. 179 no. 533.

See the Epilogue to our Imāmi Thought in Transition for a discussion of the ways in which al-Murtadā’s elaborations on the questions of ḥabar al-wāḥid and iǧmāʿ have been quoted, discussed, and reused over the centuries up to the contemporary period.

This is an area of study that was first laid out by Jardine and Grafton in “Studied for Action” and has since developed into a fruitful field of inquiry. See, e.g., Jardine, “Studied for Action Revisited”. Of immediate relevance is the digital project “Archaeology of Reading in Early

Al-Murtaḍā’s arguably most popular work among Twelver Šīʿīs is his *K. al-Šāfī fī l-imāma*, a defense of the Imāmī notion of the imamate, that constitutes a rebuttal of the section on the *imāma* in the *K. al-Muḡnī* by the qāḍī l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415 [1025]).

Šayḫ al-ṭāʾifa Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460 [1067]), al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548 [1154]), and others praised the *K. al-Šāfī* as one of the best and most comprehensive works on the subject. The lasting popularity of the work is attested by the numerous extant manuscripts and the

Modern Europe,” on which see https://archaeologyofreading.org/ [accessed 6 June 2019]; the 2015 exhibition “Readers Make Their Mark: Annotated Books at the New York Society Library,” on which see https://www.nysoclib.org/events/annotated-books [accessed 14 February 2020]; Grafton, “Scrawled Insults and Epiphanies”; Bevilacqua, “How to Organise the Orient,” esp. pp. 241ff.; the 2020 exhibition “In Readers’ Hands: Traces of Use in Early Modern Bibles from the Maurits Sabbe Library” (Leuven); and Ann Blair’s ongoing work on questions of authorship, the role of amanuenses, and the organization and transmission of knowledge during the early modern period. See https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/ablair [accessed 6 June 2019] for details and references. For the social and material aspects of reading, see also the contributions to Krauß et al. (eds), *Material Aspects of Reading*; Akbari and Heller (eds), *How We Read*; and Oates and Purdy (eds), *Communities of Print*.

It should be noted that al-Murtaḍā did not discuss the entire *imāma* section of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s *Muḡnī*. He ends the *Šāfī* with a list of chapters in the *Muḡnī* that he does not to discuss, since, he says, he has already dealt with all that is essential at length; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfī*, vol. 4, p. 365 (unless stated otherwise, references to *al-Šāfī* are to al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḫaṭīb’s edition). For the *K. al-Šāfī*, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, vol. 13, p. 8 no. 17; Ṭiqat al-Islām al-Ṭabrisī, *Mirʾāt al-kutub*, vol. 6, pp. 27–28 no. 2118; Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 135–137; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 123–125 no. 34. For al-Murtaḍā’s notion of the *imāma*, see Abdulsater, *Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology*, chapter 5; Ansari and Husayn, *Caliphate and Imamate*, passim.


For copies of the work in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, *Fihrīstigān*, vol. 18, pp. 701–706, listing sixty-five manuscripts, of which two were transcribed during the tenth/sixteenth century, twenty-three during the eleventh/seventeenth century, twenty-eight during the twelfth/eighteenth century, four during the thirteenth/nineteenth century, and one during
various abridgments of and glosses on it by later Imāmī scholars, beginning with
the most important one by his student al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī. Al-Ṭūsī explains his work
mode in the beginning of the *Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī*\(^{50}\) and repeats it at the end:\(^{51}\) he not only
summarizes al-Murtaḍā’s *Šāfī* but also rearranges the material, as al-Murtaḍā


had discussed many issues repeatedly over the course of the work. Moreover, al-Ṭūsī aims to cover also themes that al-Murtaḍā had dealt with only briefly or entirely neglected, and for this purpose he adds material from other writings by al-Murtaḍā to complement the Šāfī whenever he considers such additions to be appropriate (wa-awradnā fī mawāḍiʿ min al-kitāb ziyādāt ḏakarahā fī ǧayr hāḏā l-kitāb); notable among these additions are passages from al-Murtaḍā’s Ẓāhir, his Muqni’, and his Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā l-Muqni’. Al-Ṭūsī’s work was

52 Among the topics that al-Murtaḍā had decided not to deal with in his Šāfī and that al-Ṭūsī added are the imāms after Imām ‘Alī, as well as the ǧayba; see above, n. 47, and al-Šayĥ al-Ṭūsī, Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 1, pp. 89–112; vol. 4, pp. 167ff.

53 See, e.g., al-Šayĥ al-Ṭūsī, Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 209–226:10, a detailed discussion of the notion of the ǧayba, which is a nearly verbatim rendering of al-Murtaḍā’s Muqni’, 1419/1998 ed., pp. 37–68; al-Ṭūsī explicitly mentions his source at vol. 4, pp. 225 (notably not as K. al-Muqni’ but rather as al-mas’ala allati fī l-ġayba: wa-hāḏihi l-ġumla ḏakarahā fī l-mas’ala allati fī l-ġayba ǧama’nā atrāfahā wa-awradnā ba’d alfāzhā wa-ma’anihā), and 226 (wa-qad ḏakara fī l-Ziyādāt fī l-ġayba ǧawāban āḫar ḏakarnāhu fīmā taqaddama ṣarīḥan). Part of the same block of text (pp. 221:8–226:4) is also found in Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 1, pp. 95–102:15; however, whereas the sequence of the argumentation is logical in the text block in volume 4 that stretches from p. 221:1 to p. 226:10, the parallel text block in volume 1 is garbled in the edition of the Talḫīṣ: there is no equivalent for vol. 4, p. 221:1–8 (ending with fa-hāḏā tasriḥ) in volume 1; the equivalent of vol. 4, pp. 221:8 (bi-annahu)–223:18 is found in vol. 1, pp. 99:11–102:15, whereas the equivalent of vol. 4, pp. 223:19–226:4 is found in vol. 1, pp. 95–99:10; and the following passage in vol. 4, p. 226:5–10, which concludes the text block, again has no parallel in volume 1. That the sequence of the text in volume 4 is correct is corroborated by Talḫīṣ, vol. 4, p. 226:4, which contains a reference to al-Murtaḍā’s Ziyāda to his Muqni’, that is indeed followed (vol. 4, p. 226:5–10) by a summary of al-Murtaḍā’s principal argument in his Ziyāda. In volume 1 of the Talḫīṣ, the text that follows the parallel reference to al-Murtaḍā’s Ziyāda (vol. 1, p. 99:10) is clearly misplaced. Two witnesses of one of the earliest attested copies of the Talḫīṣ, which was transcribed during the first half of the sixth/twelfth century, are Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519 and Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375; neither was consulted by the Talḫīṣ’s editor (for a detailed description of the two codices, see below, n. 54). These two witnesses show similar irregularities in volume 1 of the book; for example, the entire block of Talḫīṣ, vol. 1, pp. 95–102:15 is found in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519, fol. 4v:4–6r:17 in the very same sequence. On the other hand, on fol. 256v, line 8 of Miškāt 519, between fa-hāḏā and wa-ma’a, a section of text corresponding to Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 221:8–226:4 is missing. The parallel position in Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375 is found on fol. 257r:4–5. This text block in the Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 221:8–226:4, is precisely the one included in both volume 4 and (in garbled form) volume 1 of the edition (see above). This suggests that at some stage one or two folios of volume 4 were misplaced and ended up in volume 1. Note also Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 1, pp. 91:5ff, which is based on Ziyāda, pp. 85–86, and Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 1, pp. 104:9–108:3, where al-Ṭūsī quotes al-Murtaḍā’s ḏahira, pp. 417:9–421:1, which is identified in
completed in Raǧab 432 [March-April 1041], some four years before al-Murtaḍā’s death. Among the prominent Imāmī scholars of later centuries who consulted the

Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 1, p. 106:2–4. The text block found in Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 223:19–226:3, slightly abbreviated, can also be found in al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Ġayba, pp. 102:6–104:9. The relevant discussion of the ġayba in K. al-Ġayba (pp. 86:13–103:16) is also largely based on al-Murtaḍā’s Muqniʿ, pp. 43–70, which is quoted verbatim, but with considerable amounts of text inserted between the individual quotations from the Muqniʿ (which are nowhere identified as such). In this context, al-Ṭūsī adduces two passages, which he explicitly attributes to al-Murtaḍā but which are not found in any of the latter’s extant works; see K. al-Ġayba, p. 97:1–8 (introduced with wa-kāna l-Murtaḍā raḥimahu llāh yaqūl aḫīran) and p. 104:10ff. (introduced with wa-kāna l-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh yaqūl; it is unclear where the quotation ends). The first passage, Ġayba, p. 97:1–8, is also included in Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 219:19–220:7, introduced with wa-ḏakara fī mawḍiʿ āḫar. The second passage, Ġayba, p. 104:10ff., resembles in meaning al-Murtaḍā’s Ziyāda, pp. 80ff. The possibility that al-Murtaḍā composed towards the end of his life another work on the ġayba that has not come down to us but that was available to al-Ṭūsī should not be ruled out. Another possible explanation for the first passage is that al-Ṭūsī is referring to al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II, specifically to Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 311–312, where al-Murtaḍā maintains the same view, though phrased differently. Al-Ṭūsī does not always indicate his sources in the Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī. Most of his discussion of Imām al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, for example, is a verbatim quotation from the relevant chapter of al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh (Tanzīh, 1409/1989 ed., pp. 227–231), but this is not mentioned in the Talḫīṣ (Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 181–190); see Ansari, “Iḫtilāf-i naẓar-i Šayḫ-i Ṭūsī wa Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”; Ansari, “Bardāštī nādurust az kalām-i Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”. It is interesting to note that the section ends with the words wa-hāḏā l-maḏhab huwa allaḏī ḫtārahu al-Murtaḍā raḥmat Allāh ʿalayhi fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-lī fī hāḏihi l-masʾala naẓar (ibid., vol. 4, p. 190). Since the Talḫīṣ was completed during al-Murtaḍā’s lifetime, the eulogy suggests that al-Ṭūsī added the critical remark to the end of the chapter after al-Murtaḍā’s demise. It is also noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī discarded al-Murtaḍā’s elaborations on the ġayba in the Tanzīh and instead relied on al-Murtaḍā’s Muqniʿ and the Ziyāda, written later than the Tanzīh. The reason was that al-Murtaḍā’s thought on the topic evolved over time. Quotations from works by al-Murtaḍā, notably his K. al-Ḏaḫīra and his K. al-Muqniʿ, are also included in al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Ġayba; see, e.g., al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Ġayba, pp. 12 (Ḏahīra), 97 (no work title indicated), 104 (no work title indicated). For al-Ṭūsī’s quotations from the Muqniʿ, see also below, n. 85.

54 Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, vol. 4, p. 227. For al-Ṭūsī’s Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, also known as al-Istīfāʿ, see also Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, p. 197 no. 218; Āġā Buzurg, Darʿa, vol. 4, p. 423 no. 1866; Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 6, pp. 320–321 nos 157320–157353; vol. 18, pp. 706–709; Muʿjam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī, vol. 2, pp. 324–325 no. 3988. That al-Ṭūsī used both titles is suggested by his autoreferences in al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, “al-Mufṣih,” pp. 124 (Kitāb Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī), 129 (kitābunā al-maʿrūf bi-l-Istīfāʿ fī l-imāma). The title al-Istīfāʿ is also used, for example, in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 3971 (figs 1a, 1b) and in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519 (fig. 357). The latter witness, which was not consulted for the edition of the Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, is remarkable. It was transcribed by one ‘Ali b. Šams, who dated his copy 7 Muḥarram 1110 [16 July 1698] and also cited the colophon of his antigraph, which was dated end of Ḏū l-Qaʿda 532
K. al-Šāfī as the most authoritative work on the imamate is the ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, who was influenced by the Šāfī when writing his K. al-Alfayn, another important work on the imamate. He regularly quotes from al-Murtaḍā’s Šāfī in this work.55

Al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Šāfī also constitutes the model and most significant source for ‘Abd al-Nabī b. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Asadī al-Ǧazāʾirī (d. 1021 [1612]) K. al-Mabsūṭ fī l-imāma,56 and it served as a primary source for the qāḍī Nūr Allāh al-Tustarī [al-Šuštarī] (“al-Šahīd al-Ṭālit,” b. 956 [1549], d. 1019 [1610]) when he composed his K.

[August 1138] and copied by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭalib, i.e., Naǧaf (fig. 358). Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519 is thus a witness for one of the earliest attested copies of the work. However, the folios of the antigraph were apparently in disorder when ‘Ali b. Šams began to transcribe the codex, and some folios may have been missing. Irregularities can be observed in the beginning and the end of the copy: fols 1v–4v:1 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 59–77 of the published edition; fols 4v:4–6r:17 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 95–102:10; fols 6r:17–9v:1 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 78–89:1; fols 9v:12–10v:14 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 91:8–94; and fols 10v:14–14v:6 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 103–112. Another apograph of the 532 AH copy (the name of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭalib is not mentioned) of Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī (the title page [fig. 592] has again al-Istīfāʾ fī l-imāma) is preserved as Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375; the manuscript was copied in Qazwīn and completed on 4 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1115 [9 April 1704] (fig. 593). This codex shows the same irregularities as Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519, confirming that the folios of the antigraph were in disorder by the early twelfth/eighteenth century. A new critical edition would need to address the question of the sequence of the text, especially in volume one of the work (see also above, n. 53). Additional epitomes and glosses on the Šāfī were compiled by scholars of the Safavid period, namely Muḥammad Šafīʿ b. Muḥammad ‘Ali b. Ahmad b. Husayn al-Astarābādī (fl. eleventh/seventeenth century) (Ḥāšiyat al-Šāfī; see al-Qazwīnī, Tatmīm, p. 180 no. 135; Dirāyatī, Fihristīgān, vol. 18, p. 702; Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 4, p. 216 no. 9161; Āġā Buzurg, al-Muǧāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʿaẓẓama, vol. 2, p. 688–693 no. 270, esp. p. 689; for an edition of the work, with an introduction about its author, see Kiyānī, “Ḥāšiyat Kitāb al-Šāfī”


56 Published; see bibliography.
al-Ṣawārim al-muhraqa fī ḍawāb al-Ṣawāʿiq al-muhriqa. Šayḫ Mawlānā Muhammad Ḩusayn al-Ṭabarzī, whom al-Qazwīnī describes as “head of the religious scholars during the reign of the Ṣafavid Šāh Sulṭān Ḩusayn (r. 1105–35 [1694–1722])” (raʾis al-ʿulamāʾ ayyām dawlat al-Šāh Sulṭān Ḩusayn al-Ṣafawī), is reported to have taught the K. al-Šāfī three times, and on each occasion he composed glosses (ḥawāšī nāfiʿa) on the book.58 The Yemeni Imāmī author Diyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr al-Ṣanʿānī (b. 1078 [1667], d. 1121 [1709]) was also familiar with the K. al-Šāfī.59 The Šāfī was among the first works by al-Murtaḍā to be printed in lithograph in Tehran towards the end of the nineteenth century (fig. 1), together with al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s “epitome” of the work, the K. Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī.60 The book is now available in an edition prepared by ‘ʿAbd al-Zahrāʾ al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaṭīb.61

57 Published; see bibliography. Al-Tustarī’s [al-Šuštarī’s] book is a refutation of Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī’s (b. 909 [1504], d. 974 [1567]) al-Ṣawāʿiq al-muhriqa fī l-radd ʿalā al-zayḡ wa-l-zandaqa. The twelfth/eighteenth-century Imāmī scholar Muḥammad Gaʿfar al-Kašmīrī is also related to have read the K. al-Šāfī with one of his students; see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fī l-qarn al-ṯānī baʿda l-ʿašara, p. 142.

58 See al-Qazwīnī, Tatmīm, pp. 119–120; cf. also Āġā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 6, p. 104 nos 562, 563, 564. He was appointed Mullābāšī of the Ṣafavids in 1127 [1715–16], and he was still alive in 1132 [1719–20]; see al-Subḥānī, Muʿǧam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallīmīn, vol. 4, pp. 369–370.


It has been established that al-Murtaḍā completed the *K. al-Šāfī* on 7 Ramaḍān 398 [16 May 1008], but it is uncertain when he started composing it. The date of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s completion of the *K. al-Muʿnī*, 380 [990–91], provides a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Šāfī*. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār completed the *Muʿnī* when residing in Rayy, and, given the immediate success of the book, it is likely that it arrived in Baghdad fairly soon afterward. On the other hand, in the introduction to the *K. al-Šāfī* al-Murtaḍā relates that he was prevented for some time from beginning work on the *Šāfī*, so it is reasonable to assume that he started on the task in 384 AH or 385 AH. That al-Murtaḍā began writing the *K. al-Šāfī* at a fairly early stage is further suggested by the observation that there are, with one exception, no cross-references to any of his other writings in the first three volumes of the book. It is only towards the end of the work that he refers on several occasions to his responsa to queries dispatched to him from Mawṣil (al-Mawṣiliyyāt; see below for details), one of his early writings. In another set of responsa to queries on legal issues from Mawṣil written in or after Rabīʿ I 420 [March–April 1029] (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II; see below for details), al-Murtaḍā relates that he had composed al-Mawṣiliyyāt “fi sanat nayyif wa-ṯamānin wa-ṯalāṭa mī’a,” that is, sometime between 381 [991–92] and 389 [998–99]. Al-Murtaḍā further relates...

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62 The author’s colophon is cited at the end of *Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis ihdāʾ-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1364*, p. 426 (fig. 8). For a detailed discussion of the composition process, which apparently stretched over many years, see Ansari, “Kitāb al-Šāfī-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”; and Ansari, “Nukta-yi dīgar”.


64 Upon the work’s completion, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār sent a copy to the vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, who formally praised the book. See Reynolds, “The Rise and Fall,” p. 5 (with further references).

65 One of the earliest mentions of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s *K. al-Muʿnī* as well as his *K. al-ʿUmad*, on legal theory, is found in the Luzūmiyyāt of al-Murtaḍā’s contemporary Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449 [1057]); see al-Maʿarrī, Luzūmiyyāt, vol. 1, pp. 235–236 no. 20.


67 See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ʿShaṭṭ, vol. 3, p. 29, where he refers to his brief tract *Masʿala mufradaʿ an ṣubḥa fi ḥadīṯ al-manzala*, which is lost and also not otherwise attested.


that the nature of the work changed as he was writing it: although he initially planned a relatively brief commentary on the *imāma* section of the *Muģnī*, he gradually expanded his elaborations, which explains the changing character of his book.\(^70\) The *K. al-Šāfi* may thus have been one of the first books al-Murtaḍā wrote, and its composition extended over many years, possibly more than a decade. Its early dating, together with its comprehensive nature (al-Murtaḍā addresses many doctrinal questions beyond the narrow confines of the book’s primary subject matter), makes it an important point of departure for studying the development of al-Murtaḍā’s thought. For example, an influence that merits further study is that of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, who visited Baghdad repeatedly while al-Murtaḍā was engaged in the composition of the *K. al-Šāfi*. He is reported to have passed through Baghdad on Monday, 10 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 389 [23 October 999] on his way to the ḥaǧǧ and to have met the dignitaries of the city,\(^71\) who most likely included al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā as well as his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406 [1015]). Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī also set out to undertake the ḥaǧǧ in the same year,\(^72\) and it can be assumed

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\(^{70}\) Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 4, p. 366. Interestingly, al-Murtaḍā explains in this context why he was unable to revise the book before “publication” in view of his changed approach to the material: He had already made individual parts of the work available to readers prior to the book’s completion. Since he wanted to avoid differences in the copies in circulation, he refrained from revising earlier parts of the *K. al-Šāfi* that were already accessible to readers.

\(^{71}\) This is reported by the historian Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī (b. 359 [960], d. 448 [1056]), a contemporary of the events, in his *Ṭārīḫ*, p. 338. For Hilāl al-Ṣābī, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, fasc. 2017–4, pp. 113–115 (Letizia Osti). Hilāl al-Ṣābī was a descendant of Ṭābit b. Qurra (d. 288 [901]); see Roberts, “Being a Sabian at Court”. That al-Murtaḍā and Hilāl al-Ṣābī entertained a close relationship is suggested by the fact that they exchanged poetry; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Diwān*, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 300ff.

\(^{72}\) Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Ṭārīḫ*, p. 340. Al-Murtaḍā composed some poetry on the occasion of embarking on the ḥaǧǧ, and this is included in part one of his *Diwān*; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Diwān*, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1958–59), vol. 3, pp. 298–301. Although the poem is undated, its location in the *Diwān* suggests that it was composed in 389 AH. See Appendix 5 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s *Diwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (*qawāfī*) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition”) for the poem’s position within the *Diwān*. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābī and Naǧm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muhammad Ibn Fahd (b. 812 [1409–10], d. 885 [1480]) in his *Iṯḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā*, the ḥaǧǧ of 389 [999] was led by Abū l-Ḥāriṯ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAlawī. See, however, Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (“al-Šāʿir al-ṭamūḥ, “ p. 233), who suggests that al-Šarīf al-Raḍī was in charge of the ḥaǧǧ during that year in lieu of his father. Ibn Fahd further relates that al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī were detained during the trip by al-Ḥassān b. Mufarriğ b. Daṯfal b. al-Ǧarrāḥ al-Ţāʾi and only
that they travelled together with ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār. The latter is further reported to have spent some time in the city upon returning from the ḥaǧǧ around 390 [1000].

It was either during the ḥaǧǧ or during ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār’s subsequent sojourn in Baghdad that al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Ṣarīf al-Raḍī, studied with ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār.

It is fairly certain that al-Murtaḍā also made personal acquaintance with ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār on one or several of these occasions and this may have affected his


74 Al-Ṣarīf al-Raḍī is known to have studied ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa, K. al-ʿUmad, and K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl with their author. For the Taqrīb, see al-Ṣarīf al-Raḍī, Talḫīṣ al-bayān, pp. 212–213, 242. For the other works, and al-Ṣarīf al-Raḍī’s discipleship with ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār in general, see Ansari, “Az Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār tā Šarīf-i Raḍī”. Further studies on the biography of al-Ṣarīf al-Raḍī may shed more light on the details of his discipleship with ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār.

Barāhima fī baʿṭ al-anbiyāʾ, al-Murtaḍā explicitly quotes ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār’s Muġnī on one occasion, followed by a critical comment that gives no indication that al-Murtaḍā considered ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār his teacher. See Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 349. Likewise, in al-Murtaḍā, Ḍaḥīra, p. 138, he refers to ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār as sāḥib K. al-Muģnī. It is possible that al-Ǧišumī confused the brothers in his statement about al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā having studied with ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār. It is also noteworthy that according to al-Tustarī’s [al-Šuštarī’s] (d. 1019 [1610]) Maǧālis al-muʾminīn (vol. 1, p. 464), al-Murtaḍā’s teacher al-Mufīd had a brief encounter with ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār when the latter held a maǧlis in Baghdad. Cf. also McDermott, Theology, p. 10 (McDermott’s assumption that the incident occurred when al-Mufīd was still young is not supported by al-Tustarī’s account, which specifies that al-Mufīd was a muǧtahid at the time of the meeting). For al-Mufīd’s allusion to this encounter, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Fuṣūl, p. 132. It is possible that the meeting took place during ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār’s sojourn in Baghdad when he was on his way to the ḥaǧǧ or upon his return from Mecca, i.e., in 389 or 390 AH. Al-Ǧišumī further relates that al-Murtaḍā also studied with Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ali. Ali al-Naṣībī (or al-Naṣībīnī) and the renowned Muʿṭazilī adīb Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384 [994]); see Sayyid (ed.), Faḍl al-iʿtizāl, p. 396. Whereas al-Murtaḍā mentions al-Marzubānī regularly in his Ġurar, there is no confirmation in al-Murtaḍā’s writings or, in fact, in any other historical source that he studied with al-Naṣībī. However, Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 [1209]) relates in his Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl (vol. 3, p. 413) that al-Naṣībī, like al-Murtaḍā, also endorsed the doctrine of ṣarfa. This may suggest that al-Murtaḍā had indeed studied with al-Naṣībī; alternatively, the congruence of their views on the subject may have been the reason for al-Ǧišumī to assume that al-Naṣībī had been one of al-Murtaḍā’s teachers. Our knowledge about the Muʿṭazilī al-Naṣībī is slim although his doctrinal positions, especially in the realm of laṭīf al-kalām, are regularly mentioned by later representatives of the school. Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was evidently familiar with al-Naṣībī and some of his writings. He refers to al-Naṣībī’s maqād of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (b. 250 [864], d. 313[925]) al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī [al-kabīr], which was otherwise known only on the basis of a hāšiya to the K. al-Ǧamāhir fī maʿrifat al-ǧawāhir (see Muḥaqqiq, Fīlsūf-i Rayy, p. 260 n. 6); see Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Faḍl al-iʿtizāl, vol. 3, p. 413; see also Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa, p. 21 (ḥakā al-Naṣībīnī ʿan Arisṭūṭālis). For al-Naṣībī, see also al-Tawḥīdī, Aḫlāq al-wazīrayn, pp. 211–212; Kraemer, Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam, passim. It should be noted that Sayyid misidentifies al-Naṣībī in Faḍl al-iʿtizāl, p. 396 n. 3, and that his reading of p. 396:4–5, wa-ʿAlī b. al-Muʿallim, should be corrected to wa-ʿAlī b. al-Muʿallim, which was otherwise known only on the basis of a hāšiya to the K. al-Ǧamāhir fī maʿrifat al-javāhir (see Muḥaqqiq, Fīlsūf-i Rayy, p. 260 n. 6); see Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl (vol. 3, p. 413); see also Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa, p. 21 (ḥakā al-Naṣībīnī ʿan Arisṭūṭālis). For the contemporary period, see al-Naqšbandī and ʿAbbās, Maḫṭūṭāt al-adab fī l-Mutḥaf al-ʿIrāqī, p. 642 no. 1887; Karabulut, Muʿqam al-maḥtūṭāt, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 5. Karabulut also states that Ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1097 contains Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā; see Karabulut, Muʿqam al-maḥtūṭāt, vol. 2,
p. 920 no. 4. In fact, the codex contains al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Dīwān (figs 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f). The motive of Sunnī authors for attributing the compilation of Nahĝ al-balāḡa to al-Murtaḍā rather than to his brother was to discredit the work as one brought together by a professional Imāmī mutakallim, especially in view of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Šāfī and its anti-Sunnī character. Al-Murtaḍā is also named as the author of Nahĝ al-balāḡa by Šāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Gulām Ḥakīm b. Wali Allāh Aḥmad al-Dīhlawī (b. 1159 [1746], d. 1239 [1824]) in his anti-Šīʿī polemic Tuḥfa-yi Ḥaṭṭa-yi Ḥaṭṭa-yi Āṣariyya. The book served as a foundational text for anti-Šīʿī propaganda among Sunnīs from the time of its publication, and it incited numerous refutations and counterrefutations. One example among many is Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Hindī al-Laknawī (b. 1246 [1830], d. 1306 [1888]) renowned defense of Šīʿism, ʿAbaqāt al-anwār fī imāmat al-aʾimma al-aṭhār, an abridgment of which was prepared by ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī with the title Nafaḥāt al-azhār fī ḫulāṣat ʿAbaqāt al-anwār (see bibliography for details). Al-Dīhlawī refers to a number of authentic and spurious works by al-Murtaḍā, including his K. al-Ṭanzīh and his K. al-Ǧurar. He also cites from al-Murtaḍā’s “al-Nāṣirīyyāt” (see Tuḥfa-yi Ḥaṭṭa-yi Ḥaṭṭa-yi Āṣariyya, p. 485), and the quotation is most likely gleaned from Muʿīn al-Dīn Mīr Maḥdūm al-Šarīfī’s (b. 947 [1540–41], d. 995 [1586–87]) Nawāqiḍ al-Rawāfiḍ; see al-Tustarī, Maṣāʿib al-nawāṣib, vol. 2, p. 53. Here, the quotation is likewise identified as originating in al-Murtaḍā’s al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣirīyya. In fact, however, this is an alternative title for al-Murtaḍā’s al-Dimašqiyyāt, as already mentioned by al-Buṣrawī (see Appendix 9 [“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāṣī, and Ibn ʿAṣhrāṣī”, item 46 in al-Buṣrawī’s list: al-Masāʾil al-Dimašqiyya, wa-hiya al-Nāṣirīyya). Only one responsum from al-Dimašqiyyāt is extant, and that is concerned with the question of raǧʿa; see Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 135–139. Although the precise quotation adduced by Mīr Maḥdūm has no equivalent in the published text of al-Dimašqiyyāt, it also revolves around the notion of raǧʿa. For Mīr Maḥdūm, see Ġaʿfariyān (ed.), “Zandagī nāma-yi ḫūndīwišt”; Stanfield Johnson, “Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran”. Al-Dīhlawī further claims al-Murtaḍā to be the author of two anonymous anti-Sunnī works that are often attributed to Abū l-Futūḥ al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī (b. ca. 480 [1087], d. after 552 [1157]), on whom see Encyclopaedia Islamica, vol. 1, pp. 787–795 (Department of Islamic Law and Qurʾān and Ḥadīṯ Studies). The works in question are al-Risāla al-Ḥusniyya, an anti-Sunni tract describing a debate featuring a girl named ʿAṣrīyya at the court of Hārūn al-Rašīd, and Risālat Yūḥannā, a tract on the imāma said to have been written by a Christian by the name of Yūḥannā. For Risālat Yūḥannā al-ḏimmī, see Āġā Buzurg, Daṟāʾa, vol. 25, p. 296 no. 189; the work was published repeatedly, including in an edition prepared by ʿAlī Akbar ʿAṣhābī and published in the 1950s as Yūḥannā-yi ḏimmī. For the ʿAṣrīyya, see Āġā Buzurg, Daṟāʾa, vol. 7, p. 20 no. 89; Stewart, “Ḥusniyya’s Debate”. The frequent references to al-Murtaḍā and his works, whether authentic or deliberately erroneously attributed to him, which are invariably selected and interpreted for the single purpose of denigrating him, and with him Šīʿism, demonstrate the extent to which al-Murtaḍā is considered one of the most important and renowned authorities of the Šīʿī scholarly tradition. Al-Dīhlawī’s Tuḥfa was translated into Arabic in 1227 [1812] by Gulām Muhammad b. Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿUmar al-Aslāmī, thus making it accessible to Salafī writers in the Arab-speaking world. See, e.g., Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett
attitude towards Muʿtazilism: in the K. al-Šāfiʿi al-Murtaḍā is far more distanced from the movement than he is in his later writings.

Because of the nature of the work, the K. al-Šāfiʿi’s reception was largely limited to Twelver Šīʿī circles; non-Imāmī authors engaged with it primarily in order to refute it, as was the case with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436 [1044]) among the Muʿtazīlīs and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Siyāh Sariḡān [Šāh Sarbīḡān] (fl. fifth/eleventh

76 See our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Two, where we also discuss the counter-refutations by two of al-Murtaḍā’s students, namely Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylāmī (d. 448 [1057]) and Abū l-Fatḥ Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Karāḡīkī (d. 449 [1057]). Among the Sunnis, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was familiar with the work. See his Muḥaṣṣal, p. 419; cf. also Modarressi, Crisis and Consolidation, p. 120 n. 80. He also pays his respects to al-Murtaḍā, saying that huwa aǧall al-Imāmīyya qadran wa-akṯaruhum ʿilman wa-aṯwaṣahum fikran. See similarly Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa, p. 398 (wa-huwa aǧall al-Imāmīyya qadran wa-akṯaruhum ʿilman wa-aṯwaṣahum ḥikrān). It is, no doubt, the Šāfiʿī that al-Rāzī seems to have in mind when he argues against al-Murtaḍā on the question of the imāma in his Maʿālim; see Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Maʿālim, pp. 132–133. See also below, nn. 154, 595. Abū l-Ḥusayn’s “al-Radd ʿalā al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā” is also mentioned in Ġamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. ʿAwūs (d. 673 [1274–75]) Bināʾ al-maqāla al-fāṭimiyya, p. 57.
century) among the Zaydis. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī was familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s defense of the renowned Ibn al-Rāwandī (third/ninth century) in the K. al-Šāfī, and he responded to it in his Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil. Whether he had consulted the Šāfī directly or knew the work through Abū l-Ḥusayn’s refutation is uncertain. Abū l-Ḥusayn’s refutation was most likely also used by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 656 [1258]), who regularly refers to al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Šāfī in his Šarḥ Nahģ al-balāģa in order to refute it. His refutations may well reflect those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, with whose writings Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd was familiar and whose views he endorsed.

The Zaydis were also familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Muqniʿ fī l-ġayba, which is devoted to occultation, another specifically Twelver Šīʿī notion, and was composed long after the completion of the K. al-Šāfī, during the vizierate of Abū l-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Maġribī (b. 370 [980], d. 418 [1027]) to whom al-Murtaḍā refers in the introduction (ǧarā fī maǧlis al-wazīr). The vizier was appointed in Baghdad in 414 [1023–24] and served in the position for ten months and four days. Al-Murtaḍā

77 Šāh Sarbīǧān refuted the K. al-Šāfī only in cases of disagreement between the Imāmis and the Zaydis. For matters they agreed on, he used the Šāfī extensively as a source. On one occasion, Šāh Sarbīǧān also quotes from a responsum by al-Murtaḍā (fī ǧawāb masāʾil suʾila ʿanhā) on the question of who is afḍal among the Imāms. The quotation has no parallel in al-Murtaḍā’s Šāfī, suggesting that Šāh Sarbīǧān had access to another text by al-Murtaḍā on the imāma. Another indication that Šāh Sarbīǧān had access to al-Murtaḍā’s writings is his reference to the latter in his discussion of the notion of šarfa in his supercommentary on Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Ibn Ḫallād’s (fl. fourth/tenth century) K. al-Uṣūl; see Martin, “A Muʿtazilite Treatise,” p. 38 (Arabic text). For an analysis of Šāh Sarbīǧān’s K. al-Muhīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma, which contains extensive quotations from the K. al-Šāfī as well as al-Murtaḍā’s unnamed responsum and his other writings, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Iranian Zaydism, chapter 3. Note also the respect shown by the Zaydi scholar Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī (fl. late fourth/eleventh, early fifth/eleventh century) to al-Murtaḍā in his K. al-Marātib, p. 106 (lā yūǧad fī l-umma lahu naẓīr fī adabihi wa-ʿilmihī wa-uṣūl al-fiṣḥ wa-l-fiṣḥ wa-ʿawdat ǧāithiri wa-ḥusn nazarihi). The Zaydi Abū l-Ḥusayn Ahmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī (“Mānkdim Šašdīw,” d. ca. 425 [1034]) was apparently also familiar with some of al-Murtaḍā’s doctrinal works. In his Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa, he quotes “Abū l-Qāsim al-Mūsawī,” i.e. al-Murtaḍā, on the notion of pressure (iʿtimād); see Mānkdim, Taʿlīq, p. 621:14–16.

78 For al-Murtaḍā’s defense of Ibn al-Rāwandī, see Šāfī, vol. 1, p. 87. For the relevant passage in al-Ǧišumī’s Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil, see Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 2584 A, fol. 111r. For Ibn al-Rāwandī, see Stroumsa, Freethinkers of Medieval Islam.

79 Although al-Murtaḍā refers only to al-wazīr al-sayyid, Ibn Šahrāšūb (Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ, ed. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, p. 70) suggests that he can be identified as al-Wazīr al-Maġribī.

80 Omid Ghaemmaghami mistakenly states that it is unknown when the K. al-Muqniʿ was written; see Ghaemmaghami, Encounters with the Hidden Imam, p. 125. Ghaemmaghami’s analysis of al-
later added an appendix to the work, *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā Kitāb al-Muqniʿ*.

The Zaydi Muʿtazilī author Abū l-Qāsim Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥasanī (d. 465 [1073]), a student of Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭalib Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424 [1033]), refuted the *Muqniʿ* in his *K. al-Muṣafī fī l-naṣṣaʿ al-lāy min yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-muṣafī*, which quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqniʿ* in its entirety, including the appendix. Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī’s refutation is preserved in a single manuscript, copied in 605 [1208–9] in Rayy and brought to Yemen by the Zaydi scholar al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāḥān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Marʿašī (Ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt, maǧmūʿa 3189/1)—the earliest extant witness of the *Muqniʿ*.\(^{81}\) That the *K. al-Muqniʿ* was available in Ḫurāsān during the fifth/eleventh

Murtaḍā’s notion of ḡayba largely disregards the relative chronology of the relevant writings by al-Murtaḍā on the topic and should therefore be read with great caution. See also above, n. 31. On al-Maġribī, see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 2 (Poesie), pp. 629–630; Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 6, pp. 177–180 (Yūsuf Rahim Lū); ‘Abbās, *al-Maṣābīḥ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (published) and al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* still needs to be studied. The margin note to Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278, fol. 72r, which relates a variant in nusḥat al-wazīr al-kāmil Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Maġribī, al-Wazīr al-Maġribī was a grandson of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī al-Kātib “Ibn Abī Zaynab,” author of a *K. al-Ġayba* and a direct student of al-Kulaynī; see Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*, p. 36 n. 85. Al-Wazīr al-Maġribī’s taʿālīq on the *K. al-Aṣnām* by Hišām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (“Ibn al-Kalbī,” b. ca. 102 [737], d. 204 [819] or 206 [821]) are preserved in the single extant copy of the work; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, ed. Zakī Bāšā, pp. 26ff. (editor’s introduction, including a facsimile of a page containing a margin note in al-Wazīr al-Maġribī’s hand). In view of the close relationship between al-Murtaḍā and al-Wazīr al-Maġribī during the latter’s sojourn in Baghdad, it is likely that their intellectual exchanges also impacted their respective exegetical works—the possible connection between al-Wazīr al-Maġribī’s partly preserved *al-Maṣābīḥ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (published) and al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* still needs to be studied. The margin note to Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278, fol. 72r, which relates a variant in nusḥat al-wazīr al-kāmil Abī l-Qāsim al-Maġribī rahimahu llāh, does not necessarily point to a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* in vizier al-Maġribī’s library; it may instead refer to a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s source for the passage in question, namely the *Divān* of Imruʿ al-Qays. For al-Wazīr’s *Tafsīr*, see Karimi Niyā, “Wazīr-i Maġribī”.

\(^{81}\) The recension of the *Muqniʿ* and the Ziyāda that is cited in Abū l-Qāsim’s refutation differs slightly from the recension that is preserved in the Imāmi tradition, and it should be taken into consideration in a future edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqniʿ*. Abū l-Qāsim typically first cites a portion of al-Murtaḍā’s work, invariably introducing it with faṣl min kalāmihi, qāla / ḏakara ṣāḥib al-risāla . . . , and then provides his critique, prefaced by al-kalām ʿalayhi. Of interest is also Abū l-Qāsim’s division of the material, which often disagrees with the division suggested by the modern editor of the *K. al-Muqniʿ*, Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm. On the refutation and its author, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 213–214
century is further confirmed by its being mentioned in the heresiographical work *Bayān al-adyān* by the ʿAlid author Abū l-Maʾālī Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī (written in 485 [1092]).82 Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī also quotes the *Muqniʿ* in his *Iʿlām al-warā*.83 Another refutation of the *Muqniʿ* was written by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-

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82 See Abū l-Maʾālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, p. 75. For the work and its author, see also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 334–335 (Josef van Ess); van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, pp. 801–834, esp. 811.

Baṣrī, an indication of the early reception of the text among Sunnī Muʿtazilīs. It was apparently the Muqniʿ's anti-Muʿtazilī tendency that prompted Abū l-Ḥusayn to refute it. With the exception of a lengthy quotation in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's K. al-Ğayba, Abū l-Ḥusayn's critique has not come down to us.

The following masāʾil in the Iʿlām and the Tanzīh run largely parallel:

- masʾala 1 (Iʿlām) = masʾala 1 (Tanzīh);
- masʾala 2 (Iʿlām) = masʾala 3 (Tanzīh);
- masʾala 4 (Iʿlām) = masʾala 5 (Tanzīh);
- masʾala 5 (Iʿlām) = masʾala 6 (Tanzīh).

Ghaemmaghami assumes that al-Ṭabrisī, Iʿlām al-warā, vol. 2, p. 303:6–9 is a quotation from one of al-Murtaḍā's writings; see Ghaemmaghami, Encounters with the Hidden Imam, p. 122. This is not the case, as it is evident that the passage conveys al-Ṭabrisī's own voice (unless he is using another, so far unidentified source, that is not al-Murtaḍā). Al-Ṭabrisī's entire chapter on ġayba (Iʿlām al-warā, vol. 2, pp. 297–311) is included in 'Alī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī's (d. 692 [1293]) Kašf al-ġumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma; see al-Irbilī, Kašf al-ġumma, Dār al-Aḍwāʾ ed., vol. 3, pp. 343–357. For al-Ṭabrisī's quotations from al-Murtaḍā's writings throughout his Maǧmaʿ al-bayān, see below, n. 592. Al-Maḡlisī relates in his Biḥār (vol. 29, pp. 311-322) having seen an old copy of Kašf al-ġumma that was based on al-Irbilī's holograph. The copy had a margin gloss, and the writer of the gloss (whether this was al-Irbilī or a later reader of his holograph is uncertain) reports having seen a holograph by al-Murtaḍā containing the text of the ḥuṭba of Fāṭima, the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter, on Fadak. Al-Irbilī (or a later reader of his holograph) thus had access to a text by al-Murtaḍā that has not come down to us. The text of the margin gloss has been published in al-Maḥmūdī, Ḫuṭab Sayyidat al-nisāʾ Fāṭimat al-Zahrāʾ, p. 156, on the basis of another witness of Kašf al-ġumma in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library that also includes the gloss. For al-Murtaḍā's riwāya of the ḥuṭbat Fadak in his Šāfī, see al-Murtaḍā, Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 69-78.
In contrast to the K. al-Šāfī, the transmission of the K. al-Muqni among the Imāmīs was limited. The earliest extant copy, which contains of only the appendix to the work, was transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭūsī (al-Uwālī) al-Ṭarābulusī (alive in 972 [1564–65]) and is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732, fols 143v–146r (figs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). One of the earliest extant copies of the Muqni may be Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272, which includes both the Muqni and not be excluded, unless al-Ṭūsī is here referring to al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt II; see above, n. 53. It is noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī wrote the K. al-Ġayba in 447 AH, shortly before his house in Karḫ was destroyed during the attacks on the Šīʿīs (see above, Chapter 1.1). In the introduction to the K. al-Ġayba (p. 2) al-Ṭūsī mentions that he wrote the book under severe constraints, and this book may in fact have been the last work he composed before leaving Baghdad for Naḡaf. It is remarkable that Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, writing in 1978, still assumed that the Muqni “has not apparently been preserved”; see Sachedina, “A Treatise on the Occultation,” p. 114. For Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭarābulusī, see al-Ṣadr, Takmilat Amal al-āmil, vol. 4, p. 340 no. 1870. He also transcribed other works, including several volumes of Muḫtalaf al-Šīʿa fī aḥkām al-šarīʿa by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī; see ‘Alī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-ṯānī,” pp. 328–329. Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 4339 is a multitext codex written entirely in al-Ṭarābulusī’s hand for his own use (fol. 2r), and this is apparently also the case with Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7940, containing al-Mufīd’s Masārr al-Šīʿa. Other multitext codices written in his hand include Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732, containing seventeen rasāʾil (see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naḡafī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 34, pp. 690–705), and another codex preserved in the Madrasa-yi ‘Alawī-i Ḫwānsār (see Muḫtārī, “Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Madrasa-yi ʿAlawī-yi Ḫwānsār,” pp. 484–487 no. 42). His copying activities suggest that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was a scholar in his own right. For other copies in his hand, see al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 20, p. 531 (index). See Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Aḥmad Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 34, pp. 698–699. The end of this text is followed by a philosophical tract on existence (wuǧūd), which begins on fol. 146v and was copied by the same hand and attributed to al-Murtada (fig. 11; see ibid., pp. 699–700). The phrase “fa-hāḏhi risāla allafahā al-Šarīf fi masʿalat al-wuǧūd” may in fact refer to “al-Šarīf” al-ʿUẓmā al-Ǧurgānī, the well-known Mīr al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Ǧurgānī (b. 740 [1339], d. 816 [1413]), rather than to al-Murtada. Another copy of the same text is preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10029 where it is likewise attributed to al-Murtada; see Hāʾirī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī, vol. 32, p. 40. For both copies, see also Dirāyatī, Fīrūzistān, vol. 10, p. 991. Cf., however, Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Aḥmad Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 3, pp. 69–70, which mentions two copies of the same text, attributed to Mīr al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Ǧurgānī. For the latter and his œuvre, see van Ess, Die Träume der Schulweisheit. For his critical edition of the Muqni, Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Hakīm relied on the collation executed by ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Ṭabarabāʾi of Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732. See al-Šarīf al-Murtada, Muqni, 1419/1998 ed., p. 19.
and the Ziyāda (with the exception of the last few lines of the text). The two texts are dated, respectively, 7 and 8 Šaʿbān 1070 [18 and 19 April 1660] and are signed by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarfūšī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1080 [1669–70]), who was aware of the lacuna at the end of the antigraph at his disposal (figs 10f, 10g). An editio princeps of the Muqniʿ-_cum-Ziyāda, prepared by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm, was published in 1991.

Another work that enjoyed continued popularity among Imāmī readers was al-Murtaḍā’s legal work K. al-Intiṣār li-mā iǧtamaʿat ʿalayhi l-Imāmiyya, a book in which the author, as its title indicates, discusses the legal differences between the


90 Reprinted in 1995–96 and 1998; see bibliography. Dirāyatī (Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 1190 nos 270573–270576) lists four manuscripts, written between the eleventh/seventeenth and the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. Cf. also Āģā Buzurg, Dārīfā, vol. 22, pp. 122–123 no. 6362; Muʿğam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī, vol. 5, p. 236 no. 11401; al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 168–170 no. 110. When Āģā Buzurg transcribed the work in 1911, he was limited to a single copy, which he described as corrupt and incomplete throughout (see below). He may have possibly consulted a nineteenth-century copy that is nowadays preserved as Ms. Qum, Muʿassasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūǧirdī 503, fols 25r–42v, which contains the Muqniʿ only (without the Ziyāda) and has two major lacunae throughout the text, namely on fols 31r–v and 36v–37r, corresponding to pp. 44:4–48:1, 57:8–62:5 of Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm’s 1419/1998 edition (see also figs 9, 10 for the beginning and end of the text). For a brief description of the codex, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, Fihrist-i nusḵa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḵāna-yi Muʾassasa-yi Burūǧirdī (Qum, Īrān), vol. 2, pp. 321–322. Another witness of the work with lacunae throughout and lacking the addendum is preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 13174 (see figs 10a, 10b, 10c, for the beginning and end of the text). Another copy of the Muqniʿ (not including the Ziyāda) is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15677 (undated) (figs 10d, 10e), which originated with the waqf of Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Sabzawārī (d. 1363 [1984]), who served as professor at the Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt wa Maʿārif-i Islāmī in Tehran. This codex has the same lacunae as Ms. Qum, Muʿassasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūǧirdī 503. Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5392, fols 1r–22v, includes both the Muqniʿ and the Ziyāda but is missing the beginning and the end; the codex, which is transcribed by a single hand, also contains al-Murtaḍā’s al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra (see below, Chapter 1.8) and al-Mufīd’s Risāla hawla ḥadīṯ “Nahnu maʿāšir al-anbiyāʾ là nūraṭu” (dated 21 Īṣād II 1026 [26 June 1617]) (fig. 564). Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5392; and Ms. Tehran, Maļīs 13174 as well as, indirectly, Ms. Qum, Maʿaṣṣī 13732 were consulted by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm during the preparation of his critical edition of the Muqniʿ. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Muqniʿ, 1419/1998 ed., p. 18, for brief descriptions of all three witnesses. For the most recent, forthcoming edition, see below, n. 912.
Twelver Shi'is and other legal schools. The K. al-Intiṣār is a late work among al-Murtaḍā's writings: he composed it towards the end of the 420s AH for a vizier whose identity remains uncertain and subject to controversy. The book's topic,


as well as its dedication to a political authority, suggests that al-Murtaḍā wrote it with the aim of securing for the Imāmī maḏhab equal recognition alongside the Sunnī maḏāhib. This endeavor was resumed in the twentieth century by Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī Burūǧirdī (b. 1292 [1875], d. 1380 [1961]), who, fully conscious of al-Murtaḍā’s earlier efforts, strove to bridge the gap between the Sunnīs and the Šīʿīs (taqrīb al-maḏāhib) and to have the Imāmī maḏhab recognized as the fifth maḏhab of Islam. His efforts resulted in the famous fatwā of Maḥmūd Šaltūt (b. 1310 [1893], d. 1383 [1963], rector of the Azhar in Cairo since 1958. The fatwā of 1959 proclaimed the Ǧaʿfarī maḏhab’s equal footing with the four Sunnī maḏāhib.94

The K. al-Intiṣār was apparently also available to the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn ‘Aqīl (b. 431 [1040], d. 513 [1119]).95 The earliest extant manuscripts of the Intiṣār date to 25 Dū l-Qaʿda 591 [31 October 1195]96 and Raǧab 596 [April–May

94 On the taqrīb movement, see Brunner, Islamic Ecumenism in the 20th Century; al-Imāmān al-Burūǧirdī wa-Šaltūt: Rāʾidā al-taqrīb. For Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī Burūǧirdī, see below, nn. 687, 859.

95 See Ibn ‘Aqīl, Funūn, vol. 2, pp. 492–493 no. 434, where he appears to quote from the K. al-Intiṣār (see 1439/2017 ed., vol. 1, pp. 368ff.) on the question of nikāḥ al-mutʿa, followed by some comments. Ibn ‘Aqīl adds that either Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī or his son also responded to al-Murtaḍā on this issue. The Sunnī scholar Ibn al-Ǧawzī, too, was closely familiar with the work through Ibn ‘Aqīl, and he quotes several masāʾil from it; see his Montẓam, vol. 15, p. 294. Ibn al-Ǧawzī also cites one of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa, viz. Masʾala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar. See below, n. 797.

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

93

Extensive quotations from the K. al-Intiṣār are included

1200], respectively.97 There is a fair number of copies of the work dating to the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries, i.e., prior to the Safavid era. See Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 182 nos 33729–33743; Tabāštābāʾī, “Fihrīst-i nusha-hā-yi ḫattī-yi Ḫalqā, “p. 517. The 596 AH codex, in turn, served as the antigraph for Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 9501. See Marʿašī et al., Fihrīst-i Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naẓaḵī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 24, p. 254.

97 This manuscript, the beginning of which is missing, is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2234 (figs 17, 19); see Āغا Buzurg, Ḡarīʿa, vol. 2, p. 360 no. 1455. See also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 182 no. 33728; Asīf Fikrat, Fihrist-i alifbāʾī, p. 68; Tafaḍḍulī, “Kuhantarīn nusḵa-hā-yi ḫattī-yi Intiṣār, “p. 217. The 596 AH codex, in turn, served as the antigraph for Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 9501. See Marʿašī et al., Fihrīst-i Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naẓaḵī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 24, p. 254.

98 There is a fair number of copies of the work dating to the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries, i.e., prior to the Safavid era. See Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 182 nos 33729–33743; Tabāštābāʾī, “Fihrīst-i nusha-hā-yi Kitābḫāna, “p. 512 (for a manuscript from the Kitābḫāna-yi Muḥammad ʿAli Qādī Tabāštābāʾī Tabrīzī, dated 956 [1549]). An important and evidently early copy (possibly tenth/sixteenth century), the end of which is missing, is preserved as Ms. Tehrān, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77D (figs 16a, 16b, 16c, 16d). Another notable copy is Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (ʿĀṭifi) 147, dated 6 Muḥarram 969 [16 September 1561], which was transcribed from an antigraph that was, according to the catalogue (Ṭayyār Marāḏī, Fihrīst, pp. 65–66), dated 25 Raḡāb 609 [21 December 1212] and copied by al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Riḍwān (the antigraph had an inḥāʿ dated Šaʿbān 667 [April–May 1269]). This antigraph seems to be preserved as Ms. al-Kāḏimiyya, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ṣadiq 63; however, according to al-Dirāyatī (“Fihrīs maḥṭūṭat Maktabat al-Imām al-Ṣadiq ʿī l-Kāḏimiyya,” p. 245 no. 43; see also al-Dirāyatī, Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭat al-ʿIrāqīyya, vol. 2, p. 786 no. 7747), it is dated 25 Raḡāb 709 [29 December 1309] and was copied by al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Riḍwān. Neither of the two manuscripts was accessible to us. It is possible that Ms. al-Kāḏimiyya, Maktabat al-Imām al-
in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī’s (d. 573 [1177]) *Fiqh al-Qurʾān*, this being the earliest instance of the work’s literary reception among the Imāmīs. The prominent thirteenth/nineteenth-century scholar and staunch supporter of uṣūlism, Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥaḍir b. Yaḥyā al-Ǧanāḥī al-Ḥillī al-Naǧafī “Kāšif al-Ǧiṭā” (b. 1156 [1743], d. 1227 [1812]), prepared a summary of the work, *Ḫulāṣat mā fī l-Intiṣār min al-iǧmāʿāt wa-l-aqwāl wa-l-adilla*, and an anonymous, undated epitome of the *K. al-Intiṣār* is preserved in three witnesses, Mss. Qum, Marʿašī 7036/5 and 13096/30, and Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2849 (here with the title *Risāla muntaḫaba min Kitāb al-mawsūma* [sic] *bi-Nuṣra fīmā infaradat bihi al-Imāmiyya min muʿallafāt kahf al-warā ʿAlam al-Hudā; fig. 18). Al-Mūsawī al-Burūǧirdī, who published an edition of the work, suggests as the work’s possible author Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. Ṣādiq 63 is another copy of the very same antigraph. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2699 is a copy of the *Intiṣār* that was transcribed by ʿAbd al-Mahdī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rāšid al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baḥrānī in Golconda, Hyderabad, and is dated Raǧab 983 [October–November 1575] (fig. 532). It is noteworthy that a number of al-Murtaḍā’s writings were copied in Golconda; see the present study, passim. Al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Intiṣār* was also available to al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī; see his *Masāʾil Ibn Zuhra*, pp. 112–113. Moreover, Ms. Šīrāz, Faculty of Medicine at the University of Shiraz ([Allāma Šabātbulābī Library] 269, dated 1115 [1703–4], is based on an antigraph dated 531 [1136–37]. See Barakat, “Fihrist-i alifbāʾī-yi nusḫa-hā-yi tak kitābī kitābkhāna-yi ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Šīrāz, “ p. 115.

99 It is noteworthy that Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī nowhere mentions the work’s title, although he makes clear that he is quoting al-Murtaḍā. See Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *Fiqh al-Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 183–184, 246, 312, 317; vol. 2, p. 236, for quotations from the *Intiṣār*, which are identified as such by the editor. See also ibid., vol. 1, pp. 34, 41, 66, 88, 198–199; vol. 2, pp. 132, 139, 152, 304 for additional substantial quotations from al-Murtaḍā, which are possibly also gleaned from the *Intiṣār*. On one occasion, the editor identifies al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Nāṣiriyyāt* as Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī’s source: ibid., vol. 1, p. 62. For his references to al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḏarīʿa* in *Fiqh al-Qurʾān*, see below, n. 445.

100 See also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 171 no. 45606.

101 Al-Mūsawī al-Burūǧirdī, “Kitāb Nuṣrat mā infaradat bihi l-Imāmiyya (taʾlīf: baʿḍa fuqahāʾinā al-
al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ṣahraštī, who had studied with al-Šayḥ al-Tūsī and al-Nağāšī and also attended some of the mağālis of al-Murtaḍā and who is credited with a work entitled al-Infirādāt bi-l-futwā, possibly an alternative title for the K. al-Nuṣra. If indeed al-Ṣahraštī is the author for the K. al-Nuṣra, this is the earliest extant epitome of the K. al-Intiṣār. Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6036 includes another anonymous and undated selection from al-Murtaḍā’s Intiṣār, entitled Muntaḫab al-Intiṣār.104

The K. al-Intiṣār was published in 1276 [1860] as part of a multitext volume entitled al-Ǧawāmiʿ al-fiqhiyya (figs 558, 559), which also included al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣiriyyāt, another late105 and widely transmitted work,106 in which al-Murtaḍā

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103 On him, see below n. 509.
104 For a description of the codex, which was not accessible to us, see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi Ṭūsī, vol. 18, pp. 197–213; see also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 171 no. 45605, where the shelfmark is erroneously given as “7036”. The codex consists of 424 leaves and comprises works by al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, and others. The Muntaḫab al-Intiṣār is found on fols 47r–67r.
105 For the dating of the Nāṣiriyyāt, see Chapter Six.
106 Occasionally, the two works were copied together, as, for example, in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 4326, a codex comprising both the K. al-Intiṣār and the Nāṣiriyyāt, which were completed on 20 Raʿbāt 1230 [2 March 1815] and 2 Dū l-Qaʿda 1230 [6 October 1815], respectively, by one ʿAlī al-Haḏrāwī. Another more unusual combination is preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 7256, which consists of the K. al-Intiṣār and Ḥamza b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalābī’s (d. 585 [1189–90]) K. Ġunyat al-nuzūʿ ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ (incomplete). The two works are dated 9 Ǧumādā I 1237 [1 February 1822] (Kāšān) and end of Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1244 [July 1829], respectively. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 7308 contains the K. al-Intiṣār in two parts (aḡżāʾ), another unusual way of presenting the work. The copy was produced by Mīrzā ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Fatḥānī and completed on 20 Raḡāb 977 [29 December 1569] (figs 20, 21, 22). A copy of al-Nāṣiriyyāt is also included in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 18061, in which the text breaks off in the middle of masʾala 207. It was later bound together with legal works by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676 [1277]) and others, copied by different hands. The final text, written in a different hand, is dated Raʿbīʿ I 1008 [September–October 1599]. The codex originally belonged to the library of Faḥr al-Dīn Naṣirī. For a description of the codex, see Faḥr al-Dīn Naṣirī, “Fihrist-i nusḥa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Faḥr al-Dīn Naṣirī (ṯamara al-ʿumr),” ed. Ḥakīm, pp. 570-571 no. 912. See also Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm’s introduction (ibid., pp. 317-323) for Faḥr al-Dīn Naṣirī’s library and its history. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 8929 also includes al-Nāṣiriyyāt, dated Raʿbīʿ I 1174 [October–November 1760], alongside Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī’s Taqrīb al-Tahḏīb. Both works are again written by different hands and were bound together into a single volume at a later stage. Ms. Kāšān, Kitābḵāna-yi Sulṭānī (ʿĀṭifī) (no shelfmark) contains another copy of the Nāṣiriyyāt, transcribed by
discusses selected legal positions of his maternal ancestor, the Zaydi Imam al-

Abū Turāb b. Ḥamd b. ‘Ali Naqi al-Kāšānī. The scribe added another note to the final page of the copy, with the date 1260 [1844] (fig. 22a). Āġā Buzurg relates (Ḏarīʿa, vol. 20, p. 93 no. 2061) that he consulted in the library of al-Sayyid Ḥalifa al-Aḥsāʾi al-Ṣaḥīf (which was located in Naḍaf and was sold in 1371 [1951–52]; see Ḍarīʿa, vol. 19, p. 55) a maǧmūʿat rasāʾil fiqhiyya, containing al-Murtaḍā’s al-Nāṣiriyyāt, two responsa collections by al-Ṣayḥ al-Mufīd (al-Sarawiyya and al-ʿUkbariyya), one by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (al-Muḥannāʾiyya), and one by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (al-Baḡdādiyya). In addition, the codex contained, according to Āģā Buzurg, “al-Masāʾil al-wādiyya li-l-Murtaḍā”. It is unclear which work is meant here; al-wādiyya may be a misreading of al-rāziyya (i.e., al-Rāziyyāt). However, the latter work is primarily concerned with dogmatic rather than legal issues. The present whereabouts of the codex are unknown.

107 For al-Murtaḍā’s mother, Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥasan al-Nāṣir b. Ḥamd b. al-Ḥasan al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr (d. 385 [995–96]), and her genealogy, see Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Riǧāl, vol. 3, pp. 95–101; al-Ḥasanī, “ʿAlā hāmiš sīrat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, “ p. 33. Al-Murtaḍā quotes al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūš’s juridical opinions, which form the basis of his discussions, in full in al-Nāṣiriyyāt. In the introduction to the work, al-Murtaḍā relates that the collection of al-Uṭrūš’s legal opinions was sent to him by an unidentified questioner who asked al-Murtaḍā to explain and clarify them and to point out to what extent he agrees with or differs from al-Uṭrūš. Al-Murtaḍā continues by praising al-Uṭrūš and by outlining his own genealogical relationship to the latter; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Nāṣiriyyāt, 1417/1997 ed., pp. 62–63. This collection is different from the K. al-Ibāna fi l-fiqh, a collection of al-Uṭrūš’s fatāwā compiled by Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāṣirī al-Qāḍī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century). Moreover, the collection as preserved in al-Nāṣirīyyāt was not available to the Zaydis during the pre-modern period, as it is never referred to. The collection has received attention only relatively recently after al-Nāṣirīyyāt was published by Markaz al-Buḥūṭ wa-l-Dirāsāt al-ʿIlmiyya li-l-Taqrīb Bayna l-Maḏāhib in Tehran in 1997. The edition is based on four witnesses of the text (see the editor’s introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Nāṣiriyyāt, 1417/1997 ed., p. 49), which are housed at the Central Library of Tehran University (no shelfmark), Sipahsālār Library (Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533, on which see below, n. 757), Marʿašī Library (Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 2533), and Maḡlis Library (no shelfmark), as well as the lithograph print of al-Ǧawāmiʿ al-fiqhiyya, on which see below, n. 108. All four manuscript witnesses clearly originated with the 574 [1179] codex, on which see Chapter 2.1 of the present publication. The same applies, in all likelihood, to all other extant manuscripts of the text, including those discussed above in n. 106. Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3188 is described as “al-jāmiʿ li-Madhhab al-Nāṣir lil-Ḥaqq, attr. to al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā” (Arberry, Handlist, vol. 1, p. 76 no. 3188; the codex was accessible to us through a microfilm surrogate (Mf. 2125) held by the Marʿašī Library in Qum), suggesting the possibility that this is another copy of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Nāṣirīyyāt, whereas in fact it is al-Uṭrūš’s K. al-Ibāna. Arberry’s misidentification is repeated in ‘Awwād, “Ḍaḥaʾir al-turāṭ al-ʿarabī, “ p. 158 no. 3188. For al-Hawsami and the Ibāna, and the later commentary literature on the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual

Another work of lasting popularity from al-Murtaḍā’s pen is his concise legal handbook, Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, which he seems to have completed sometime...
before 415 [1025]. Al-Murtada commented on the book’s opening section, a credal work in its own right, through dictation (imlāʾ), and this autocommentary was written down by one of his students, possibly Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 448 [1057]). References to his Ḍaḥira and his Mulaḥḥas

98

111 The terminus ante quem is suggested by a note of al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, according to which ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī was familiar with the book. See al-Afandī, Riyyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, p. 62. For a detailed discussion of the dating of the work, see Chapter Six. Al-Murtada states at the beginning of the work (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtada, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 9) that he embarked on its composition in response to the request of al-ustāḏ adāma llāh taʾyīdahu. The identity of this ustāḏ remains uncertain.

112 For details on the work, see Ansari, Barrasi-hā-yi tārīḫī, pp. 733–737. Ansari suggested tentatively that it was al-Karāǧikī who wrote down al-Murtada’s Šarḥ al-Ǧumal, a hypothesis prompted by Ibn Šahrāšūb’s statement in his Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ that al-Karāǧikī had written a commentary on the Ğumal. It should be noted, however, that Ibn Šahrāšūb’s information is not corroborated by the list of writings prepared by one of al-Karāǧikī’s students; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karāǧikī, ” p. 398 no. 7; cf. also al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Bihbahānī, al-Šarīʿa, vol. 1, pp. 181–182 no. 355. Al-Murtada’s commentary on the Ğumal al-ʿilm was published in the edition of Yaʿqūb al-Ǧaʿfarī al-Marāģī as Šarḥ Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal li-l-Šarīf al-Murtada ʿAlam al-Hudā (1414 [1993–94]) on the basis of (1) an unspecified manuscript held in the Maǧlis Library in Tehran, which can be identified as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1692/2; (2) Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 653; and (3) another unspecified manuscript held in the Marʿašī Library in Qum, which can be identified as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 2933. Whereas witnesses (1) and (2) break off in the chapter on the imāma (p. 222:4 in al-Ǧaʿfarī al-Marāģī’s edition), witness (3) continues until close to the end of Ğumal al-ʿilm: only the final section, on asʿār, is not covered (see p. 248 of al-Ǧaʿfarī al-Marāģī’s edition). Although Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 2933 is undated, it is evidently a very old copy. The codex comprises two works, al-Murtada’s Šarḥ al-Ǧumal and the K. al-Marāsim al-ʿalawiyya ʿālami l-aḥkām al-nabawiyya by al-Murtada’s student Abū Yaʿlā Sallār al-Daylamī. That Sallār’s Marāsim (published repeatedly; see bibliography) appears in the same codex with what seems to be the earliest extant witness of al-Murtada’s Šarḥ al-Ǧumal suggests that it was Sallār who put al-Murtada’s autocommentary in writing. For a description of the codex (which was not accessible to us), see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Ḍaḥrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naṯāf-ʿāli Marʿašī, vol. 10, pp. 315–316. For Sallār, see Ansari and Schmidtke, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtada’s Responses”. A twelfth/eighteenth-century witness of al-Murtada’s Šarḥ Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal is preserved as Ms. Isfahān, Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār 620, fols 95v–143v (figs 23, 24). This copy breaks off at the same location in the text as do witnesses (1) and (2) of al-Ǧaʿfarī al-Marāģī’s edition, and the same is true of another undated copy, which is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 6530 (figs 25, 26); the codex is briefly mentioned in Āṣif Fikrat, Fihrist-i alifbāʿī, p. 332. Al-Ǧaʿfarī al-Marāģī consulted
suggest that the autocommentary was dictated at a late stage of al-Murtaḍā’s life.\textsuperscript{113} Another commentary on the first, credal part of the work was composed by al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī under the title \textit{K. Tamhīd al-usūl fī ‘ilm al-kalām} some time between 436 [1044], that is, after al-Murtaḍā’s demise, and 448 [1056–57], when al-Ṭūsī left Baghdad for Naḡaf.\textsuperscript{114} Meanwhile, another student of al-Murtaḍā’s, ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz
b. Niḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāǧ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400 [1009], d. 481 [1088–89]), wrote a commentary on the legal parts of the *K. al-Ǧumal*. The numerous commentaries on the work indicate that it was intended to serve as a pedagogical, authoritative text. The eighth/fourteenth-century scholar Hibat Allāh b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī integrated the entire *K. al-Ǧumal* into his *Maǧmūʿ al-rāʾiq min azhār al-ḥadāʾiq*. According to a colophon at the end of chapter 3 of the *Maǧmūʿ al-rāʾiq*, which contains the *K. al-Ǧumal*, Hibat Allāh consulted a copy of the *Ǧumal* transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-maʿrūf ǧadduhu bi-Ṣāḥib al-Ḫātam and dated Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 600 [August 1204]. Hibat Allāh completed his own copy on the basis of this witness in Ṣafar 703 [September–October 1303].

Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʿmin Ibn Ḥattūn, (alive in 1067 [1656–57]) who lived in Mašhad (fig. 26a). Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʿmin bequeathed his library, consisting of some four hundred codices, to the library of the Āstān-i Quḍavī Foundation; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa* al-ʿulāmāʾ, vol. 6, p. 401; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 144 no. 609. Published; see bibliography. For the commentary, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 144 no. 609.


As such it very much resembles the muḥtasar tradition among the Sunnis; for the latter, see, e.g., Fadel, “The Social Logic of Taqlīd”; Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools*, passim.

Ǧumal was transmitted as part of the 574 [1179] miscellany containing a number of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. The work was first published in a critical edition by Rašīd al-Ṣaffār in 1378 [1958–59] on the basis of four witnesses, including two copies of al-Maǧmūʿ al-rāʾiq, and two copies of the K. al-Ǧumal, both kept in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo. In 1387 [1967–68], Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published another edition of the K. al-Ǧumal on the basis of a different set of witnesses. The different witnesses used by the two editors explain the differences in their editions of the Ğumal. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition was included in his and Raǧāʾī’s edition of Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. However, the first part, on doctrine, breaks off at the end of p. 21, and the remaining portion of the chapter on the imāma and the final chapter, on āḡāl, asʿār, and arzāq, are missing.

The integration of a short creed into a work on fiqh, whether the credal section is placed at the beginning of the work, as in the K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, or at its end, is a structural pattern among the Imāmīs that can be traced back to the third/ninth century, and it continued beyond al-Murtaḍā’s lifetime. The earliest extant example is a work that circulated under the title Fiqh al-Riḍā and was tentatively identified as the K. al-Taklīf by the renowned Šīʿī scholar Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Šalmaġānī (executed in 322 [933–34]). The book includes some chapters on dogmatic questions towards the end. Other examples include the K. al-Hidāya and the K. al-Muqniʿ by Ibn Bābawayh “al-Šayḫ al-Ṣadūq” (b. ca. 305 [917–18], d. 381 vol. 14, pp. 64–65 nos 59463–59465. See al-Ṣadr, Takmilat Amal al-āmil, vol. 6, p. 213, for a partial, precious copy of al-Maǧmūʿ al-rāʾiq dated 706 [1306–7], which contained the entire K. al-Ǧumal. It is possible that Hibat Allāh produced several autographs of the work.

See Chapter 2.1 of the present publication

See Chapter Three for details.


See Fiqh al-Riḍā, pp. 380ff. For al-Šalmaġānī and his K. al-Taklīf, see Ansari, L’imamat et l’occultation, p. 19 and passim.

The K. al-Šarāʾiʿ by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh (d. 329 [940–41]), the father of al-Šayḫ al-Ṣadūq Ibn Bābawayh, is also said to have used the K. al-Taklīf as its model. Although only a portion of the work, published as Qiṭʿa min Risālat al-šarāʾiʿ (see bibliography), has come down to us, the K. al-Šarāʾiʿ may likewise have included a section on dogmatics. On ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh, see Ansari, L’imamat et l’occultation, pp. 18–27.
[991], as well as the K. al-Muqni’ā by al-Mufīd. Among works by students of al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Laqīṣād is another example, as is, three generations later, the K. Ġunyat al-nuzū’ ilā ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furū’ī by Abū l-Makārim ‘Izz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. ‘Ali b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. 511 [1117], d. 585 [1189–90]). Presumably around the same time, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Maḏd al-Ḥalabī wrote Išārat al-sabq, which opens with an extended doctrinal section containing chapters on tawḥīd, ādal, nubuwwa, and imāma. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭḥahhar al-Ḥilli “al-‘Allāma al-Ḥilli” (b. 648 [1250], d. 726 [1325]) likewise placed a doctrinal section, al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿašar fīmā yaǧibu ʿalā āmmat al-mukallafīn min maʿrifat uṣūl al-dīn, at the end of his Minhāǧ al-ṣalāḥ fī iḫtiṣār al-miṣbāḥ, which is a summary of al-Ṭūsī’s Miṣbāḥ al-mutahaǧġid, on prayer.

1.3 Works received in Šīʿī circles and beyond (I): K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-aʾimma

Several of al-Murtaḍā’s books achieved fame beyond the denominational confines of Twelver Šīʿism. One such work was his K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-aʾimma, whose

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125 See Ibn Bābawayh, Ḥidāya, pp. 4ff.; and, much more briefly, Ibn Bābawayh, Muqni’ā, pp. 3–5 of the main text.
126 See al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, Muqni’ā, pp. 27–35.
127 On the work and its author, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Two.
128 Al-Ḥalabī, Išārat al-sabq, pp. 13–56. Although the author does not mention al-Murtaḍā in this part of the book, he invariably endorses Bahšamī positions. For the otherwise little-known author, see the editor’s introduction. The Išārat al-sabq was a popular work, first published as part of the multitext publication, al-Ǧawāmiʿ al-fiqhiyya (1276 [1860]).
129 For the Miṣbāḥ and the genre of prayer literature among the Imāmīs, see Amir-Moezzi, “Notes on Prayer”. On al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥilli, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Two. It is noteworthy that al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥilli did not include any credal content in his K. Šarāʾī al-Islām, nor in his al-Muḫtaṣar al-nāfi’. For the oldest extant manuscript of the Miṣbāḥ al-mutahaǧġid, see below, n. 276.
130 That al-Murtaḍā was well known in Sunnī circles is corroborated by comments, including praise, critical remarks, and biographical entries, made by authors such as al-Tanūḥī (d. 384 [994]), Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṭaʿālibī (d. 429 [1039]), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 [1064]), al-Ḥāṭīb al-Bağdādı (d. 463 [1071]), ‘Ali b. al-Ḥasan al-Baḥarzī (d. 467 [1075]), al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišūmī (d. 494 [1101]), Ibn Bassām al-Šantarīnī al-Andalusī (d. 542 [1147]), Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571 [1176]), Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597 [1200]), Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 [1209]), al-Qīṭī (d. 624 [1227]), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 [1229]), Ibn al-ʾArīf al-Ǧazārī (d. 630 [1232–33]), Ibn al-Naǧǧār al-Bağdādı (d. 643 [1246]), Sībīb ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 654 [1256]), Ibn Abī l-Ḥadid (d. 656 [1258]), Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681 [1282]),
popularity extended beyond Imāmī readers. Among the Imāmī witnesses of the *Tanzīh*, Ms. *Tehran, Maǧlis 15303* is a noteworthy case. The copy was transcribed in 1080 [1669] (see the colophon on fol. 149r; fig. 27). At the end of the codex there are two *iǧāzas* issued for the owner of the codex, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Dast Ḡayb al-Ḥusaynī, by the prominent scholar Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ḥasan al-Karzakānī al-Baḥrānī (d. 1098 [1686–87]), who was based in Šīrāz at the time. The first *iǧāza* (fol. 149r; fig. 27), dated 20 Ṣawwāl 1080 [13 March 1670]), attests that Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn had read the entire *K. al-Tanzīh* with Ṣāliḥ. It is followed by a comprehensive *iǧāza* (fols 150r–152r; figs 28–32), dated 14 Ǧumādā II 1082 [18 October 1671], in the course of which Ṣāliḥ relates his own chains of transmission.


Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 689, is a multtext codex containing another copy of the K. al-Tanzīh with another iǧāza issued by Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī, this one for Muḥammad Karīm al-Šūṣtarī, dated 20 Šawwāl 1080 [13 March 1670] (fig. 32a). Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī’s long-standing interest in the work is further attested by Ms. Tehran, Kitābān-yi Āstān-yi ‘ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Ḥasanī (Ṣahr-i Rayy) 681, containing his own copy of the K. al-Tanzīh, which he completed on 19 Šaʾbān 1046 [16 January 1637] in Baḥrayn.\footnote{133}

The presumably oldest preserved copy of the Tanẓīh is Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282.\footnote{134} The codex is missing the beginning and at the end, with more lacunae throughout the text, and some folios (possibly an entire quire) have been misplaced.\footnote{135} The manuscript in its current state is thus undated, but the hand suggests that it was transcribed towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century (figs 33, 34). Since the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library initially treated the manuscript as an anonymous book and referred to it by the generic title of Asʾilat al-Qurʾān wa-aǧwibatuhā, it was not consulted for any of the published editions of the K. al-Tanzīh. Another early witness was transcribed at the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century and is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 1782. The manuscript has an iǧāza issued by ʿAlī b. al-Faraḡ to Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Muḥammad Husayn Hakīm’s introduction to al-Ṣaḥīfā al-raṣāliyya, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 54 n. 2, 84–85. Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī taught other works as well, as is indicated by the numerous iǧāzas he issued. See, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 2744, containing Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯ by al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī. On the final page of the work (fig. 41a) there is an iǧāza issued by Ṣāliḥ on 18 Ṭarrāḍān 1078 [2 March 1668]. Selections of his iǧāzas are also included in Ḥusaynī Ḥaswarī, “iǧāzāt-i Ẓāīy Ṣāliḥ Bahṛānī (I)”; Ḥusaynī Ḥaswarī, “iǧāzāt-i Ẓāīy Ṣāliḥ Bahṛānī (II)”; Āl Mikbās, Iǧāzāt ʿulamāʾ al-Baḥrayn, pp. 106–112. Ms. Tehran, Millī 1326, a copy of al-Irbilī’s Kašf al-ġumma, also has an inḥāʾ by Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī, dated 1097 [1685–86]; see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, Fihrist-i nusḥa-hā-yi ṣāḥiḥ-yi Kitābān-yi Millī-yi Malik, vol. 1, p. 437. For other students of Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī, see also Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī, Risāla fī tarāǧim ʿulamāʾ al-Baḥrayn, passim.

\footnote{133}{Muḥammad Husayn Hakīm’s introduction to al-Ṣaḥīfā al-raṣāliyya, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 54 n. 2, 84–85. Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī taught other works as well, as is indicated by the numerous iǧāzas he issued. See, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 2744, containing Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯ by al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī. On the final page of the work (fig. 41a) there is an iǧāza issued by Ṣāliḥ on 18 Ṭarrāḍān 1078 [2 March 1668]. Selections of his iǧāzas are also included in Ḥusaynī Ḥaswarī, “iǧāzāt-i Ẓāīy Ṣāliḥ Bahṛānī (I)”; Ḥusaynī Ḥaswarī, “iǧāzāt-i Ẓāīy Ṣāliḥ Bahṛānī (II)”; Āl Mikbās, Iǧāzāt ʿulamāʾ al-Baḥrayn, pp. 106–112. Ms. Tehran, Millī 1326, a copy of al-Irbilī’s Kašf al-ġumma, also has an inḥāʾ by Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī, dated 1097 [1685–86]; see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, Fihrist-i nusḥa-hā-yi ṣāḥiḥ-yi Kitābān-yi Millī-yi Malik, vol. 1, p. 437. For other students of Ṣāliḥ al-Bahṛānī, see also Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī, Risāla fī tarāǧim ʿulamāʾ al-Baḥrayn, passim.}

\footnote{134}{Āṣif Fikrat, Fihrist-i alifbāʾī, p. 148.}

138 On him, see Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 6, pp. 45–46 (Farāmarz Ḥāḥem Manūčihrī).
140 See Ṯiqat al-Islām al-Tabrīzī, Mirʾāt al-kutub, vol. 4, pp. 421–422 n. 4 (including a list of other manuscripts of the work, including Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 170, which was copied from an antigraph dated 20 Raḡāb 560 [2 June 1165]; for the Gulpāygānī manuscript, see also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, “ p. 107). For the history of the Sipahsālār madrasa and library, see Saḥāb, Tārīḫ-i madrasa-yi ʿālī-yi Sipahsālār. Examples of copies produced in the tenth/sixteenth century include Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 7031, copied in Šaʿbān 910 [January–February 1505] (figs 320, 321); Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection (no shelfmark), dated 934 [1527–28] (see n. 443); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 757, copied by ‘Alaʾ al-Dīn Ahmad b. Ǧamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Ḩafṣī in Golconda, Hyderabad (where, as noted earlier, several of al-Murtaḍā’s writings were copied), and dated 12 Ṣafar 964 [15 December 1556] (fol. 86r; fig. 45; see also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 360 no. 70169); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 2756, a multitext volume containing the Tanzih, transcribed by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥārūn al-Maẓāhīrī (?) and completed in Ġumādā II 960 [May–June 1553] (fig. 45a); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 13610, transcribed by Mūsā b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm Naṣr Allāh al-Māzandarānī in Mecca in Rabīʿ II 985 [June 1577] (see al-Wāṭiqī, Aʾlām al-muqāwirīn bi-Makkah al-muʿazzama, vol. 2, p. 766 no. 1; ʿĀṣif Fikrat, Fihrist-i alṭafhāʾi, p. 148); and Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 1422, copied by one ‘Ali b. Ahmad b. Ammār in 961 [1554] and described in the unpublished catalogue of the Naḡaf library’s holdings prepared by ‘Abd al-ʿAziz al-Taḫtabābāʾī (see n. 753); see also al-Dirāyatī, Muʿṣam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya, vol. 5, p. 53 no. 17260. Examples of copies produced in the eleventh/seventeenth century include Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 396, which was copied in 1091 [1680] in the Madrasa al-Samʿīyya in Mašhad by one
b. al-ʿAbbās al-Dūryastī al-Rāzī (still alive in mid-470 [1077–78]) is also mentioned as a transmitter of the *Tanzih* (as well as of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*).\(^{141}\)

Al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karāǧikī (d. 449 [1057]) composed an epitome of the *Tanzih*, but this has not come down to us.\(^{142}\) The ninth/fifteenth-century Šīʿī scholar ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ašrafī al-Astarābādī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. ca. 883 [1478–79]) wrote a book entitled *Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ*.

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141 See below, n. 217, for details.

which is heavily based on al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Tanzih*. The eleventh/seventeenth-

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century scholar Abū Muhammad ʿInāyat Allāh al-ṣahīr bi-Bā Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī composed another abbreviated version of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Tanzīh, entitled Anwār al-hudā fi tahrīr kalām al-Murtaḍā, in which he incorporated his own comments. A holograph of the work is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10204/2 (fols 98v–193r; figs 42, 43, 44). The manuscript, which was completed during the final days of Ġumādā I 1003 [February 1595], appears to be the only extant copy of the text.\(^\text{144}\)

The Medinan Šīʿī scholar ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Šadqam al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī (d. ca. 1034 [1624–25]) was also familiar with the Tanzīh.\(^\text{145}\) Moreover, like the K. al-Šāfī, the K. al-Tanzīh was also consulted by the qāḍī Nūr Allāh al-Tustarī [al-Šuṣṭarī] for his K. al-Šawārim al-muhraqa fi ġawāb al-Šawāʾīq al-muḥrīqa.\(^\text{146}\)

The first part of the Tanzīh, which discusses prophets, also attracted significant interest from Sunnī readers, who often ignored the work’s second part, on the Imāms.\(^\text{147}\) An example of the eclectic transmission of the K. al-Tanzīh among Sunnīs


\(^{146}\) He also regularly refers to and quotes al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Tanzīh in his Maṣāʾīb al-nawāṣib; see, e.g., al-Tustarī, Maṣāʾīb al-nawāṣib, vol. 1, p. 337, 352; vol. 2, pp. 40, 87, 95.

\(^{147}\) It is noteworthy that throughout the first part of the work, al-Murtaḍā regularly refers to and cites Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī’s (d. 303 [915]) Qurʾān exegesis, as well as tafsīr works by other Muʿtazilī authors. Whereas al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar is widely known to contain material from Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī’s Tafsīr, his Tanzīh has never been consulted for quotations from this exegesis. See, e.g., Gwynne, “The ‘Tafsīr’ of Abu ʿAlī al-Jubbaʾi,” and Gimaret, Une Lecture Muʿtazilite du Coran, both of whom consulted the Ġurar for the reconstruction of Abū ʿAlī’s Tafsīr but
is Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3165. The text ends on fol. 131v (fig. 35) with the conclusion of the section devoted to the Prophet Muḥammad and the heading and opening words of the following section, which begins with Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. An owner had added a note on the page’s margin explaining that he has removed the remaining part of the book, which is devoted to the Šīʿī Imāms.148

Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 2168 is another “Sunnī” copy of the Tanzīh, transcribed by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Muhammad mawlā āl Muḥammad șallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam al-maʿrūf bi-ibn al-Zanǧānī al-Mawṣilī and dated 19 Rabīʿ II 716 [11 July 1316]. The codex, which consists of 112 folios,149 again contains only part 1 of the book, which discusses the prophets. The phrase that concludes this part and introduces the second one (on the Imāms) in al-Murtaḍā’s original work: wa-naḥnu nabtadiʾ al-kalām ʿalā mā yuḍāf ilā l-aʾimma ʿalayhim al-salām mimmā ẓanna ẓānnūn annahu qabīḥ wa-nurattib dālika kamā rattabnāhu fī l-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim al-salām),150 has been replaced by a brief note stating that the book ends here (fol. 112v: naǧīza K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim afḍal al-ṣalāt wa-l-salām) (fig. 36). Further, both here and on the title page (fol. 1r) the book’s title is rendered consistently as K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, omitting wa-l-aʾimma. By contrast, al-Murtaḍā’s introduction, where he announces that the book treats both the prophets and the Imāms, remains unchanged in Ms. Laleli 2168 and Ms. Ayasofya 3165 alike. An exceptional case in this respect is Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3811. Although this manuscript, too, appears to have originated in Sunnī circles, it contains the complete text, including the section on the Imāms. The title page (fol. 2r) carries the abbreviated title (Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim șalawāt Allāh ʿalayhim) as well as the book’s full title (K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma).151

The Ḥanafī Muṭṭazīlī scholar al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Kirāma ignored the Tanzīh. Ḫaḍir Muḥammad Nabhā (Tafsīr Abī ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī) did not consult any of al-Murtaḍā’s works for his reconstruction of Abī ʿAlī’s exegesis.

148 For this codex, see also the brief mentions in al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muḫtārāt min maḫṭūṭāt Turkiyā, p. 64 no. 108; Karabulut, Muʿğām al-maḥṭūṭāt, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 2. Karabulut further lists another copy, “Ayasofya 2158” (ibid.), but his information is erroneous; Ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya 2158 contains a work entitled Kitāb al-Hādī ilā Dār al-Islām.

149 For a very brief description, see Şeşen, Muḫṭarāt, p. 511 no. 947. See also Karabulut, Muʿğām al-maḥṭūṭāt, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 2, where the shelfmark is erroneously given as “3168”.


151 For a brief description, see Arberry, Handlist, vol. 4, p. 19. Another manuscript of the work in a Sunnī collection, dated 1070 [1659–60], is Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 398 ʿaqqīd Taymūr, which was not available to us; see Karabulut and Karabulut, Dünya-kitāb-phanelerinde, vol. 5, p. 3649 no. 7; Fihris al-Ḥizāna al-Taymūriyya, vol. 4, p. 26. Ms. Ankara, Millî Kütüphane Baškanlığı Ö6 Mil Yz B 101, dated 1063 [1653], is another witness of the Tanzīh in a Sunnī
al-Bayhaqi “al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumi” (d. 494 [1101]) consulted al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Tanzīh when writing his own K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ. In addition, according to a note by al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631 [1233]) related that Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 [1209]) relied heavily on al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ when composing his own K. ‘Iṣmat al-anbiyāʾ. A close comparison between the two works confirms this observation. Abd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Afandī (d. ca. 1130 [1717]) reports that he saw a collection; see Bādīnlū, “Darāmadī bar āṯār-i maḫṭūṭ wa maṭbūʿ,” pp. 168–169.

An apparently unique copy of the work, dated 688 [1289], is preserved as Ms. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Landberg 550; a digital surrogate of the codex is available at https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3667773 [accessed 16 August 2019]. Throughout the first part of the book, which deals with prophets, al-Ǧišumī regularly and at times critically refers to al-Murtaḍā, whose Tanzīh clearly provided a model for the structure of his own work; see fols 3r, 4v, 9r, 35v, 36r, 46v, 47r, 52v, 72v, 80v, 81v, 83r, 83v, 84r. Al-Ǧišumī’s discussion on the prophets ends on fol. 88v. The following portion of the book, on the imāms (fols 89r–108r) is written from a Zaydī perspective, suggesting that al-Ǧišumī wrote the book towards the end of his life. In this portion of the book, the author refers to his K. al-Imāma (fol. 104r). For a preliminary study of the work and its relation to al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, see Ansari, “Az Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ-i Šarīf-i Murtaḍā tā Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ-i Ḥākim-i Ǧišumī”. Al-Ǧišumī’s Zaydī tendencies still need to be studied in depth. Al-Ǧišumī’s familiarity with al-Murtaḍā and his works is corroborated by his comments on al-Murtaḍā in al-Risāla fī l-naṣīḥa al-ʿāmma, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 74, fol. 24r–v.


See the Appendix 2 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, a principal source for Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s K. ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ”) below. Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī also refers to al-Murtaḍā repeatedly in his al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa. According to the work’s editor, he quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar at pp. 199 and 320 (corresponding to Ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 105–106) and al-Murtaḍā’s Dārīʿa at pp. 199–200. However, the identification of the Ġurar on p. 199 in the edition is not supported, according to the editor, by the single extant witness of al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa; see ibid., pp. 199 n. 3, 200 n. 1. The passage quoted on p. 199 of al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa that is allegedly taken from the Ġurar corresponds loosely to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar, ed. Abū ʿĪṣā al-Rāzī [1373/1954], vol. 1, pp. 167–168, though Faḫr al-Dīn does not quote the text of the Ġurar but is perhaps writing from memory. Faḫr al-Dīn also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Šaṭī at pp. 391 (where Abū Ǧaʿfar “waqtuhu” should be emended into Abū Ǧaʿfar “b. Qiba”) and 398. Additional quotations, not attributed to a specific work, are found in al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa, pp. 166 (on the question of imān), 196 (corresponding to Ġurar, ed. Abū ʿĪṣā al-Rāzī [1373/1954], vol. 1, p. 165), 262 (corresponding to Ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, p. 12), 304 (corresponding to Ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 14–15), 306 (corresponding to Ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, p. 16). See also above, n. 76, and below, n. 595. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, vol. 1, p. 577), the early Muʿtazilī scholar Ǧaʿfar b. Mubaššir (d. 614) is also credited with a K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ; Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ is also the title employed by the Ašʿarī scholar from al-Andalus Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĀḥmad Ibn Ḫumayr al-Umawī al-Sabṭī (d. 614
copy of the *K. al-Tanzīh* containing an *iǧāza* that attests to the works transmission among the Ḥanafīs of Mawṣil. This copy of the work survives but is currently in private possession.\(^\text{155}\) Al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Tanzīh* prompted the Ašʿarī Šāfiʿī author

Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Maššāṭ al-Rāzī (d. 546 [1151–52]) of the Banū Maššāṭ to compose *Zallat al-anbiyāʾ*. Although the work is lost, it is mentioned by the sixth/twelfth-century Twelver Šīʿī author Naṣīr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ǧalīl b. ʿAbī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī (d. mid-sixth/twelfth century) in his *Baʿd maṯālib al-nawāṣib*, known as *K. al-Naqḍ*.157

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1.4 Works received in Šīʿī circles and beyond (II): *K. Ġurar al-fawāʾid* (Amālī) and *Takmilat al-Ġurar*


Partial copies of the work are preserved as *Ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2010* and *Ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Awqāf*, maǧāmīʿ 71; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, pp. 1681–1682. Another fragmentary copy of the *Ǧurar* is preserved as *Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana*.
work.\textsuperscript{161} The sixth/twelfth-century scholar al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī quotes the Ġurar in his Iʿlām al-warā,\textsuperscript{162} and the eighth/fourteenth-century Imāmī scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. İbrāhîm b. ʿAtāʾiqī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī,” d. after 786 [1384–85]) produced a summary, Ġurar al-Ġurar wa-durar al-durar fi talḥīṣ Ġurar al-fawāʾid wa-durar al-qalāʾid, which has been edited repeatedly.\textsuperscript{163} An

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anonymous epitome of the K. al-Ġurar is included in a multitext volume preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1805, pp. 472–553 (figs 37, 38). The maǧmūʿa opens with a table of contents (figs 39, 40) and concludes with a colophon dated 25 Ĝumādā II 1080 [20 November 1669]. Another anonymous selection of material from the work is included in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 4900, fol. 247v–267v, under the title Nukāt muntaḫaba min al-Ġurar wa-l-durar (fig. 38a). A Muntaḫab min al-Amāli is also attributed to the eleventh/seventeenth-century Šīʿī scholar Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī. Another selection of material from the Ġurar was made by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muhammad al-Qārī, who flourished in Mecca around the year 1074 [1663–64]. The twelfth/eighteenth-century scholar Mullā Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Ḥāǧūʾī al-Māzandarānī (d. 1173 [1759–60]) cited and elaborated on commentaries by al-Murtaḍā on three ḥadīṯs that he gleaned from


See also Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 394 no. 1.

Preserved as item 6 (fols 348v–417r) in Ms. Qum, Maṛʿašī 817. This multitext codex, which was not accessible to us, also contains al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s (d. 1137 [1724]) al-Kawkab al-durrī fī tafsīr al-āyāt al-muntaḫaba min Ġurar al-fawāʾid (for the latter work, see below, n. 777), and other works by al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. See Maṛʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi Ṭabāṭabāʾī, vol. 3, pp. 15–19, esp. 17; see also al-Fihris al-šāmil li-l-turāṯ al-ʿarabī al-islāmī al-maḫṭūṭ: al-Fiqh wa-uṣūlihi; al-Ǧuzʾ al-ṯānī, p. 1129; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 4, p. 842. For al-Fāḍil al-Hindī, see Chapter 2.2 of our Imāmī Thought in Transition. The biobibliographical sources do not mention anyone by the name of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī. He may possibly be identified as Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muhammad b. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusām b. Ẓahīr al-ʿĀmilī al-ʿAynāṯī, one of the teachers of al-Hurr al-ʿĀmilī; see al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Amal al-ʿāmil, vol. 1, p. 70 no. 65; Āḏā Buzurg, Darʾa, vol. 2, pp. 89–90 no. 355; vol. 5, p. 227 no. 1083.

Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 37; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fihrist maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma (21),” p. 189 no. 1249. Al-Qārī also produced a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, which is preserved in the same codex (Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 37; see al-Dirāyatī, Muʿjam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 5, p. 53 no. 17261). Additional anonymous muntaḫabs of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar are preserved as Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 18594 and Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6710/5; see Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, pp. 389 no. 20, 394 no. 2. We were unable to inspect these copies.

Al-Sayyid Muḥḥammad b. al-Sayyid Ṣāfī b. Ǧāsim b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Mūsawī al-Naḡafī (d. ca. 1330 [1911–12] wrote a work entitled al-Durr al-naḍīd consisting of excerpts from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar and his al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra as well as a few quotations gleaned from some of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s writings.\footnote{See Āġā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 8, p. 82 no. 298. Āġā Buzurg had seen a holograph of the compilation in the library of Muḥammad b. Ṣāfī’s nephew (ibn aḫīhi), al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Amīn b. al-Sayyid ‘Alī.}

The modern Šīʿī scholar and poet Muḥṣin b. Šarīf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧawāhirī al-Naḡafī (b. 1276 [1878], d. 1355 [1936]) wrote a work entitled al-Durr al-naḍīd consisting of excerpts from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar and his al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra as well as a few quotations gleaned from some of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s writings.\footnote{Published in 1965 in an edition prepared by his son, Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ǧawāhirī. See Muḥyī l-Dīn, Adab al-Murtaḍā, p. 159. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ǧawāhirī was also involved in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān; see below, Chapter 1.5.}

The modern Šīʿī scholar and poet Muḥṣin b. Šarīf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧawāhirī al-Naḡafī (b. 1276 [1878], d. 1355 [1936]) wrote a work entitled al-Durr al-naḍīd consisting of excerpts from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar and his al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra as well as a few quotations gleaned from some of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s writings.\footnote{See Turki Abbas, “Imam Kashif al-Ghita,” p. 33.}

The modern Šīʿī scholar and poet Muḥṣin b. Šarīf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧawāhirī al-Naḡafī (b. 1276 [1878], d. 1355 [1936]) wrote a work entitled al-Durr al-naḍīd consisting of excerpts from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar and his al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra as well as a few quotations gleaned from some of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s writings.\footnote{Ibn Funduq, Maʿāriǧ Nahǧ al-balāġa, p. 420. A quotation from the Ġurar is also included in the Ḥadāʾiq (vol. 2, p. 636 = Ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī, vol. 1, p. 15) by the Imāmī jurist Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī (alive in 610 [1213-14]), who also hailed from Bayhaq.}

The modern Šīʿī scholar and poet Muḥṣin b. Šarīf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧawāhirī al-Naḡafī (b. 1276 [1878], d. 1355 [1936]) wrote a work entitled al-Durr al-naḍīd consisting of excerpts from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar and his al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra as well as a few quotations gleaned from some of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s writings.\footnote{See al-Ruqayḥī et al., Fihrist, p. 389; the translator’s introduction to al-Quḍāʾi, Light in the Heavens, p. xxx. For Ibn Funduq as the
the Ġurar’s section on the history of the Muʿtazila in his Ġurar, as was Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681 [1282]). The Mamluk adīb Ibn Nubāta (b. 686 [1287], d. 768 [1366]) cites the book in his Sarḥ ʿUyūn fī šarḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn. The Šiʿī genealogist Ğamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn ʿInaba (b. ca. 748 [1347], d. 828 [1424]) also mentions the Ġurar explicitly when discussing al-Murtaḍā in his ʿUmdat al-ṭālib. The Šāfiʿī scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šāfiʿī al-Zarkašī (d. 794 [1392]) quotes it in his K. al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān, as does Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAynī (b. 762 [1361], d. 855 [1451]) in his ʿUmdat al-qārī fī šarḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī, and Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 909 [1505]) in his K. al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 963 [1556]) refers to the Ġurar in his Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ ʿalā šawāhid al-talḫīṣ. An ownership statement by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-ʿAbbāsī on Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53 (fig. 54a; for the codex, see below) suggests that this was the copy he consulted when referring to al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar. The work also served ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Baġdādī (b. 1030 [1621], d. 1093) the probable author of the commentary, see Ansari, “Nusḥa-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Šarḥ-i Šihāb al-ahbār-i ʿAlī b. Zayd Ibn Funduq Bayhaqi”.

174 Al-Murtaḍā’s historical survey of the Muʿtazila is found in Ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 113–142. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī quotes from the work when discussing Abū l-Huḏayl and al-Naẓẓām (ṭabaqa 6) and al-Ǧāḥiẓ (ṭabaqa 7), as well as in the later faṣl fī ḏikr man ḏahaba ilā l-ʿadl min al-šuʿarāʾ in his discussion of Ḏū l-Rumma Ġaylān b. ʿUqba (b. 77 [696], d. 117 [735]). On this latter occasion he explicitly names the Ġurar as his source. For Sarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil and the manuscripts we consulted, see above, n. 33.

175 Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Muntaẓam, vol. 8, p. 56.


177 Ibn Nubāta, Sarḫ ʿuyūn fī šarḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn, pp. 259, 390, 406. For Ibn Nubāta, see Bauer, “Ibn Nubāṭah”.

178 Ibn ʿInaba, Umdat al-ṭālib, p. 205.


[1682]) as an important source for his Ḥizānat al-adab wa-lubb al-lubāb.\(^{184}\) An undated copy of the first volume of the Ġurar, which was part of ʿAbd al-Qādir’s personal library, has come down to us as Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986 (figs 77l, 77m, 77n). The codex appears to have been produced in the later sixth/seventh or early seventh/thirteenth century and is replete with margin glosses. Another eleventh/seventeenth-century Ḥanafī scholar who quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar is Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ḫafāǧī al-Miṣrī (b. ca. 979 [1571], d. 1069 [1659]), who cites the work in his commentary on the Tafsīr of al-Bayḍāwī, entitled Ḥināyat al-qāṣī wa-kifāyat al-rādī,\(^{185}\) and in his Ṣarḥ Durrat al-jawāṣṣ fī awhām al-ḫawāṣṣ.\(^{186}\) It is via al-Ḫafāǧī that the twentieth-century Tunisian scholar Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Ibn ʿĀšūr al-Tūnisī (b. 1296 [1879], d. 1394 [1973]) likewise quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar in his exegetical work, K. al-Taḥrīr wa-l-tanwīr.\(^{187}\)

The K. al-Ġurar circulated in two forms—with and without the Takmila—and it was apparently al-Murtaḍā, or some of his students acting on his behalf, who redacted the Takmila and added it to the Ġurar. Whereas Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥalaf al-Buṣrawī al-šāʿir (d. 443 [1051]) includes the K. al-Ġurar in his bibliography of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588 [1192]) also lists the Takmilat al-Ġurar as an independent work by al-Murtaḍā,\(^{188}\) and al-Murtaḍā’s direct role in the Takmila’s redaction is corroborated by its concluding words.\(^{189}\) Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd also refers to the Takmilat al-Ġurar wa-l-durar as a work by al-Murtaḍā.\(^{190}\)

The extant witnesses of the Ġurar not only confirm the book’s continuing popularity among Imāmī and Sunnī readers but also allow reconstruction of the work’s transmission from early on. The oldest witness of the Ġurar is Ms.  

\(^{186}\) Al-Ḫafāǧī, Ṣarḥ Durrat al-jawāṣṣ, p. 169.  

\(^{188}\) See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-𝗧űși, al-Nağăši, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).  
Qum, Mar'aši 12373, which contains part one (al-ğuz' al-awwal) of the work.191 Although the colophon (p. 382) is undated, it is followed by an iǧāza dated Ša'ban 484 [September–October 1091], issued by the Imāmī scholar Abū l-Maʿālī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ibn Qudāma (d. 486 [1093]) for al-Sayyid Abū Ťalib Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlawi al-ʿUmari al-Ḥalabi (fig. 49); the latter’s name is also given on the title page of the codex (fig. 49a). The opening page of the work has in its margin a chain of transmission (fig. 50), according to which Ibn Qudāma studied the work with its author, al-Murtaḍā, in 427 [1035–36] and 428 [1036–37] in Baghdad.192 That

191 For the manuscript, see Mar'aši et al., Fihrist-i Kitābḥāna-yi ʿUmūmiyi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağāfī-yi Mar'aši, vol. 31, pp. 274–276; Tafaḍḍulī, “Kuhantarīn nusḥa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Amālī”; Bārik Bīn, “Nusḥa-yi kuhan az Amālī”; Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 787; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, pp. 386–387 no. 1. Other early copies of the Ġurar, some of which may have come down to us and may be identified by future scholars, are recorded in the biographical literature. Al-Afandī relates to have seen in Ardabīl (most likely in the library of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī, on which see below) a copy dated 545 [1150–51]. See al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, p. 30. The first volume of this copy is identical with the one held today in the Kitābḥāna-yi Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān (Ms. 3720), which has been tentatively dated to the fifth/eleventh or sixth/twelfth century. The manuscript belonged at some stage to the library of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī and came into the possession of the Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān in 1314较差 [1935]. A fair a number of manuscripts that are preserved in the latter library today are known to have originated in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī’s library. The codex (which was not accessible to us) is described in Dānišpažūh, “Fihrist-i nusḥa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḥāna-yi Muzih-yi Īrān-yi Bāstān,” p. 210; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 387 no. 3; Riyāḍī, Fihrist-i mikrūfilm-hā, p. 82.

192 For Ibn Qudāma, who was a specialist in kalām, ḣadal, and fiqh and who served as qāḍī of Anbār in Iraq, see al-Ḏahabī, Tārīḫ al-Islām, ed. Maʿrūf, vol. 10, p. 557; Ibn Abī l-Wafāʾ al-Qurašī, al-Ǧawāhir al-muḍiyya, vol. 1, pp. 215–216 no. 150; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb, vol. 1, pp. 300–301 no. 419; Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḫāmis, p. 21. Cf. Ibn Ṣahrāšūb, Manāqib, ed. al-Biqāʿī, vol. 1, p. 33, where his name is erroneously rendered as Abū l-Maʿāfī. The same error can be found in a copy of the Manāqib Ibn Ṣahrāšūb preserved as Ms. Ḩaṣfahān, Kitābḥāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108 (p. 13:3), the oldest extant manuscript of the Manāqib, copied by Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qumrawayh (or Qamrawayh) al-Ḥāʾirī (on whom, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṣhtaqɔt aˈlɔm al-Šīˈa: al-Anwār al-sātǐˈa fi l-miˈa al-sābǐˈa, p. 30) and dated 16 Raḡab 589 [18 July 1193] (al-ġuz’ al-awwal) (figs 364, 365, 366); for the codex, see also Ḥaḥānbahš, “Dast nawīsī aˈtīq az Manāqib” (he erroneously dates the codex to 587 AH on p. 6). Ibn Qudāma is sometimes identified as a Ḥanafi scholar, an error that arises from his belonging to the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfa; see, e.g., al-Ḍahabī, Tārīḫ al-Islām, ed. Maʿrūf, vol. 33, p. 170. Moreover, Ibn Qudāma is occasionally said to have transmitted not only from al-Murtaḍā but also from his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī; see, e.g., the iǧāza issued by al-ʿAllāma al-Hillī for the Banū Zuhra, in which Ibn Qudāma is stated to have transmitted the Nahā al-balāğa from al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (al-Maḡlisī, Bihār, n.d. ed., vol. 104, p. 71). The same is said in an
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

iǧāza issued by Naǧm al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680 [1281–82]) as quoted by al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim (d. 1011 [1602])—(see al-Maǧlisī, Biḥār, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 47. This claim is questionable, as al-Šarīf al-Raḍī had already passed away in 406 [1015]. Although the year of Ibn Qudāma’s birth is unknown, his demise in 486 [1093] makes his discipleship with al-Šarīf al-Raḍī unlikely. The portrayal of Ibn Qudāma as a pupil of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and as a transmitter of the latter’s Nahḍ al-balāġa may be an effect of his prominent role as a transmitter of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar.


Abū l-Ṣamṣām Dūl l-Faqār b. Muḥammad b. Maʿbad al-Ḥasanī al-Marwazī also transmitted the writings of al-Murtaḍā to Ibn Ǧahālīḥ, as mentioned in the isnād of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī: ʿAbū l-Ṣamṣām Dūl l-Faqār ← Abū l-Ṣamṣām Dūl l-Faqār ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḫulwānī ← al-Murtaḍā. Although the isnād often reads Abū l-Ṣamṣām ʿan al-Ḫulwānī, one regularly encounters Abū l-Ṣamṣām wa- (or wa-ʿan) al-Ḫulwānī, suggesting that both Abū
l-Ṣamṣām and al-Ḥulwānī had studied with al-Murtaḍā; see al-Maǧlisī, Biḥār, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 46:6 (wa-), 8–9 (ʿan); see also ibid., vol. 104, pp. 153 (ʿan), 154 (ʿan). That Abū l-Ṣamṣām had studied with al-Murtaḍā is argued by Muntaḡab al-Dīn (Fihrīst, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 73 no. 157), who claims that he died at the age of 115. Al-Ḥulwānī is known to have studied with al-Raḍī (see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḫāmis, p. 173; confirmed by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, another student of Abū l-Ṣamṣām, in his chain of transmission for the Nahǧ al-balāġa in his Minhāǧ al-barāʾa, ed. al-ʿUṭāridī, vol. 1, p. 18), but the possibility of Abū l-Ṣamṣām’s discipleship with either al-Raḍī or al-Murtaḍā can safely be excluded, and Muntaḡab al-Dīn was evidently misled by the regular misreading of the isnād in the sources. The strongest evidence is Ibn Šahrāšūb’s mašyaḫa at the beginning of his Manāqib where he lays out his chains of transmission, including those for the books of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. Here he states that he studied them with Abū l-Ṣamṣām who in turn transmits from al-Ḥulwānī; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, Manāqib, ed. al-Biqāʿī, vol. 1, p. 33. See also Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108 (p. 12:18–19), which it also reads “ʿan Abī Ṣamṣām al-Murtaḍā” (fig. 336). That Abū l-Ṣamṣām transmitted from al-Raḍī through al-Ḥulwānī is also confirmed by an iǧāza issued on 27 Šaʿbān 655 [9 September 1257] by Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (b. 601 [1204–5], d. 689 [1290] or 690 [1291]); see al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 1, pp. 267–268 (the codex on which al-Afandī’s account is based is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 5690; fig. 410); Āġā Buzurg, Ḑarīʿa, vol. 1, p. 263 no. 1381; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fī riḥāb Nahǧ al-balāġa (3),” p. 10. Moreover, according to al-Samʿānī, Abū l-Ṣamṣām was born in 455 AH, close to two decades after al-Murtaḍā’s demise; see Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 5, pp. 614–615 (Farāmarz Ḥāļājī Manūǧīhrī). Whether al-Ḥulwānī studied both with al-Raḍī (he is regularly mentioned in the chains of transmission of the Nahǧ al-balāġa) and al-Murtaḍā is not entirely certain since his discipleship with al-Murtaḍā is mentioned only by Ibn Šahrāšūb, who served as the source for the various aforementioned iǧāzas. Nothing is known about al-Ḥulwānī’s identity other than what is mentioned in the isnāds. ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 553 [1158]) relates in his Bišārat al-muṣṭafā that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Naṣr al-Ḥulwānī, who lived in Karḫ, transmitted a riwāya from al-Murtaḍā that he had heard from the latter in Ramaḍān 429 [June–July 1038] in his house in Birkat Zulzul; see al-Ṭabarī, Bišārat al-muṣṭafā, p. 105. For Birkat Zulzul, see Yāqūt, Muʿǧam al-buldān, vol. 1, p. 402; al-Hamaḏānī, Qiṭaʿ tārīḫiyya, p. 185 n. 1. Al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥulwānī, who is evidently different from Abū Šamṣām’s šayḫ, was a well-known scholar among whose writings Nuzhat al-nāẓir wa-tanbīh al-ḫāṭir has been published repeatedly.

Ibn Qudāma’s alleged discipleship with al-Mufīd which is suggested by a chain of transmission placed at the beginning of al-Mufīd’s K. al-Īršād, is likewise questionable. The chain claims that Ibn Qudāma studied the Iršād with al-Mufīd in 411 AH and that Ibn Qudāma taught the work to ‘Amīd al-Ruʿasāʾ Abū l-Futūḥ Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. ‘Ali b. Ḥayyā (or Ḥabāʾ, according to al-Afandī, Fawāʾid, p. 577; or al-Ǧayyā, according to al-Maǧlisī, Biḥār, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 45) in 478 AH; see al-Šayh al-Mufīd, Iršād, vol. 1, p. 3; see also al-Maǧlisī, Biḥār, n.d. ed., vol. 106, pp. 44, 45; Ağā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāṭ al-ʿuyūn fi sādis al-qurūn, p. 341. However, al-Mufīd passed away in 413 [1022], so it is unlikely that Ibn Qudāma studied with
him. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā as the link between Ibn Qudāma and al-Mufīd was dropped at some stage from the isnād, possibly as a result of a scribal error. For the later transmission of the K. al-Iršād through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see below, n. 607.


Hibat al-Dīn Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr (or Naṣr), an Imāmī scholar of the late fifth/eleventh, early sixth/seventh century, regularly cites the renowned Muʿtazilī scholar Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Marzubānī on the basis of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar throughout his al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya. Although he does not name the Ġurar, his isnād points to that book as the source. Hibat al-Dīn provides the following chains of transmission: (1) Hibat al-Dīn Nāṣir ← Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭūsī or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAlawī ← Ali b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāṣir, Manāqib, pp. 334, 355, 358. (2) Hibat al-Dīn Nāṣir ← Ali b. al-Ḥusayn ← Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāṣir, Manāqib, pp. 334, 355, 358. Since no other source corroborates the involvement of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar, their inclusion in the chains of transmission may just be understood as a common variation in the isnād whenever it is known that a scholar

123
Ibn Qudāma held a prominent position among al-Murtaḍā’s students at the time is suggested by a note found in one of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s (d. before Muḥarram 575 [June 1179]) copies of the ġurar (on which see below), where he relates that Ibn Qudāma was one of the mustamlīs in al-Murtaḍā’s maǧlis.193 Hamza, in turn, read the book with Ibn Qudāma in Rabīʿ I 482 [May–June 1089], again in Baghdad. This copy of the work was later consulted by one Zayn al-Dīn Muḥsin al-ʿĀmilī, who completed his own copy of the first volume of the ġurar (Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 16626) on 19 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 970 [10 July 1563] and collated it that same month with Ms. Qum, Maṛ’āṣī 12373.194

The second oldest extant copy of the ġurar is preserved in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169, a collective volume dated Šaʿbān 544 [December 1149–January 1150] that also contains (on fols 275–287) al-Murtaḍā’s responsa to the queries of Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (al-Sallāriyyāt).195 Another copy, Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt transmitted his works through several students, whether or not the specific works in question were in fact transmitted by them. For examples of the phenomenon, see, e.g., Ansari, “Une version incomplète,” pp. 51–52. The K. al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya, which seems to be preserved in a single manuscript (Ms. London, British Library ADD 23296), was published as a work by the sixth/twelfth-century scholar al-Šayḥ al-Raʾis Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (on whom see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, pp. 326–327).

See below, Chapter Two, for a more detailed discussion of this codex. It is noteworthy that the text of al-Sallāriyyāt was properly identified by Ahlwardt in volume 4 of his Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften (pp. 348–349 no. 4978), published in 1892. The existence of this copy in Berlin was ignored by scholars for more than a century, until 1996, when ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm mentioned the copy on the basis of Ahlwardt’s catalog; see al-Ḥakīm, “Al-Sayyid al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī wa-l-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya fi Birlīn,” p. 741. A few years later, Hassan Ansari inspected the codex itself and provided a detailed description of the copy of al-Sallāriyyāt; see Ansari, “Āṯār-i čāp našuda-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”. Another precious copy of al-Sallāriyyāt that is preserved in Mašhad (for details see below) is mentioned in Āṣif Fikrat, Fihrist-i alifbāʾī, p. 676, but this one was also ignored for a long time. It was only in 2018 that an editio princeps of the work was published; Ansari and Schmidtke, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s Responses to Theological
223 was produced around the same time by an anonymous scribe. Parts one and two of the Ġurar were completed in Ḏū l-Qaʿda 544 [March 1150] (figs 50a, 50b); the text breaks off in the middle of part three (fol. 117v being the last page in the codex; fig. 50c). The manuscript has occasional margin notes, possibly in several different hands, as well as major lacunae throughout.

Among the books of the Šīʿī scholar ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī “Šayḫ al-ʿIrāqayn” (b. 1222 [1807–8], d. 1286 [1869] in Karbalāʾ) was a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar that had been completed on 29 Raḡāb 546 [11 November 1151] by an unknown scribe (fig. 306). The codex was passed to the library of Šayḫ Ahmad, the grandson of Šayḫ Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Māzandarānī (b. 1224 [1809], d. 1309 [1892]), and is nowadays preserved as Ms. Karbalāʾ, Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250. On the title page there is an iǧāza issued by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḍarīr al-Wāsiṭī’s “Ahamm fahāris”.

For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 387 no. 5. For the lacunae, see Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar”).
b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥwa al-Baḡdādī (b. 483 [1090], d. 548 [1153])

al-Rāwandī, Minhāǧ al-barāʿa, ed. al-Kūhkamarī, vol. 3, pp. 453–454; see also al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 2, pp. 430–431. The same isnād is also mentioned in an iǧāza issued by Ibn al-Iḫwa’s student Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Faḥr al-Dīn Zayn al-İslām Šaraf al-ʿUlamāʾ Abū Ǧaʿfar Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās Nāzawayh al-Qummī, found on the title page of Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Mutḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya) 3784 (fig. 371). Abū Ǧaʿfar Nāzawayh had completed his copy of Nahǧ al-balāḡa on 1 Šaʿbān 556 [26 July 1161] (fig. 371c), and in Rabīʿ I 571 [September–October 1175] he studied the work with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and collated his transcription with a copy in the hand of Faḍl Allāh, adding the latter’s ḥawāšī to his own copy. The same isnād is also mentioned in an iǧāza issued by Ibn al-Iḫwa’s student Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Faḥr al-Ḏīn Zayn al-Islām Šaraf al-ʿUlamāʾ Abū Ǧaʿfar Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās Nāzawayh al-Qummī, found on the title page of Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Mutḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya) 3784 (fig. 371). Abū Ǧaʿfar Nāzawayh had completed his copy of Nahǧ al-balāḡa on 1 Šaʿbān 556 [26 July 1161] (fig. 371c), and in Rabīʿ I 571 [September–October 1175] he studied the work with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and collated his transcription with a copy in the hand of Faḍl Allāh, adding the latter’s ḥawāšī to his own copy. The same information is repeated on the final page of the codex (fig. 371c; see also the end of the second part of the book; fig. 371b). The isnād runs as follows: Ibn al-Iḫwa ← Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Nāṭili ← Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad “al-Uṭrūš” sibṭ Bišr ← Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Arūnī (sic; should read: al-Arawī) ← Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ǧawharī. Ibn al-Iḫwa in turn transmitted the work to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who is further attested as transmitter of the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ in Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4769, which contains a copy of the Šīḥāḥ in the hand of Šīrzād b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Arūnī (sic; should read: al-Arawī) ← Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ǧawhari. Ibn al-Iḫwa in turn transmitted the work to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who is further attested as transmitter of the K. al-Šīḥāḥ in Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4769, which contains a copy of the Šīḥāḥ in the hand of Šīrzād b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. ‘Ali al-Asadi al-Ǧāstī (figs 375a, 377), dated 18 RabīʿI 607 [9 October 1210] (fig. 377). Al-Ǧāstī had copied the text for himself, indicating that he was a scholar. Al-Ǧāstī’s copy was based on an antigraph that had been read to Faḍl Allāh (figs 376, 377). The manuscript subsequently passed into the possession of Faḍl Allāh’s son ‘Ali (fig. 377). The aforementioned isnād for the K. al-Šīḥāḥ is also mentioned in a reading
attestation issued by this ‘Ali, towards the end of Rabī‘ II 597 [January 1201] that is preserved on the title page of Ms. Qum, Mar‘aṣī 3562 (fig. 420), containing a copy of al-Ǧawhari’s work that was completed in 596 [1199–1200] in Kāšān (fig. 424). The layout of the text and the margins throughout the codex are similar to those of Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485, which was produced around the same time in Kāšān, and the copy has numerous margin notes (figs 421, 422, 423). Other copies of the Ṣiḥāḥ of al-Ǧawhari attesting to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s central role in the transmission of the work include Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 1393 (see the title page, where Faḍl Allāh’s poetry in praise of the Ṣiḥāḥ is quoted, fig. 389; for the codex, see http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMS Book_islamhs_00005806 [accessed April 9, 2021]); Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1777, where Faḍl Allāh is prominently mentioned on the title page (fig. 390); and Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hacı Beşir Ağa 633, where Faḍl Allāh as the work’s transmitter is mentioned on the page opposite the title page (figs 391, 392). All these witnesses of the Ṣiḥāḥ feature margin glosses, which may originate with Faḍl Allāh. See also Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8347, an undated copy of the Ṣiḥāḥ (fig. 499), which is incomplete at the end and thus without a colophon and which has numerous glosses throughout, introduced with qāla l-Sayyid, i.e., Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (fols 71r [fig. 500], 117r, 131v, 160r, 162r, 165v, 167v, 171v, 173v, 191v); moreover, the overall layout is similar to other codices produced in this circle in Kāšān. Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 4239 is another example of the Ṣiḥāḥ with glosses by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī throughout. On one occasion (fol. 40v), a gloss is introduced as fī nusḥat al-Sayyid al-Imām Dīya’ al-Dīn Abī l-Riḍā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu; in other cases, his glosses are introduced with qāla l-Sayyid, i.e., Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (fols 8v, 11v, 15r, 26v, 39v, 40r, 41r, 85v, 86r, 92v, 119v, 125r, 128r, 133v, 135r, 139v, 144r, 152v, 153r, 163r, 164r, 176r, 181v, 192r, 196r, 198r, 198v, 200v, 208r, 223v, 226v, 227v, 229r, 236r). For a description of the codex and a digital surrogate of a microfilm copy, see https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc319900 [accessed 26 May 2021]. Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3853 (figs 495, 496, 497) is a copy of the Ṣiḥāḥ al-Ǧawhari, produced most likely in Kāšān, featuring the characteristic layout, and dated 589 [1193], with occasional glosses, some of which originate with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see, e.g., fol. 280v (fig. 496); for a brief description of the codex, see Arberry, Handlist, vol. 4, p. 35. See further Ms. Tehran, Malik 355, another copy of the Ṣiḥāḥ, copied by one al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn in Qum for himself, indicating that he was a scholar (dated Ǧumādā II 650 [August 1252]; fig. 395). Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn later collated his copy with a copy that had been in the possession of Faḍl Allāh, containing the latter’s corrections and ḥawāšī. The way the copyist refers to Faḍl Allāh leaves no doubt that he himself was also a Šī‘ī. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn quotes in full Faḍl Allāh’s colophon, in which the latter explains in detail his editorial principles (fig. 396). A close study of Faḍl Allāh’s role in the transmission of the Ṣiḥāḥ and of his editorial work on the book constitutes a desideratum. After the termination of the present study, the recently published paper by Rasūl Ǧazīnī Durčih on this topic came to our attention; Ǧazīnī Durčih, “Kāwušī dar-bāra-yi Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Rāwandī”. Its results could not be taken into consideration in our study. Ibn al-Iḫwa also transmitted the Nahāḍ al-balāğa through Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ammal al-Šağānī; see n. 262. In addition, Ibn al-Iḫwa was the transmitter of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ašʿarī’s (d. 324 [936]) Istiḥsān al-ḫawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām; see McCarthy, The Theology of al-As’ari, p. 87 § 1. Further, Ibn al-Iḫwa copied in 531 [1136–37] Ḥadiṭ al-Sarrāḥ of Abū
Rašid al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Šaʿīrī, in Kāšān, dated Raǧab 546 [October–November 1151] (p. 680, fig. 298). In it, Ibn al-Iḫwa relates that he transmitted the work through Abū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī, who in turn had studied the work with al-Murtaḍā. The codex contains numerous ḥawāšī, many of which may have

l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Ṣaḥāq al-Ṭaqāfī (b. 216 [831–32], d. 313 [925–26]), and his copy was in turn studied and transmitted by his son Hišām (b. 527 [1132–33], d. 606 [1209]), on whom see the introduction to al-Ṯaqafī, Ḥadīṯ al-Sarrāǧ, vol. 1, pp. 273–274. Moreover, Ibn al-Iḫwa’s copy served Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī (b. 569 [1174], d. 643 [1245]) as antigraph for his copy of the work, which is preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya library in Damascus; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn’s copy was consulted for the edition of al-Ṯaqafī’s Ḥadīṯ al-Sarrāǧ. For the Ḥanbalī scholar Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, see Hirschler, A Monument, passim. Ibn al-Iḫwa is also the transmitter of ḥadīṯ material, ḥādīṯ wa-ḥikāyāt wa-ašʿār, included in a maǧmūʿ of ḥadīṯ, Ms. Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya, maǧāmiʿ al-Umariyya 3823 (maǧmūʿ 87), fols 38–43. The maǧmūʿ belonged to the Damascene Madrassa al-Ḍiyāʾiyya, which was named after Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī. See Sawwās, Fihris maǧāmiʿ al-Madrasa al-ʿUmariyya, pp. 444–453: 446 no. 5; for a general discussion of the maǧāmiʿ al-ḥadīṯ in the ʿUmariyya, see also Hirschler, “The Development”. This again shows Ibn al-Iḫwa’s significance as a transmitter of ḥadīṯ in Sunnī Ḥanbalī circles in addition to his prominent role as a transmitter of the works of two important Imāmī scholars, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Nahǧ al-balāġa and al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar al-fawāʾid. Ibn al-Iḫwa’s transmission of the Nahǧ al-balāġa through al-Nātilī is also mentioned in an iǧāza issued by ʿAlī, the son of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, for Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿd al-Ṭabīb; for the iǧāza, see below, n. 212. It is noteworthy that Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Montahab, p. 304, relates a riwāya of al-Ṭūsī from ibn uḥt al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā; this is evidently an error as no other source corroborates that al-Ṭūsī transmitted from the son of al-Murtaḍā’s sister.

originated with Ibn al-Iḥwa. Later readers added numerous comments by others, including ḥawāši by Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (on which see below).  

Another early witness of the ġurar is preserved as Ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53. This codex was transcribed by al-Raʾīs al-ʿ Ağāl Muḥaqḍab al-Dīn Tāḡ al-Ruʿasāʾ Abū l-Mafāḥīr Muḥammad b. Aws b. Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. Ḥamdān al-Rāwāndī for himself (wa-istatamma hāḍiḥi l-nusha . . . ). Muḥammad b. Aws added a colophon at the end of the codex (fol. 281v; fig. 51). Here he explains that the copy was completed on 20 Rabīʿ II 565 [11 January 1170] and that it had been prepared on the basis of a copy of the work that was in the possession of al-Sayyid al-Imām ʿAlam al-Hudā Ǧiyāʾ al-Dīn Fāḍl Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Hasanī al-Rāwāndī al-Kāšānī (d. before Muḥarram 575 [June 1179]) and that was

202 See, e.g., pp. 50 (fig. 307), 61, containing margin comments introduced with qāla l-sayyid al-imām ḥarasa llāh ayyāmahu. The ḥawāši were added by a later hand, taken from a copy that belongs to Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.

That Muḥammad b. Aws is indeed the copyist is corroborated by the similarity of the hand in the final colophon with that in the main text. Additionally, Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī includes a poem in his Dīwān written for al-Raʾīs al-Kāfī al-Kātib al-Rāwandī, which may possibly be Muhammad b. Aws; see Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Dīwān, pp. 64–65; see also ibid., p. 255, where Muhaddiṯ Urmawī remarks that he was unable to identify this person. “Al-Kātib” may either refer to higher administrative secretarial position.

204 For Fāḍl Allāh’s glosses on al-Murtaḍā’s ġurar, see also Āgā Buzurg, Ǧarīʿa, vol. 6, p. 151 no. 821 (quoting al-Afandī’s Riyyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ). For the approximate date of Fāḍl Allāh’s death, see below, n. 607. Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī excelled as a transmitter, critical editor, and commentator of other works as well, primarily in the field of adab, notably the K. al-Ḥamāsa, an anthology of poetry by Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭāʾī (b. 188 [804] or 190 [806], d. 228 [842] or 231 [845]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya; the Šaḥīfa of Imām ʿAli b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203 [818]) (the work has been published in different versions); the K. al-Šīhāb fī l-luṣaṭa by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ǧarībayn fī l-Qurʾān wa-l-ḥadīṯ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ǧarībayn fī l-Qurʾān wa-l-ḥadīṯ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šaḥīfa al-sağādiyya by Ismāʿīl b. Ǧawharī (see above, n. 200); the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḥūṣ by Abū l-ʿUbayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]).
Dīn ʿAlī. The same chain of transmission, without mention of date, is given at the beginning of al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya in Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 3139 (pp. 2ff.; fig. 431); see also the final colophon, where the copyist reports having consulted a copy in the hand of Faḍl Allāh, fig. 431a and in Ms. Tehran, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 313D (fig. 432). That Faḍl Allāh transmitted the Saḥīfat al-Riḍā is attested in a copy of the text preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 896/3, fols 178-185 (fig. 600). Although Faḍl Allāh’s name is not mentioned in the isnād at the opening of the text, it is evidently him who states aḫbaranā in the beginning, since he transmits from two persons who are known to be among Faḍl Allāh’s teachers, namely al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḫallāl (on whom see n. 204) and Abū l-Muẓaffar ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Şiḍa al-Sukkarī, both of whom were in Iṣfahān. For Ibn Şiḍa as a teacher of Faḍl Allāh, see al-Maǧlisī, Bihār, vol. 104, p. 134. Another scholar who transmitted Saḥīfat al-Riḍā from those two šayhs is Abū l-Futūḥ Asʿad b. ʿAbī l-Faḍāʾil al-ʿIǧlī (d. 600 [1203-4]); see also the final colophon, where the copyist reports having consulted a copy in the hand of Faḍl Allāh, fig. 431a. Since the remainder of the chain of transmission mentioned by al-Rāfiʿī is different from what is found in Ms. Maǧlis 896/3, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as its transmitter is still the most plausible option. Moreover, Faḍl Allāh transmitted from Ibn al-Iḫwa in Iṣfahān in 519 [1125] (see n. 205), the same year the transmitter of Saḥīfat al-Riḍā in our manuscript studied the text with al-Ḫallāl. For Abū l-Futūḥ, see Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 6, pp. 114-115 (ʿAbd al-Amīr Salīm). A copy reflecting Faḍl Allāh’s copy of Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī’s al-Ğarībayn is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Ş Şehid Ali Paşan 131 (figs 476, 476a, 476b). The copy was produced by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Dūryastī (alive in 590 [1194]; for the date, see fig. 308) in Kāšān and is dated 9 Ramaḍān 547 [8 December 1152] (see colophon on fol. 339v; fig. 476a). The title page has a reading attestation issued by Faḍl Allāh for al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī and dated Ḏū l-Qaʿda 547 [February 1153]. In the note, Faḍl Allāh relates his own chains of transmission for the work. The first chain runs as follows: Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḫallāl al-adīb (d. 532 [1137–38]; on him, see al-Ḥāǧǧī al-Aṣbahānī, Wafayāt ǧamāʿa min al-muḥaddiṯīn, p. 51; cf., however, al-Rāfiʿī, Tadwīn, vol. 3, p. 480; and al-Samʿānī, Ansāb, vol. 3, p. 454, where his name is recorded as al-Ḫallāl) ← Abū ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ahmad al-Malīḥī al-Būsanǧī (d. 463 [1070–71]) ← Abū ʿUṯmān Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣābūnī (d. 449 [1057–58]) ← Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī. The second chain runs as follows: Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← Abū l-Qāsim Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Šaḥḥāmī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 533 [1138–39]) ← Abū ʿUṯmān Ismāʿīl b. Abū al-Raḥmān al-Šābūnī (d. 449 [1057–58]) ← Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī. The codex contains numerous ḥawāšī, which undoubtedly reflect those of Faḍl Allāh. The editor of al-Harawī’s Ġarībayn, Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī, did not consult this copy of the work during the preparation of his edition (Mecca 1419/1999). Faḍl Allāh’s glosses on the work have gone unnoticed so far, in contrast to the comments of Faḍl Allāh’s contemporary, Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī (d. 550 [1155–56]), in his K. al-Tanbīḥ ʾalā l-ʿalāf waqaʿa fi naqlihā wa-ḍabṭihā taṣḥīf wa-ḫaṭaʾ fī tafsīrīhā wa-maʿānīhā wa-taḥrīf fī Kitāb al-Ğarībayn, which we consulted in an edition prepared by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar Bānāǧa; for other editions, see bibliography. Muḥammad al-Salāmī adduces partly the same chains of transmission for the work as does Faḍl Allāh, with the exception of their respective immediate transmitters; see al-Salāmī, Tanbīḥ, ed. Bā Nāḏga, pp. 142ff. On Abū l-Faḍl Muhammad, see also al-Ḏahabī, Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ, vol. 20, pp. 265–270. Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 5244 is a copy of al-Abīwardī’s Naǧdiyyāt that carries, on the title page
Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke

(fig. 491), an ǧāza issued by Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Šaʿrī in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧğa 627 [October–November 1230] for Šams al-Dīn Muhammad b. ʾIsmāʿīl b. ʾHamza. In it, al-Šaʿrī relates that he transmits the work through ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAli, Faḍl Allāh’s son, who in turn transmitted it from his father. For al-Abīwardī, see Encyclopedia Islamica, vol. 1, pp. 333–339 (Enayatollah Fatehi-Nezhad). As mentioned earlier, Faḍl Allāh also played an important role in the transmission of the Nahāǧ al-balāģa, to which he again added numerous glosses. Faḍl Allāh’s earliest engagement with the Nahāǧ al-balāġa is attested for the end of Rabīʿ I 511 [July–August 1117] when he completed a copy of the work on the basis of a copy in the hand of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. Faḍl Allāh’s original colophon is quoted in Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 273 (pp. 831–832; fig. 385), a fairly late copy of the Nahāǧ al-balāġa, which was produced by Muhammad Šādiq b. Muhammad Šaфи al-Yazdí (dated 23 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧğa 1132 [26 October 1720]) on the basis of an antigraph in the hand of Abū l-Futūḥ ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd b. Ṭālib al-ʿĀbī, one of the students of al-ʿAlāma al-Ḥilli and his son, Faḫr al-Muḥaqiqīn, dated 6 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧğa 1283 [15 March 1323] (Iṣfahān), who in turn had consulted Faḍl Allāh’s 511 AH copy of the work. Abū l-Futūḥ’s colophon is also quoted in full at the end of the codex (pp. 830–831; figs 384–385).

For a description of the codex, see also Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḥaqāʾiq al-rāhina fī l-mīʾa al-ṯāmina, p. 5; Āġā Buzurg had not seen the copy himself but relied on the information he received from Šihāb al-Dīn al-Marʿašī al-Naǧafī (d. 1411 [1990]), the founder of the Marʿašī Library in Qum, in writing; on the codex, see further al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fī riḥāb Nahāǧ al-balāġa (3),” pp. 17–18 no. 167; for the 511 [1117] copy, see also briefly al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Mutabaqqī, ” p. 71. For a study of the transmission of Nahāǧ al-balāģa, with a discussion of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see also Dānišpažūh, Fihrist-i kitābḫāna-yi ihdāʾī-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Miškāt bih Kitābḫāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, pp. 1595–1640; see also Dargāḥī (ed.), Ibn Saḥrāšīb al-Māzandarānī, pp. 81–84 Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī was also one of the prominent transmitters of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Talḫīṣ al-bayān; see, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 5470, a multitext codex, copied by Muhammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muhammad b. ʾAmīd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Rahqī between Ḏawwāl 542 [February–March 1148] and 29 Raǧab 547 [30 October 1152] (and later), which contains a copy of the Talḫīṣ (fol. 152r–199v). Next to his final colophon (fol. 199v), the copyist adds that in Ġumādā I 574 [February–March 1152] he collated his copy in Kāšān (Qāṣān) with a copy held by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (fig. 356).

In his Fihrist, Muntaǧab al-Dīn provides a list of Faḍl Allāh’s writings; see Muntaǧab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, pp. 143–144 no. 334. These include al-Mūǧaz al-kāfī fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-qawāfī, of which only two extracts are preserved in Ms. Istanbul Nuruosmaniye 4105, fol. 94v–98v (ḥāḏiḥi fawāʾid mutaṭarrīqa fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ min Kitāb al-Mūǧaz fī l-ʿarūḍ min taṣānīf al-Šayḥ al-imām Dīyāʾ al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Ḥasanī), 126v–127v (faṣl aḥraṯnahu min al-Mūǧaz li-l-Sayyid al-Imām Dīyāʾ al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Ḥasanī). The codex otherwise includes two works by Faḍl Allāh’s student, a Šīʿī scholar of Kāšān, Ǧamāl al-Dīn Abū Saʿd ʿAlī b. Masʿūd b. al-Hakīm Ibn al-Firḥān (or Farruḫān), whose students included Muntaǧab al-Dīn (see Muntaǧab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, pp. 90–91 no. 188; see also the detailed bibliography of him, with further references, in the editor’s annotation to the entry; for Ibn al-Firḥān’s biography, see also Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī’s discussion in his edition of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Dīwān, pp. 259–260). The two works are al-Šuʾāʾī fī l-ʿarūḍ (fol. 1v–94r) and al-Waḥī fī l-qawāfī (fol. 100r–146r).

b. Aws further adduces Faḍl Allāh’s colophon, dated Ǧumādā I [5]38 [November–December 1143], in full. In the colophon, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī explains the editorial principles he followed when working on the copy: he collated it with two other copies, one of which had been transcribed by Abū Ya’lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ǧa’farī, a direct student of al-Murtaḍā.²⁰⁶ In addition, Faḍl Allāh

519 [August–September 1125]. Moreover, Faḍl Allāh composed an elegy for his teacher Ibn al-Iḥwa on the occasion of the latter’s demise in Šaʿbān 548 AH; see Faḍl Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥanẓalā al-Ǧa’farī, Dīwān, vol. 5, pp. 298–299; according to a margin note in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278, fol. 281v (fig. 548), which contains two quotations from this tafsīr, the title was al-Ǧa’farī rather than al-Ḥaṭṭā. See below for a discussion of Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278; for the tafsīr works by al-Ǧa’farī and by Ibn Mihrizād, see also Ansari, “Mu’arrifī-yi tafsīr-i nāšināghta”; al-Halwā [sic] ḫulāṣat al-tafsīr by Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Ḥaṭṭā (published) (p. 131); ḥaṭṭā Amīr al-Muʾminīn (p. 132); ḥaṭṭā al-Ǧamʿ bayna l-Šaḥīḥayn by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ǧa’farī al-Ǧa’farī (d. 488 [1095]) (published) (p. 131); ḫaṭṭā Amīr al-Muʾminīn (p. 132); Muṣṭafā ḫaṭṭā Bayna l-Šaḥīḥayn (p. 132); Muṣṭafā ḫaṭṭā ḫaṭṭā Bayna l-Šaḥīḥayn (p. 132); and Muṣṭafā ḫaṭṭā ḫaṭṭā Bayna l-Šaḥīḥayn (p. 132). See also Ms. Reisülküttab 53, fol. 75v (margin note indicating that the author transmitted through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.

²⁰⁶ On him, see Encyclopaedia Islamica, vol. 2, pp. 712–714 (Hassan Ansari). See also Ms. Reisülküttab 53, fol. 281v (margin note stating bī-ḥaṭṭ al-Ǧa’farī hāḥunā). Faḍl Allāh had further consulted a copy containing glosses by Abū l-Sa’ādāt Hibat Allāh b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥaṭṭā al-Ǧa’farī (d. 542 [1147]), as is suggested by Ms. Reisülküttab 53, fol. 75v (margin note note
consulted the relevant dīwān to render properly the poetry included in the Ǧurar. Faḍl Allāh concludes his colophon with the information that Ibn Qudāma had studied the Ǧurar with al-Murtaḍā in Baghdad in 427 [1035–36] and 428 [1036–37]. This suggests that Faḍl Allāh also had access to a copy that reflects Ibn Qudāma’s transmission of the Ǧurar. On the final page of the book (fol. 281v) there is also an interesting margin note added by a later reader. This states, erroneously, that al-Murtaḍā was a contemporary of Ğār Allāh al-Zamaḥšārī (b. 467 [1075], d. 538 [1144]), the author of the exegetical work al-Kaššāf, and that the latter had consulted al-Murtaḍā’s Amālī when composing his own exegesis—a lead that has not, so far, been discussed in modern scholarship.

The title page of the codex (fig. 55) has an undated ownership statement by one Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kīšī al-Qurašī. Beneath, there is a qirāʾa attestation, dated Raǧab 565 [March–April 1170], that was issued for Muḥammad b. Aws b. Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdān, the owner of the codex, by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who in turn relates two chains of transmission for the work, including both Sunni and Šīʿī scholars: (1) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Astarābāḏī ← Abū l-Maʿālī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Qudāma. On al-Astarābāḏī, see below, n. 221.

The formula used in the colophon, anna al-Sayyid al-MurtaḍāʿAlam al-Hudā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu aqraʾahu iyyāh, suggests that Ibn Qudāma was one of those who produced an authoritative copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Ǧurar on the basis of his reading of the book with the author; this is corroborated by Ibn Qudāma’s own statement that he read the Ǧurar with al-Murtaḍā (see, e.g., fig. 50). This may explain the differences between his version and those written down by other students of al-Murtaḍā. Notably, Faḍl Allāh adds that Ibn Qudāma was one of the mustamlīs in al-Murtaḍā’s maǧlis, indicating Ibn Qudāma’s prominent position among al-Murtaḍā’s students at the time (fig. 51).

See, e.g., the studies by Andrew J. Lane (A Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary and “You Can’t Tell a Book”) and Kifayat Ullah (Al-Kaššāf) on al-Zamaḥšārī’s Kaššāf.

al-Murtaḍā; (2) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Iḥwa al-Baḡdādī ← Abū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. Next to the qirāʾa attestation, the title page features a note stating that the codex was sold in 876 [1471–72] through Šihāb al-dīn Aḥmad al-Saryāqūsī, a book dealer (dallāl al-kutub) based in al-Ḥānaqāh al-Šayḥūniyya in Cairo,²¹⁰ providing an indication as to when the codex reached Sunnī circles. Ms. Reisülküttab 53, too, contains copious margin glosses and corrections, indicating a similarly careful transcription process, and it can be assumed that most of the glosses originated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Although some may have been added by Muḥammad b. Aws when he transcribed the copy, it seems that most were written down when Muḥammad studied the book with Faḍl Allāh and collated his copy with the latter’s copy. On fols 171r (fig. 54c) and 230r (fig. 54d), for example, the two different hands are clearly visible. On fol. 45v (fig. 54b) there is an example of a margin gloss by Ibn al-Iḫwa (bi-ḫaṭṭ al-Šayḫ al-Imām ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Iḫwa), followed by a comment by Faḍl Allāh.²¹¹

²¹⁰ The Šayḥūniyya was a prominent center of learning in Cairo at the time. See, e.g., Berkey, Transmission of Knowledge, p. 233 (s.v. “al-Shaykhūniyya”).

²¹¹ Otherwise, the margin notes on fols 44v–45r were evidently written by a much later hand.
A further early witness, **Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485**, was transcribed at about the same time, and this codex, too, shows Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s crucial role in the transmission of the Ġurar. According to the colophon (fol. 325v; fig. 212) for a facsimile of this codex, see our forthcoming *Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and Scholarly Practices in 12th-Century Kāshān*. Another scholar who transmitted the *K. al-Ġurar* as well as the *Nahġ al-balāġa* by al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and other works through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī was Abū Naṣr ‘Ali b. Abī Saʿd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Saʿd al-Mutaṭabbīb [al-Ṭabīb] al-Qummī; on him, see Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 136 no. 305. In an extended note, Abū Naṣr ‘Ali relates in detail his scholarly occupation with the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, which stretched over close to two decades. Abū Naṣr ‘Ali quotes an *iǧāza* for the *Nahġ al-balāġa* that was issued to him by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s student Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Mutaṭabbīb in Raǧab 587 [July–August 1191], including the latter’s chains of transmission for the work; see below, n. 262, and al-Afandī, *Fawāʾid*, pp. 408–409 (al-Afandī quotes here a note in which Abū Naṣr ‘Ali relates that he finished reading the work with Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr in Rabīʿ I 587 [March–April 1191]). In Raǧab 589 [July–August 1193] Faḍl Allāh’s son, Ḥizz al-Dīn al-Murtadaḍ ‘Ali, issued an *iǧāza* to Abū Naṣr ‘Ali for the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, and Abū Naṣr ‘Ali quotes it again in full in his note, including Ḥizz al-Dīn ‘Ali’s isnād for the work’s transmission (see also Ḥasan Zāda al-Āmulī, “Muqaddima fī maṣādir *Nahġ al-balāġa*,” pp. 17–22; for Ḥizz al-Dīn ‘Ali, see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fī riḥāb *Nahġ al-balāġa* (5),” pp. 181–183). Finally, Abū Naṣr ‘Ali relates in a note dated Raḡab 587 [July–August 1191] that Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī also issued an *iǧāza* to him for the *Nahģ al-balāġa*, al-Murtadaḍ’s Ġurar, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawī’s *K. al-Ġarībayn* (on the latter, see n. 204), and Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Baġdādī’s (*Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*. No date is mentioned for this *iǧāza*, and it is uncertain whether Abū Naṣr ‘Ali actually studied with Faḍl Allāh. In two other notes, one of them dated Rabīʿ I 601 [27 October 1204] and the other undated, Abū Naṣr ‘Ali relates that after he studied *Nahġ al-balāġa* with Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, he collated his own copy of the work with the copy of his teacher Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, who in turn had collated it with that of Faḍl Allāh (alternatively, Abū Naṣr ‘Ali collated his copy directly with that of Faḍl Allāh, as is suggested by the formula ‘alā nusḥat al-Sayyid al-Imām), and that he also transferred Faḍl Allāh’s margin glosses to his own copy at this point. Then Abū Naṣr ‘Ali read the book with Ḥizz al-Dīn ‘Ali, the son of Faḍl Allāh. Thereafter he studied other related works, including Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī’s commentary on the *Nahġ, Minhāġ al-barāʾa*, adding more glosses to his own copy. Abū Naṣr ‘Ali’s report is occasionally cited partly or in full in later manuscripts of the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, **Ms. Tehran, Millī 32342** being one example (figs 55a, 55b) and **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13301** being another (fol. 217v–218v; figs 341, 342, 343); see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naḏaf-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 33, pp. 527–532; for the codex, see below, n. 262. For a summary of the report, see Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi ʿīdāʾ-yi Aqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Mīskat bih Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihrān*, pp. 1618ff. Another copy of the *Nahģ al-balāġa* that testifies to the work’s transmission through Abū Naṣr ‘Ali is preserved as **Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-Īraqī** (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭat al-ʿIrāqīyya) 1662, copied by Bundār b. Muḥammad b. Bundār al-Warāmīnī al-Rammāl and dated 10 Ramaḍān 704 [6 April 1305] (figs 402, 403, 404). Abū Naṣr ‘Ali is also the copyist of a miscellany, dated...
5 Ramaḍān 592 [2 August 1196] that is preserved as Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 393B. The codex concludes with a colophon in which the copyist identifies himself as “Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Saʿd al-Ṭabīb” (Ms. Princeton, Garrett 393B, p. 76). For a description and digital images of the codex, see https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/635860 [accessed 21 April 2020]. See also below, n. 852. Abū Naṣr ʿAlī also produced a copy of al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī’s Baṣāʾir al-daraǧāt (Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 1574), which he completed at the beginning of Ṣafar 591 [January 1195] (figs. 328, 329, 330). The manuscript was consulted for the edition prepared by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Muʿallim, which includes a facsimile of the scribe’s dated colophon. Abū Naṣr ṣAli, in turn, issued an iǧāza for the Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī in Rabīʿ I 618 [April–May 1221], and in the course of it he mentions having studied with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see Ibn al-Mustawfī, Tārīḫ Irbīl, vol. 1, pp. 352–356; vol. 2, pp. 670–673. Moreover, al-Afandī relates that he encountered yet another copy of the Ġurar that included an iǧāza issued by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, as well as numerous margin comments by him and in his hand, as well as comments by others. This copy belonged to the library of Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī and later came into the possession of his grandson, ṣAli b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṯānī. See al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, p. 47 n. 105. For Faḍl Allāh’s role in the transmission of the Nahǧ al-balāġa, Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 44139A (figs 405, 406, 407) is another noteworthy copy. It contains a partial copy of the Nahǧ al-balāğa copied by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ṣAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Ḥasanī sībṭ al-Sayyid al-Imām Abī l-Riḍā al-Rāwandī, i.e., a grandson of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (sībṭ, i.e., the son of his daughter). The copy is dated Ḏū l-Qaʿda 631 [July–August 1234] (fig. 407). On the first page of the work (fig. 405), there is a margin note citing Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Including this codex with its numerous glosses in a study of Faḍl Allāh’s ḥawāšī on the Nahǧ al-balāğa would be important. For the history of the codex, see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Mutabaqqī, “ p. 78 no. 35. The private library of Sayyid Muhammad Kāẓim Mudarrisī in Qum holds a further copy of the Nahǧ al-balāğa, transcribed by one Muḥammad b. ṣAbd al-Ḥamāṃi and dated Ḡumādāʾ 1575 [October–November 1179] (see colophon, p. 386; fig. 408). The last line of p. 388 (fig. 409) is the beginning of a samāʾ note that suggests that the scribe was a direct student of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Although the latter is not know to have had a student by this name, his students did include Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ġaʿfar Muhammad b. Muhammad b. ṣAbd al-Ḥamāṃi al-Qazwīnī, one of the teachers of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. On him, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Three. Assuming that the samāʾ was related to the scribe of the codex, it is possible that Muhammad b. ṣAbd al-Ḥamāṃi was the father of Burhān al-Dīn Muhammad, who may also have studied with Faḍl Allāh. The codex was accessible to us as a surrogate, Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 1818. Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 5451 is another copy of the Nahǧ al-balāğa, copied by Aḥmad b. al-Muʿayyad b. ʿAbd al-Ḡarīl b. Muḥammad and dated Raǧab 588 [July 1192] (fig. 545); cf. Arberry, Handlist, vol. 7, p. 132. The codex has numerous margin glosses throughout, and a future study of the ḥawāšī on the Nahǧ al-balāğa should determine the codex’s relation to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. An example of a gloss originating with Faḍl Allāh, introduced by qāla al-Sayyid al-Imām Abī l-Riḍā, can be found on fol. 106v (fig. 546). The codex was also consulted by Sadīd al-Dīn Yūṣuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ṭīlī, the father of al-ʿAllāma al-Ṭīlī, whose handwriting is visible in the margins; see, e.g., fols 86r, 89v, 94v.
the manuscript was completed on 15 Muḥarram 567 or 569 [18 September 1171 or 26 August 1173]. The codex opens with a table of contents (fols 1r–5r; figs 57, 58), followed by a title page (fig. 59) containing an iǧāza issued by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for al-Ḥusayn b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḫuwinǧānī (or al-Ḫūnaǧānī) and dated Raǧab 568 [February–March 1173]. In the course of the iǧāza Faḍl Allāh lists three chains of transmission that link him to the work’s author, two of which go beyond those given in his iǧāza of 565 [1170]: (1) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← Abū Ğānim al-ʿUṣmī ← al-Šarīf al-

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215 This is Naǧm al-Dīn Naqīb Mašhad al-Ḥusayn, on whom see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, p. 87. For his role in the transmission of the Ġurar, see also the iǧāza by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿd al-Ṭabīb, mentioned above, n. 212. That Ḥamza transmitted the K. al-Ġurar to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is also recorded in al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, pp. 198, 370–371; see also Āġā Buzurg, Maǧmūʿa riǧāliyya wa-tārīḫiyya, p. 102.


Šarif al-Murtaḍā. The upper margin of the title page contains another attestation issued by the codex’s former owner, al-Ḥusayn al-Ḫuwinǧānī, for al-Murtaḍā b. al-Raḍī b. al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿašī, who had read maǧālis one through thirty-one with al-Ḥusayn al-Ḫuwinǧānī (the attestation is dated Šaʿbān 584 [September–October 1188]). Since al-Murtaḍā al-Marʿašī is addressed here as šāhibihu, it seems that al-Ḫuwinǧānī transferred ownership of the book to him. Throughout the codex, there are numerous glosses, many of which are signed, and on the first page of the codex (fol. 1r; fig. 60) the sigla of the antigraphs that were consulted for this purpose are listed. Two sets of glosses originated with immediate students of al-Murtaḍā, namely Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Naǧm b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī (b. 374 [984–85], d. 447 [1055]), who is related to have studied the book with al-Murtaḍā through audition (wa-kāna samiʿa hāḍā l-kitāb ʿalā l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā), and Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ǧaʿfarī. The latter produced a copy of the Ġurar, which he completed on Thursday, 28 Ǧumādā I 413 [29 August 1022]. Two further sets of glosses originated with Abū l-Saʿādāt Hibat Allāh b. Mūsā b. Ǧaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← “ʿan ǧaddihi,” i.e., Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Āḥmad al-Dūryastī ← al-Murtaḍā. For the Tanzīh the chain runs as follows (p. 42): Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Gaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā ← his father, Naǧīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Gaʿfar ← Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yahyā al-Ḥāʾirī (or al-Ḫannāṭ) (on him, see above n. 209) ← ʿArabi b. Musāfīr (on him, see above, n. 198) ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Gaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← “ʿan ǧaddihi,” i.e., Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Gaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← al-Murtaḍā. For Dūryast, a village in the vicinity of Rayy, and several scholars hailing from there (including Gaʿfar), see Bottini, “Le nisbe geografiche,” pp. 52–53.

218 For al-Murtaḍā’s father, al-Raḍī b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muntahā, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, p. 107; see also ibid., pp. 198, 210 for other members of the family. For a member of the family who was also involved in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, see below, n. 228. For ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥāriṯī (d. 1011 [1602–3]) owned a precious copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar (with the Takmila), with glosses by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (in the course of the glosses Faḍl Allāh mentions that he collated all problematic passages with the copy of Abū l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī, who, in turn, had read his copy to al-Murtaḍā) as well as signatures by numerous other scholars. He adds that this copy was one of the best copies of the work he had seen; see al-Afandi, Riṭaḥ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, pp. 47–48 n. 1.
ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī al-Šaǧarī (b. 450 [1058], d. 542 [1147]), who also had a copy of the Ġurar in his own hand (wa-kāna nusḥatuhu bi-ḫaṭṭihi),221 and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.222 The glosses note variations that appear in other copies of the text223 and identify scholars referred to by al-Murtaḍā,224 and they

221 Ibn al-Šaǧarī is best known for his al-Amālī al-šaǧariyya, which consists of eighty-four sessions and is primarily concerned with grammar. In it, he repeatedly quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar; see Ibn al-Šaǧarī, Amālī Ibn al-Šaǧarī, vol. 2, pp. 224, 469. Ibn al-Šaḏarī also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, through his teacher Ibn Qudāma, in his Mā ittafaqa lafẓuhu wa-ḫtalafa maʿnāhu, p. 33. He likewise quotes al-Murtaḍā through Ibn Qudāma in his al-Ḥamāsa al-šaḏarīyya, pp. 478, 549, but without identifying the quoted work. Occasionally Ibn al-Šaḏarī also quotes al-Murtaḍā directly without identifying either an intermediary or the work he consulted (ibid., pp. 480, 628, 828), although on one occasion it specifically names al-Murtaḍā’s ṯayf al-ḫayāl as his source (ibid., p. 612; it is noteworthy that Ibn al-Šaḏarī cites the work here as ṯayf wa-l-ḫayāl, a title also given by al-Ṭūsī, in contrast to al-Buṣrawī and al-Naǧāšī, who refer to ṯayf al-ḫayāl; see Appendix 9 [“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naǧāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”]). For Ibn al-Šaḏarī and his works, see al-Tikrītī, Ibn al-Šaḏarī wa-manhaǧuhu fī l-naḥw; Encyclopaedia Islamica, vol. 3, pp. 657–658 (E. Fatehi-Nezhad).

222 Sīn in view of his laqab al-Sayyid al-İmām.

223 See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāḥīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 91 n. 5, 249 n. 1, 583 n. 2; vol. 2, p. 212 n. 6 (all referring to Ibn al-Šaḏarī’s copy of the work); vol. 1, p. 97 n. 5 (referring to Ibn Qudāma’s copy of the work).

224 See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāḥīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 36 n. 6, where baʾd al-mutaʿabḥirin is said to refer to al-Šaḥīb b. ʿAbbād.
occasionally provide additional information on select points in the main text, often with reference to other relevant works or scholars.225 At times they also contain criticism226 or provide explanations of the difficult words in the text. Noteworthy are also fols 5v–6r, which contain valuable information relating to Ibn al-ʿIlywa and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (figs 60a, 60b). Another noteworthy peculiarity of the codex is the silk tabs added to the fore edges of folios at the start of each new maǧlis—these were undoubtedly inserted when the manuscript was still in Kāšān, where Faḍl Allāh was based and which was a center for rug production at the time.227

We find another chain of transmission through which Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī transmitted the Takmila, and possibly the Ğurar in a copy of the Takmila that was transcribed from a copy that carried an autograph īǧāza issued by Faḍl Allāh. Al-Afandī inspected the newer copy, and he reports that the isnād indicated in the īǧāza, which Faḍl Allāh issued in Ğāmiʿ Kāšān to Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. al-ʿHuṣayn b. al-Muntahā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Āli “Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿašī”228 in Ğumāda I
father, ‘Izz al-Dīn, see ibid., p. 55 no. 117; for other members of the family (who were all Imāmīs), see ibid., p. 104 nos 371, 372, 373. See also above, n. 218.


230 The nisba and thus the identity of the transmitter is uncertain. Al-Afandī (Fawāʿid, p. 457) has Abū Naṣr al-Fāriqī. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī has his name as Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī; see both Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī’s Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, vol. 1, p. 280 (aḫbaranā Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī ʿan Abī Manṣūr al-ʿUkbarī ʿan al-Murtaḍā wa-l-Raḍī . . .) and his Minhāǧ al-barāʿa fī šarḥ Nahǧ al-balāġa, ed. al-Kühkamari, vol. 3, p. 452, in his chains of transmission for the Nahǧ al-balāğa (mā aḫbaranā bihi Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī ʿan Abī Manṣūr al-ʿUkbarī ʿan al-Raḍī); see also al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 2, p. 430. Āḡā Buzurg, in Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, pp. 8–9, discusses the possibility of the variant nisba “al-Ḡārī”. If the name is read as “al-Fāriqī,” this figure may possibly be identified as the adīb Abū Naṣr al-Fāriqī who lived during the time of Niẓām al-Mulk in Iraq, Mayyāfāriqīn, and Ḥalab; see al-Ḏahabī, Tārīḫ al-Islām, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 33, pp. 203–206 no. 218; Yāqūt, Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ, vol. 2, p. 841. Although both his approximate lifetime and the fact that he was an adīb would make him a good fit, he was apparently never in Iran, so he could hardly have been a teacher of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. If the name is read as “al-Ḡāzī,” he may possibly be identified as the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī al-Iṣbahānī al-Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Isḥāq (b. ca. 448 [1056–57], d. 532 [1137–38]), who was a teacher of al-Samʿānī. See Ibn ʿAsākir, Muʿǧam al-šuyūḥ, vol. 1, p. 77; al-Samʿānī, Ansāb, vol. 9, p. 115. One of the maǧālīs of Abū Naṣr’s Amālī has been published as part three of Maǧmūʿ fīhi sitta aǧzāʾ ḥadīṯiyya, together with a study on him. Abū Naṣr al-Ḡāzī is also mentioned in the tibāq among the transmitters of the (repeatedly published) K. al-Ḡurar ʿalā Bišr al-Marīsī by ʿUṯmān b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī (d. 282 [895]); see Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 850, fol. 1r, 68r (figs 416, 417), where he is attested to have attended a samāʿ session of the work in Ṣafar 464 [October–November 1071]. See also the brief entries on Abū Naṣr al-Ḡāzī in Hirschler, A Monument, p. 364 no. 442k. Although his lifetime and his location in Iṣfahān are again a good fit, it is hard to imagine that a staunch representative of the Sunni asḥāb al-ḥadīṯ would study and transmit the writings of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. The possibility remains that “our” Abū Naṣr is yet another person.

Murtadā. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn (b. 1910, d. 1983) relates that he consulted a manuscript of the Takmilā, copied in 555 [1160], in the library of Muḥammad Riḍā Faraḡ Allāh (b. 1319 [1902], d. 1386 [1966]) in Naḡaf. It is likely that what Muḥyī...

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232 Another partial copy of the Ḡurar, which has been tentatively dated to the end of the sixth/twelfth century, is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12513; see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābhaṇa-yi ʿUmāmi-yi Ḥadrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzma Naqafī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 31, pp. 556–557; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 387 no. 4. The codex has no margin comments (with the exception of p. 27, which contains a gloss in a different, evidently later hand) and was evidently heavily damaged at some stage, as suggested by the large number of pages written by another, later hand; see Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12513, pp. 7–8, 65–70, 85–90, 109–154, 223–224, 275–276, 287–288, 319–326, 347–350, 353–354, 357–362, 369–370, 375–376. There are additional lacunae throughout the codex, and some of the folios are misplaced. The codicological units of the original codex, possibly quires of twelve or sixteen folios, were numbered; on the digital surrogate at our disposal (apparently produced on the basis of a microfilm copy), but the numbers were only partially visible: pp. 53 (rābiʿa . . .), 91 (sābiʿa aǧzāʾ min al-Ḡurar), 177 (ṯāniya ʿašar aǧzāʾ min al-Ḡurar), 197 (illegible), 217 (al-ʿišrūn min al-Ḡurar), 231 (al-ḥādī wa-l-ʿišrūn min al-Ḡurar), 263 (al-ṯānī wa-l-ʿišrūn min al-Ḡurar), 363 (al-tāsiʿ wa-l-ʿišrūn min al-Ḡurar), 371 (al-ṭalaṭṭūn min al-Ḡurar). Mahmūd Marʿašī purchased the manuscript in Damascus (fig. 543). On the title page (fig. 544), there is a barely legible waqfnāma signed by one of the rulers of the Artuqid dynasty.

l-Dīn saw was not the original copy of 555 [1160] but rather the later copy described by al-Afandī in the Fawāʾid. The manuscript is nowadays preserved as Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 4 (fig. 560). According to the catalogue, it is a copy of the Takmilat al-Durar wa-l-Ġurar by al-Murtaḍā transcribed from Faḍl Allāh al-Rawandi’s copy of 555 [1160]. On another occasion, al-Afandī also reports having seen the original 555 [1160] codex, which has apparently not come down to us.


Maktabat al-ʿāmma wa-l-ḥāṣa fi l-ʿIrāq,” p. 146. See also al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 3, p. 673 no. 11738, according to which this manuscript belonged to the library of Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Samāwī. The information is, no doubt, based on Maḥfūẓ, “al-Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fi l-ʿIrāq,” p. 216 no. 28; Maḥfūẓ had inspected the holdings of al-Samāwī’s library a few years after the latter’s demise in 1950. The current whereabouts of the manuscript are uncertain.

See Zuwayn et al., Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-naḡafiyya, vol. 2, p. 288; Mūḡānī et al., Fihrist, vol. 1, p. 253 [no. 4]. As explained above, only the iǧāza is in Faḍl Allāh’s hand, not the entire work. Cf. al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 4, p. 813 no. 16616, where both the name of the copyist and the date of the manuscript’s production are indicated as unknown.


A facsimile of the codex was published in 1396/2017 as Amālī al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā by the Mağmaʿ-i Daḥāʾir-i İslāmī in Qum. The manuscript is also briefly mentioned in Āḡā Buzurg, Daṛīa, vol. 19, p. 365 (“maḏālis al-Murtaḍā’); Karabulut, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 1; and al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muḫtārāt min maḫṭūṭāt Turkiyā, p. 221. The libraries of Istanbul hold additional manuscripts of the Ġurar, viz. Ms. Istanbul, Sülêymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840 (dated 28 Rabīʿ I 1080 [26 August 1669]; see fol. 298r [fig. 77c], consisting of both the Ġurar and the Takmilat, with numerous hawāštī throughout the codex); Ms. Istanbul, Sülêymaniye, Kılîc Ali Paşa 787 (dated 23 Ramaḍān 1078 [7 March 1668], a copy containing the Ġurar only, with numerous margin notes throughout [figs 77d, 77e]); Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712, containing both the Ġurar and the Takmilat, copied by Muhammad Ṣâki Muṣṭafā al-ʿUmari for the ġīzāna of Muḥammad Rāġib Pāšā and dated Rabīʿ II 1173 [November–December 1759] (fol. 77r); Ms. Istanbul, Küpürüli, Ḥafız Ahmed Paşa 39, containing only al-Ġurar, dated Muḥarram 1006 [August–September 1597] and copied by Ḥasan b. Ǧumʿa b. ʿĀli ʿAṭṭāf al-Zabīdī al-Naḡafī, who relates that his antigraph was indirectly based on a copy produced by one Ibn al-Muṣṭaq (fig. 333; see also Şeşen et al., Fihrist maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat Küpürüli, vol 2, pp. 421–422); Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 594, a copy containing the Ġurar only, with no
title page (fig. 77), a later reader has copied down part of the entry on al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā from Yāqūt’s Muʿğam al-udabāʾ. Like the other copies of the Ġurar discussed so far, the codex contains many margin glosses added by different hands.

Another copy of the Ġurar has come down to us in two volumes, both replete with ḥawāšī, many of which originated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. The first volume is

For the full entry, see Yāqūt, Muʿğam al-udabāʾ, vol. 4, pp. 1728–1733 no. 748.

See n. 297 for examples of ḥawāšī that are included both in Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987 and in Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485. See also Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987, fols 118v–119r, which has glosses by two different hands. Moreover, throughout the entire codex there are balāġ notes testifying that Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥhammad (on whom see below) taught the
preserved as Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 adab Taymūr and was consulted by Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhim for his edition of the Ġurar. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhim was unaware of the second volume, which is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987 (figs 77o, 77p, 77q). Although neither of the two volumes is dated, 619 [1222–23] is the terminus ante quem for both. According to the title page of volume two, the copy belonged to Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawṣili (d. 634 [1237]). It was apparently transcribed at his behest. This information is corroborated by volume one, according to Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhim’s description. Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar was also involved in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, and he transmitted al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Nahj al-balāǧa through his teacher Ibn Šahrāšūb from Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. It is thus plausible that his copy of the Ġurar was also related to Faḍl Allāh. Nothing is known at present about the subsequent fate of the first volume, but the second volume remained in the possession of Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad’s family for at least two generations. This is indicated by another ownership statement in the upper left-hand corner of the title page, which names Ḥaydar’s grandson, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar. The later history of the codex can be reconstructed on the basis of the various statements by later owners on the volume’s title page (fig. 77o), including one by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Abī l-Faṭḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar (named here as ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Abī l-Faṭḥ). This is ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī (d. 692 [1293]), the author of Kašf al-ġumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma. The title page also has a samāʾ attestation

work. See, e.g., fol. 213r, where he is explicitly mentioned.

239 See the editor’s description in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhim (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 24. We were unable to inspect this codex. The Taymūr codex is not included among the surrogates of Taymūriyya manuscripts that are available through “Ǧāmiʿ al-maḫṭūṭāt al-islāmiyya” at https://wqf.me/ [accessed 25 June 2020]; codices with Šīʿī contents are typically excluded from this site. For the history of the Dār al-Kutub and its collection of manuscripts, see Sayyid, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya.

240 Another witness of the Ġurar that was produced in the later sixth/twelfth or early seventh/thirteenth century is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986. For a discussion of this codex, see above.

241 For his father, Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar (d. 641 [1243–44]), see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb, vol. 5, pp. 91–92.

242 The same signature, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Abī l-Faṭḥ, can be found on the title page of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 4403 (fig. 540), containing a copy of volume one of Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ by al-Rāġib al-İsfahānī (d. early fifth/eleventh century). For al-Irbilī and the manuscripts in his possession, see also Ḫakīm, “Kitāb-hā-yi waqf šuda bar Kitābhāna-yi
signed by the owner of the codex, Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad. In this attestation, ‘Alī b. Naṣr b. ‘Alī b. al-A’azz al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḫaṣrī (Abū l-Barakāt) states that he read the work to Ḥaydar over the course of several meetings, with the last session taking place on 13 Ramaḍān 619 [21 October 1222]. Two others were also present and participated in the reading of the work: Ǧiyyā al-Dīn Abū Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh al-Ṣafī and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ǧaḥīṣ b. (?) al-Ṣaṭṭārī. According to Abū l-ḥaḍīr Ibrāhīm, the first volume contains two samāʿ attestations for ʿAlī b. al-Aʿazz and others, the first on the title page and also dated 619 [1222], and another one at the end (dated 624 [1227]).

Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577 constitutes a partial copy of the Ġurar al-fawāʾid. The manuscript is undated, but the codex opens with an iǧāza (fol. 1r; fig. 78) issued in Rabīʿ I 713 [June–July 1313] in Baghdad by the Šīʿī scholar al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Abī Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Hirqilī, attesting that Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥusayn Rabʿ-i Rašīdi”.

244 A digital surrogate is available at http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/f1881p521 [accessed 3 December 2019]. For the codex, see also Ansari, “Nusha-i kuhansal az Amāli-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”.

245 He is the author of Iṣlāḥ al-iḡfāl, a commentary on the K. al-Munaḫḫal of al-Wazīr al-Maġribī on ūlm al-lüḡa, which has been edited as a master’s dissertation by Ġamʾān b. Nāḡī al-Sulāmī (1408/1887), with a study of the work and its author. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ǧaḥīṣ b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Anbārī, the author of Kašf al-ġumma, also issued an iǧāza for the same muḡāz, i.e., Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Ǧaḥīṣ b. Abī Ḥusayn al-Anbārī, for volume two of the K. al-Niẓām fi šarḥ šīr al-Mutanabbī wa-Abī Tammām by Ibn al-Muṣṭawfī al-Irbilī (b. 564 [1169], d. 637 [1239]; the work has been published), again in Rabīʿ I 713 [June–July 1313] in Baghdad; see Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 1015 (fig. 547); copied by the Šīʿī Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Hirqilī and dated 11 Saʿbān 678 [17 December 1279]), fol. 273r (fig. 498). In the iǧāza, Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ relates that he transmitted the work through ‘Ali b. Ǧaḥīṣ b. Abī l-Ḥusayn. Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ also owned the lexicographical work of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Šaḡānī (b. 577 [1181], d. 650 [1252]), Maǧmaʿ al-Baḥrayn, as is suggested by his ownership notes in Ms. Istanbul, Murat Molla 1806 (likewise transcribed by al-Hirqilī) (figs 501, 502), 1807 (fig. 503), and 1808 (fig. 504). Al-Hirqilī is also the scribe of the copy of Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ’s Iṣlāḥ al-iḡfāl that was consulted for the aforementioned master’s dissertation by Ġamʾān b. Nāḡī al-Sulāmī, which he further transcribed al-Marāsim al-ʿalawīyya by Abū Yaʿlā Sallār al-Šaybānī, and his copy (Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3878) is dated 14 Ǧumādā II 677 [2 November 1278]; see Arberry, Handlist, vol. 4, pp. 45-46 (Arberry cites his name wrongly as “Muḥammad b. Išāq b. Ḥasan al-Hiraqī”; he further erroneously assumes this copy to be a unique witness of the text). Al-Hirqilī also produced in 687 [1288] a copy of Tahḏīb al-luḡa of Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿAzharī (d. 370 [980]). According to Ayman Fuʿād
al-Anbārī read parts of the book with him. The iǧāza includes Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ’s own chain of transmission for the work: Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ ← Ġa’far b. Sa’īd al-Ḥillī (i.e., al-Muḥaqiq al-Ḥillī, d. 676 [1277]) ← al-Ḥusayn [sic] b. al-Darbī ← Ǧaʿfar b. Ǧibra’i’il b. Ismā’il al-Qummī (d. after 593 [1196–97]) ← [Abū] Ġa’far [Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ġa’far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad] al-Dūryastī ← “an ǧaddihi” (referring to Ġa’far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dūryastī) ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. Moreover, al-Anbārī permits the muǧāz to transmit the entire K. al-Ġurar, as well as all other works by al-Murtaḍā, through him. At the end of the second part (fol. 166v; fig. 78a), the anonymous scribe remarks that his antigraph was in the hand of the author (bi-ḫaṭṭ al-muṣannif); this indicates that al-Murtaḍā produced an autograph of the work in addition to the copies he dictated to his students.

Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9067 is another old witness of the first part of the K. al-Ġurar. Though the colophon at the end of the codex has been smeared and is illegible (fig. 457), it seems that the copy was produced during the sixth/twelfth century. The codex features numerous margin glosses, in two hands. The older hand seems to date to the time of the codex’s production, whereas the second hand seems to date to the time of the codex’s production, whereas the second


On him, see Ġaḍa Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, p. 128; Ali, “The Beginnings of the School of Hillah,” pp. 50–53. This renowned Imāmī jurist was also the šayḫ of Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn Zuhra and his father, to whom he granted an iǧāza in 584 [1188–89]; see Ġaḍa Buzurg, Darīʿa, vol. 1, p. 197 no. 1025.

For an analysis of this codex and an edition of the iǧāza, see Ansari, “Nusḥa-i kuhansāl az Amāli-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”.

hand seems to be that of a later reader. Some of the ḥawāšī added by the older hand evidently come from Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Though the codex may have originated in Šīʿī circles, it was for some time in Sunnī possession. This is indicated by some of the ownership notes on the codex’s title page (fig. 64a). ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-ʿUrḍī al-Šāfiʿī al-Qādirī (d. 1024 [1615]) became the owner of the codex on 15 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1016 [2 March 1608], and in 1083 [1672–73] it was purchased by Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1085 [1674–75]), the naqīb al-sāda al-ṭālibiyya in Damascus. At a later stage, the codex became part of the library of Ğaʿfar-i Sultān al-Qurrāʾī, a twentieth-century scholar of Tabrīz; the library eventually became part of the Maǧlis Library.

On 19 Rabīʿ I 955 [28 April 1548], Malik Muḥammad b. Sultān Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Šāh Iṣfahānī completed a copy of the Ġurar, which is preserved as Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi Maǧlis-i Muṯālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīģāt-i Islāmī) 359 (fig. 570). Another copy of the Ġurar containing al-ǧuzʾ al-awwal only is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 7885. The antigraph is not identified and the copy does not contain any glosses. The codex was transcribed by one Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Awālī (al-Uwālī) “al-Muwālī, ” who completed it on 21 Ramaḍān 958 [22 September 1551] fī balad

251 See, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9067, fol. 62v (fig. 456) (qālā mawlānā . . . al-ʿaġab min Ibn Qutayba . . . ), which can also be found in other witnesses of Faḍl Allāh’s copy of the Ġurar; see below, n. 271.


255 The codex contains roughly the second half of the Ġurar; the beginning of the text (fol. 1r) corresponds to ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 2, p. 126:23. The codex was apparently written by two different hands. Some folios may have been missing at one stage and were later added to the codex. As is often the case, the beginning of a new maǧlis is indicated simply by the words maǧlis āḥar. A later reader numbered the maǧālis in the margin in red ink, with occasional errors and omissions; for details, see Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar”). For a brief description of this codex, see Ṣadrāʾī Ḫūʾī et al., Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḵāna-yi Maǧlis-i Muṯālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī, vol. 1, p. 314; see also Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 388 no. 13.
Ardāwīl, that is, in Ardabil (fig. 54).\(^{256}\) **Ms. Istanbul, Beyazit, Veliyüddin 437,** another witness of the *K. al-Ġurar*, was copied a few decades later by one ʿAli b. Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Mūsā Ibn Abī Musāfir and completed on Monday, 16 Ğumādā [II] 984 [10 September 1576] (fig. 332). **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1044** also contains the *K. al-Ġurar*. The end of the codex is missing and the copy thus remains undated. It was written by different hands and at different times. The table of contents as well as pp. 15–113 (figs 61, 62) were produced by one hand, possibly complementing the next portion of the work (pp. 114–237), which was written by another hand and carries an ownership statement on its first page (fig. 63). The last part of the codex (pp. 238–501) was written by yet another hand, which seems more archaic than the two other hands (fig. 64). None of the three parts has any margin glosses.\(^{257}\) **Ms. Qum, Kitābḵāna-yi Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablíqāt-i Islāmī) 174,** another copy of the *Ġurar* without any margin glosses, was copied by al-Hādī b. Šayḥ Muḥammad Ǧulām ʿAlī al-Šahr-Mīr-Zādī, who completed it on 1 Muḥarram 1050 [23 April 1640] (fig. 571).** Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5829,** again containing the *K. al-Ġurar* with merely occasional glosses, specifies the date of completion for each of its four parts; 8 Raǧab 1100 [28 April 1689] for part one (fig. 65), 4 Muḥarram 1101 [18 October 1689] for part two (rather than “one” as stated in the codex; fig. 66), 6 Ṣafar 1101 [19 November 1689] for part three (rather than “two”; fig. 67), and 11 Rabīʿ I 1101 [23 December 1689] for part four (fig. 68). The text was copied by Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Malik al-Naṭanţī in Iṣfahān.\(^{258}\) **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1089** is an undated, late copy of the *Ġurar*. The codex was heavily damaged at some stage, and many folios are missing. The missing portions were later reproduced by a different hand and added to the codex. The numerous extensive margin glosses throughout the codex are worthy of mention (fig. 68b).\(^{259}\)

256 For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 388 no. 14.

257 For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 23.

258 For a brief description of this codex, see Šadrāʾī Ḥūʾī et al., *Fihrist-i nusha-hā-yi haṭṭī-yi Kitābḵāna-yi Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī*, vol. 1, p. 144 (the date of the codex is given here as 1057 AH); Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 34.


260 The following pages were added later, to replace the missing portions: pp. 1–25, 64–65, 142–143, 158–159, 228–229, 244–245, 344–345, 364–365, 564–565, 572. The later hand also added some of the missing text on pp. 30 (fig. 68a), 31, and 32. For a brief description of the codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 22.
Al-Murtada’s Ġurar was also transmitted by Faḍl Allāh’s younger contemporary, Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Mutaṭabbīb al-Qummī. Faḍl Allāh acknowledges Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr’s support of the preparation of his al-Ḥamāsa ḏāt al-ḥawāšī in turn, Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr names Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as his šayḫ for the transmission of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Nahgı al-balāġa in an iǧāza issued to Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid al-Barīdī al-ʻAbī for the work on 16 Ğumādā II 575 [18 November 1179]. That Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr also studied al-

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261 Preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 8867, fol. 18r (fig. 338). Besides Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr also names here ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-ṱḥwa and the paternal uncle of his father, Abī l-Ḥasan b. al-aḍīb Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ibrāhīm b. Bundār, as his transmitters for the work. In Ramaḍān 574 [February–March 1179], ‘Ali, the son of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, also issued a reading attestation for Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad for the Nahgı al-balāġa; see Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 8867, fol. 17v (fig. 337a). ‘Ali indicates two chains of transmission for his father, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī: (1) Faḍl Allāh ← ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-ṱḥwa ← Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Muʿammal al-Ṣağānī ← Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad ← al-Raḍī; (2) Faḍl Allāh ← al-Murtada b. al-Dāʾī b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-Rāzī ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh ġaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ahmād b. al-ʿAbbās al-Dūryastī al-Rāzī ← al-Raḍī. For the role of al-Dūryastī in the transmission of the Nahgı al-balāġa, see the iǧāza issued by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Abū Naṣr ‘Ali b. Abī Saʿd al-Ṭabīb, which is discussed in n. 212. See also Faḍl Allāh’s iǧāza to Abū ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās Nāzawayh, discussed above in n. 200. For Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad, see also Muntaḡab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 100 no. 202; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Amal al-āmil, vol. 2, p. 134 no. 382; al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, Tarāǧim al-riǧāl, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 1, p. 411 no. 800. Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad’s Ḥudūd has been published twice, in an edition prepared by Ḥusayn ‘Ali Mahfūz (1970) and in another edition prepared by Muḥammad Tāqī Dānīšpāzūh (1971). Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr’s isnād for the Nahgı al-balāġa are also mentioned in the study report by the aforementioned Abū Naṣr ‘Ali b. Abī Saʿd, which includes a full quotation of the iǧāza issued by Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr to Abū Naṣr ‘Ali b. Abī Saʿd in Raǧab 587 [July–August 1191]; see above, n. 212. The various iǧāzas attesting to the roles of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, and Abū Naṣr ‘Ali are also quoted in another copy of the Nahgı al-balāġa, dated Rabī’ II 1059 [April–May 1649]. This was transcribed by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Tustarī, who used a copy of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s as antigraph. Al-Tustarī’s copy is described in detail in al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fī riḥāb Nahgı al-balāģa (3),” pp. 20–23 no. 172. Al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī also relates the history of this codex, which is nowadays held by the library of the National Museum in Baghdad; see also al-Naqṣbandī and ‘Abbās, Maḫṭūṭāt al-adab fī l-Muḥaf al-ʿIrāqī, p. 644 no. 26196. This copy in turn apparently served as antigraph for Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣī 13301 and Ms. Tehran, Millī 32342; for these two manuscripts, see also above, n. 212. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 8344 is another copy of the Nahgı al-balāģa (fig. 400), completed, according to the final colophon (fig. 401), by one Abū ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali on 4 Raǧab 660 [25 May 1262]. ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, who inspected the physical codex, concluded that the
Murtada’s ġurar with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is confirmed by a margin note (written in a different hand but most likely by someone within the circle of the scribe, on
whom see below) in a copy of the Ġurar preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 278. The note (fol. 70v; fig. 68e), provides additional details on the copy and its antigraph, though it is only partly legible. The note mentions that the copy goes back to Muhammad b. Abī Naṣr’s copy of the work, with two intermediaries. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, in turn, collated his copy with a copy in the possession of Faḍl Allāh al-Rawandi (nusḥat mawlānā). If our reading of the note is correct, and if indeed the note refers to the antigraph of the present copy, the antigraph was collated by its scribe on 10 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 566 [15 July 1171] with its antigraph, which was based on Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr’s copy. The very same note can also be found in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ġīm (fol. 78v; fig. 339), which came into the possession of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (b. 1033 [1624], d. 1104 [1693]) in 1090 [1679–80] (see the dated ownership statement and stamp on fol. 3r; fig. 335). It is possible that the latter codex is directly or indirectly related to Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 278.

Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 278 is also the earliest extant witness containing both the Ġurar and the Takmilā (fols 233–263). The K. al-Ġurar, which is heavily damaged in the beginning, ends with a colophon attesting that Ḥaydar b. Baḥṭiyār b. al-Ḥasan al-Šinṣāṭī completed the transcription of this part of the work on 15 Ṣafar 574 [2 August 1178] (fol. 232r; fig. 69). The final page of the Ġurar (fol. 232r; fig. 69) also features a muṭālaʿa note by a later owner of the codex, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿIbrāhīm (?) b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Farāhānī al-Qarmīsīnī, dated Šawwāl 637 [April–May 1240], as well as a statement, dated 1015 [1606–7], by one al-ʿUṯmānī al-Šuṭṭārī, a name pointing to Egypt or the Ottoman Empire; this suggests that the codex, which was produced in Iran, spent some time outside Iran before returning there. The Takmilā opens with a table of contents (fol. 233r; fig. 70); the subsequent leaves are in disorder, with some folios and the end of the book missing. Some pages

263 For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 25.
265 It should be noted, however, that fols 43–54 and 80–81 are written by a different hand (or hands) than the rest of the maǧmūʿa. For the codex, see also Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, pp. 387–388; Mahfūz, “Nafāʾis al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī Īrān,” p. 30 no. 28. For the copyist, whose nisba could also be read in the manuscript as al-Šinṣāṭī, al-Šinastī, or al-Šinbāṭī, and who was a scholar in his own right, see Muntaḡab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 60 no. 129, where his full name is given as Muʿaffaq al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Baḥṭiyār b. Ḥaydar “al-Šanṣabī” nazīl al-Rayy. According to Yāqūṭ, Muʿğam al-buldān, vol. 3, p. 368 the nisba should be read al-Šinṣāṭī (although Yāqūṭ does not provide a vocalization).
of the original codex also appear to have been lost, as they have been replaced by folios containing the missing text, written by two different hands, one possibly being Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Farāhānī (fols 43r–54v), and another later hand (fols 51r–v, 43r–57v, 80r–81v). Throughout the Ġurar, there are collation notes by the scribe, Ḥaydar b. Baḥṭiyār, dated Ṣafar 574 [July–August 1178] (fol. 40r), ġumādā II 574 [November–December 1178] (fol. 47v), 2 Raḡāb 574 [14 December 1178] (fol. 70r), 9 Ramaḏān 574 [18 February 1179] (fol. 109v), 13 Ramaḏān 574 [22 February 1179] (fol. 115v), and 15 Šawwāl 574 [26 March 1179] (fol. 124r). On one occasion, in a note dated to the end of Šawwāl 574 [April 1179] (fol. 144r), Ḥaydar b. Baḥṭiyār identifies his šayḫ as Faḫr al-Dīn Ǧamāl al-Islām Šaraf al-Zuhhād Abū [ʿAbd Allāh?] ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī, adding that the latter fell ill and eventually died in Ḏū l-Qaʿda 574 [April–May 1179].266 The codex also contains numerous margin notes, many of which again reflect those of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.267 This is also the case with two margin notes on the Takmīla on fol. 235v (fig. 548), containing two quotations from the tafṣīr of Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mihrīzad, a work that is known to have been transmitted by Faḍl Allāh.268 Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278 suggests that Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī did not have the Takmīla as part of his copy of the Amālī from the outset but that he gained access to it at some later time; this is also the reason some copies of the Amālī that originated with him contain only the Ġurar.

Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136 was copied by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī al-Šīrāzī in Golconda, Hyderabad.269 The first part, the Ġurar, was completed on 24 Ṣafar

266 He is al-adīb Faḥr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAlī al-Qummī al-Ṭabʿī; on him, see Munt’aǧab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 130 no. 279; Āģā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, p. 160. There are also other undated collation notes by the same hand; see fols 64r, 82r, 94r, 99r, 105v.

267 Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is mentioned explicitly on fols 104r (where Faḍl Allāh quotes his teacher Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, on whom see n. 225), 135v (where Faḍl Allāh states that he is transmitting from his “ustāḏ bi-Iṣbahān”, 202v, 217r, 217v, and 219r. The margin notes further include references to al-Šaḡārī’s copy (fol. 7r, noting a variant reading bi-ḥaṭṭ al-Šaḡārī). Another margin note on fol. 42r (fig. 68d) refers to Afḍal al-Dīn al-Māhābādī, who was a teacher of Munt’aǧab al-Dīn; on him, see Munt’aǧab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 50 no. 93. On fol. 2v (fig. 68c), there is a quotation from one of al-Murtada’s other writings.

268 See above, n. 205.

269 For this and other copies transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī al-Šīrāzī, see al-Wāṯiqī, Aʿlām al-muǧāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʿazzama, vol. 1, pp. 60–62 no. 24. Golconda was the capital of
The second part, the *Takmilah*, was completed approximately ten years later, in Muharram 1044 [June–July 1634]. Although the *Takmilah*’s colophon (fig. 72) does not identify the scribe, the handwriting suggests that this portion of the work, too, was transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī. Interestingly enough, a copy dated Ǧumādā II 574 [November–December 1178] is identified here as antigraph. Whether the 574 AH copy also served as antigraph for the *Ǧurar* contained in this codex is uncertain, but the long time between the transcription of the *Ǧurar* and that of the *Takmilah* and the silence of the colophon at the end of the *Ǧurar* about the antigraph speak against this possibility.

Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678 is another witness containing both the *Ǧurar* and the *Takmilah* (fols 245v–283r), and it, too, contains numerous glosses on the *Ǧurar* in different hands. Many ḥawāšī can also be found in Ms. San Lorenzo El Escorial 1485, suggesting that Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678 likewise reflects Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s recension of the work. However, the number of glosses in Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678 clearly surpasses that in any of the other codices containing Faḍl Allāh’s glosses. Since both the ḥawāšī of Faḍl Allāh and the additional ḥawāšī included in Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678 generally lack signatures, it is possible that this codex reflects a more advanced stage of Faḍl Allāh’s engagement with al-Murtaḍā’s *Ǧurar*: Faḍl Allāh apparently revised and augmented his glosses on the *Ǧurar* as he continued working on the text. The *Ǧurar* was completed mid-Raǧab 586 [August 1190] (fol. 244v; fig. 75a), and the *Takmilah* concludes with a colophon dated 3 Šaʿbān 586 [5 September 1190] (fol. 283r; fig. 75); the entire codex was transcribed in Rāwand by Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Warrāq on behalf of a scholar by the name of Muršid al-Dīn Faḫr al-Islām Šaraf al-A’imma wa-l-ʿUlamāʾ Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wārānī.

It is uncertain whether it was al-Wārānī or the scribe who added the glosses to the
copy. According to a note placed beneath the two colophons, dated 7 Raḡab 594 [15 May 1198], another scribe, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zurri, produced another copy of the work on the basis of this codex. Al-Zurri’s copy, in turn, is referred to in a collation note on the final page of another witness of the Takmila-cum-Ǧurar, namely Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881 (see below). The note mentions that al-Zurri completed his copy at the end of Ḏumādā II 594 [May 1198] (fig. 82). Another witness of al-Murtaḍā’s Ǧurar and Takmila that was produced on the basis of al-Zurri’s copy is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Malik 164, completed in Muḥarram 1061 [December 1650–January 1651] (Ǧurar) (p. 502; fig. 439); the date at the end of the Takmila is only partly visible but it seems to read [10]56 AH (p. 585; fig. 442), which would suggest that the Takmila was transcribed before the Ǧurar. The codex was copied by Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Ali b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Ḥalifa b. Waḥid al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī al-Salīmī al-Sarawī in Sārī (Māzandarān); the copyist states explicitly that he meticulously copied all the margin notes of his antigraph into his copy of the work. An unusual feature of this codex is the table of contents, which is placed not only at the beginning of the

273 In view of the aforementioned Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136 and the antigraph of the Takmila contained therein, dated Ḏumādā II 574 AH, it is possible that the antigraph referred to there is in fact also al-Zurri’s copy. Sab and tis can easily be misread in the manuscript tradition. From al-Zurri’s hand, a copy of Šarḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāṣa by Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā b. ‘Ali al-Ḥaṭib al-Tabrīzī (d. 502 [1109]) is preserved in the library of Asḡar Mahdawī in Tehran. The codex was accessible to us through a surrogate, Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1550. In the colophon, dated Raḡab 593 [May–June 1197], the scribe identifies himself as al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Zurri al-Ǧāstī (fig. 299). For another person with this nisba, namely Ḥasan b. ‘Ali b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabīb al-Ǧāstī, who in Raḡab 626 [May–June 1229] completed a copy of Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī Ibn Ǧazla’s (d. 493 [1100]) Minhāḥ al-bayān fīmā yastaʿmiluhu l-insān, see the editor’s introduction to al-Bīrūnī, K. al-Ṣaydana, pp. sī wa šiš ff. For Šīrzād b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Asadī al-Ǧāstī, who produced a copy of the K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ by al-Ǧawharī, see above, n. 200. For the nisba Ǧāsbī or Ǧāstī, see Ṣādiqī, “Ǧāsbī yā Ǧāstī?”; Modarressi, Qummiyyāt, pp. 75–84 (“Munāzara ay manẓūm miyān-i Qum wa Kāšān”); Bašarī, “Gunāh-i baḥt-i man ast”. An example of the continuing scholarly links between Wārān and Ǧāst (Ǧāsb) might possibly be the case of ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Ǧāsbī al-Wārānī (fl. during the late seventh/thirteenth and early eighth/fourteenth centuries); on him, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, Tarāǧim al-riǧāl, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 2, pp. 199–200 no. 1252. The autograph of an iǧāza ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Ǧāsbī al-Wārānī had issued on 1 Raḡab 714 [11 October 1314] for Badāʾiʿ al-ḥikam fi ṣanāʾiʿ al-kalim is preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 14728, fol. 9r. For this iǧāza, see also al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, Tarāǧim al-riǧāl, 1414 [1993-94] ed., vol. 2, p. 877 no. 1643. The authenticity of the iǧāza and the muǧīz is doubtful in our view and needs to be investigated. For Ibn Ǧazla’s Minhāḥ al-bayān, see Maḥmūd Mahdī Badawi’s introduction to his edition of the work (published in 2010).
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Čurar (fol. 1v–4r; figs 436, 437; the codex is paginated only from fol. 5v onwards, though the pagination has been modified by a different hand at a later stage) but also at the beginning of the Takmila (p. 505; fig. 441). On p. 504 (fig. 440) of the codex, there is some poetry by Ibn Qudāma’s student Abū l-Saʿādāt al-Šaǧarī. In a margin note on p. 261 (fig. 438), the scribe refers to a note in the hand of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī (“al-Šayḥ al-Bahāʾi,” d. 1030 [1621]) in another copy of the Čurar.274

In Ms. Istanbul, Feyzullah Efendi 1678, between the Čurar and the Takmila (fol. 245r; fig. 75b) there is a qirāʾa attestation issued by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Dūryastī (alive in 590 [1194]; for the date, see fig. 308), a scholar of Kāšān, for Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wārānī, the owner of the codex, with the date Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 589 [November–December 1193]. Al-Dūryastī provides the following widely attested chain of transmission: Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Iḫwa ← Abū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.275 Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī also issued, in Šawwāl 584 [November–December 1188], an iǧāza to the same ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wārānī (“Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wārānī”) for the first volume of the K. al-Mabsūṭ by al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī.276

274 For a brief description of the codex, see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, Fihrist-i nusḥa-hâ-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, vol. 1, p. 525; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 35.

275 The codex is briefly mentioned in Karabulut, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 1. It was also consulted by Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm for his edition of the Čurar. See pp. 23–24 of his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Amālī (1373/1954). Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm erroneously gives 1485 as the codex’s shelfmark.

276 Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12772; for a description of the codex, which was later in the possession of al-Afandī, and the wording of the iǧāza, see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i nusḥa-hâ-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, vol. 1, p. 525; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 35. For al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī, see also Muntaǧab al-Dīn, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 51 no. 96; Āġā
Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678 apparently served as antigraph for Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296, which contains both the Ğurar (up to fol. 284v) and the Takmila (beginning on fol. 286v). The codex was copied by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Niʿmat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Ahmad al-Ṭarabzūnī in Istanbul, at the behest of Muḥammad al-Afandī, the grandson of the renowned Ottoman jurist Abū l-Suʿūd al-Afandī (d. 1574). At the end of the Takmila, the colophon of the antigraph, dated 3 Šaʿbān 586 [5 September 1190], is reproduced; the copyist relates in the final colophon that he began to copy the work on 22 Šaʿbān 1040 [26 March 1631] and that he completed it on 11 Ḫumādā 1041 [5 December 1631] (figs 77f, 77g, 77h, 77i, 77j, 77k).

Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380 is a copy of the Ğurar and the Takmila. It was transcribed by ʿAlī b. al-Rakin al-Mārūnī al-ʿĀmilī, who completed part two of the Ğurar on 5 Dū l-Qaʿda 1039 [16 June 1630] (see the colophon on fol. 122v; fig. 79) and part four on 11 Rabīʿ I 1040 [18 October 1630]. The scribe subsequently collated his copy, finishing the task on 10 Ramaḍān 1040 [12 April 1631] (see the colophon on fol. 233v; fig. 80). The Takmila (fols 234v–268v) is written by the same hand. Like the Ğurar, it has corrections throughout, and it ends with an undated and unsigned colophon.

Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510, which likewise contains both the Ğurar and the Takmila, was transcribed a few decades later, in or around 1090 [1679], as is indicated by the dated colophon at the end of the first volume (p. 265). On the last page (fig. 81) there is a collation note,
added in the margin by a different hand, dated 14 Ṣafar 1095 [1 February 1684] and signed by Muḥammad Taqī b. Muḥammad Muqīm al-Šīrāzī, who was known as al-Dārābī. There are also numerous corrections in the margins throughout the codex. Another eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the Ġurar and the Takmila seems to be Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 750. No date or scribal signature is found in parts one (al-ǧuzʾ al-awwal), two (al-muǧallada al-ṯāniya), or three (al-ǧuzʾ al-ṯāliṯ / al-muǧallada al-ṯāliṯa) of the Ġurar or in the Takmila; part four of the Ġurar ends with a dated colophon (18 Rabīʿ I, fig. 82), but without indication of the year. Ms. Tehran, Millī 681, a thirteenth/nineteenth-century copy of the Ġurar and the Takmila (fols 227v–263v), is also noteworthy. The codex opens with a beautifully crafted table of contents (fig. 83), and the main text of the book is carefully written, fully vocalized, and again supplemented with numerous margin glosses and corrections in different hands, in most cases with abbreviated signatures (fig. 84). The colophon at the end of the Takmila (fig. 85) gives the date of completion as 1259 [1843]. It also includes the colophon of the antigraph, which is dated 12 Raǧab 1097 [4 June 1686].

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279 The tentative date is mentioned in the catalogue. See Ustādī, Fiḥrist-i nusḥa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭi-yi Marwī, p. 69, and likewise Dirāyatī, Fiḥristiḡān, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 18 (here the shelfmark is erroneously given as 75); Dirāyatī, Fiḥristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 788 no. 198794. For the history of the Madrasa-yi Marwī, see Ruḥānī Ṣadr, Fayziyya-yi Tihrān.

280 Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9314 is another undated witness of both the Ġurar and the Takmila (fols 206v–238v), possibly produced around the same time. In addition to a table of contents at the beginning of the codex (fig. 73), there are numerous signed ḥawāšī throughout it. At the end of the Takmila there is a collation note by a later reader, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Faṣīḥ al-Marāḡī al-Ġarawī, dated 5 Raǧab 1209 [26 January 1795] (fol. 283v; fig. 74). For a brief description of the codex, see Dirāyatī, Fiḥristiḡān, vol. 23, p. 392 no. 70.


282 Among the many other witnesses of the Ġurar (with and without the Takmila) dating from the eleventh/seventeenth century and after, numerous copies are also found in less well-known libraries. They include a copy dated 16 Rabīʿ I 1016 [11 July 1607], copied by ʿĪsā b. Ibāḥīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Lahshāʾi, which contains only the Ġurar and is kept in the Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Walī-yi ʿAṣr in Ḥānsār (no shelfmark) (figs 207g, 207h). For other works copied by ʿĪsā b. Ibāḥīm, including al-Murtaḍā’s al-Fuṣūl al-muḫtāra (Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5392), see Dirāyatī, Fiḥristiḡān, vol. 24, pp. 772 (s.v. “ʿĪsā b. Ibāḥīm b. ʿAbd Allāh”), 1037 (s.v. “Kisāʾī, ʿĪsā b. Ibāḥīm”—the reading “Kisāʾī” could be a misreading of Lahshāʾi). Ms. Qum, Fayḍiyya 88, containing the Ġurar and the first pages of the Takmila, was transcribed by Muḥammad ʿAli b. al-Qāḍī Aḥsan al-Makki (dated 25 Ḡumādā I 1065 [2 April 1655]) (fig. 334). On him, see al-Wāṭiqī, Aʿlām al-muḡāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʾazzama, vol. 2, pp. 698–701 no. 278; for a brief description of the codex, see also Dirāyatī, Fiḥristiḡān, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 36, p. 393 no.
A different structural arrangement of the work, apparent in a number of manuscripts, places the Takmila first, followed by the Ġurar. Examples include Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881 (figs 82a, 82b, 82c, 82d, 82e, 82f, 82g, 82h, 82i), which was transcribed by Ibrāhīm b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Māzandarānī. He completed the Takmila on 2 Ramaḍān 1069 [24 May 1659] (fol. 58r), and the Ġurar on 20 Ṣafar 1071 [25 October 1660]. On the final page of the Ġurar (fig. 82i) there is a collation note by a later reader (dated 1108 [1697]), as well as the text of the colophon of the earlier codex that served as the antigraph for the 1069 [1071] copy. That earlier codex was transcribed by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zurrī and dated end of Ġumādā II 594 [May 1198] (see above). The numerous ḥawāšī throughout the manuscript most likely also originated in the 594 [1198] antigraph.283 Another example is Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527. The copy was transcribed by one Ẓahīr b. al-Maʿṣūm and completed on 2 Rabīʿ II 1096 [8 March 1685] (fig. 575). The Takmila is incomplete at the end—the last lines of Masʿala fi l-manāmāt are missing, as are the following masāʾil of the Takmila.284 The transition from the Takmila to the Ġurar (fol. 30v:4) is not signaled in the codex, and the unusual arrangement of the first maǧālis in the Ġurar shows that the copy reflects Ibn Qudāma’s recension of the work. On the opening page of the codex, there is a waqf statement (dated 1127 [1719]) (fig. 574) in which Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Ḥusayn Maḥfūẓ mentions that he is the mutawallī of the waqf.285 The undated Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābā-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 895 (figs 85a, 85b, 85c) has a similarly peculiar arrangement, with the Takmila (pp. 1–62) preceding

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283 For a brief description of the codex, see Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 39. When ʿAlī Ḥusayn Maḥfūẓ visited Iran in the 1950s, the codex still belonged to the library of Faḫr al-Dīn Naṣīrī in Tehran; see Maḥfūẓ, “Nafāʾis al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī Īrān,” p. 52 nos 173, 174. A list of manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that Maḥfūẓ encountered during his visit to Iran is also included in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 132 n. 1, 133–134 (introduction by al-Ṣaffār).

the Ġurar. Between the two parts of the work there is a minor lacuna: the Takmila is incomplete, ending with Mas’ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaǧǧimūn, the beginning of the K. al-Ġurar is missing, and the arrangement of the first maǧālis of the Ġurar disagrees with the sequence attested in the other consulted witnesses of the work. The undated codex features marginal headings throughout.

286 Pp. 62:14–63:10 in this codex correspond to vol. 1, pp. 7:14–8:16 in the edition of al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī (i.e., the final portion of maǧlis 1). They are followed by masʾala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧimūn, the beginning of the K. al-Ġurar is missing, and the arrangement of the first maǧālis of the Ġurar disagrees with the sequence attested in the other consulted witnesses of the work.

287 An unusual pattern of transmission can be observed in a codex that was copied by Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥasanī and is nowadays preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad. The table of contents on the title page (fig. 300) shows that the codex comprised both the Nahāgh al-balāğa and al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, in addition to al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma and works by other authors, viz. Kašf al-ġumma fī maʾrīfat al-aʾimma by ‘Ali b. ʿIsā al-Irbilī (d. 692 [1293]), Nahāgh al-haqqaq wa-kašf al-ṣidq by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, and a commentary on al-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd. The last item in the codex is al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā maʿānī al-sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt by the eighth/fourteenth-century scholar Ibn Abī l-Ridā al-ʿAlawī al-Baġdādī (edited by Ṭālib al-Sanǧarī and published in 2020; see bibliography.) The individual components of the codex have been separated and are preserved under different call numbers. The Nahāgh al-balāğa, which concludes with a colophon dated 12 Rabīʿ II 785 [14 June 1383] (fig. 301), is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2182; see Fiḥrist-i kutub-i ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Markazi-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, vol. 5, pp. 199–200. This part of the codex also includes the title page, listing all six works. The Kašf al-ġumma is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2124 (completed 4 Dū l-Ḥiḡga 784 [8 February 1383]; see ibid., vol. 5, p. 263. The Nahāgh al-haqq is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 950 (dated Ǧumādā I 787 [June–July 1385] [fig. 576]; see also ibid., vol. 4, p. 267. The K. al-Ġurar is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528 (dated Monday, 1 Rabīʿ II 786 [23 May 1384]; see fig. 492). The K. al-Tanbīhāt is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 4846 (undated). The scribe states in the colophon at the end of the Ġurar that he transcribed the work for himself (li-ṣāḥibihi wa-kātibihi li-nafsihi); the table of contents at the beginning of the Ġurar (fig. 492a) is likewise noteworthy. For this item in the codex, see Fiḥrist-i kutub-i ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Markazi-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, vol. 4, p. 444. The K. al-Tanzīh, dated 16 Muḥarram 787 [23 August 1385], is now kept as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 393 (figs 302, 303); the copy has marginal notes, corrections, and balāğa notes throughout. See also above, n. 131. The quality of the codex suggests that Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad was a scholar in his own right. At some later point, the codex belonged to al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī; see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḥaqāʾiq al-rāhina fī l-mīʾa al-ṯāmina, p. 71. A partial description of the codex is also provided in ‘Ali al-Fāḍilī’s introduction to his edition of al-Irbilī’s Kašf al-ġumma, which drew on the Mašhad codex (vol. 1, pp. 136–138). Haydar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali is also the scribe of Ms. Istanbul, Köprülli 1371, a multitext volume consisting of three works by
The book’s popularity beyond denominational borders is also attested by its history in print. The *K. al-Ġurar*, including the *Takmila* (pp. 363–417), was first published in Iran in 1272 [1855] on the basis of a codex in the possession of the Qāǧār prince-governor, writer, and bibliophile Farhād Mīrzā Muťamad al-Dawla (b. 1233 [1818], d. 1305 [1888]) (*figs* 446, 447, 448). It is noteworthy that the lithograph has numerous glosses throughout the text. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1907, the *Ġurar* was published in Cairo (as *K. al-Amālī*), without the *Takmila*. Parts one and two were edited by the Syrian scholar Muḥammad Baḍr al-Dīn al-Naṣānī (b. 1289 [1881], d. 1362 [1943]), parts three and four by the Mauritanian scholar Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Šinqīṭī (b. ca. 1280 [1863], d. 1331 [1913]). An edition containing both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* was prepared by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (b. 1318 [1900], d. 1401 [1981]) al-Rāḡib al-Īsfahānī (d. early fifth/eleventh century), viz. Muḥāḍarāt al-ʿudabāʾ wa-muḥāḍarāt al-ṣaʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaḡāʾ, *al-Ḍarʿa* lā makārim al-Šīʿa, and Tafṣīl al-našʿatayn wa-taḥṣīl al-saʿādatayn, as well as Tazkiyat al-arwāḥ ‘an mawāniʿ al-aflāḥ by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī (b. between 650 and 660 [1252–61], d. between 730 and 736 [1329–35]). This codex, too, opens with a table of contents (*fig. 425*). At the end of the Muḥāḍarāt there is a colophon dated 17 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 793 [16 October 1391] (*fig. 426*). At the end of the Ḍarʿa, the scribe identifies himself but gives no date (*fig. 427*). The Tafṣīl concludes with a colophon dated 12 Rabīʿ II 794 [8 March 1392] (*fig. 428*). The final text is undated (*fig. 429*). Another unusual pattern of transmission of the *K. al-Ġurar* and the *Takmila* is evident in a codex that combines them with al-Murtaḍā’s *Šarḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ḥimyarī* [= *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba*]. Examples of this combination include *Ms*. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 (dated 996 [1587–88], copied by Ṣāliḥ b. Ṯāmin b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṯāmin al-Baḥrānī; see Diṟayti, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, pp. 388–389 no. 16) and *Ms*. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688 (dated 999 [1590–91], copied by Saʿd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Asadī; see Diṟayti, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 17 [here the date of the copy is erroneously given as 1099 AH]).

288 The publication is neither foliated not paginated; the pagination is ours.

289 See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarʿa*, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173; vol. 21, p. 133 no. 4292. For Farhād Mīrzā, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 9, p. 260–264 (Kambiz Eslami).

290 For the Syrian bookseller and publisher Muḥammad Amin al-Ḥānḡi (b. 1860, d. 1938 or 1939), who moved to Cairo in 1885 and established the Maktabat al-Ḥānḡi, which published the *Ġurar*, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, pp. 168–169 and passim.

291 On him, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, p. 79.

and published in 1954 in Cairo. More recently, a selection from the work was published in Damascus under the title Min Amālī al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (1999). Among Shi'i publishers, the 1907 edition of the work was repeatedly republished as an offset over the course of the twentieth century, in Naḡaf as well as in Qum. In 2017, a Persian translation of the Ġurar, by Ḥusayn Ṣābirī, was published. A critical edition of the work that includes the various layers of ḥawāšī and provides a succinct distinction of the different recensions, along with a detailed study of the work's textual history, remains a major desideratum. A careful study of the ḥawāšī, in particular, could yield new insights into the work's transmission and reception. A cursory glance at the margin comments in the codices consulted for the present study has shown that some of the material is present in multiple codices while other comments are preserved in individual manuscripts only. An in-depth analysis of the entire body of margin comments would also shed new light on the scholarly practices and intellectual lives of the comments' authors. The principal point of departure for such an analysis should be the aforementioned codices that reflect Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s recension of the work. A comparative study of these may also help distinguish between different stages of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s own work on the Ġurar. Later readers continued the tradition of annotating the work, so the corpus of glosses evolved continually.

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293 As previously mentioned, Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm consulted Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485 as his principal manuscript, but he collated his edition with Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 adab Taymūr; Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678; and another otherwise unidentified witness copied by Hāšim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī and dated 10 Šaʻbān 1067 [24 May 1657]. According to Āغا Buzurg (Ḏarīʿa, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173), this witness was kept in the Khedival Library in Cairo. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm’s edition includes a selection of ḥawāšī found in Ms. El Escorial 1485, although he does not explain his criteria for selecting the ḥawāšī to be included, and he evidently did not include any of the glosses found in the other witnesses, nor did he mention any variants in the glosses he included from Ms. El Escorial 1485 in his edition. Hellmut Ritter briefly reviewed Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm’s edition in 1958. In 1426/2005 the edition was republished with different pagination.

294 See bibliography for details.

295 The five-volume translation was published by Bunyād-i Pižūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī, Mašhad.

296 For the most recent edition, prepared within the framework of the Kunqirih-yi bayna l-milali-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā (al-Mu’tamar al-duwali li-alfiyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā) under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī), and soon to be released, see below, n. 912.

297 To further illustrate the importance of the ḥawāšī, see, e.g., Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485, fol. 306r, for a comment by “sīn,” i.e., Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, referring to a maǧmūʿa in the hand of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. Although the contents of the maǧmūʿa are not mentioned,
Whereas the work’s transmission can be reconstructed in some detail, there is no internal evidence in the Ġurar, or in the Takmila for that matter, as to when and where the work was brought together. None of the individual mağālis of the Ġurar are dated, nor is there any indication of where al-Murtaḍā composed the work or its parts. The variations in the work’s internal division in the extant manuscript tradition, as well as the structure of the work as it is available to us today, suggests that the book's redaction, and possibly even the selection of the material included in it, postdates its initial composition. The majority of the mağālis begin with a Qur’ānic citation accompanied by exegesis and they provide exegetical comments on a selected hadīt. Thereupon follow hikāyāt adabiyya and poetry, together with al-Murtaḍā’s literary criticism, as well as occasional historical accounts. Among al-Murtaḍā’s primary concerns was the mutašābih genre in the Qur’ān and the traditions. Al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar therefore parallels in some ways his brother al-Raḍī’s work on this topic in his Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl fī mutašābih al-tanzil, Mağāzāt al-aṭār al-nabawiyya, and Talḥīṣ al-bayān fī mağāzāt al-Qurʾān. The book also contains it evidently contained poetry. The same hāšiya is also included in the margin of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, fol. 217r and in Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987, fol. 263r. In Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485, fol. 201r, Faḍl Allāh refers to an autograph in the hand of al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā’ī (d. 454 [1062]); the same hāšiya can be found in Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987, fol. 64r. On fol. 205r, Faḍl Allāh relates what he heard from one of his teachers (ustāḏ) with whom he studied the poetry of al-Buḥturī (b. 206 [821], d. 284 [897]). This ustāḏ remains unidentified in Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485 (and equally in the parallel hāšiya included in the margins of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, fol. 143v and Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987, fol. 82r), but the parallel margin comment in Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53 (fol. 177v) identifies this teacher as one al-qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Ṭābit al-Ǧarbāzqānī raḥimahu llāh. For additional examples, see above, nn. 267, 271.

298 See, by contrast, the Amālī by Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, and al-Ṭūsī, all of which bring together lectures presented in precisely dated sessions and some of which provide additional information on the time and place of the meetings. Another example is al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī’s Jalāʾ al-abṣār fi taʾwil al-aḥbār, in which the mağālis are likewise precisely dated; for the work, see Ansari, “Zaydiyya wa manābiʿ-i maktūb-i Imāmīyya”. For the Amālī of Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, and al-Ṭūsī, see Vilozny, “Transmitting Imāmī Ḥadīth”. Regrettably, Vilozny ignores the pertinent and rich scholarly literature by Iranian scholars, ignoring, for example, Ansari, “Imād al-Dīn Tabarī wa nuṣḥa-hā-yi muḥtalīf-i Amālī-yi Ṣayḥ-i Ṭūsī” and Ǧazīnī Durčih, “Darāmadī bar tabār šināsī-yi nuṣḥa-hā-yi Amālī-yi Ṣayḥ Ṭūsī”. Vilozny’s survey thus does not reflect the current state of scholarship.

299 See Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar”).

300 It is possible that al-Murtaḍā also composed a work entitled Mutašābih al-Qurʾān; see below, n. 972. For the Qur’ānic passages discussed in the course of the Ġurar, see Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 419ff. For the aḥbār the author discusses, see ibid., vol. 2, pp.
a number of responsa, which may or may not originate in now-lost responsa collections of al-Murtaḍā. Occasionally, there are other textual units, introduced as faṣl or bāb, which may also have been initially composed with a different purpose in mind and added to the book when the material was brought together and divided into maǧālis. It is remarkable that, contrary his usual habit, al-Murtaḍā refrains from referring to any of his other writings in the Ğurar beyond two very general cross-references; these, however, indicate that al-Murtaḍā had already written a critical number of other works. Further, as is typical for Amālī works, the Ğurar lacks an introduction that might illuminate the work’s genesis and explain when, where, and to whom the author presented his maǧālis. It is even possible that only some of the maǧālis that al-Murtaḍā held were eventually assembled in the K. al-Ğurar. The wide variety of topics discussed in the book, ranging from exegesis to

453ff. For the works al-Murtaḍā consulted and cites from throughout the Ğurar, including adab works, poetry collections, and works of literary criticism such as al-Ḥasan b. Bī瞒r al-Āmidī’s (d. 371 [981]) al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa-l-Buḥṭurī, see ibid., pp. 663ff. As such, al-Murtaḍā’s Ğurar falls within a popular genre of Amālī works in adab that, besides exegesis, deal primarily with literary criticism. Other examples of books within this genre are the Mağālis of Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Yahyā Ṭa’lab (d. 291 [903–4]), the Amālī of AbūʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310 [922–23]), the Amālī of Ibn Durayd (d. 321 [933]), Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq al-Zağḡaṭī’s (d. 340 [951–52]) Amālī, the Amālī of Abū ‘Allī Smā’il b. al-Qāsim al-Qālī (d. 356 [967?]), and Ibn al-Šaǧarī’s al-Amālī al-Šaǧariyya (see above, n. 221). For the tradition of literary criticism (al-naqd al-adabī, naqd al-šiʿr, etc.) and some of its most important representatives, see Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition, vol. 12 (supplement), pp. 646–658 (W. P. Heinrichs); al-Ǧubūrī, Mağālis al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-udabāʾ wa-l-ḫulafāʾ.

301 These are as a rule opened by the heading masʾala; see Ğurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 9–10, 22–24, 36–37, 47–48, 270–272 (this masʾala is related to the bāb fī ḏikr šayʾ min aḫbār al-Muʿammarīn wa-ašʿārihim wa-mustaḥsan kalāmihim, on which see below, n. 302). In other instances, a subsection is structured as in saʾala sāʾil... al-ǧawāb... , likewise indicating a possible responsum; see, e.g., ibid., vol. 1, pp. 120–127. Three masāʾil included in the Ğurar (Ğurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm [1426/2005], vol. 1, pp. 49–51, 61–63, 72–74) were also included in the 574 [1179] codex (on which see below).

302 See Ğurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 13–17, 127ff. (for examples of faṣl); vol. 1, pp. 232ff. (bāb fī ḏikr šayʾ min aḥbār al-Muʿammarīn wa-ašʿārihim wa-mustaḥsan kalāmihim; for another book within the same genre, see Abū Hātim Sahī b. Muhammad al-Siǧistānī’s (d. 255 [869]) K. al-Muʿammarīn [published]; for the Muʿammarūn, see also Juynboll, “Role of Muʿammaṭun”), 273ff. (bāb fī l-ǧawābāt al-ḥāḍira al-mustaḥsana allatī yusammīhā qawm al-muskita; the second bāb falls into the category of dumbfounding retorts, as does Ibn Abī ʿAwn’s (d. 322 [934]) al-Aǧwiba al-muskita [published repeatedly]).

A hadith, adab, aḥbār, and questions of doctrine, is also unusual. Finally, although the Shi‘i identity of the author is obvious to the reader, the book is remarkably “neutral” when it comes to denominational specificities, which explains its popularity among Sunnis. To Sunni Mu‘tazilī readers, al-Murtaḍā exegetical comments on Qur’ānic verses as well as prophetic traditions were certainly of interest, while the book’s importance in terms of al-Murtaḍā’s contributions to literary criticism explains its popularity among broad strata of Sunni audiences.

An ambiguous indication of the time of the Ġurar’s completion is found at the end of the work. The final maǧlis concludes with the words ḥāḍā āḥir maǧlis amlāhu sayyidunā adāma llāh ʿuluwwahu ẓumma tašāqala bi-umūr al-ḥaǧǧ. This phrase, which could refer either to the final maǧlis or to the work in its entirety, has been interpreted in different ways. Al-Sayyid ʿIğāz Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kantūrī al-Nīsābūrī (b. 1240 [1824–25], d. 1286 [1869–70]) suggests in his Kašf al-ḥuǧub wa-l-astār ‘an asmāʾ al-kutub wa-l-asfār that al-Murtaḍā composed the entire work while on his way to perform the haǧǧ. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm alluded to the alternative explanation that it may just have been the final maǧlis that al-Murtaḍā composed on his way to Mecca, while the earlier maǧālis were dictated over a longer period of time. Both suggestions ignore the fact that with the exception of the year 389 [999], there is no evidence that al-Murtaḍā ever performed the haǧǧ. Another, more plausible interpretation of the concluding phrase is that it refers to al-Murtaḍā’s appointment as leader of the pilgrimage (haǧǧ) on 3 Ṣafar 406 [23 July 1015] following the death of his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, who had held this position up to that time, and the

305 Al-Kantūrī, Kašf al-ḥuǧub, pp. 392–393 no. 2171 (“inna l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā kāna yumli ḥāḍihi al-Ġurar wa-l-durar ‘alā talamiḥi fi ṭariq al-Ḥiǧāz kūlamā yanzil manzilan”). See also Āġā Buzurg, Ḥarīʿa, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173. Al-Kantūrī al-Nīsābūrī also wrote a biographical work, Suḏūr al-ʿiqyān fi tarāqī al-aʿyān, which remains unpublished; we consulted the book through Ms. Hyderabad, Maktaba Āṣafiyya 8735. For the entry on al-Murtaḍā, see pp. 433ff. Al-Kantūrī was the brother of Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn b. Muhammad Qulī Ḥān al-Mūsawī al-Hindi (d. 1306 [1888–89]), the author of the renowned work ʿAbqaʿat al-anwār fi imāmat al-aʿimma al-athār (published repeatedly). His library, the Nāṣirīyya Library in Lucknow (India), holds a number of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including the K. al-Šāfi (dated 1077 [1666–67]), the Tanzih, as well as two codices containing collections of his writings (Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā); see Fihrist-i nusah-i Ḥaṭṭi-yi Kitābhāna-yi Nāṣirīyya Leknu, pp. 248, 292, 347, 370.
306 This seems to be the view of Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm; see his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 20.
307 For his pilgrimage in 389 [999], see above, n. 72.
new political and administrative responsibilities that came with this task. Some indications as to when the Ġurar was composed may be gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s poetry that is included in the book. Over the course of the first half of the work, al-Murtaḍā quotes various excerpts of his own poetry. On four occasions, he quotes ašʿār that are included in the first two parts of his Dīwān and thus date back to before 403 AH. But on two occasions he cites ašʿār that are not found in part one or two of the Dīwān and that he thus composed after 403 AH. The former group of poetry quotations includes portions of a longer poem that, he explicitly states, he had composed some twelve years earlier (wa-hiya min ǧumlat qaṣīda ḫaraḥat ’annī munḏu iṯnatay ʿašara sana). The poem in question is placed about in the middle of part one of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān and thus cannot be precisely dated. The first dated poem in al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān was written in 397 or 399 AH, and it is located in the first third of part two of the Dīwān. It is thus plausible that the poem quoted in the Ġurar was composed a few years before 397 or 399 AH, suggesting that maǧlis 30 of the Ġurar was dictated, around 408 AH or 409 AH, although this disagrees with our earlier suggestion that the reference to the ḥaǧǧ in the work’s concluding phrase may refer to al-Murtaḍā’s appointment as leader of the pilgrimage in 406 [1015]. The possibility should not be excluded that al-Murtaḍā revised the Ġurar over time, this adding another difficulty to dating the work.

The iǧāzas discussed above allow a detailed analysis of the transmission of the Ġurar among al-Murtaḍā’s immediate students and the following generations. Among those who are said to have read the work with (or received it from) al-Murtaḍā—
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥaḍār b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī, Abū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī, Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ǧaʿfarī, Ibn Qudāma, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. al-ʿUkbarī, and Abū Ǧānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī—only two readings can be associated with a precise date: Abū Yaʿlā al-Ǧaʿfarī completed his copy of the work on 28 Ǧumādā I 413 [29 August 1022], and Ibn Qudāma read the book with the author in Baghdad in 427 [1035–36] and 428 [1036–37]. Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Ḥalabī, Ibn Qudāma’s student, produced his own copy, which is undated but was widely transmitted. The date of al-Ǧaʿfarī’s copy, which is sometimes erroneously cited as the date of al-Murtaḍā’s completion of the Ġurar, provides a terminus ante quem for the work’s composition. Al-Murtaḍā may have finalized the text much earlier. In fact, a holograph of the Ġurar served as antigraph for Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577 and for Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Țihrān, Ḥikmat 235, suggesting that the Ġurar was not transmitted only through dictation, although other forms of transmission would be unusual for a work within the Amālī genre.

Al-Murtaḍā taught the work over some two decades, and it remains unclear how it developed over time—there may have been earlier versions of the Ġurar that have not come down to us (see above). The aforementioned holograph, which must have existed at some stage, may reflect a later stage of the work. The ǧāzās for the Ġurar make it clear that of al-Murtaḍā immediate pupils, Ibn Qudāma was the principal transmitter of the work. In turn, information on the next generation of transmitters—those who studied with students of al-Murtaḍā—sheds further light on other transmitters of the Ġurar among al-Murtaḍā’s students. Ibn al-Iḫwa is known to have taught and annotated the Ġurar, which he transmitted exclusively through al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī. On the other hand, it was through Ibn al-Iḫwa that the Ġurar began to circulate from early on in Sunnī

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313 See, e.g., Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53, fol. 281v. The date is also mentioned in Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485; see above, n. 220.

314 See, e.g., Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, opening page; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53, fol. 281v.

315 Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm erroneously assumes this to be the date of completion of the book; see his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 20; see also Encyclopaedia Iranica, vol. 1, pp. 791–795 (Wilferd Madelung) (where the date is given as “28 Ǧumādā 1413”).

316 Among the witnesses inspected for the present study, Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711, has a concluding phrase that differs from that of all the other witnesses, which have the above-quoted phrase. The Ragıp Paşa manuscript reads (fol. 229r; fig. 76): hāḏā āḫir maǧlis amlāhu raḍiya llāh ʿanhu wa-arḍāhu fī sanat iṯnatay ʿašar wa-arbaʿ mīʾa. This date may possibly be the date of the work’s completion.
circles. As some copies contain a note originating with al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī, the latter may also have produced a copy of the work. An important node in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar is Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who belongs to the third generation of al-Murtaḍā’s students. Faḍl Allāh, who like al-Murtaḍā was known as “ʿAlam al-Hudā,” consulted a number of earlier versions of the Ġurar, including the glosses produced by the various redactors, and he produced his own edition of the work, including glosses, which he then transmitted to his own circle of students. Since his teaching of the Ġurar stretched over several decades, Faḍl Allāh’s editorial input, as well as his glosses, evolved over time and gave rise to different versions of his recension of the book. An analysis of the various isnāds further shows that al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar was transmitted through some of the same chains as was al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Nahǧ al-balāġa, both within and beyond Imāmī circles, with Ibn al-Iḫwa and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī constituting two important nodes in the transmission of the two works. The popularity of the Nahǧ al-balāġa thus furthered that of the Ġurar, and vice versa.

A precise analysis of the different versions of the Ġurar, to the extent that they have come down to us, would require a new, careful edition of the work that would systematically distinguish the different versions—or perhaps even full critical editions of selected versions. The above analysis of a select number of witnesses as well as of the work’s transmission as gleaned from iǧāzas would have to be complemented by a close investigation of the individual codices. For the present study, some sixty witnesses of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar have been analyzed with respect to their internal and codicological divisions.318 Our observations support the conclusion that there are significant differences between the various versions of the Ġurar. Ibn Qudāma’s recension of the Ġurar, for example, is easily recognizable as it invariably opens with the text of what in the other recensions is maǧlis 2, followed by their maǧlis 1. In addition, whereas most other witnesses regularly use the introductory phrase qāla al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, the Ibn Qudāma version has qāla l-Qāḍī qāla al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.319 Of the witnesses analyzed for the present study, six represent the Ibn Qudāma version: Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, which was read to Ibn Qudāma;320 Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Miškāt 223; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis

317 See above, n. 231.
318 See Appendix 5 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar”).
319 See, e.g., Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, pp. 27, 58, 277, 281, 284, 320, 382.
320 See, e.g., Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, p. 19 (margin note): balaġat qirāʾatan ʿalā l-Qāḍī al-Imām Ibn Qudāma . . . ; see also p. 382. See also above.
Another group of witnesses is characterized by an unusual sequence of the individual text blocks constituting maḥlīs 1: Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9519; Ms. Qum, Maṣgīd-i Aʿẓam 757; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9314; and Ms. Qum, Maṣgīd-i Aʿẓam 1798. All four manuscripts are late, dating to the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. Although they clearly form a group in view of their shared peculiarity in maḥlīs 1, their structure does not necessarily reflect one of the earliest recensions of the Ġurar but may rather have originated with a later copyist. There are other features that may allow us to identify groups of manuscripts that represent specific recensions, including the codicological division of the work. The analyzed witnesses feature at least three different patterns of division, and there is also a fair number of manuscripts that are not divided into parts (aḡzāʾ) or volumes (muḡallādāt). The individual maḡālis are sometimes numbered, but many manuscripts simply have maḡlis āḫar, and the division of the text into maḡālis also differs in the consulted witnesses, again pointing, perhaps, to distinct versions of the text. The opening phrases of the Ġurar also vary between the individual witnesses, providing yet another indication that different groups of manuscripts may reflect specific recensions of the book. A major challenge in the analysis of the different recensions of the Ġurar arises from the confusion between them from early on. Many of the consulted witnesses were later collated with other copies of the Ġurar, and variations in those other copies—relating to the division of the text into maḡālis, their numbering, and the codicological division of the text into volumes or parts—were recorded in the margins. Later copyists conflated this type of information with the text itself in their transcriptions of the book. It is evident that a similar process occurred with respect to the ḥawāšī, which constitute an important body of material that still needs to be analyzed in depth.

In view of the findings of the present study, critical editions of the two most important recensions of the Ġurar should be prepared: the recension of Ibn Qudāma and the recension(s) of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. These are the two most widely transmitted recensions of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, and excellent manuscripts of both have come down to us. A critical edition of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s recension should further include an edition and analysis of the ḥawāšī he selected for inclusion in his copy of the text. Another desideratum is a critical edition of al-

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16626; and Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Țihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt), Imām Ğumʿa 42. Another witness of the Ibn Qudāma recension is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Nawwāb 373, which was not accessible to us. For a brief description of the codex, see Yazdī Muṭlaq (Fāḍil), Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Madrasa-yi ʿIlmiyya-yi ʿĀlī-yi Nawwāb, p. 312.

See Appendix 3 (“Introductory phrases to al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar”).
Murtada’s *Takmila* to the *Ġurar* on the basis of all available witnesses, together with an analysis of when and why the *Ġurar* was transmitted together with the *Takmila*. Since the *Takmila* was compiled much later than the *Ġurar*, the transmission of the former work must have been an entirely different process.

### 1.5 Adab and poetry: *Dīwān*, Ṭayf al-ḫayāl, al-Šīhāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb, and *Šarḥ* al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba

Al-Murtaḍa’s poetry was popular among Imāmī and Sunnī readers alike. In the *Tahḏīb al-ansāb*, a work by al-Murtaḍa’s older contemporary, the Imāmī scholar Šayḫ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī (b. 338 [950], d. 435 [1043–44]), which was transmitted with some additions by the slightly younger Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muhammad Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʾ (d. 449 [1057]), it is mentioned that al-Murtaḍa’s writings include ašʿār wa-dīwān maʿrūf. Abū l-Faḍl Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abbās b. Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mahdī al-Hāšimi (d. 444 [1052]), who lists al-Murtaḍa among his teachers in his *Ḏikr šuyūḫ al-šarīf Abī l-Faḍl*, for example, relates that he attended a maǧlis in which al-Murtaḍa’s *Dīwān* was read aloud in al-Murtaḍa’s presence. Abū Manṣūr al-Ṯaʿālibī (b. 350 [961], d. 429 [1039]), praises al-Murtaḍa’s poetry (wa-lahu šiʿr fī nihāyat al-ḥusn) in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*. Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Barmakī al-Faqīh, another scholar who studied directly with al-Murtaḍa.

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323 Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī, *Tahḏīb al-ansāb*, p. 154. For the genesis of the work, which is preserved in the recension of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muhammad Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʾ, see the editor’s introduction. It is uncertain whether this comment on al-Murtaḍa’s works originated with al-ʿUbaydalī or Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʾ. For a text on nasab, written by Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī for al-Murtaḍa and al-Raḍī, see Ansari, “Kitābī tāza yāb az Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī dar ʿilm-i ansāb”. See also the relevant statement at the beginning of this text by Faḥār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630 [1233]) in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 8508 (fig. 507). The Šīʿī genealogist Ibn ʿInaba also mentions the *Dīwān* explicitly and quotes from it when discussing al-Murtaḍa in his *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*; see Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, pp. 205–206. For al-ʿUbaydalī, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, pp. 433–434.

324 On Abū l-Faḍl Muhammad, see al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Ṭārīkh Baġdād*, vol. 3, pp. 616–617. For Abū l-Faḍl’s account of al-Murtaḍa, see Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty, *5268*, fol. 4r (fig. 14a); on the manuscript, see Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 7, p. 86.


326 See al-Ṭaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, vol. 5, p. 69 no. 49. On Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Barmaki,
Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke

[1075]) quotes extensively from al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān in his anthology, Dumyat al-
qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr.327 Another scholar who studied adab with both al-Murtaḍā and his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, was Abū Saʿd Bakr b. ‘Amr al-Zaʿīmī al-Bağdādī, who is said to have been close to al-Murtaḍā (min ḥaṣṣat al-Murtaḍā). Since he later on moved to al-Andalus, it may have been through him that al-Murtaḍā’s adab works spread to the Islamic West.328 The modern Šīʿī scholar al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid ʿAdnān al-Bahrānī (d. after 1355 [1936–37]) produced an epitome of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, al-Riḍā min šiʿr al-Murtaḍā.329 Another abbreviated recension of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, dated 23 Ṣafar 1088 [27 April 1677], is preserved as Muḥtār Dīwān al-Murtaḍā.330

Al-Murtaḍā wrote poetry continuously over the course of his life. In the Ṭayf al-ḥayāl he mentions that he was composing and publishing poetry in the 380s AH and that it was well received by experts on poetry.331 Many of the poems included in his Dīwān are prefaced with precise information regarding what prompted al-Murtaḍā to compose the poem in question and when he did so, demonstrating the continuity of al-Murtaḍā’s poetry composition throughout his life. Such

329 According to Āḡā Buzurg, al-Sayyid ʿAlī al-Bahrānī chose some 4,000 lines of poetry out of the 16,000 included in the copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān that was at his disposal; see Āḡā Buzurg, Dirāyätā, Fihristīgān, vol. 15, p. 387. Although we were unable to inspect the codex, Dirāyatā cites the opening lines of the three poems, indicating that the selection consists of the following poems included in al-Ṣaffār’s 1958–59 edition of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān: vol. 2, pp. 33–37, 173–176, 335–338.
330 See Muḥyī l-Dīn, Adab al-Murtaḍā, p. 156, who relates that the single extant manuscript of this epitome was discovered by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ǧawāhirī during a trip to Iran in 1365 [1945–46] and brought to Naḡaf. For the copy, see also Muṭṭar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī’s introduction to his edition of the Dīwān, pp. 167–168. See also below.
circumstantial information is provided for poems dated Ramaḍān 397 or 399 AH, Ṣafar 399 AH, ġumādā II 401 AH, Ḥumādā II 431 AH, Raǧab 414 AH, and others. Further, al-Murtaḍā refers to his Dīwān on two precisely dated occasions in his al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb (on which see below): at the beginning of the K. al-Šihāb al-Murtaḍā states that he had composed some 300 bayt by Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 419 AH on the topic of al-šayb and al-šabāb, and he again refers to his Dīwān at the end of the work, citing the date Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 421 AH, indicating that he continued to compose poetry. The single quantitative reference to the total quantity of poetry

332 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, p. 246. See the editor’s comment on the reading of the date.
335 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 323.
339 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 162, 333; vol. 2, p. 188.
344 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 386.
349 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 499; vol. 2, p. 90. For additional examples, see below, n. 370.
included in his Dīwān is provided by al-Ṭūsī, who states that al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān exceeds ‘išrīn alf bayt. 352

One of the earliest extant partial manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, consisting of the work’s sixth volume and carrying the date end of Ramaḍān 422 [September 1031] (fig. 15), was sold at Sotheby’s some years ago. 353 It contains a study note by the Sunnī scholar Abū l-Mawāhib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddiqī al-Miṣrī al-Ṣaffārī al-ʿĀmilī (b. 973 [1565–66], d. 1037 [1627–28]) (fig. 15). 354 The Sotheby’s copy matches the description Āġā Buzurg provides for a copy of volumes five and six of the Dīwān that was transcribed during al-Murtaḍā’s lifetime and contained the latter’s own handwriting in the margin of the colophon. If indeed the two are the same, the collation note on the final page of the Sotheby’s codex (fig. 15), qūbila bihi wa-ṣuḥḥiḥa wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna, would have been written by al-Murtaḍā himself. 356 Āģā Buzurg further states that the codex comprised the poetry al-Murtaḍā had composed between 416 AH and the end of Ramaḍān 422 AH, and that he had inspected it in Tehran in the library of Mīrzā

356 See Āġā Buzurg, Darʾa, vol. 9 iii, p. 736. However, Āġā Buzurg quotes the collation note with a slight difference: qūbila wa-ṣuḥḥiḥa wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna.
Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭihrānī (d. 1316 [1898]). Later, Āġā Buzurg explains, the codex was transferred to the library of Abū l-Faḍl’s son, Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭaqafi (b. 1313 [1895–96], d. 1406 [1984]), author of Rawān-i ǧawīd dar tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i maǧīd and father-in-law of Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh Ḫumaynī (b. 1320 [1902], d. 1409 [1989]).

Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-ʾImām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʾĀmma 412 is another partial witness containing volumes five (pp. 1–98) and six (pp. 99–184) of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān. The scribe, Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, states in his colophon (dated 7 Raǧab 1299 [25 May 1882]) that the manuscript contains al-Murtaḍā’s production until the end of Raḥmān 400 [May 1010] (fig. 314), but this is evidently an error. The following dates are mentioned in the codex: Ğumādā I 417 AH (p. 16), Rabīʿ I 417 AH (p. 20), Saʿād 417 AH (p. 19), Rabīʿ II 417 AH (p. 21), end of Saʿbān 419 AH (pp. 67, 70), 419 AH (p. 72), Ǧawwāl 419 AH (p. 74), all in volume five. In volume six, the first poem is dated 1 Ǧawwāl 420 AH, and another one is dated 425 AH (p. 132); these are the only dated poems in this volume.

In Ḏū l-Qaʿda 403 [May–June 1013] al-Murtaḍā issued an iǧāza to Abū l-Faran Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī for qitʿa kabīra min dīwān šiʿrī that al-Bayhaqī had read with him; the iǧāza was copied into a manuscript of the Dīwān. Al-Ḥurr al-

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357 On him, see Muḥaddiṯ Urmawī’s introduction to his edition of Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭihrānī’s Dīwān, published in 1369 [1949]. Another repeatedly published work of his is Šifāʾ al-ṣudūr fī šarḥ ziyārāt al-ʿĀṣūr.

358 It may well be that the family decided at some stage to sell the codex. Beyond this codex, the bulk of Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭaqafi’s former library nowadays belongs to the Marʿašī Library in Qum. For al-Ṭaqafi, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī, Fihris al-turāṯ, p. 814.

359 For details, see Appendix 6 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān (volumes 5 and 6) as arranged in Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-ʾImām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʾĀmma 412 (copied by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʾĀmilī and dated 7 Raǧab 1299 [25 May 1882]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (qawāfī) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition”). A description of the codex is included in the unpublished catalogue of the library’s holdings prepared by ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (see n. 753). For the library and a handlist of selected codices (though not including the one in question), see also Dānīšpažūh, “Kitābkhāna-hā-ye ʿIrāq wa ʿArabistān, ” pp. 409-419. According to Muṭār Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥilli, the editor of the new edition of the Dīwān, the scribe Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-ʾĀmilī consulted an antigraph that was in the possession of the Iraqi Shiʿī jurist Muḥammad Ḥasan Kubba (b. 1269 [1852–53], d. 1336 [1917–18]), a microfilm of which is preserved in the Markaz Ǧumʿat al-Māǧid in Dubai; see the editor’s introduction, pp. 168–170. For Muḥammad Ḥasan Kubba, see Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 2, pp. 115–120 (Kāẓim Barg-Nīsī) [Āl Kubba].

360 Cf. Āğa Buzurg, Darī’a, vol. 1, p. 216 no. 1133. For the full text of the iǧāza, see also Āğa Buzurg,
ʿĀmilī completed his own copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, including the iǧāza for al-Bayhaqi, on 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677] in ʿIsfahān, and in his Amal al-āmil he provides additional information on the copy.\textsuperscript{361} He relates that he encountered
a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān that had been read to its author, who had added some notes to it, and that he then transcribed the copy for himself over the course of ten days (wa-qad raʾaytu nusḫa min diwān šiʿrihi quriʾa ʿalayhi wa-ʿalayhi ḫaṭṭuhu fa-katabtuhu bi-ḫaṭṭī fī naḥwa ʿašarat ayyām). Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī’s copy, consisting of volumes one and two, is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13901 (figs 359, 360, 361, 362). It reflects the 403 AH version of al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān. That volumes


one and two of the Dīwān contained poetry al-Murtaḍā wrote until 403 AH is also mentioned by Āġā Buzurg, who inspected the first two volumes in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1355 [1936–37]). Āġā Buzurg has little to say about volumes three and four of the Dīwān, for although he saw this part of the work in the library of Muhammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (d. 1370 [1950]), he was unable to inspect the codex closely or take any notes. It can be assumed, however, that those volumes cover al-Murtaḍā’s poetry written between 403 AH and 416 AH. Moreover, Āġā Buzurg states that he was unaware of the whereabouts of this codex when he wrote the entry on al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān. Over the years, al-Samāwī assembled a fairly comprehensive copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān consisting of all six volumes, which at some stage came into the possession of ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Din. The dates of completion suggest that al-Samāwī continuously searched for


365 Āġā Buzurg, Ǧarīʿa, vol. 9 iii, pp. 735–736.
366 See Muḥyī l-Din, Adab al-Murtaḍā, pp. 155–156 for a description of al-Samāwī’s copy, which was not accessible to us. See also al-Ṣaffār’s description in al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, introduction, pp. 139–140. According to Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, microfilm surrogates of al-Samāwī’s copy of the Dīwān are kept in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo (see also al-Ṣaffār’s introduction to the Dīwān, vol. 1, p. 140) and the Markaz Ǧumʿat al-Māǧid in Dubai; see the introduction to his edition of the Dīwān, p. 163. Al-Samāwī’s physical codex is still in the possession of Muḥyī l-Din descendants, who allowed Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī access to it; see his introduction, p. 160. For al-Samāwī, see also below, Chapter 2.4.
additional portions of the Ḍiwān in order to make his copy as complete as possible. Between 24 Rabīʿ I and 5 Rabīʿ II 1335 [18–29 January 1917] he copied volumes one and two of the Ḍiwān on the basis of an antigraph based on a copy that had been read to al-Murṭaḍā by Abū ʿl-Faraḡ al-Bayhaqī in 403 AH. In 1339 [1920–21], al-Samāwī transcribed volumes five and six of the Ḍiwān on the basis of an otherwise unidentified antigraph, which he describes as problematic (nusḥa saqīma) and which he tried to emend in his own copy to the best of his ability. Finally, in 1365 [1945–46] al-Samāwī transcribed volumes three and four on the basis of a hitherto incomplete copy whose missing parts he supplied on the basis of a copy kept in the library of the Basran poet al-Sayyid ʿAḍnān b. al-Sayyid ʿṢubbar (d. 1340 [1922]). He further asked Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḡawāhīrī, who had found the aforementioned Muḥṭār Ḍiwān al-Murṭaḍā in 1945–46, to supplement his copy with the additional material found in this copy. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḡawāhīrī, the son of Muḥsin b. Ṣarīf b. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḡawāhīrī (who commented on al-Murṭaḍā’s Ġurar; see above), discovered the Muḥṭār in Iran and also produced a copy of al-Murṭaḍā’s Ḍiwān.  

For details, see above, n. 360.  

See al-Ṣarīf al-Murṭaḍā, Ḍiwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, introduction, p. 140; Muḥyī l-Dīn, Adab al-Murṭaḍā, p. 156. See also al-Samāwī, al-Ṭalīʿa min šuʿarāʾ al-Šīʿa, vol. 2, pp. 22–26 for an entry on al-Murṭaḍā, in the course of which al-Samāwī cites some of al-Murṭaḍā’s poetry. Al-Samāwī was also engaged in compiling the Ḍiwāns of other luminaries, using a similar methodology; see, for example, Āl Yāsīn, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, pp. 214–215 for al-Samāwī’s efforts to bring together the Ḍiwān of al-Ṣāḥib b. ‘Abbād. His manuscript later passed into the library of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Yaʿqūbī; see ibid.  

Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 211 ğīm is another partial witness of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān that includes poetry he composed between 430 AH and 436 AH. As such, it contains material that is not included in the aforementioned six volumes of the Dīwān. The beginning and end of this undated codex are missing. An identification of its contents is found on the upper left corner of the first preserved recto page (hāḍā Dīwān al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu) and again on the top of the page in a different, modern hand (Dīwān Sayyid al-Murtaḍā). The codex is damaged throughout, and numerous folios have been repaired. Two folios are damaged beyond repair: the upper third of fol. 45 and the lower half of fol. 82 are torn off. Further, the codex is incomplete, and the text breaks off after fol. 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 22, 26, 30, 40, 42, 45, 50, 52, 58, 64, 68, 69, 70, 72, 77, 79, 81, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 106, and 107. In its present form the codex comprises three distinct portions, each written in a different hand: (1) Fols 1–84 feature, as a rule, fifteen lines to a page, written in the same hand, and the introductions to the poems are similar in style to those found in other manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān as well as in al-Ṣaffār’s edition. (2) Fols 85–91 have seventeen lines to a page and are written in a different hand. The poems are not dated; instead, each poem opens with a description of the rhyme. There is no overlap with any of the poems included in al-Ṣaffār’s edition, and the authenticity


The first portion of the codex (fol. 1–84) contains a fair number of dated poems: 430 AH: Šawwāl 430 AH (fol. 9v), Dū l-Ḥiḡga 430 AH (fol. 69r); 431 AH: Šafar 431 AH (fol. 17v), end of Šafar 431 AH (fol. 31r), Rabī’ I 431 AH (fol. 35r), Dū l-Qa’da 431 AH (fol. 49r), Dū l-Qa’da 431 AH (fol. 50v), 431 AH: Rabī’ I 432 AH (fol. 72r), Rabī’ I 432 AH (fol. 44r), Rabī’ II 432 AH (fol. 22v), 1 Šawwāl 432 AH (fol. 74r), Dū l-Qa’da 432 AH (fol. 77r), 18 Dū l-Ḥiḡga 432 AH (fol. 28v); 433 AH: 10 Muḥarram 433 AH (fol. 30v), Rabī’ II 433 (fol. 60v), Raḡab 433 AH (fol. 61v), Šawwāl 433 AH (fol. 52v), Dū l-Qa’da 433 AH (fol. 56v); 434 AH: Muḥarram 434 AH (fol. 23v), 10 Muḥarram 434 AH (fol. 25v), Rabī’ I 434 AH (fol. 14v); 435 AH: Muḥarram 435 AH (fol. 70r), Šaḇān 435 AH (fol. 1v), 10 Muḥarram 435 AH (fol. 67r); 436 AH: 10 Muḥarram 436 AH (fol. 5v).

370 See below, n. 376.
of this portion as a part of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān cannot be ascertained. Fol. 92 is left blank. (3) Fols 93–107 have twelve lines to a page, written in a third hand with no introductory texts of any kind. There is again no overlap with al-Ṣaffār’s edition, and the authenticity of this portion, too, is uncertain. By contrast, the authenticity of the first portion is beyond doubt. It is corroborated by the frequent overlap of the material with that contained in al-Ṣaffār’s edition of the work, which occasionally includes poems written after 422 AH.

Rašid al-Ṣaffār’s abovementioned editio princeps of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, published in 1958–1959, was based on three copies of the work.372 The first of the three was a copy held in India, possibly the Hyderabad manuscript, which is nowadays preserved as Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-Ṣaffār ed. (vol. 1, pp. 139–143), and the authenticity of this portion, too, is uncertain. By contrast, the authenticity of the first portion is beyond doubt. It is corroborated by the frequent overlap of the material with that contained in al-Ṣaffār’s edition of the work, which occasionally includes poems written after 422 AH.

372 Al-Ṣaffār’s abovementioned editio princeps of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, published in 1958–1959, was based on three copies of the work. The first of the three was a copy held in India, possibly the Hyderabad manuscript, which is nowadays preserved as Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-Ṣaffār ed. (vol. 1, pp. 139–143), and the authenticity of this portion, too, is uncertain. By contrast, the authenticity of the first portion is beyond doubt. It is corroborated by the frequent overlap of the material with that contained in al-Ṣaffār’s edition of the work, which occasionally includes poems written after 422 AH.

373 For this copy, see above, n. 360.

374 For al-Šabībī al-kabīr, see, e.g., Muḥyī l-Dīn, Adab al-Murtaḍā pp. 154–157. At the end of this section, Muḥyī l-Dīn mentions his intention to publish an edition of the Dīwān. This never materialized, and it is possible that he dropped the plan in view of al-Ṣaffār’s edition of 1958–59.

375 For al-Šabībī al-kabīr, see, e.g., al-Ḥammādī, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Šabībī; among his many writings, see, e.g., his Muḏakkirāt and his Dīwān (see bibliography for details).

consulted secondary sources is suggested by the fact that his poems are often abbreviated versions of longer poems in the Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt manuscript.\(^{376}\)

Whereas the manuscript tradition reflects the arrangement of al-Murtaḍā’s poems in chronological order, Rašīd al-Ṣaffār arranged the poems according to their rhymes (qawāfī). It is, therefore, impossible to discover a poem’s original location in al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān by looking at the edition. Moreover, there is nothing to inform the reader of the Dīwān which poems originated in volumes one through six of the Dīwān and which were gleaned from secondary sources. Al-Ṣaffār’s edition is accompanied with short introductory essays by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Šabībī (sīrat al-Murtaḍā min šiʿrihi) and Muṣṭafā Ǧawād (b. 1904, d. 1969) (muqaddima) and a detailed introduction to the work by the editor himself, a remarkably detailed study of al-Murtaḍā’s life and thought. Al-Ṣaffār’s edition served as the basis for Muḥammad al-Tūnǧī’s “commentary” on the Dīwān, published in 1417 [1997]. The publication reproduces al-Ṣaffār’s edition of the work but omits the latter’s critical apparatus. Instead, al-Tūnǧī provides explanations for individual words and terms. Moreover, al-Tūnǧī supplies the individual poems with consecutive numbers and identifies the meter for each. Although al-Tūnǧī’s division of the

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377 For a juxtaposition of the arrangement of the Dīwān in the manuscript tradition and in al-Ṣaffār’s edition, see Appendix 5 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (qawāfī) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition”). A four-volume edition of the Dīwān by Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī was published in 2020 by the Kungirih-yi bayna l-milalī-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā, under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī), on the basis of all extant witnesses of the work, which are also discussed in this study. The publication reflects the chronological sequence of the poems. We did not have access to the edition but had the opportunity to read some parts of the editor’s introduction shortly before the completion of our monograph. The edition of the Dīwān is supplemented by a two-volume publication that is arranged according to rhyme (Tartīb al-Dīwān) and is essentially a republication of al-Ṣaffār’s edition; see also below, n. 912.


material into three volumes agrees with that of al-Ṣaffār, the arrangement of the individual poems within each qāfiya is different.\footnote{See Appendix 7 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān as arranged in Muḥammad al-Tūnǧī’s commentary versus its arrangement in Rašid al-Ṣaffār’s edition”).}

Besides his Diwān, al-Murtaḍā’s extant literary works include his Ṭayf al-ḫayāl, which belongs to the genre of love poetry,\footnote{Other authors who contributed to the Ṭayf al-ḫayāl genre are Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Ḥasan Ṭirāz (d. 692 [1293]) and Šams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl (d. 710 [1311]). Editions of both works are included in Sayyid Ḥasan’s edition, Rasāʾil Ṭayf al-ḫayāl, which also includes al-Murtaḍā’s text. Al-Irbilī’s Ṭayf was also published in the edition of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ǧabūrī (1968).} and al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb, which is devoted to the subject of grey hair and aging.\footnote{See Muhuyi l-Dīn, Adāb al-Murtaḍā; Wagner, “Yā ḫāḍiba š-šaibi”; Wagner, “Es blitzt schon wieder”; Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 115–117 no. 29, 126–127 no. 37, 127–128 no. 39. Cf. also al-Šukrī and ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār Karīm al-Šarʿ, “al-Muṣāḥaba al-qurʾāniyya fī šīr al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.” See also Aḥmad Muḥammad Maʿṭūq’s studies on al-Murtaḍā’s literary criticism, including the K. al-Ġurar. Ibn Abī Ťayy (d. 630 [1233]) composed a work within the same tradition, entitled Muḥāṣarat al-šayb wa-l-šabāb (which is lost); see Ibn Abī Ťayy, Muntaḥab, p. 374. Another work within the same genre was al-Šabāb wa-l-šayb by one al-faqīh Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tālib al-Ḫalabi, who cited his teacher, the renowned adīb Abū ‘Abd Allāh Niṣṭawayh (d. 323 [935]). The text is quoted in Ibn Abī-Adīm, Taḏkira, p. 360.} Both works were apparently composed as extensations to material al-Murtaḍā had already included on the respective topics in his Ġurar.\footnote{See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar, ed. Abū l-ʿAdīm Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 596–602, 605–607 for material pertaining to al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb, and pp. 541–549 for poetry on Ṭayf al-ḫayāl.} Moreover, al-Murtaḍā also included a fair amount of his own poetry on other topics in his Ġurar fī l-fawāʾid. It is further noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā’s Ṭayf contains occasional brief discussions of doctrinal issues—namely, a critical assessment of the philosophical interpretation of dreams\footnote{Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ṭayf, ed. Kīlānī, p. 21–22, 39.} and a brief discussion on the essence of man.\footnote{Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ṭayf, ed. Kīlānī, p. 39.} He addresses the first topic in much greater detail in al-Sallāriyyāt,\footnote{See Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text V.} and the essence of man is the theme of responsum 12 of his Ġurar al-fawāʾid and of responsum 4 of his Ramliyyāt.\footnote{See Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text III.3.} Neither of the latter two works is mentioned in the Ṭayf, perhaps indicating that they postdate the Ṭayf. The work is preserved as Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348, produced in Rabīʿ 380.\footnote{See Appendix 7 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān as arranged in Muḥammad al-Tūnǧī’s commentary versus its arrangement in Rašid al-Ṣaffār’s edition”).}
II 591 [March–April 1194] in Aleppo, and this appears to be the only extant copy of the book. Throughout the text of the Ṭayf it is evident that the copy that has come down to us has been dictated. It was on the basis of this manuscript that Muhammad Sayyid Kilani prepared an edition of the work (published in 1955), which was followed by four further editions, one prepared by Šalāh Ḥaliṣ (1957) and the others by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Šayrafī (1962), Maḥmūd Ḥasan Abū Nāǧī (1985) and, most recently, Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan (2009).

See Derenbourg et al., *Les manuscrits arabes*, vol. 1, pp. 221–222. According to the ownership statement in the upper left-hand corner of the titlepage (fig. 352), the codex belonged to the library of the Saʿdīan ruler of Morocco, Mūlāy Zīdān (d. 1036 [1627]), which ended up in the El Escorial. The name of the copyist, ‘Abd Allāh al-Māṭī, is mentioned on the outer right-hand margin of fol. 102v (fig. 353), and the copyist added some poetry of his own on fols 103r–v (figs 354, 355). The dated colophon is found at the end of fol. 103v (fig. 355). The overall appearance of the codex does not suggest that it was indeed produced in the sixth/twelfth century, and the possibility that the date is fabricated should not be ruled out. For the history and fate of Mūlāy Zīdān’s library, see Hershenzon, “Traveling Libraries”; Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*. The history of the Saʿdīan library is the object of an ERC-funded research project, directed by François Déroche, “SICLE—Saadian Intellectual and Cultural Life” (ERC 670628), for which see https://sicle.hypotheses.org/ (including a rich “Bibliographie de référence”) [accessed 19 February 2021].

See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ṭayf, ed. Kīlānī, pp. 88, 107, 115; the wording also suggests that the author thought that he might add more relevant poetry on the topic in the future.

See the editor’s introduction for a description of Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348. The text of the scribe’s colophon is included at the end of the edited text (p. 115). For al-Murtaḍā’s Ṭayf, see also Šamʿūn, “Ṭayf al-ḫayāl li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”. Generally on the Ṭayf al-ḫayāl genre, see Jacobi, “The Khayāl Motive”.

See the editor’s introduction for a description of Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348, for the history of the book in print, and for a preliminary introduction to the book’s contents. In addition, the introduction includes a remarkably detailed biography of al-Murtaḍā, which was largely ignored by other scholars working on al-Murtaḍā at the time. Besides editing the Ṭayf on the basis of the El Escorial manuscript, al-Šayrafī attempted to fill some of the lacunae in the manuscript with material gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s Gurar; see his introduction, p. 35. Al-Šayrafī further suggests that al-Murtaḍā composed al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb for the vizier Abū ʿAli al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd, for whom he had previously composed a poem on the topic (introduction, pp. 35–36); for the poem, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār [1958–59], vol. 1, pp. 199–200; al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Šihāb, 1302 [1884] ed., pp. 64–65 [here, however, al-Murtaḍā does not disclose who asked him to compose the poem, instead stating simply wa-qad-suʿiltu. This excludes the possibility that the book was written for the vizier]; he composed other poems for Abū ʿAli al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd; see, e.g., Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār [1958–59], vol. 1, pp. 62–65; vol. 3, pp. 12–15). Moreover, the way in which al-Murtaḍā alludes to the unknown questioner at the beginning of his K. al-Šihāb does not suggest that the latter
An early sixth/twelfth-century copy of the Šihāb is preserved as **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3957**. Another Sunnī copy of the Šihāb, transcribed by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ and dated 19 Ša’bān 1009 [23 February 1601], is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 877 (figs 15a, 15b)**. The work is also referred to explicitly by the Egyptian Šī‘ī adīb Usāma b. Muršid b. Munqiḵ (d. 584 [1188]) in his Lubāb al-ādāb. Usāma b. Munqiḵ also regularly quotes al-Murtaḍā’s poetry in his al-Manāzil wa-l-diyār. An **editio princeps** of the K. al-Šihāb was published in Quṣṭanṭiniyya in 1302 [1884] (fig. 597) on the basis of Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3957. The work was published again in 1402 [1982] and, in another edition, in 2007.

The Sunnī scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Bassām al-Šantarīnī (d. 542 [1147–48]) included extensive quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān and from his Ţayf al-ḫayāl in the rich entry on al-Murtaḍā in his anthology al-Ḍaḥīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Ǧazīra. Since Ibn Bassām died some hundred years after al-Murtaḍā, his quotations constitute an additional partial witness for these two works. The Andalusī poet Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (b. 463 [1071], d. 542 [1147]) also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s Ţayf. In addition, al-Murtaḍā’s poetry is quoted by Ibn al-Ǧawzī in his Montaẓam, and by Muḥammad b. Aydamir al-Mustaʿṣamī (b. 639 [1240], d. 710 [1310]) in his anthology al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-qaṣīd. Another rich source for al-Murtaḍā as an adīb is a vizier. Al-Ṣayrafī further maintains that Ţayf al-ḫayāl was written at the request of the same person for whom al-Murtaḍā wrote the Šihāb (introduction, p. 36), but this possibility can definitely be ruled out. For a brief history of al-Murtaḍā’s Ţayf in print, see also Āḡā Buzurg, Ḍaḥī’ā, vol. 15, p. 196 no. 1310 (Ţayf al-ḫayāl) [margin addition].

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392 See Arberry, Handlist, vol. 4, p. 71.
395 See also Āḡā Buzurg, Ḍaḥī’ā, vol. 14, pp. 248 no. 2415 (al-Šihāb), 264 no. 2508 (al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb).
396 The edition was prepared by Walid b. Muḥammad al-Sarāqibī, who published it in ‘Ālam al-maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-nawādir in 2007 and then as an independent publication in 2008.
399 See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Diwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 149 n. 1, and passim.
Anwār al-rabīʾ fi anwāʾ al-badīʾ by the Imāmī scholar al-Sayyid ʿAlī-Ḥān al-Madanī (b. 1052 [1642], d. 1120 [1708–9]).

In his K. al-Šīhāb al-Murtaḍā relates that he began writing the work in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 419 [December 1028–January 1029] and that he completed the appendix (ziyāda) to it in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 421 [November–December 1030]. The Šīhāb, in turn, is mentioned repeatedly in al-Murtaḍā’s Ţayf al-ḫayāl. Moreover, al-Murtaḍā relates in the latter work that he searched the Nachlass of his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, for poetry relevant to the topic of the volume, fi hāḍā l-waqt wa-huwa sanat nayyīf wa-ʿišrīn wa-arbaʿ mīʾa, that is, between 421 and 429 AH. This indicates that the Ţayf postdates the Šīhāb by a few years. Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān is mentioned in both the Šīhāb and the Ţayf.

Among al-Murtaḍā’s adab works, mention should also be made of his commentary on the Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba fī madḥ Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib by the Šīʿī poet Abū Hāšim Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad “al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī” (b. ca. 105 [723], d. between 173 [789] and 179 [795]). Following early prints, published in 1297 [1880] (Bombay) and 1313 [1895] (Cairo), al-Murtaḍā’s commentary was published again in 1970 in an edition by Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭīb. Other editions were published in 1381š [2002] (Bašīr Ǧazāʾirī) and in 1437 [2016] (Ṣādiq al-Maḫzūmī).
Āğa Buzurg relates that al-Murtaḍā’s introduction to the Šarḥ is preserved in two recensions: in one of them al-Murtaḍā relates that he composed the work at the behest of al-ustāḏ al-fāḍil Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Šahfīrūz, while the other mentions al-sayyid al-walad atālā llāh baqāʾahu as the person for whom the commentary was written. Āğa Buzurg adds that he saw a copy of the work, dated 600 AH, in the library of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (d. 1370 [1950]), but he provides no further details about this copy. Al-Murtaḍā’s introductory remarks are omitted altogether in two witnesses of the Šarḥ that are preserved in the Taymūr collection in Cairo, namely Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 485 šīr Taymūr, which is incomplete at the end (figs 344, 345, 346), and Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 188 šīr Taymūr, which is equally incomplete and undated. Another difference that can be observed among the extant witnesses of the Šarḥ is that some include an addendum to the commentary, which originates with al-Murtaḍā. It seems that the version mentioning al-sayyid al-walad predates that which was composed at Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Šahfīrūz’s request: whereas none of the witnesses written for al-sayyid al-walad contain an addendum, it is apparently included in the majority of copies containing the recension for Ibn Šahfīrūz.


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408 He can tentatively be identified as al-Muḫtār Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Šahfīrūz al-Daylamī al-Kātib; on him, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb, vol. 5, p. 131 no. 4784. Al-Murtaḍā also composed a rhymed condolence (taʿziya) on the occasion of the death of the brother of one Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Šahfīrūz, whom he counted as a friend; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 166–168. This could be the same ʿAlī b. Šahfīrūz as that mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

409 Al-Sayyid al-walad is mentioned, for example, in the 1313/1895 edition of al-Murtaḍā’s Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba, as well as in Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536 (on the manuscript, see below). Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Šahfīrūz is mentioned in al-Samāwī’s copy of 1335 [1916], as well as in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis ilḥād-i Ṭabāṭabāʾi 84 (on the manuscript, see below).

410 Āğa Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 14, pp. 62–63 no. 1750. Nothing is known about the current whereabouts of the 600 AH copy. It is possibly kept in the so far uncatalogued al-Yaʾqūbi library in Naḡaf. For al-Yaʾqūbi’s library, see below, n. 836. The earliest attested witness of the Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda, which has not come down to us, was dated 554 AH. See below, n. 763.

411 The surrogates at our disposal leave it uncertain whether the two copies are part of multivoced codices or whether they constitute the sole components of the respective manuscripts.
Ṣamad b. Sulaymān b. Manṣūr al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī al-Baḥranī (not al-Naǧrānī as suggested by al-Ḫaṭīb)\(^4\) (figs 588, 589). The latter copy, which al-Ḫaṭīb used as his lead manuscript, ends with a mulḥaq of which only an abridgment is preserved (fig. 589a), and al-Ḫaṭīb included this portion (which opens with the words waǧadtu fī nushat al-Sayyid raḍiya llāh ʿanhu mulḥqaan mulaḫḫaṣuhu) in his edition.\(^4\)13

Bašīr al-Ǧazāʾirī consulted four witnesses of the Šarḥ for his edition: His lead manuscript was the undated Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ʾɪ ʿTabāṭabāʾī 84, pp. 96–148, which again mentions Ibn Šahfirūz in the introduction. After the end of the work as found in all other extant witnesses of the commentary (p. 142:19 wa-lā šubha annahu yaʿlam mā zāda ʿalā ḏālika kullihā wa-mā lā yatanāhī min al-maʿlūmāt), the text continues in this witness until p. 148, where it ends abruptly. The passage on pp. 142:19–143:19 parallels the muḫtaṣar of the mulḥaq that is included in al-Samāwī’s copy of the Šarḥ and was edited by al-Ḫaṭīb,\(^4\)14 whereas the remainder (pp. 143:19–148) has no parallel in the muḫtaṣar.\(^4\)15 In addition, al-Ǧazāʾirī also consulted a fragmentary witness of the Šarḥ that is preserved in an undated multitext volume, Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 2745, pp. 336–346, 211–318, as well as the 1313/1895 print and al-Ḫaṭīb’s edition. Unfortunately, al-Ǧazāʾirī conflates the different witnesses and recensions (mentioning, for example, both al-sayyid al-walad and Ibn Šahfirūz in the main text of the introduction).

Al-Maḫzūmī consulted two manuscripts of the Šarḥ: al-Samāwī’s aforementioned copy of the work as well as Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm

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\(^4\)15 Another witness reflecting the same end of the text as found in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdāʾ-ɪ ʿTabāṭabāʾī 84, pp. 134:19–148 is Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 282; fols 8v–52r (in the surrogate at our disposal the sequence of the folios is partly in disorder); fols 48v:8–49v:6 run again parallel to the muḫtaṣar of the mulḥaq that is included in al-Samāwī’s copy, fols 49v:6-52r runs parallel to Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdāʾ-ɪ ʿTabāṭabāʾī 84, pp. 143:19-146:17. The text breaks off at the end of fol. 52r (fig. 599) in this witness.
Al-Maḫzūmī remarks that al-Samāwī added another addendum (introduced with waǧadtu fī nusha uḥrā ḵadima ẓafartu bihā naṣṣ al-ʾibāra ġayr mulaḫḫaṣa lākin al-nusha nāqisat al-ʾāḥar qalīlan fa-katabtuhā kamā yalī . . .),(416) and it is likely that al-Samāwī had found it in the 600 AH copy (figs 590, 591, 591a, 591b, 591c). What is found in al-Samāwī's copy following the introductory lines is, however, unrelated to the addendum.418 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536 is one of the earliest extant copies of this work. Although undated, the manuscript dates to the pre-Safavid period, as indicated by a muṭālaʿa note by one ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaṭīfī, dated 931 [1524–25], on the title page (fig. 206a). The unusual title indicated on the title page (al-Qaṣīda al-bāʾiyya al-maʿrūfa bi-l-Muʿšibiyya) is noteworthy.419 Al-Muʿšibiyya is also the title employed for the work by Ibrāhīm b. Ṭālha al-Kafʿamī (alive in 898 [1492–93]), who lists the work among his sources for the glosses he added to his copy of al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya, dated 867 AH,420 and for his recension of al-Irbili’s Kašf al-ḵumma.421 The transmission of this work seems to have been entirely different from that of the other works discussed in this study. Although it was not included in any of the well-known clusters of miscellanies,422 it was regularly incorporated into

417 Al-Maḥzūmī, al-Faḍāʾil al-ʿalawiyya, p. 228.
419 The codex is also listed in Dalīl maḫṭūṭāt Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 265. The Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ (Naḡaf) owns a surrogate of the codex.
420 A facsimile of al-Kafʿamī’s transcription of al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya was published in 1394 [2015] with an introduction by Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm; see ibid., pp. 101–140 for al-Kafʿamī’s biography and a list of his mustansaḵāt, his own writings, and the sources he consulted (for al-Murtada’s Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba, which he calls al-Muʿšibiyya, see ibid., p. 128, and p. yā). Al-Kafʿamī produced three copies of al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya over his lifetime, including one that is dated 856 AH and of which a surrogate is kept at the Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ in Naḡaf. This copy also includes a list of the sources al-Kafʿamī consulted, including “al-Muʿšibiyya”; see Ḥakīm’s introduction (esp. p. 128) for details. For al-Kafʿamī, see also below, n. 784. Al-Kafʿamī further mentions al-Muʿšibiyya among his sources in his al-Balad al-ʿāmin; see Āḡā Buzurg, Dārṭaʾ, vol. 14, p. 73 no. 1801.
422 See Chapter Two of the present publication.
miscellanies comprising commentaries on other qaṣīda works.\footnote{Including a commentary on al-Tā’īyya of Di‘bul al-Ḥuzā‘i (d. 246 [860]). For details, see al-Maḥzūmī, al-Faḍāʾil al-ʿalawiyya, pp. 47-48.} An example is Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 13165, transcribed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ǧazāʾirī in 1092 [1681] in Iṣfahān, which has not been consulted for any of the available editions, as well as the aforementioned Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdā-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī 84. Occasionally, al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar and his Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba were copied together in one codex, as was done in Mss Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 and 6688.\footnote{For Mss Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 and 6688, see above, n. 287.} An unusual late nineteenth-century collective manuscript transcribed by Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī Aṣġar Raštī Langarūdī consists of several of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including his Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba (dated Rabīʿ II 1305 [December 1887–January 1888]), and the spurious Inqāḏ al-bašar (dated 3 Ṣafar 1305 [21 October 1887]), which is preserved as Mss Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059 and 33061 (figs 207a, 207b, 207c, 207d, 207e, 207f). This copy of the Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda, too, has remained unconsulted for any critical edition. A new critical edition of the two recensions of al-Murtaḍā’s commentary on al-Ḥimyarī’s Qaṣīda remains a desideratum. Besides the aforementioned unconsulted witnesses of the work, namely Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 282, Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 13165, Mss Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059 and 33061, Mss Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 and 6688, the two manuscripts in the Taymūr collection, and an undated copy in Los Angeles (Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 443),\footnote{For this manuscript, see n. 443 below.} al-Samāwī’s copy of the work with the addenda should be studied indepth. Of similar importance are portions of the work that al-Murtaḍā later integrated into his Takmilat al-Ġurar.\footnote{See below, n. 675.}

A fair number of al-Murtaḍā’s adab works have not come down to us. These include K. al-Barq,\footnote{Although nothing is known about this work, al-Ṭūsī’s decision to place it between the Diwān and the Ṭayf in his inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and to list al-Murtaḍā’s other works on adab after it leaves no doubt that this work, too, was concerned with adab. See al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 290; see also Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrāwī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī recently published “al-Mutabaqqī min Kitāb al-Barq”, but the title of this publication is misleading. The editor has not reconstructed al-Murtaḍā’s lost K. al-Barq but rather assembled all of al-Murtaḍā’s poems in his Diwān that are concerned with al-barq.” Note that al-Ṭūsī records the title as “al-Barq” and not “al-barq” in this list.} Tafsīruhu al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya,\footnote{The title is listed by al-Buṣrāwī. Al-Naḡāšī possibly refers to the same work when mentioning al-Murtaḍā’s Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihī; see Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrāwī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”) for details.} and two additional titles


430 On him, see Bakalla, Ibn Ğinnī.


429 The adīb and grammarian Abū l-Fatḥ ʿUṯmān Ibn Ğinnī al-Mawṣilī (d. 392 [1002]) was a contemporary of al-Murtaḍā, and a close friend of both his and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s.431


430 On him, see Bakalla, Ibn Ğinnī.

431 See, e.g., Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Munyatam, vol. 15, p. 203, describing a get-together attended by Ibn Ğinnī, al-Murtaḍā, and al-Raḍī, who were subsequently joined by ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Rabaʿī (d. 420 [1029]). Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī had also studied with Ibn Ğinnī. The close relationship between al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and Ibn al-Ǧinnī is indicated by the unusual fact that the latter wrote a commentary on some of the qasāʿīd of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, his former pupil. This is reported by al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī in his additions (mustadrakāt) to Ibn al-Nadīm’s Fihrist; see Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, vol. 1, pp. 268–269. See also below, n. 1048. For a comprehensive study of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s biography, including his formation, see, for example, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Huw’s introduction to his edition of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Dīwān. See also the relevant contributions in the special issue of Turāṯunā 1 [5] (1406 [1985–86]) devoted to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. Cf. also Stetkevych, “Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī,” passim, as well as the references mentioned in p. 295 n. 3. Stetkevych erroneously assumes that al-Murtaḍā was the younger of the two brothers; ibid., p. 294.


434 Edited by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Duǧaylī in 1987. See also the editor’s introduction, pp. 8–12, for a comprehensive overview of works written against Ibn Ğinnī’s commentaries.

435 Edited by Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿĀšūr in 1968.

436 Edited by Riḍā Raǧab in 2004. Another important critique was composed by Ahmad b. ʿAlī b. Maʿqil al-Azdī al-Muhallabī (d. 644 [1246]), entitled al-Maʾāḥij ʿalā šurrāḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī,
Murtadā’s lost K. Tatbūʿ al-abyāt allatī takallama ʿalayhā Ibn Ğinnī fī abyāt al-maʿānī li-l-Mutanabbī suggests that it was specifically directed against Ibn Ğinnī’s al-Fasr al-ṣaġīr tafsīr abyāt al-maʿānī fī šiʿr al-Mutanabbī. With his critique of Ibn Ğinnī’s interpretation of al-Mutanabbī’s poetry, al-Murtadā placed himself among the leading udabāʾ of his time. A related brief work by al-Murtadā has come down to us—Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fī ḥaḏf ʿalāmat al-taʾnīṯ. Al-Murtadā refers in this text to a passage from Ibn Ğinnī’s al-Lumaʿ fī l-ʿarabiyya, a popular book on Arabic grammar, which was the object of numerous commentaries by, for example, ʿUmar b. Ṭābit al-Ṭāmānīnī (d. 442 [1050–51]) and Abū l-Qāsim b. Barhān (d. 456 [1064]).

The fact that al-Murtadā also commented on a section of Ibn Ğinnī’s K. al-Lumaʿ makes him part of this commentary tradition.

1.6 K. al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-ṣarīʿa

While some of al-Murtadā’s books on legal theory have not come down to us, his
comprehensive manual in this discipline, *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā usūl al-ṣarīʿa*, is preserved in a fair number of manuscripts. The presumably earliest extant partial copy of

Ramliyyāt, *Masʿala fi l-mutawātīrin*, which is lost, was also devoted to a question of usūl al-fiqh; see Appendix 9. Detailed discussions on selected topics of legal theory were also included in some of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa collections, which are partly lost. See below, Chapter Two, for details.

439 The work circulated under two titles, *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā usūl al-ṣarīʿa* and *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā usūl al-fiqh*. The first title was coined by al-Murtaḍā himself in the introduction to the work (al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarīʿa*, ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, p. 6), and the same title is also employed by Ibn Șahrāšūb, while the second title is used by al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsi. See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naǧāšī, and Ibn Șahrāšūb”).

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

the work is Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 164. The codex, which we tentatively date to the sixth/twelfth century,441 is heavily damaged and both the beginning and end are missing.442 That the copy was consulted (and possibly owned) by a scholar is indicated by the regular reading notes throughout the first half of the codex, which read balağa ayyadahu llāh qirāʾatan wa-šarḥan.443 Ms.


442 The beginning of the text (p. 1; fig. 92) corresponds to vol. 1, p. 6 line 1 of the Gurği edition of the work (= p. 32 line 5 of the Qum 1429 [2008] edition), which suggests that one leaf is missing in the beginning. The end of the codex (p. 306; fig. 93) corresponds to vol. 1, p. 395 line 4 of the Gurği edition (= p. 288 line 13 of the Qum 1429 [2008] edition), suggesting that the codex in its original form comprised only the first volume of the book. It thus covered most likely chapters one through five of the work (again, one or two folios would then be missing at the end), while chapters six through fourteen were presumably included in a separate second volume. Since there is so far no detailed catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts held at the UCLA Library, the possibility should not be excluded that volume two of the work is also preserved there.

443 Pp. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19 (fig. 94), 21, 24, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 42, 43, 47, 50, 59, 62, 65, 70, 74, 77. There are additional balağa notes by other readers throughout the codex, and the occasional margin corrections suggest that the text had been carefully collated; see, e.g., pp. 212, 221, and 254 for muqābala notes. Prior to reaching Los Angeles, the codex was in the possession of Dr. Caro Owen Minasian (b. 1897, d. 1973), an Armenian physician and book collector who hailed from Iṣfahān and who sold most of his extensive collection of
Tehran, Maǧlis 3185 was copied by Abū Naṣr b. Abī Saʿīd al-Šarīf who completed his copy on 14 Muḥarram 969 [24 September 1561] (fig. 280). As is the case with Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 164, this copy has no ḥawāšī anywhere in the codex, and both witnesses may possibly represent the same line of transmission of the work.

The sixth/twelfth-century author ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqi “Ibn Funduq” (d. 565 [1170]) is credited with an epitome of the work, Talḫīṣ masāʾil min al-Ḏarīʿa (lost).444 Several Imāmī scholars are reported to have commented on the book, although none of the commentaries have been preserved.445 The Sunnī Muʿtazīlī polymath Ibn Abī
l-Ḥadīd (d. 655 [1257] or 656 [1258]) also wrote a commentary on the work, entitled al-ʾtitbāʿ ʿalā l-Ḍarīʿa fī usūl al-ṣarīʿa, which is likewise lost,446 and he occasionally refers to the commentary in his Šarḥ Nahāġ al-balāġa.447 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s copy of the Šarīʿa was indirectly accessible to Ġawād b. Saʿd b. Ğawād al-Kāẓimī (“al-Ǧāfīl al-Ǧawād,” d. 1065 [1655]), who was a student of Bahāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Husayn al-ʿĀmilī (“al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʿī,” b. 953 [1547], d. 1030 [1621]) and a prolific scholar in his own right.448 Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 3794 is a copy of the Šarīʿa transcribed by al-Ǧāfīl al-Ǧawād, which he completed on 8 Ramaḍān 1025 [19 September 1616].449 In a margin note placed next to the final colophon, al-Ǧāfīl al-Ǧawād relates that he collated his copy with a manuscript of the work that had been read to and approved by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd. The numerous comments in the margins throughout al-Ǧāfīl al-Ǧawād’s codex most likely originated with Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd. A digital surrogate of another eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the Šarīʿa, preserved as Ms. Naġaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 296 reflects a codex copied in Naġaf by Muḥammad b. Faraḡ al-Ḥimyarī al-Naġafī and dated al-ʿašr al-uwal (1–10) Rabīʿ II 1048 [12–21 August 1638] (fig. 88). This copy bears striking similarities to the copy produced by al-Ǧāfīl al-Ǧawād, suggesting that Muḥammad b. Faraḡ also consulted an antigraph that reflected Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s recension of the work.450 Al-Murtaḍā’s...
Ḏarīʿa was also accessible to Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and to the Malikī jurist Šihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Qarāfī (b. 626 [1228], d. 684 [1285]). The Šafīʿī scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šafīʿī al-Zarkašī (d. 794 [1392]) also consulted the K. al-Ḏarīʿa when writing his K. al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī usūl al-fiqh.
The *K. al-Ḍarʾa* has been published twice but neither of the two publications is satisfactory, in view of the quantity and quality of the extant manuscripts that have not been consulted. Abū l-Qāsim Gurĝī published an edition of the book in 1346 [1967], which is based on three witnesses: a copy from the Miškāt collection at Dānišgāh-i Tihrān (no shelfmark indicated by the editor), copied for the most part by al-Ḥasan b. al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿraǧī (d. 1230 [1815]) and dated 3 Ramaḍān 1224 [12 October 1809];⁴⁴⁴ **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891**, copied by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī al-Aḥsāʾī and completed in or before 1312 [1894–95];⁴⁵⁵ and **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1303**, copied by Ṣarīf b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq and completed on 18 Raǧab 1238 [31 March 1823].⁴⁵⁶

on his notes from al-Murtaḍā’s lectures in the ‘Udda, a recension of al-Murtaḍā’s lectures may also have been available to al-Ḥimmaṣī, unless both al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī consulted a common earlier source. Future research into al-Ḥimmaṣī’s quotations from al-Murtaḍā may shed further light on al-Ḥimmaṣī’s sources. It was possibly through al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī’s *K. al-Masādir* and/or through Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s writings that al-Murtaḍā’s views on legal theory were received, directly or indirectly, by the Šāfiʿī jurist ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī (b. 555 [1160], d. 623 [1226]) (*Fatḥ al-ʿazīz*, vol. 1, pp. 419–421), Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Āmidī (b. 551 [1156], d. 631 [1233]) (*Iḥkām*, vol. 2, pp. 19, 301), and the twelfth/eighteenth-century Zaydī scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Šawkānī (*Iršād al-fuḥūl*, p. 170).


While the editor refrains from identifying the manuscript’s shelfmark, it has been established on the basis of Dirāyatī, *Fiḥristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 496 no. 131746. The codex opens with a *waqf* statement by al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Muhammad Naqi, a descendant of the renowned Šīʿī scholar Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh al-Ǧazāʾirī (d. 1112 [1700–1]), dated 1309 [1892] (fig. 95a). For the beginning and end of the work in this codex, see *figs 95, 95c*. For this copy and its scribe, see also al-Wāṭiqī, *Aʿlām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, p. 498. The same scribe transcribed another, again undated copy of the same work, which is preserved as **Ms. Tehrān, Millī 4074**. See al-Wāṭiqī, *Aʿlām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, p. 498. The personal library of Muhammad b. Muhammad Naqi, consisting of some 500 manuscripts, was later bequeathed to the library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī foundation; see Āḡa Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 168.

For the manuscript, see also Dānišpažūh, *Fiḥrist-i Kitābḥāna-yi ʿīdā-2-i-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid
The work was again published in 1429 [2008] by al-Laģna al-ʿIlmiyya fī Muʿassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq on the basis of the earlier edition and a manuscript in the library of one Asad Allāh Maǧd al-Qazwīnī, which was completed on 16 Ṣafar 1247 [27 July 1831].

The K. al-Ḍarīʿa is a fairly late book among al-Murtaḍā’s writings—he completed it on 11 Šawwāl 430 [6 July 1039]. In the introduction to the work, he refers to his al-Mawsīliyyāt as “Masāʾil ahl al-Mawsil al-ūlā”. The specification “al-ūlā” is unusual and indicates that by this point al-Murtaḍā had already completed his al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiqhīyya I and II; the latter was composed in or after Rabīʿ I 420 [1029], so this reference provides a rough indication of when he may have begun the K. al-Ḍarīʿa. Al-Murtaḍā further seems to refer to the Ḍarīʿa on one occasion in his K. al-Intiṣār, which was written towards the end of the 420s AH. Moreover, in al-Rassiyāt I, which he completed on 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037], al-Murtaḍā refers to his “masāʾil uṣūl al-fiqh ḥayṭu dalalnā ʿalā anna l-kuffār muḫāṭabūn bi-l-šarʿiyyāt”—again possibly a reference to the Ḍarīʿa, in which he devotes a chapter towards the beginning of the work to this topic. The cross-reference in al-Rassiyāt I may thus indicate that at the beginning of the year 429 [1037] al-Murtaḍā had just begun to compose the Ḍarīʿa.

In the introduction to the Ḍarīʿa al-Murtaḍā relates that prior to working on the book he had dealt with the majority of the questions of legal theory in individual

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457 For the most recent edition, by ʿAlī Riḍā Madadī, which is forthcoming, see below, n. 912.


459 In other instances, al-Murtaḍā refers to al-Mawsīliyyāt I simply as ḥawāb masāʾil ahl al-Mawsil, or by related titles, without adding a further specification. See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”) below.


462 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ḍarīʿa, ed. Gurǧī, vol. 1, pp. 75–81 (faṣl fi anna l-kuffār muḥāṭabūn bi-l-šarāʿī yī wa-hal yadaytul al-ʿabd wa-l-ṣabī fi l-ḥiṭāb). In masʿala 10 of his al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, al-Murtaḍā includes a reference to “fīmā amlaynāhu fī uṣūl al-fiqh”. Given that al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I is one of his earliest extant works, the possibility that this is a reference to his Ḍarīʿa can safely be excluded.
treatises (masʿala mufrada). He adds that in some of his other works—namely, the K. al-Šāfi and the K. al-Ḏaḫīra—he had discussed the notions of consensus (iǧmāʿ) and reports (aḫbār), whereas he had dealt with qiyās and iǧtihād in his set of responsa to queries from Mawṣil dating to the 380s [990s] (al-Mawṣiliyyāt), which is lost. Al-Murtaḍā further relates that earlier on (qadīman) he had dictated a small portion (qiṭʿa) of another book on legal theory, entitled Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī uṣūl al-fiqh, which he apparently left uncompleted.

Al-Murtaḍā further relates that earlier on (qadīman) he had dictated a small portion (qiṭʿa) of another book on legal theory, entitled Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī uṣūl al-fiqh, which he apparently left uncompleted. In addition, during his many years of teaching the controversial issues in uṣūl al-fiqh, his students had put into writing countless notes based on his discussions of the books they had studied with him, most importantly the K. al-ʿUmad by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Such compilations of notes (taʿlīq) were a popular genre among the Muʿtazilīs of the fifth/eleventh century and beyond, as well as among the Zaydis and the Imāmīs. His approach in the

463 The term “masʿala mufrada” evokes a title included in al-Ṭūsī’s inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, viz. Masāʾil mufradāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh; cf. above, n. 438; see also Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naǧāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”) for details.


465 The discussion on iǧtihād was part of the chapter on qiyās, and al-Mawṣiliyyāt is known to have consisted of three chapters, on qiyās, waʿīd, and iʿtimād. See also below, Chapter Two of this publication.


467 Examples include the Ṣarḥ al-Taḏkira by Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAli Mazdak/Mardak, a taʿlīq of the K. al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ġawāhir wa-l-ʿarād by Ibn Mattawayh, and the K. al-_ENCODER_ERROR. In the introduction the author talks about the genesis of his work in some detail, explaining that the book was written down by the attendees of his teaching circle and that the final version was made
Ḏarīʿa, al-Murtaḍā continues to explain, is without precedent insofar as he not only lays out the positions he deems to be right, but he also discusses the views and arguments of opponents—so far no such book had been written, he states, either by an Imāmī or a Sunnī. He adds that he allowed considerable room for controversial issues in the book while uncontroversial questions are treated more succinctly. In terms of the length of the work, al-Murtaḍā states, his book should be counted among the mutawassiṭāt. 470

Al-Murtaḍā’s student al-Šayḫ al-Ţūsī also composed a work on legal theory, the K. al-ʿUdda fi uṣūl al-fiqh. Al-Ţūsī explains in the introduction that no such work had been written by an Imāmī scholar since the time of al-Mufīd, who had composed a concise work in this discipline (al-muḫtaṣar allaḏī lahu fi uṣūl al-fiqh),471 of which only al-Karāǧikī’s epitome is preserved, under the title al-Taḏkira bi-uṣūl al-fiqh.472 Even his teacher al-Murtaḍā, al-Ţūsī continues, had not written such a book, although he had discussed many relevant issues during his teachings (fī amālihi). 473

available to him only after he had completed his teaching which, he states, explains the divergences in length throughout the book; see al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, Munqiḏ, vol. 1, p. 18. In fact, al-Murtaḍā’s comment on the taʿlīqāt in his Ťarīʿa (vol. 1, p. 5:1–4) constitutes one of the most precise descriptions of the genre. In Imāmī circles beginning in the twelfth/eighteenth century, the taqrīrāt becomes the equivalent of the taʿlīq genre and replaces it; see Āģā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 4, pp. 366–387 for a description of the genre, followed by a list of pertinent titles. For the genre of taʿlīq among Sunnī legal scholars, see Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges, pp. 111–128. Makdisi’s comments should be used with some caution, as he interprets the genre as part of the madrasa education, specifically in the realm of jurisprudence. It seems, though, that he is unaware of the rich tradition of taʿlīqāt among both Šīʿīs and Muʿtazilīs.

472 See al-Ğaʿfārī, “al-Mufīd wa-ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh,” pp. 16ff. and passim. We consulted the edition of Muhammad al-Ḥassūn, published in volume 9 of Silsilat Muʿallaṭat al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd. It is noteworthy that Ibn Idrīs quotes from a Kitāb Uṣūl al-fiqh by al-Mufīd; see Ibn Idrīs, Aǧwibat masāʾil wa-rasāʾil = Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, vol. 7, p. 117. See also idem, Sarāʾir = Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, vol. 8, p. 218. Whether this is the same work as the one summarized by al-Karāǧikī or a different one cannot be decided.
A systematic book of this sort, al-Ṭūsī continues, is a major desideratum for Imāmī scholarship. This statement suggests that al-Ṭūsī began writing the *K. al-ʿUdda* before al-Murtaḍā’s *Ẓarīrā* was completed in 430 [1039], and most likely even before his former teacher had embarked on this project. The most frequently mentioned title in the *K. al-ʿUdda* is ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s *K. al-ʿUmad,* the principal text al-Murtaḍā used during his teachings. This suggests that the *K. al-ʿUdda* is based to a large extent on al-Ṭūsī’s record of the notes (*taʿlīq*) he took during al-Murtaḍā’s class, including al-Murtaḍā’s elaborations on the *ʿUmad* and other pertinent works on *uṣūl al-fiḥ.* In addition to this, al-Ṭūsī refers to explicitly and extensively quotes from several works by al-Murtaḍā, including “*kitābuhu fī ibṭāl al-qiyās*” or “*masʿala fī ibṭāl al-qiyās*,” referring to one of the chapters of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Mawsīlyyyāt.* Al-Ṭūsī also includes a lengthy quotation from al-Murtaḍā’s otherwise lost *Masʿala fī dalīl al-ḥiṭāb.* Noteworthy is also al-Ṭūsī’s *faṣl fī ḏikr ǧawāz taʾḫīr al-bayān ʿan waqt al-ḥiṭāb wa-ḏikr al-ḫilāf fīhi* in the *K. al-ʿUdda,* which shows a close resemblance to al-Murtaḍā’s corresponding chapter in his *K. al-Ẓarīrā.* Al-Ṭūsī concludes this...
section by stating that he is quoting al-Murtaḍā here (ḥāḍān dālīlān ḏakarahumā sayyidunā al-Murtaḍā rahimahu llāh awradtuhumā bi-alfāzihi li-annahu lā mazīd ʿalayhimā wa-fīhimā kifāyatun in šāʾ Allāh). Al-Ṭūsī is undoubtedly relying on an earlier writing by al-Murtaḍā, the identity of which is uncertain. It is possible that the relevant sections in the Ĥarī’a and in the ‘Udda are taken from al-Murtaḍā’s Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mi’a wa-ḥams wa-ʾišrin āya min sūrat al-baqara, which is lost. This would suggest that the Tafsīr was a detailed work.481 There are other quotations from al-Murtaḍā throughout the work that have no parallel in al-Murtaḍā’s extant writings.482 The significant overlap in the sources consulted by al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī for their respective works explains the partial overlap between the two works. Al-Ṭūsī’s quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s lost works constitute a valuable source for future study of the development of al-Murtaḍā’s thought in uṣūl al-fiqh, from his early writings during the 380s AH onwards, up until the composition of his Ĥarī’a and beyond (see also below).

Al-Ṭūsī’s principal point of departure, and possibly one of the factors that prompted him to compose the K. al-‘Udda, was al-Murtaḍā’s notion of the aḫbār as discussed, for example, in the K. al-Ďaḥīra,483 a topic on which al-Ṭūsī partly disagreed with his teacher.484 Al-Ṭūsī’s thematic focus is suggested by the K. al-ʿUdda’s unusual structure.485 Unlike other works on legal theory by Mu’tazīlī


483 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ďaḥīra, pp. 341–355. As previously mentioned (n. 464), the chapter later served al-Murtaḍā as the basis for an expanded discussion of aḥbār in his Ĥarī’a.

484 Al-Ṭūsī is also credited with a tract entitled Masʾala fi l-ʿamal bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid; see al-Naḏāšī, Rīǧāl, p. 403 no. 1068.

485 It should be remembered that while al-Murtaḍā was brought up within the Imāmī tradition of Baghdad, al-Ṭūsī began his scholarly career in his homeland of Ḫurāsān, and specifically
scholars of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century, including al-Murtaḍā’s Ẓarīf, al-Ṭūsī’s work places the section entitled al-kalām fī l-aḥbār towards the beginning of the work, right before al-kalām fī l-awāmir. In his kalām fī l-aḥbār, al-Ṭūsī not only refers to explicitly al-Murtaḍā and identifies the latter’s Ḥādhira as the source from which he quotes extensively, the first part of the section also emulates the structure of al-Murtaḍā’s bāb al-kalām fī l-aḥbār in the K. al-Ḥādhira. Moreover, large portions of the first part of this section of al-Ṭūsī’s work constitute verbatim quotations from or paraphrastic renderings of al-Murtaḍā’s otherwise briefer discussion of the topic in the Ḥādhira. The remaining part of the section on aḥbār in the ʿUdda is devoted to detailed discussions of the ḥabar al-wāḥid, in the course of which al-Ṭūsī develops his own views on the topic.

There are other structural divergences between al-Murtaḍā’s Ẓarīf and al-Ṭūsī’s ʿUdda. Al-Murtaḍā opens his Ẓarīf with a critical comment about a book on

in multicultural Nīsābūr, where he grew up and received his initial education. Apart from Šīʿī doctrine, he is likely to have studied Šāfīʿī law in Nīsābūr, which may explain some of the divergences between al-Ṭūsī and al-Murtaḍā in legal theory and law, and also in doctrinal matters. It was only in 408 [1017–18] that al-Ṭūsī came to Baghdad, where he studied first with al-Muḥīd and, following the latter’s demise in 413 [1022], with al-Murtaḍā. See our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Two for further details.

486 See below, Appendix 1 (“Structure of Zaydi, Muʿtazili, and Imāmī uṣūl al-fiqh works during the fifth/eleventh century”). Al-Ṭūsī justifies his placement of the discussion on aḥbār near the beginning of the work; see al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, ʿUdda, vol. 1, pp. 8, 10–11.


uṣūl al-fiqh by an unnamed earlier author (wa-qad waǧadtu baʿd man afrada fi uṣūl al-fiqh kitāban), who had discussed in detail topics that belong, in al-Murtaḍā’s view, to the realm of uṣūl al-dīn and should not be treated in a work on legal theory.\footnote{Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ḍarīʿa, ed. Gurği, vol. 1, pp. 2:3–4:7.} His prolegomena are thus restricted to a few chapters on discourse (ḫiṭāb), knowledge (ʿilm), and conjecture (ẓann), although issues relevant to kalām are occasionally addressed under those rubrics.\footnote{Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ḍarīʿa, ed. Gurği, vol. 1, pp. 7–26.} The question as to what extent issues of doctrine should be included in books on legal theory was disputed among scholars of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century and beyond. Two important uṣūl al-fiqh works by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424 \[1033\]), who was a student of Abū ‘ Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369 \[980\]), have come down to us: the concise ġawāmiʿ al-adilla and the more comprehensive K. al-Muǧzī. According to the only complete witness of the Muǧzī, preserved in the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf in Tarīm (Yemen), the work was completed in or before 417 \[1026\].\footnote{See the editor’s introduction to al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, Muǧzī, vol. 1, p. 76. The year 417 AH is the date of the “umm” of the preserved manuscript, an ambiguous term, which can refer either to the holograph or, perhaps more likely, the antigraph.} Both books, the ġawāmiʿ and the Muǧzī, reflect the state of the field during the generation prior to ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār, and in both works the author restricts himself to an extremely concise introduction.\footnote{Al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, Muǧzī, vol. 1, p. 94; al-Nātiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, ġawāmiʿ al-adilla, Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 205, fols 2v–3r. Al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq states in his brief introductory remarks to the ġawāmiʿ that he composed the book at the request of al-Šayḥ al-ǧalīl \[fig. 319\]. The identity of this person remains unknown, but the author’s wording in the introduction suggests that this person had asked al-Nāṭiq for such a tract in order to learn from it (li-yakūn aqrab min al-ḥifẓ wa-adʿā ilā l-naẓar wa-l-ḍabṭ). This renders Wilferd Madelung’s identification of al-Šayḥ al-ǧalīl as al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq’s teacher, Abū ‘ Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, untenable; see Madelung, “Zu einigen Werken,” pp. 8–9. Moreover, neither in his ġawāmiʿ nor in any of his other writings does al-Nāṭiq refer to his teacher as al-Šayḥ al-ǧalīl. Rather, throughout his ġawāmiʿ he refers to Abū ‘ Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī as Šayḫunā [Abū ‘ Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī]; see, e.g., Ms. Vienna, Cod. Glaser 205, fols 2v:22–23 (fig. 319), 4r:13, 4v:16, 5r:3, 5r:13, and passim. The eulogy following his name on fol. 2v, rahimahu llāh, further conflicts with Madelung’s suggestion that the ġawāmiʿ was composed during the lifetime of Abū ‘ Abd Allāh (Madelung considers this eulogy an exception, added by the copyist; see Madelung “Zu einigen Werken,” p. 8 n. 23). There is in fact no indication of the relative chronology of the ġawāmiʿ and the Muǧzī. For al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq and his writings, see also Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, passim. Another copy of ġawāmiʿ al-adilla is preserved as Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 49 ar.; see Löfgren and}
(b. 393 [1003], d. 488 [1095]), a former student of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, also avoided to discuss doctrinal topics in his K. al-Wāḍiḥ. Extensive discussions of doctrinal issues are included, by contrast, in the opening chapters of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s lost K. al-ʿUmad, and similar observations can be made for the partly preserved K. al-Taqrib wa-l-iršād by the Ašʿarite Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (b. 338 [950], d. 403 [1013]). ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s former student Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, who had commented on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s K. al-ʿUmad in a lost šarḥ, also criticized the lengthy elaborations on questions pertaining to kalām in the ʿUmad in his K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh, from which he omitted any kalām discussions. While his criticism runs largely parallel to al-Murtaḍā’s statements on the topic in his introduction to the Ẓarīʿa, it is impossible to determine the relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s Ẓarīʿa and Abū l-Ḥusayn’s Muʿtamad, as the latter work cannot be dated. There is no reason to think that either of the two influenced the other. That al-Murtaḍā and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī knew of each other and had read some of each other’s books can be assumed. As mentioned earlier, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī wrote refutations of al-Murtaḍā’s ʿṢâfī and his Muqniʿ. On the other hand, there is no indication that al-Murtaḍā was influenced by any of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s doctrinal notions and particularly his criticism of some of the Bahšamī tenets. Nevertheless, the parallelism between al-Murtaḍā’s

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495 See below, Appendix 1 (“Structure of Zaydī, Muʿtazilī, and Imāmī uṣūl al-fiqh works during the fifth/eleventh century”). Otherwise, the work (preserved in a unique manuscript, viz. Ms. Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi 18944) appears to be heavily based on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s ʿUmad and his other writings, as well as on the teaching notes Abū Yūsuf took while studying with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. For references to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, see Ms. Istanbul, Bayazit 18944, fols 5v, 6r, 7r, 8r, 8v, 10v, 12r, 12v, 13r (fi l-ʿUmad), 14r, 15r, 15v (fi l-dars), 16v, 18v, 19r, 21r, 21v, 23r, 23v, 25r, 26r, 26v, 27v, 29v (fi baʾḍ kutubihi), 31v, 32r, 33r, 34r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 38r, 38v, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 45v, 46r, 47v, 48v, 49v, 50r, 52r (fi baʾḍ kutubihi), 53v, 54r, 55r (fi kutubihi), 56v. A critical edition of the K. al-Wāḍiḥ, prepared by Hassan Ansari, Ihsan Mousavi Khalkhali, and Sabine Schmidtke, is forthcoming. For Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī, see above n. 192.

496 Al-Bāqillānī wrote three versions of the work—a long one (al-kabīr), a medium one (al-awsaṭ), and a short one (al-ṣaġīr)—and only the short version has partly come down to us. Part one of the work is preserved and available in an edition prepared by Abū l-Ḥamīd b. Alī Abū Zunayd (1993), as well as in another edition by Muḥammad al-Ṣayyid ʿUṭmān (2012). The final part of the book was edited by Muḥammad b. Abū al-Razzāq b. Ḥamīd al-Duwayṣ (2015).

497 Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Muʿtamad, vol. 1, pp. 7–8; note that the editor, Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, twice misreads al-ʿUmad as “al-ʿAhd”. For Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s Muʿtamad, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, chapter 3.

498 See Chapter 1.2 of the present publication.
and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s criticism renders the assumption plausible that al-Murtaḍā also had ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and his K. al-ʿUmad in mind when he criticized the unnamed scholar and his book.\footnote{Earlier scholars have offered various identifications of the unnamed author and work. Marie Bernand correctly observes parallels between the approach and structure of al-Murtaḍā’s Đarīʿa and the K. al-Muʿtamad of his contemporary Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, and, apparently unaware of ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s ʿUmad, she suggests that al-Murtaḍā’s critical comment about a book on uṣūl al-fiqh by an unnamed earlier author is directed against volume 17 of ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s Muḫnī. Erroneously assuming that al-Murtaḍā had studied with ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and was thus familiar with the work of his fellow-student Abū l-Ḥusayn, she concludes that al-Murtaḍā composed his Đarīʿa with the K. al-Muʿtamad serving as a model. See Bernand, “Les uṣūl al-ṯiḥāʾ,” pp. 283–285. Bernand silently assumes the Muʿtamad to have predated the Đarīʿa, without offering any proof. Earlier on, and apparently unknown to Bernand, Aron Zysow (1984) argued that al-Ṭūsī’s ʿUdda was written before the Đarīʿa and that al-Murtaḍā’s critical comment about an unnamed earlier work in the course of his introduction is directed against al-Ṭūsī’s ʿUdda; see Zysow, “Economy,” p. 514 n. 30. See also Zysow, Economy of Certainty, p. 284 n. 30. There is no evidence for this suggestion. Moreover, it is unlikely that al-Murtaḍā, as al-Ṭūsī’s former teacher, would refer to a work by his student in the introduction to his own work. The inclusion of a discussion on šarʿiyyāt in ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s Muḫnī reflects a slightly different tradition than that observed in Ibn Ḫallād’s K. al-Uṣūl, al-Murtaḍā’s Đaḫīra, and al-Muwaffaq’s Iḥāṭa, which include a discussion of aḥbār along with a chapter on prophecy and ignore other topics relevant to uṣūl al-ṯiḥāʾ; see below, Chapter 1.7. However, in Mānkdīm’s [Ṭaʾlīq] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa, pp. 768–770, the discussion of aḥbār is found at the end of the section on the imāma. ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār not only places an extended discussion on aḥbār between the sections on prophecy and on abrogation (see ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, Muḫnī, vol. 15, pp. 317–410; vol. 16, pp. 9–47) but also discusses in volume 17 of the Muḫnī (al-šarʿiyyāt) other topics of jurisprudence, namely, ḥiṭāʾ (pp. 7ff.), awāmīr (pp. 107ff.), nahy (pp. 135ff.), al-ḥaẓr wa-l-ibāḥa (pp. 145ff.), iǧmāʿ (pp. 153ff.), afʿāl (pp. 246ff.), qiyās (pp. 276ff.), and, at the end of the volume, ḥabar al-wāḥid (pp. 380ff.; this section is heavily damaged throughout and lacks the end), complementing his earlier discussion on aḥbār. Extensive discussions on jurisprudence are also included in ‘ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s K. al-Muḥīṭ, as preserved in the recension of his student Ibn Mattawayh, al-Mağmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ. These are found at various locations in the still unpublished part four (al-ṯaʿabbad al-ṯaʿabbad) of the work, which was accessible to us as Ms. Riyadh, Maktabat Ġāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya 8737, containing a precious eighth/fourteenth-century copy of Yemeni provenance. Al-kalām fī l-aḥbār follows al-kalām fī l-manzila wa-l-manzilatayn (fols 100v–108r), and the following sections are entitled al-kalām fī l-qiyās (fols 108r–111v), and al-kalām fī l-iǧtihād (fols 111v–118v). Thereupon follow al-kalām fī l-imāma (fols 118v–144v) and al-kalām fī l-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar (fols 144v–148v), after which there is another section on uṣūl al-ṯiḥāʾ, entitled al-kalām fī ḥabar al-qiyāṣ (fols 148v–160v). The work concludes with a section entitled al-kalām fīmā taʿabbadnā (our reading; the manuscript has: taʿabbad) bi-annahu...}
should be discussed in works on ḥusūl al-fiqh continued beyond Abū l-Ḥusayn al-
Baṣrī’s and al-Murtaḍā’s lifetime, as can be observed, for example, in Mustaṣfā by al-Ġazālī, who likewise criticized the excessive inclusion of discussions on topics relating to kalām in books on legal theory.\footnote{Al-Ġazālī, Mustaṣfā, pp. 13–14.}

Unlike al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī follows the earlier pattern of ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār’s ‘Umād by including detailed discussions on doctrinal issues, in addition to the characteristic notions of legal theory, in the introductory section of his book. He also includes subchapters devoted to other topics, which have no parallel in al-
Murtada’s Ḍarīʿa, most importantly a lengthy discussion of al-asāmī al-mufīda.\footnote{Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 1, pp. 31–36.} A parallel discussion can be found in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-
Baṣrī’s Muʿtamad, where it is entitled al-qawl fī l-ḥurūf.\footnote{Abū l-Ḥusayn al-
Baṣrī, Muʿtamad, vol. 1, pp. 38–42. See, however, al-Šayḥ al-
Ṭūsī, ‘Udda, vol. 1, p. 34, where al-
Ṭūsī refers to al-Murtaḍā in the course of his discussion of al-asāmī al-mufīda. This indicates that al-
Murtada also dealt with this topic even though he did not include any discussion of it in his Ḍarīʿa. On the other hand, it is possible that al-
Ṭūsī was familiar with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-
Baṣrī’s Muʿtamad, and he may have taken the work into consideration during the final revision of the ‘Udda before its eventual publication after al-Murtaḍā’s demise (for the ‘Udda’s “publication,” see below). See the regular references by the editor of the ‘Udda to parallel passages in the Muʿtamad in his annotation. A close investigation of min asmāʾ Allāh subkhānahu wa-sifātihī wa-mā yattaṣil bi-ḏālika (fols 160v ff.). The pattern of the Muḥīṭ and the Muḥīṭ was perhaps continued, with some variations, by Abū l-
Faḍl al-
ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn, one of the Zaydī students of ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār. His Yāqūtāt al-
imān was arranged in eight parts, only the first two of which are preserved in the commentary of al-
Ḥasan b. Muhammad al-
Raṣṣās (d. 584 [1188]), al-
Ṭibyān li-Yāqūtāt al-
imān wa-wāṣitat al-
burhān. It is possible that Ibn Šarwīn employed the mode of division that we find later in the theological writings of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-
ʿAnsī (b. 593 [1196–97], d. 667 [1268]), most importantly his al-
Maḥaǧǧa al-
bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn, who invariably arranges his material into eight parts, one of them dedicated to šarāʾiʿ: (1) Divine unicity (tawḥīd), (2) Divine justice (ʿadl), (3) prophecy (nubuwwa), (4) revealed legislation (šarāʾiʿ), (5) the imamate, (6) commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (al-amr bi-l-
maʿrūf wa-l-
nahy ‘an al-
munkār), (7) the promise and the threat (al-waʿd wa-l-
wāʿīd), and (8) nouns and rulings (al-
asmāʾ wa-l-
aḥkām). The šarāʾiʿ part is, however, organized differently. Al-
ʿAnsī divides his discussions into three parts, al-
kalām fī tawḥīd, al-
al-
kalām al-
muṣāmāt al-
šarāʾiʿ, and al-
kalām fī kayfiyyat al-
taʿabbud fīhā. For the relevant portion of his Mahaǧga, we have consulted Ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab 1273 (fols 114v ff.). For Ibn Šarwīn and his Yāqūta and al-
ʿAnsī and his Maḥaǧga, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, chapters 2, 11, and 12.}
A comparison of the extant works by Muʿtazilī, Zaydī, and Imāmī authors of the fifth/eleventh century with respect to their overall structure reveals that they all follow a similar pattern, with the exception of al-Ţūsī’s unusual placement of the kalām fī l-aḫbār and Abū l-Ḫusayn al-บาشري’s placing the kalām fī l-afʿāl before the section on abrogation, while all others deal with this topic prior to the section on iǧmāʿ. Moreover, unlike all other authors, Abū l-Ḫusayn al-ハウスين locates the discussion of aḥbār after the section on iǧmāʿ.\(^{503}\)

That al-Ţūsī wrote major parts of the ‘Udda before al-Murtaḍā completed his Ḍarīʿa, is evident from his introductory remarks and from his heavy reliance on other relevant works by al-Murtaḍā, notably his quotations from the chapter on qiyyās in al-Murtaḍā’s al-Mawsiliyyāt and from al-Murtaḍā’s Masʿala ʿfi daliʿ al-ḥiṭāb; the latter quotations are found towards the end of the ‘Udda. Since al-Murtaḍā integrated both texts into his Ḍarīʿa,\(^{294}\) there is no doubt al-Ţūsī would have used the latter work, had it been available at the time. Al-Ţūsī refers to a relatively late section of the ‘Udda almost at the beginning of his Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī,\(^{505}\) which he completed in Raġab 432/March 1041, confirming that the ‘Udda was mostly, if not entirely written by the time he began composing the Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī. Conversely, al-Ţūsī repeatedly refers to the Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī in the latter part of the ‘Udda.\(^{506}\) Whether

\(^{503}\) See below, Appendix 1 (“Structure of Zaydī, Muʿtazilī, and Imāmī uṣūl al-fiqh works during the fifth/eleventh century”). Stewart’s suggestion, which partly takes up Bernand’s earlier suggestion (Bernand, “Les uṣūl al-fiqh,” pp. 283–285), that the Ḍarīʿa may have been based on Abū l-ハウスين al-ハウスين’s Muʿtamad and that al-Ţūsī’s ‘Udda was modeled on the K. al-ʿUmād by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, is untenable in view of our observations; see Stewart, “Notes,” pp. 237–238; Stewart, “al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 176.

\(^{504}\) See nn. 478, 667, 668 for details.


\(^{506}\) Al-Šayḫ al-Ţūsī, ‘Udda, vol. 2, pp. 602 (Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī), 634 (Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī), 679 (Kitāb al-ʿImāma). The editor suggests that the last reference refers to al-Ţūsī’s K. al-Mufṣil fi l-ʾImāma, which is a short tract on the topic (published in al-Šayḫ al-Ţūsī, al-Rasāʾil al-ʾaṣār, pp. 115–138). It can safely be excluded that al-Ţūsī has this tract in mind. It is reasonable to assume that here
these references were inserted during the composition of the book or were added later during al-Ṭūsī’s revision of the ‘Udda, cannot be determined. Al-Murtaḍā must have started composing the K. al-Ḏarīʿa when al-Ṭūsī was already working on the K. al-ʿUdda, or possibly had completed a draft of the entire work. He may have received word of al-Ṭūsī’s focus on the topic of aḥbār, which may have enticed him to write down a systematic work on legal theory. Since al-Murtaḍā relied, as stated in the introduction, on his earlier writings on various aspects of legal theory and since he had taught uṣūl al-fiqh for decades and had access to some of his students’ records of notes from his classes, it is reasonable to assume that it took al-Murtaḍā a relatively short period of time, perhaps about a year or slightly more, to complete the Darīʿa, thus finalizing the book while al-Ṭūsī may still have been working on, or at least revising the K. al-ʿUdda. This chronology would agree with al-Murtaḍā’s afore-mentioned possible references to the Darīʿa in his al-Rassiyyāt I, which suggest that he began working on the book in 429 [1038].

That al-Ṭūsī had not yet completed the ‘Udda in 429 [1038] is further indicated by his account in the K. al-ʿUdda that al-Murtaḍā had at a later stage (aḥīran) changed his opinion on whether the Imām is obliged to reappear in order to correct the alleged iǧmāʿ in a situation in which everyone is in error and only the Imām holds the correct view. Al-Murtaḍā, according to al-Ṭūsī’s account, denied this possibility (prompting al-Ṭūsī’s objection).507 This mention seems to reflect he again refers to Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, and he may have used its alternative title al-İstīfāʾ fī l-imāma, which was misread either by an earlier scribe or the editor; see above, n. 54.

507. Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, ‘Udda, vol. 2, p. 631:12–16. The editor of the ‘Udda, while asserting that the quotation has no parallel in any of al-Murtaḍā’s extant writings, suggests that al-Murtaḍā maintains the very same position in his Darīʿa; see Darīʿa, ed. Gurğī, vol. 2, pp. 605–606. This, however, is not the case. Al-Ṭūsī’s account, as rendered in the now lost part of his Tamhīd, is also cited in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, Munqīd, vol. 2, pp. 377–378. In his K. al-Ǧayba, completed in 447 [1055–56], al-Ṭūsī again discusses the issue, and here he agrees with al-Murtaḍā’s later position; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, Ǧayba, p. 97; see also above, n. 53. The relevant passages in al-Murtaḍā’s and al-Ṭūsī’s works, as well as al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī’s account, are cited and discussed at length by Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī in his Kašf al-qināʿ, pp. 116:17–123:9. Like the editor of al-Ṭūsī’s ‘Udda, al-Kāẓimī also quotes an earlier scholar’s assumption that al-Ṭūsī had gleaned the information from al-Murtaḍā’s Darīʿa. However, al-Kāẓimī states that he searched the Darīʿa in vain for this view; see ibid., p. 122:4ff. For a discussion of al-Murtaḍā’s notion of iǧmāʿ, its development, and its later reception, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Epilogue. See also Ali and Ansari, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s Doctrine of ijmāʿ”.
al-Murtaḍā’s revised position on the issue (wa-llaḏī yaqwā al-ān fī nafṣī wa-yattaḍiḥ ‘indī) as laid out in his al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II, written 429 or (less likely) 427 AH.⁵⁰⁸

The dissemination of al-Murtaḍā’s Ḍarīʿa may have prompted al-Ṭūsī to hold back the K. al-ʿUdda from “publication” once he had completed it.⁵⁰⁹ It was

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⁵⁰⁹ “Publication” meaning either dictating it to his students who would write down the text and further transmit it or providing a warrāq with a holograph (possibly a muswadda) of the work or dictating the work to him so that he would make it available to others to transcribe or produce additional copies on demand. Both methods of “publication” were utilized by al-Murtaḍā. As mentioned earlier, he made parts of his K. al-Šāfī available (presumably by handing or dictating them to a warrāq) before he had completed the work in its entirety (see above, n. 70), and some of the witnesses of his K. al-Ḡurar were transcribed on the basis of copies produced by his students following al-Murtaḍā’s initial dictation while others were produced when he taught the work again at another point in time; for another example, see below, n. 510. In addition, al-Murtaḍā taught some of his works to his students who wrote down their own recensions (taʿlīq). See above, Chapters 1.2 and 1.4. It should be noted that al-Murtaḍā’s teaching sessions were also attended by students who neither read any of al-Murtaḍā’s writings nor wrote down anything that was read out by others on those occasions; see, e.g. Muntaǧab al-Din, Fihrist, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, pp. 85–86 no. 184, containing an entry on Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ṣahraštī, who is related to have read to al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī (qaṭaʿa ala šayṭinā al-Muwaṭṭāq Abī Ġaḏfar al-Ṭūsī) and to have been present in al-Murtaḍā’s teaching sessions (wa-ṭalasa fi maḏlis sayyidinā al-Murtaḍā Ḍalām al-Hudā)—al-Ṣahraštī was evidently too young to study with al-Murtaḍā; cf., however, al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 2, pp. 445–449, 450, where al-Ṣahraštī is reported to have studied with al-Murtaḍā. The possibility should not be excluded that al-Ṭūsī “published” the first section on aḫbār separately and earlier on, at least for a limited circle of readers. An example of a book whose author decided not to go forward with “publishing” (aḥraǧa) it when he had completed a draft, wishing to revise it first, is the K. al-Tanbīh by Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Salāmī (on whom see above, n. 204); see al-Salāmī, Tanbīḥ, ed. Bānāğa, p. 441:6–11. For another example of how dictation and publication may be related to each other, see Abū ‘Ali al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Ǧaffār al-.getFont-variant-style=""""""-variant-italic">Fārisī’s (d. 377 [987]) al-Huǧga li-l-qurrāʾ al-sab’a, vol. 1, p. 6, where al-Ǧaffār relates that Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sarrāǧ (d. 316 [928–29]) first started to dictate (imlāʾ) a tafsīr and then produced a fair copy (tabyīḍ) of the tafsīr on sūrat al-baqara. For the role of warrāqā during the period under consideration, see Saʿīd, Warrāqū Baġdād. A thorough analysis of how books were produced during the medieval period by their authors and the various manners in which books were “published” constitutes a major desideratum. Gregor Schoeler’s seminal The Genesis of Literature in Islam makes important observations on the processes involved up until the third century of the Islamic era, as does Gründler’s The Rise of the Arabic Book for the early period of Islam. Within recent scholarship
apparently only following al-Murtada’s demise that al-Ṭūsī finally “published” the work, perhaps making some last few revisions to his earlier text.\textsuperscript{510} The extant witnesses of the \textit{K. al-ʿUdda} suggest that the book circulated in two versions, the main difference between them being the eulogies following al-Murtada’s name. \textit{Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 14523}, dated 16 Ġumādā II 1047 [5 November 1637] and transcribed by al-Ḥāǧǧ b. Manṣūr in Mecca on the basis of an antigraph produced by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Muʿaddīb and dated 23 Şaʿbān 510 [31 December 1116] (\textbf{figs 283, 284, 285}), seems to represent an earlier version.\textsuperscript{511} This is also the case with \textit{Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967}, which was transcribed by Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. Yahyā b. Sālim al-Maḥṣūrī in 1043 [1633] and 1044 [1643] in Naḡaf on the basis of a copy that, in turn, was based on an antigraph dated 10 Şaʿbān 510 [18 December 1116]. The latter copy was in the possession of one Mullā Muḥammad Amīn and had been transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAli al-Muʿaddīb.\textsuperscript{512} Despite the slight difference in the antigraph’s dates—10 Şaʿbān versus 23 Şaʿbān—both copies are apparently based, directly in one case and indirectly in the other, on the same antigraph of 510 AH. The eulogies following al-Murtada’s name in \textit{Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967} on pages 2, 40, and 49 (\textit{adāma llāh ʿuluwwahu}) suggest that most of part one of the \textit{K. al-ʿUdda}, which contains al-Ṭūsī’s discussion of \textit{aḫbār}, was written during al-Murtada’s lifetime. Towards the end of part one, from \textit{al-kalām fī l-awāmir, faṣl fī ḏikr muqtaḍā l-amr} onwards, the eulogy following his name is \textit{raḥimahu llāh},\textsuperscript{513} for quotations from \textit{al-Ḍarīʿa} in al-Ṭūsī’s \textit{Tamhīd}.\textsuperscript{511} That al-Ṭūsī was familiar with al-Murtada’s \textit{Ḍarīʿa} after its publication is evident from his list of al-Murtada’s writings; see al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, \textit{Fihrist}, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 290. Moreover, the possibility should not be excluded that he had read the work with al-Murtada, as he notes at the end of the inventory of al-Murtada’s writings (ibid.): \textit{qaraʾtu hāḏhi l-kutub akṯarahā ʿalayhi wa-samiʿtu sāʾirahā tuqraʾ ʿalayhi dafʿāt kaṯīra}. On the other hand, he may have added the title of the \textit{Ḍarīʿa} to his inventory in the \textit{Fihrist} at a much later stage, long after he wrote the more general statement on his study with al-Murtada. See also n. 519 for quotations from al-Ḍarīʿa in al-Ṭūsī’s \textit{Tamhīd}.\textsuperscript{511} The scribe may possibly be identified as al-Ḥāǧǧ b. Manṣūr al-Aḥsāʾī al-Baṣrī, who was a student of Muḥammad b. Faraḡ al-Ḥimyarī al-Naḡafī. See Āḡā Buzurg, \textit{Ḍarīʿa}, vol. 1, p. 77 no. 372. For Muḥammad b. Faraḡ, see above, n. 450.\textsuperscript{512} See the colophons in \textit{Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967}, pp. 223, 426 (\textbf{figs 97a, 97b}). This is a digital surrogate of a codex whose present location is uncertain; see n. 440.\textsuperscript{513} Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967, pp. 81, 126, 254, 288, 357, 404.
raḍiya llāh ʿanhu,\textsuperscript{514} or qaddasa llāh rūḥahu.\textsuperscript{515} The shift in the eulogies supports the thesis that al-Ṭūsī began writing the \textit{K. al-ʿUdda} before 430 [1039], and perhaps completed a draft by the end of that year, but that he continued revising the book after al-Murtaḍā’s demise in 436 [1044]. The lithograph print reflects this earlier version of the book.\textsuperscript{516}

The oldest extant manuscript of al-Ṭūsī’s \textit{K. al-ʿUdda}, \textit{Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916}, which was transcribed by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿĀḥmad and completed Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 518 [January–February 1125], reflects a later version of the book: The eulogies following al-Murtaḍā’s name invariably indicate that he had already passed away at the time of writing.\textsuperscript{517} The \textit{K. al-ʿUdda}

\textsuperscript{514} Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḥiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{515} Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḥiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967, pp. 176, 269, 282, 405. In many instances, there is no eulogy following his name; see Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḥiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967, pp. 18, 133, 241, 251, 254, 273, 296, 412, 421. Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 14523, which was only partly accessible to us, presumably shows the same features.

\textsuperscript{516} Bombay: Maṭbaʿat D. T. Parsād, 1312 AH (\textit{figs 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490}; at the end of the print, 1318 AH is mentioned as the date on which the copy used for the lithograph was completed; but in view of the date of the lithograph’s publication as indicated on the title page, this must be an error), part one, pp. 3, 29, 31: \textit{adāma llāh ʿuluwwahu}; part one, p. 63, part two, pp. 29, 37, 124: \textit{qaddasa llāh rūḥahu}; part two, p. 1.14: \textit{raḥimahu llāh}. Additional witnesses of this version include \textit{Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2912, 2913, 2914, and 2915}. A systematic study of the work’s transmission and numerous extant witnesses is another desideratum. For copies preserved in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, \textit{Fihristwāra}, 1st ed., vol. 7, pp. 436–437 nos 190383–190435.

\textsuperscript{517} Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916, fol. 1v: \textit{qaddasa llāh rūḥahu}; fols 19v, 23v, 45v, 129v, 135v, 195v, 204r: \textit{raḥimahu llāh}. The manuscript is briefly mentioned by Āḡā Buzurg who states that the scribe is “\textit{min fuḍalāʾ ʿaṣrihi}”; see Āḡā Buzurg, \textit{Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn}, p. 159. It is noteworthy that the final five lines of the main text on the last folio of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916 (\textit{fig. 282}) are in a different, later hand. The space between line 5 of the folio, where the transcription of the original hand breaks off, and the scribe’s colophon is considerable. It seems that the scribe was aware that something was missing at the end in the antigraph at his disposal and he may have hoped to be able to complete the text at a later stage, once he got hold of another complete witness of the text, which evidently he was not able to do. The editor of the ‘Udda suggests that only the addition (covering \textit{al-waraqatayn al-aḥrāyayn [sic]}) and the final colophon are in the hand of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, while the rest of the book was written by another early scribe. This is apparently not the case, and al-Anṣārī al-Qummī’s erroneous assumption is a result of his being limited to consulting the manuscript in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, since he was unable to obtain a surrogate of the codex at the time. When writing the introduction,
was certainly published by 450 [1058–59] since Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Naḡāšī (d. 450 [1058]) included the title in his *K. al-Riḡāl*.518

The partial overlap in time in the composition of the *Ḏarīʿa* and the *ʿUdda*, and the fact that both authors relied heavily on some of al-Murtaḍā’s earlier writings and on his teachings, as well as the teacher-student relation between them, puts to rest the earlier controversy revolving around the relation between and relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḏarīʿa* and al-Ṭūsī’s *ʿUdda*.519 New critical editions of

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518 Al-Naḡāšī, *Riḡāl*, p. 403. It may even have been published before 448 [1056–57], i.e., before al-Ṭūsī left Baghdad for Naḡāf. It should be noted that al-Naḡāšī did not live in Baghdad during the final years of his life; see al-Ḥillī, *Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl*, pp. 72–73.

519 Earlier scholars discussed the relationship between the *Ḏarīʿa* and the *ʿUdda* within a narrowly defined framework, focusing as a rule on the seemingly contradictory statements by each of the authors in their respective introductions that their work is without precedent. Some scholars, including Brunschvig (1970), Calder (1980, 1989), Modarressi (1984), and Sachedina (1988), assumed that al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḏarīʿa* preceded al-Ṭūsī’s *ʿUdda*. See Brunschvig, “Les *uṣūl* al-fiqh imāmīt,” pp. 208ff.; Calder, “The Structure of Authority,” p. 175; Modarressi, “Rationalism and Traditionalism,” p. 144; Sachedina, *The Just Ruler*, pp. 11 (“There had existed treatises dealing with different aspects of *uṣūl*, but al-Dharīʿa was the first complete work of its kind.”), 71. Cf. also Akhtar, “Al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā,” p. 138. A similar view was expressed by Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riḡāl*, vol. 3, p. 144 (wa-huwa awwal kitāb ʿsmīfa fi ḥāḏā l-bāb wa-lam yakun li-l-āshāḥ qablahu illā rasāʾil muḫṭasara). Assuming that al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḏarīʿa* was completed when al-Ṭūsī composed the *ʿUdda*, Norman Calder explains the lack of reference in the *ʿUdda* to al-Murtaḍā *Ḏarīʿa* as follows: “Of al-Murtaḍā Ṭūsī declared that he had written nothing in the field worth turning to and nothing to be relied upon: that however reflected professional antipathy rather than objective assessment.” See Calder, “The Structure of Authority,” p.
175. Calder’s speculation has no foundation. Two of al-Ṭūsī’s major works, the *K. al-Tamhīd* (written some time between 436 AH and 448 AH) and his *Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī*, are entirely based on works by al-Murtada, the *Tamhīd* being a commentary on al-Murtada’s *Ǧumal al-ʿilm* and the *Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī* being a redaction of al-Murtada’s *Šāfī*, and in both works al-Ṭūsī also quotes extensively from other works by al-Murtada. Throughout his *Tamhīd*, al-Ṭūsī refers twice to al-Murtada’s *Ḏarīʿa*; see al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 292, 536. In addition, throughout the *Tamhīd* al-Ṭūsī refers to, and often quotes from, al-Murtada’s *K. al-Ḏaḫīra* (ibid, pp. 43, 44, 47, 106, 237, 270, 271, 282, 361–364, 369, 408, 424–425, 439–440, 445–447, 473, 550), *K. al-Šāfī* (ibid, p. 550), *K. al-Tanzīh* (ibid, p. 467), *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* I (ibid, p. 473), and *al-Mulâḥḥas* (ibid, pp. 43, 44, 106), and he also refers to al-Murtada’s teachings (ibid., pp. 47: *wa-ḏakara raḥimahu llāh fī kaṯīr min tadrīsihi* [erroneously read as *tadarrusihi* in the 1394 [2015] ed.], 243), as well as to some of his not further specified writings (e.g., ibid., p. 408: *wa-ġayruhā min kutubihī*). Moreover, throughout his works al-Ṭūsī regularly pays his respects to his erstwhile teacher even when he disagrees with his views. He regularly refers to him, for example, in his *Iqtiṣād*, in the course of which he specifically mentions al-Murtada’s *Tanzīh* (al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtiṣād*, ed. al-Mūsawī, p. 309) and his *Mas’alat al-waʿīd* (possibly a reference to his *K. al-Waʿīd* or to one of the chapters of his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*); see al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtiṣād*, pp. 221, 274, 279, 281 (here al-Ṭūsī records a disagreement between himself and al-Murtada). This is also the case with his *Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī* (see above, Chapter 1.2), as well as with his *Muqaddima*, in the course of which he refers to and quotes al-Murtada; see *Ms. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi 1338* (published in Ansari and Schmidtke, *The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s Theological Writings in 6th/12th Century Syria*, fols 75, 85. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 341, 342. Finally, al-Ṭūsī’s reliance in his *ʿUdda* on the *Ḏaḫīra*, *al-Masʾala fī dalīl al-ḫiṭāb*, and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* as well as the teachings of al-Murtada render Calder’s assumption of al-Ṭūsī’s “professional antipathy” towards his former teacher void.}

Equally without foundation are similar speculations by Robert Gleave, who laconically states in a recent (2018) publication on the question of which work came first (“Imami Shiʿi Legal Theory,” p. 215): “The order of composition of their works is not obvious. . . . Indeed, al-Tusi claims to be the first Imami to engage properly with the discipline of *usul*, indicating that either he didn’t think al-Murtada’s work was serious, or he did not know of it, or he composed his work first”. It is also noteworthy that al-Murtada refers to his teacher, al-Šayb al-Mufid, on only a few occasions, namely in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (see Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtada, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, 350, referring to his lost *K. al-Tamhīd*), in his (lost) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* (see the relevant quotation from the work in al-Šayb al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, p. 652; cf., by contrast, al-Šarīf al-Murtada, *Ḍarṭa*, ed. Gurği, vol. 2, p. 681 for the parallel discussion in the *Darṭa*; here, al-Murtada does not mention al-Mufid by name), as well as throughout the *Fuṣūl*, a work by al-Mufid redacted by al-Murtada. Cf. also al-Šarīf al-Murtada, *Ḍahira*, p. 114 where al-Murtada relates a view on the essence of man, followed by his criticism, which is essentially al-Mufid’s, although he refrains from mentioning al-Mufid and remarks only that this position was endorsed, for example, by the Banū Nawbaḥt. (For al-Mufid’s understanding of man, see McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 22ff.; see also Abdulsater, “Traditionalist Spirits and Rationalist Bodies”. Al-Mufid is also credited with a treatise entitled *al-Kalām fī l-insān*, which is lost; see al-Naḡāṣī, *Riḡāl*, p. 400; cf. also McDermott, *Theology*, p. 35 no. 100.) The fact that
both works would need to take into consideration the close relationship between the two books. A careful analysis of the two works is another desideratum, which would require close attention to the wider historical context in the development of legal theory during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. In addition to the Muʿtazilī, Zaydi, and Imāmi tradition of legal theory, al-Bāqillānī’s contributions to uṣūl al-fiqh, most notably his K. al-Taqrīb wa-l-iršād fī uṣūl al-fiqh, need also be taken into consideration. It can be taken for granted that al-Murtaḍā was familiar with the writings by al-Bāqillānī, who had debated with al-Mufīd on the imāma as well as on questions of legal theory. Some of these disputations are recorded in al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra, a work that was brought together by al-Murtaḍā. Conversely, al-Bāqillānī was also familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre, as is suggested by Ibn ʿAqīl’s report that either al-Bāqillānī or his son had responded to al-Murtaḍā on a matter of legal concern. Future studies will show to what extent al-Bāqillānī’s Taqrīb had an impact on al-Murtaḍā’s discussions in the K. al-Ḏarīʿa.

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al-Murtaḍā makes few explicit mentions of al-Mufīd should not be taken as an indication of disrespect on the part of al-Murtaḍā towards his erstwhile teacher. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 438ff., for al-Murtaḍā’s elegy for al-Mufīd, in which he praises the latter profusely. Al-Murtaḍā also performed the funeral prayer when al-Mufīd died; see al-Naḡāšī, Riḡāl, pp. 402–403. However, al-Murtaḍā was not al-Mufīd’s successor in the latter’s maǧlīs al-tadrīs, as this position went instead to Abū Yaʿlā al-Ǧaʿfarī, who had studied with both al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā. It is likely that at the time of al-Mufīd’s death, al-Murtaḍā already had his own maǧlīs and had reached such an established position that he was far too advanced in his career to take up the succession of his former teacher, so the task fell to a scholar of the next generation. The beginnings of al-Murtaḍā’s and al-Raḍī’s discipleship with al-Mufīd are related in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, Šarḥ Nahḡ al-balāġa, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 41. According to Devin Stewart, al-Rassiyyāṭ I contains a reference to al-Mufīd’s K. al-Muqniʿa; see Stewart, “An Eleventh-Century Justification,” p. 484, referring to Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 331–332. However, the reference in al-Rassiyyāṭ I to “Risālat al-Muqniʿa” rather refers to Risālat al-Muqniʿa fī abwāb al-šarīʿa by Raḡāʾī b. Yahyā b. Sāmān al-ʿAbartāʾī al-Kātib, who transmitted from ʿAlī al-Hādī. For the text and its author, see Modarressi, Crisis and Consolidation, p. 70 n. 76. It is further plausible that “Risālat Ibn Bābawayh” in the same passage refers to the K. al-Šarāʾiʿī of ʿAlī b. Ḫusayn Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 329 [941]), the father of Ibn Bābawayh.


521 See above, n. 95.
Al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī differed in their views on the probative force of Imāmī āḥād traditions. While al-Murtaḍā rejected them altogether, al-Ṭūsī considered them to be a valid source, provided certain conditions are met, a position that soon became the dominant view and was later also endorsed by representatives of the school of al-Ḥilla, viz. Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673 [1274–75]),522 al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, and al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī. Some Imāmī scholars of the sixth/twelfth century strove to restore al-Murtaḍā’s views while heavily criticizing al-Ṭūsī’s position, including al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548 [1154]), Hamza b. ᑕAli b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. 585 [1189–90]), and Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ᑕAli b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600 [1204]), with Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī (b. 543 [1148–49], d. 598 [1202]) being the staunchest representative of al-Murtaḍā’s position.523 Ibn Idrīs sought to revive al-Murtaḍā’s method in jurisprudence without any recourse to qiyās and the āḥād tradition, relying instead on his idiosyncratic notion of iǧmāʿ. By endorsing al-Murtaḍā’s legal method, Ibn

522 On him, see Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, pp. 15–17; Afsaruddin, “A Shiʿī Polemic Against al-Jāḥiẓ”; Afsaruddin, “An Insight into the Ḥadīth Methodology”; Afsaruddin, “The Bināʾ al-suqūṭ al-maṣūʾa of Jamāl al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Ṭāwūṣ”. For the Āl Ṭāwūs and their most prominent members, see also ᑕAli Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḫṭūṭāt al-sāda Āl Ṭāwūs,” and other contributions to Turāṭ al-Ḥilla 3 iii no. 10 (1440/2018) and other fascicles of this journal.

523 Ibn Idrīs’s approach is evident from his discussion on ḥabar al-wāḥid at the beginning of his Sarāʾir, which contains a long quotation from al-Murtaḍā’s al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II (see Ibn Idrīs, Sarāʾir = Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, vol. 8, pp. 109–115), further from his “Ṯulūṣat al-istidlāl ʿalā man manaʿa min ṣiḥḥat al-muḍāyaqa bi-l-iʿtidāl,” in Aǧwībat maṣāʾil wa-rasāʾil = Mawsīʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, vol. 7, pp. 15–82, esp. pp. 37 and 62, where he praises al-Murtaḍā and summarizes his methodology. See also Aǧwībat maṣāʾil wa-rasāʾil = Mawsīʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, vol. 7, p. 473, where he again elaborately praises al-Murtaḍā as allaḏī intahat riʾāsat al-Imāmīyya ilayhi, al-muḍāyaqa bi-l-iʿtidāl, wa-taqaddumī fi sāʾir al-ʿulūm, wa-farʿan wa-nahw wa-maʾan wa-faḥwan wa-adāb āl-amr bi-l-ṣiḥḥa bi-l-sīlah wa-niṣṭar wa-niṣṭ Scientist (Introduction, p. 46) adds Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī to the list of those who endorsed al-Murtaḍā’s rejection of ḥabar al-wāḥid. However, when rejecting ḥabar al-wāḥid, Quṭb al-Dīn targeted only the Sunnī notion of ḥabar al-wāḥid, not the Imāmī understanding of it. He thus fully agreed with the view of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī and should not be counted among the supporters of al-Murtaḍā’s position on the question. For the wider historical context of the conflict between different approaches to jurisprudence among Imāmīs during the sixth/twelfth century, see Ansari, “Nawīsanda-yi īn dū kitāb kīst?”. See also Ansari and Ehteshami, Theories of Testimonial Knowledge in Islamic Theology; Ansari and Ehteshami, Seeking Certitude: Scriptural Authority in Early Shiʿī Jurisprudence; and Ansari, Why Ḥadīth Matter: A History of the Use of Ḥadīth in Imāmī Law. For a fuller discussion of the later development on this controversy, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Epilogue.
Idrīs tried to push aside al-Ṭūsī’s alternative approach to jurisprudence with its reliance on the āḥād traditions. For this purpose, Ibn Idrīs quotes extensively both from al-Ṭūsī’s writings and from al-Murtaḍā’s throughout his works, including some of the latter’s otherwise lost works.\(^{524}\) Other than al-Murtaḍā’s immediate

students, Ibn Idrīs is thus one of the few Imāmī scholars prior to the Safavid period who was intimately familiar with al-Murtada’s wide range of writings on legal hermeneutics.525

1.7 Doctrinal thought: K. al-Ḍaḥīra, K. al-Mulaḥḥas, and al-Mūḍiḥ ‘an ġīḥat i’ḡāz al-Qur’ān

Compared to the works discussed so far, the reception and transmission of al-Murtada’s doctrinal summae were far more limited, and none of the summae has come down to us in its entirety. Al-Šarīf al-Murtada marked a turning point in the development of Imāmī doctrinal thought, in that his views largely concurred with the theological system of the Bahšamiyya, with the exception of the specifically Twelver Šīʿī notions of the imamate, the definition of belief, and aspects of Divine justice. At the same time, al-Murtada kept a nominal distance from the Muʿtazila, and he frequently criticized earlier and contemporary representatives of the Bahšamiyya, especially on issues related to the subtleties of kalām.526 From the mid-

525 For the case of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥilli, see Chapter Five of the present publication.

526 Some of the pertinent texts are included in Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (see especially Texts VI and VII). Al-Murtada’s al-Miṣriyyāt I, consisting of five responsa on topics related to epistemology and latif al-kalām, has not come down to us. See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtada’s writings as recorded by al-Ḥillī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāṣ, and Ibn Šahrāshūb”) for details. For cases of disagreement between al-Murtada and the Bahšamiyya, see, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtada, Ḍaḥīra, p. 138. See also al-Šarīf al-Murtada, Šarḥ al-Ǧumal, pp. 140–141, where al-Murtada states that he has lately (aḫīran) changed his position on the question of whether a sinner’s deservingness of punishment in the Hereafter can be determined by reason. He explains that he now endorses the position of the mutakallimūn among non-Muʿtazili Sunnīs (maḏhab al-muḥaqqiqīn min al-Muṭaṣī), who deny this possibility, whereas the Muʿtazilīs embrace it. See also above, Chapter 1.2. It is noteworthy that al-Murtada also wrote a K. al-Waʿīd, which al-Naḡāṣ lists towards the end of his list of al-Murtada’s writings; see Appendix 9. It is possible, in view of his change of opinion on the subject, that al-Murtada wrote this work at an advanced age. His comment in the Šarḥ al-Ǧumal that he has adopted the modified position only recently also suggests that the Šarḥ was dictated towards the end of his life, and this possibility is supported by the references to other works of his found throughout the text; see Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtada’s writings”). Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī also mentions some of the divergences between al-Murtada and the Bahšamīs in his Munqiḏ; see, e.g., al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, Munqiḏ, vol. 2, pp. 182–183. See also al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī’s al-Masāʾil al-ʿIlmīyya al-ṭāniya, where he quotes al-Murtada’s view on whether qudra, or any other accident, endures by itself, see
sixth/twelfth century onwards, Imāmī theologians increasingly considered some of the key notions of the Bahšamīs incompatible with the teachings of the Imāms. A more acceptable alternative presented itself in the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his followers, whose views were largely identified with those of al-Mufīd and, accordingly, seen as being in basic agreement with those of the Imāms.527 As a result, the Bahšami writings of al-Murtaḍā became increasingly irrelevant and for centuries virtually fell into oblivion.

A new wave of engagement with a range of early authoritative texts of Twelver Šīʿism began during the Safavid period, peaking during the eleventh/seventeenth century. Classical Šīʿī ḥadīṯ collections, such as al-Kulaynī’s Uṣūl al-Kāfī and Ibn Bābawayh’s Tawḥīd, were transcribed in significant numbers and frequently commented upon during this period.528 In addition, there was a renewed interest in some of the earlier Imāmī theological literature, as is indicated by the many manuscripts transcribed during this period of writings by al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, and other Imāmī mutakallimūn of earlier centuries, to the extent that these were

Rasāʾil al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, pp. 172–173. According to al-Muḥaqqiq, al-Murtaḍā doubted that all accidents endure by themselves. See further Ibn Sinān al-Ḫafāǧī, Sirr al-faṣāḥa, p. 28, for another issue on which al-Murtaḍā disagreed with the Bahšamiyya. For Ibn Sinān al-Ḫafāǧī, who completed the Sirr al-faṣāḥa on 3 Šaʿbān 454 [12 August 1062], i.e., some eighteen years after al-Murtaḍā’s demise, see Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 3, pp. 716–718 (Ǧulām Ǧamšīd Naẓād); see also our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Two. For the Sirr al-faṣāḥa, see further Cantarino, Arabic Poetics; on the doctrinal discussions in the work, see Ansari, “Yik mutakallim nā šināhta”. Several divergencies between al-Murtaḍā and the Bahšamites are also mentioned by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī author Naǧīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (b. ca. 520 [1126], d. 582 [1186]), who hailed from Ḥalab and wrote a commentary on al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s Muqaddima. See Ms. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi 1338/1, fols 14r, 32v, 49r, 56v, 72r, 76v, 88r. It is noteworthy that on one occasion al-Ḫusaynī speaks of al-Murtaḍā wa-aṣḥābihi (fol. 18v). A case of disagreement between al-Murtaḍā and Abū Hāšim is also mentioned by Ǧamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ǧubaʿī al-Kafʿamī; see al-Ǧubaʿī al-Kafʿamī, Maʿāriǧ al-afhām ilā ʿilm al-kalām, p. 101. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī was the brother of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Kaʿī (alive in 898 [1492–93]) and Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ǧabāʿī (b. 822 [1419], d. 866 [1461–62]), on whom see below, n. 784.

527 See our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Five for a more detailed discussion of this process.

528 The most comprehensive overview of manuscripts of ḥadīṭ-related material among the Imāmīs, before, during, and after the Safavid era, is Şadrāʾi Ǧhūʾi, Fihristigān-i nusha-hā-yi ḥaṭṭi-yi ḥadīṭ waʿulâm-i ḥadīṭ-i Šīra. For the commentary tradition on the earlier ḥadīṭ collections, particularly al-Kulaynī’s Kāfī, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Five.
still available at that time. In the case of al-Murtaḍā, the fact that his theological writings had largely not been transmitted during those several intervening centuries was not the only challenge facing the Safavid copyists and scholars involved in this process of rediscovery: the doctrinal specificities of Bahšamī theology, especially the detailed and highly specialized discussions contained in some of al-Murtaḍā’s works on the subtleties of kalām, made it hard to follow his argumentation and to transcribe the texts correctly. By this time, Bahšamī thought was understood only superficially, and a critical mass of Bahšamī literature that would have helped scholars to better understand al-Murtaḍā’s writings was no longer available.

Al-Murtaḍā authored two comprehensive books in the area of kalām, the K. al-Mulaḫḫaṣ and the K. al-Ḏaḫīra. Whereas al-Buṣrawī, al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb all state that the K. al-Mulaḫḫaṣ remained incomplete, al-Ṭūsī notes explicitly that the K. al-Ḏaḫīra was complete (tāmm). Moreover, al-Murtaḍā himself relates in his concluding remarks to the latter work that he had initially planned the K. al-Ḏaḫīra to be a concise book, since more detailed expositions would be given in the Mulahḥas. However, when he realized that he would be unable to continue dictating the Mulahḥas, he gradually expanded those of his discussions in the Daḫīra that touched on topics not covered in the Mulahḥas. This, al-Murtaḍā explains, is the reason for the unevenness between the concise early sections of the Daḫīra and the increasingly comprehensive discussions in the later parts of the work. He therefore advises his readers to consult both books, since they complement one another.

The majority of the extant manuscripts of the K. al-Ḏaḫīra contain only the final part of the work, beginning in the middle of the discussion of man’s actions, which belongs to the section on Divine justice. This is the case with Ms. Mašhad,

529 See Pourjavady and Schmidtke, “An Eastern Renaissance?,” pp. 255–257 for details. For similar observations in the areas of mathematics and astronomy, see Brentjes, Teaching and Learning, pp. 86, 235.

530 This is corroborated by al-Buṣrawī’s and al-Naḡāšī’s mentioning the book without any qualification that would suggest that it was incomplete. See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).

531 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Daḫīra, p. 607:10–16:

532 The remaining chapters of the K. al-Ḏaḫīra concern man’s capability to act (al-kalām fi
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054, which is heavily damaged over the first seventeen folios. The codex was transcribed by ʿAlī b. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Astarābādī, who completed the book on 25 Ġumādā I 892 [19 May 1487]. The scribe identifies a manuscript copied by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-[illegible] and dated 21 Raǧab 505 [23 January 1112] as his antigraph (fig. 98).

Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6738 is an undated copy of the Ẓaḥīra that contains the same portion of the text. The codex opens with a waqfiyya signed by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī and dated Raǧab 1103 [March–April 1692], providing a terminus ante quem for its production (fig. 99).

Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḫūnd 4635 (Ms. Kitābḵāna-yi Ġarb 603), which was tentatively dated by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī to the eleventh/seventeenth century, seems to reflect the same final portion of the book, with one leaf missing in the beginning and one at the end. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s


For a description of this copy, see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḵšī Marʿašī, vol. 17, p. 289; Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 482 no. 131399; Dirāyatī, Fihristigān, vol. 16, p. 78 no. 2. Cf. also al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, al-Turāt al-ʿarabī al-maḥtūṭ, vol. 6, pp. 16–17. For similar waqfiyyas, see the list provided by the editor of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥilli al-ʿAmlī’s Taḏīl al-aʿīma in his introduction to the text (pp. 67–70 n. 2). Another codex containing a work by al-Murtaḍā that opens with a waqfiyya signed by al-Maḡlisi is Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 16029, a copy of the K. al-Šaṭi ʿil l-imāma (fig. 109).

The beginning of the text as preserved in the manuscript corresponds to p. 74:8 of the edited
suggestion that this manuscript goes back, directly or indirectly, to the antigraph of 505 [1112] cannot be ruled out, and the same may apply to Ms. Marʿašī 6738, as is suggested by the correlation of the text in this manuscript and in Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškāda-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054.\(^{536}\)

While these three witnesses suggest that the latter part of the Ḏaḥīra circulated independently, a different path of transmission is attested by Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10073, the only extant manuscript of the Mulāḥḥaṣ. This codex, which was earlier in the possession of Šayḫ al-Islām Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanḡānī (b. 1302 [1885], d. 1373 [1954]) and nowadays belongs to the Parliamentary Library in Tehran,\(^{537}\) served as the basis for the edition by Muḥammad Riḍā Anšārī Qummī (1381

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\(^{536}\) The libraries of Iran and Iraq apparently hold additional copies of the Ḏaḥīra, but these were not accessible to us. Ms. Naḡaf, Maktatab Ḥāqqī Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Ṯūrī was inspected by Āḡā Buzurg; see Āḡā Buzurg, Dārīʿa, vol. 10, pp. 11–12 no. 55 (kāna nusḥatuhu fī maktabat šayḫīn al-Nūrī). This copy is also recorded in one of the handwritten catalogues of the collection, but its current whereabouts are uncertain. For details about the later fate of the holdings of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Ṯūrī Library, see below, n. 859. Al-Bayātī (“Maktatab al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 121–122) lists two additional manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ḏaḥīra, which are in fact surrogates of some of the other copies: Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 3344, and Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 3295. See Dānišpažūh, Fihrist-i mikrūfīlm-hā-yi Kitābḵāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, vol. 2, pp. 106–107, 116; Dirāyati, Fihristwāra, vol. 16, p. 79; Dirāyati, Fihristgān, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 482 nos 131403, 131404. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn, probably writing in the early 1950s, states that he was unable to trace a copy of the K. al-Ḏaḥīra; see Muḥyī l-Dīn, Adab al-Murtaḍā, p. 152.

\(^{537}\) Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanḡānī was renowned for his collection of manuscripts, and his primary scholarly concern was with kalām and philosophy. His publications include Tārīḵ al-ʿaqīda al-šīʿīyya (see bibliography for details). Faḍl Allāh also contributed an introduction and glosses to Wāʿiẓ Čarandābī’s edition of al-Mufīd’s Awāʾil at Čarandābī’s request, and he made a precious old copy of the work available to the latter, who collated it with his edition. Faḍl Allāh’s glosses on the Awāʾil as well as his introduction are also included in Mahdī Muḥaqqiq’s edition of the Awāʾil. Additionally, Muḥaqqiq’s edition includes a study on Faḍl Allāh al-Zanḡānī by Muḥammad Šādiq Diyāʾī (Arabic translation by Abū Ḍarr Bīdār), as well as a biography of Wāʿiẓ Čarandābī by Abū Ḍarr Bīdār. On Faḍl Allāh, see the editor’s introduction to his Tārīḵ al-ʿaqīda al-šīʿīyya, pp. 48ff.; see also Ḫiyābānī “al-Ṭabrizī,” Ulamâʿ-i muʿāṣirin, pp. 224–228 no. 11; al-Amīn, Mustadrakāt Aʿyān al-Šīʿa, vol. 7, p. 210; Ḫusaynī


fi l-irāda, bāb al-kalām fi l-kalām, and bāb al-kalām fi l-maḥlūq. The comparatively brief fascicle four consists of several chapters that belong to the K. al-Ḏaḫīra, namely faṣl fi ifsād qawlihim bi-l-kasb (fol. 130v) and faṣl fi ẓikr mā yuzimuhum ‘alā l-qawl bi-l-maḥlūq (fols 130v–131v), which are not included in any of the manuscripts discussed so far, as well as faṣl fi annā naf‘al ‘alā sabīl al-tawlīd (fols 131r–v), faṣl fi annahu ta‘ālā yaf‘al ‘alā sabīl al-tawlīd (fols 131v–132v), faṣl fi anna man fa‘ala l-fī l-mutawallīdan hal yaqūz lahu an yaf‘alahu bi-‘aynīni muṭbātīn (fols 132v–133r), bāb al-kalām fi l-istīṭā‘a wa-mā yata‘allaqu bihā (fols 133r), faṣl fi ẓibāt al-qudra wa-l-işāra ilā faḥm [sic; it should read muḥimm] ḥākāmiḥa (fols 133r–v), faṣl fi anna l-qudra lā budda min an yakūna maqdūr wa-annahā tata‘allaq ‘alā sabīl al-ḥudūth wa-laysat bi-mūǧiba (fols 134v–135v), faṣl fi anna l-qudra tata‘allaq bi-l-muttafaq wa-l-muḫtalaf wa-l-muṭaḍādd min aǧnās maqdūrāt al-‘ibād wa-kaftūn al-ḥikma fī-ḏālika wa-wuǧūhihi (fols 135r–v), faṣl fi ḥaqīqat al-taklīf (fol. 135v), faṣl fi ṣifāt al-mukallif ta‘ālā (fols 140r–141r), faṣl fi bayān al-ġarād bi-l-taklīf wa-wuǧūhihi (fols 141r–142r), bāb al-kalām fiawsāl hāḏaq l-bāb (fols 140r–v), faṣl fi ḥaqīqat al-taklīf (fol. 140v), faṣl fi ẓifāt al-mukallif ta‘ālā (fols 140v–141r), faṣl fi bayān al-ġarād bi-l-taklīf wa-wuǧūhihi (fols 141r–142r), and a portion of faṣl fi ẓifāt al-mukallif (fols 143r–144r), which breaks off in the middle of a sentence. Moreover, fascicle four opens with a redactional statement by the scribe (or rather by the scribe of the antigraph) explaining that what follows is taken from the K. al-Ḏaḫīra and is meant to complete the K. al-Mulaḫḫaṣ. The contents of this last part of the fascicle correspond to the part of the Ḥasāṣ in which al-Murtaḍā’s treatment becomes far more detailed than it has been until then. It is possible that the scribe

541 The first two chapters are included in the edition of Muhammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (pp. 476–479), but the remaining chapters included in fascicle four are omitted, as they were included in al-Ḥusaynī’s al-Iškawī’s edition of the Ḥasāṣ (pp. 73–125:9). This is deplorable, especially since the first pages of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawī’s edition are marred with lacunae and tentative emendations, reflecting the significant damage in the witnesses he consulted. It is to be hoped that Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10073 will be consulted when a new critical edition of the K. al-Ḏaḫīra is prepared.

542 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Mulahḥaṣ, Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10073, fol. 130r (fig. 286):
also transcribed the remaining parts of the *Ḏaḥira* in (an) additional fascicle(s), which has (have) not come down to us. Although it is unclear when and why al-Murtaḍā decided to discontinue the *Mulāḥḥas*, it may well have been al-Murtaḍā himself who decided to bring together the *Mulāḥḥas* and the final part of the *Ḏaḥira* in one volume. This is suggested by occasional cross-references in other works to both the *Mulāḥḥas* and the *Ḏaḥira*, implying that the works belonged together. Such a decision would parallel al-Murtaḍā’s active involvement in the transmission of his *Ǧurar al-fawāʾid* and his later addition of the *Takmilah* to it. Whether the different division of the material attested in the 505 [1112] codex postdates the textual arrangement found in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10073 cannot be decided at present.

In his *al-Munqīḍ min al-taqlīd*, al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī regularly refers to al-Murtaḍā’s views and occasionally mentions specific titles by him, namely, the

543 Towards the end of the extant portion of the work, al-Murtaḍā refers to a more detailed discussion in an upcoming section; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulāḥḥas*, p. 475:5–6 (wa-laʿallanā an nufaṣṣil hāḍīli l-ġumla iḏā intahaynā [not nahaynā] ilā l-kalām fi l-tawallud min hāḍā l-kitāb bi-mašṣūyat Allāh wa-ʿawnihi). This reference is followed by the first lines of the next chapter, faṣl fi tamyiz wuǧūḥ al-afʿāl al-rāǧiʿa ilā fāʿilihā, after which the extant text of the *Mulāḥḥas* ends.

544 The editor of the *Mulāḥḥas* suggests that the work’s division into volumes (aḏzāʾ) originated with al-Murtaḍā; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulāḥḥas*, p. 476 n. 1. Nothing supports this assumption, and it is far more likely that the codicological division of the work took place during the work’s later transmission. The editor further suggests that the two chapters at the beginning of *al-ḡuzʾ al-rābiʿ* that he includes in his edition (ibid., pp. 476–479) in fact still belonged to *al-ḡuzʾ al-ṭālīḥ*, and that *al-ḡuzʾ al-rābiʿ* contained the extant parts of the *Ḏaḥira*; see ibid., p. 476 n. 1. There is, again, nothing to support this suggestion.

K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, the K. al-Ḍaḥīra, and the Tanzīḥ al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma. Frequent references to both al-Murtaḍā and to al-Ṭūsī’s Tamhīd suggest that in these instances al-Ḥīmmaṣī was referring to the Daḥīra through the Tamhīd. On other occasions al-Ḥīmmaṣī cites al-Murtaḍā without identifying the work he used. It is plausible to assume that al-Ḥīmmaṣī al-Rāzī had access to some form of the Mulahḥas-cum-Daḥīra when he dictated his Munqīḍ. A close analysis of the sources al-Ḥīmmaṣī al-Rāzī consulted for his Munqīḍ in terms of Bahšamī and Imāmī works as well as writings by representatives of the thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-ʿAṣḥābī, particularly Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī and possibly Abū l-Ḥusayn himself, would be very useful.

The sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī scholar of Ḫurāsān, Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqriʾ al-Nīsābūrī, composed a K. Taʿlīq fī ʿilm al-kalām, which is a paraphrastic summary of al-Murtaḍā’s Mulahḥas-cum-Daḥīra with al-Muqriʾ’s own occasional comments. The work is partially preserved in a unique manuscript transcribed by Aḥmad b. Ḵan b. Muḥtabā b. ᴴhaṃb d. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī and dated Ṣafar 655 [February–March 1257] (Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 34424) (figs 554, 555), and the author refers explicitly to both the Mulahḥas and the Daḥīra throughout. That al-Muqriʾ had additional writings by al-Murtaḍā at his disposal is suggested by a reference to the latter’s K. al-Mūḍiḥ. Unfortunately, the beginning of the book,

546 See al-Ḥīmmaṣī al-Rāzī, Munqīḍ, vol. 1, p. 18. Al-Ḥīmmaṣī explains that the Ğumal serves as his model for opening his own work with al-qawl fī ḥudūṭ al-ḡism. See also below, n. 565.


552 The codex also includes al-Muqriʾ’s K. al-Ḥudād, another work on theology, which has been published (Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 34425) (figs 556, 557). The library evidently assigned different shelfmarks to the two texts, although both are part of the same codex.


554 Al-Muqriʾ, Taʿlīq, pp. 181, 184. See also the quotation from al-Murtaḍā in al-Muqriʾ, Taʿlīq, p.
where al-Muqriʾ possibly explained his approach, is lost. At the end of the taʿlīq, al-Muqriʾ announces his commentary (šarḥ) on the work—but whether this was ever written remains unknown.

That the K. al-Ḍaḥīra also circulated independently as a complete summa in its original form consisting of the (lost) first, concise part and the (extant) final, comprehensive one is beyond doubt. This is indicated first by al-Murtaḍā’s own apologetic statement about the change in his intentions for the work, which resulted in its uneven character. Further, at the end of his ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-ʿamal he refers readers who want to dive deeper into the science of theology to his K. al-Ḏaḥīra.

115:12ff., which is not included in al-Murtaḍā’s Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal. The quotation is also included in part in al-Muqriʾ, Taʿlīq, pp. 50:6, 72:23, 191:13–14. The edition of the work prepared by Maḥmūd Yazdī Muṭlaq and published in 2006 should be used with great caution. See Ansari, “Kitāb al-Taʿlīq-i Muqriʾ”.

That the book was composed as a taʿlīq is clearly indicated at various points throughout the work; see, e.g., al-Muqriʾ, Taʿlīq, pp. 50:6, 72:23, 191:13–14. The edition of the work prepared by Maḥmūd Yazdī Muṭlaq and published in 2006 should be used with great caution. See Ansari, “Kitāb al-Taʿlīq-i Muqriʾ”.

Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī quotes in his Ḍiyāʾ al-šihāb (p. 70) al-Murtaḍā’s definition of tawba. Although this definition is very close to al-Murtaḍā’s definition of the concept in his Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal (vol. 1, p. 332), the difference in wording suggests that the latter work was not Quṭb al-Dīn’s source. It is unclear which other doctrinal work by al-Murtaḍā Quṭb al-Dīn is citing here. A very similar definition is given in Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī’s Rawḍ al-ǧīnān (vol. 1, p. 332): he possibly draws on al-Murtaḍā here although he does not mention him in this context.

This has been contested by Ḥamīd ʿAṭāʾī Naẓarī, who suggested that al-Murtaḍā never intended the Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal to be a summa in its own right and wrote no portions of it beyond those that have come down to us in Iranian libraries; see ʿAṭāʾī Nazari, “Nikātī dar bāb-i sāḫtār wa nisbat-i dū Kitāb al-Mulaḫḥas wa al-Ḍaḥīra”. ʿAṭāʾī Nazari’s view was contested by Hassan Ansari in “Kitāb al-Taʿlīq-i Muqriʾ-i Nišābūrī”. The matter was also briefly discussed by Abdulsater, Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology, p. 24, although it remains unclear which position he takes and what his arguments might be.

See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, p. 607:10–16; see also above, n. 531.
al-Ḍaḥīra and suggests that those who are looking for still more detail should turn to his K. al-Mulaḥḥas, demonstrating that he conceived of two works as distinct books. Moreover, there are occasional references in the Ḍaḥīra to earlier parts of the work that have no correspondence in the extant manuscripts. Al-Ṭūsī evidently had a complete version of the Ḍaḥīra in front of him. This is indicated by his aforementioned remark in the Fihrist that the work was complete (ḍāmm) and by his comment at the beginning of his commentary on al-Murtadā’s ʿUmāl, the K. al-Tamḥīd, that the Ḍaḥīra, and especially its first, concise part (wa-ḥaṣṣatan al-niṣf al-awwal minhu), also requires a commentary. He also mentions here that both the Ḍaḥīra and the Mulaḥḥas begin with a discussion on ratiocination (naẓar), which precedes the proof of God’s existence. Al-Ṭūsī further quotes the first, concise part of the Ḍaḥīra in the context of a discussion revolving around naẓar. This passage has no equivalent in the final part of the work as preserved in the manuscripts discussed above. Al-Ṭūsī’s at times extensive quotations from the

560 Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtadā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 81: fa-man arāda al-tazayyud fī ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn wa-l-ġawṣ ilā aʿmāqihi wa-taġalġul šiʿābihi fa-ʿalayhi bi-kitābinā al-mawsūm bi-l-Ḍaḥīra fa-in āṯara l-ziyāda wa-l-istiqṣāʾ fa-ʿalayhi bi-kitābinā al-Mulaḥḥas. The wording indicates that at this time al-Murtaḍā still intended to finalize both the Ḍaḥīra and the Mulaḥḥas; in other words, he wrote this before deciding to discontinue the Mulaḥḥas and expand on his discussions in the Ḍaḥīra.

561 It is noteworthy that on one occasion in the Ḍaḥīra (al-Šarīf al-Murtadā, Ḍaḥīra, p. 149:11–13) al-Murtadā refers to a discussion relating to baqāʿ al-qudar in one of the preceding sections of the K. al-Ḍaḥīra as well as in the K. al-Mulaḥḥas, again showing that at the time of writing he saw the two as separate works. The relevant discussion in the Ḍaḥīra is found on p. 96 of the book, but there is no parallel discussion in the extant parts of the Mulaḥḥas.

562 See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtadā, Ḍaḥīra, p. 127, where a chapter opens with a reference to an earlier discussion about will which is not preserved in the edited text (qad maḍā fī hāḏā l-kitāb anna l-irāda tataʿallaqu bi-murādihā ʿalā ǧihat al-ḥudūṭ …).

563 See above, n. 530.


565 See al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Tamḥīd, 1394 [2015] ed., p. 47. The relevant passage of al-Ṭūsī’s Tamḥīd, including the quote from the Ḍaḥīra, is also cited in al-Ḥimmaṣi al-Rāzī, Munqīḍ, vol. 1, p. 270. Al-Murtadā discusses naẓar twice in the Ḍaḥīra, as was common in Muʿtazilī works on kalām, first in the beginning of the work, and again in the context of his discussions on Divine justice and moral obligation, where he has an extended section entitled al-kalām fi l-maʿārif wa-l-naẓar wa-akhāmīhīm wa-mā yataʿallaq bihimā. Whereas the first discussion on naẓar belonged to the concise part of the Ḍaḥīra, which is lost, the second discussion is found in later, more comprehensive part of the Ḍaḥīra, which has come down to us; see al-Šarīf
later part of the *Daḥīra* largely parallel the version of the *Daḥīra* that is preserved in manuscript. It remains unclear whether the occasional differences between the two versions are the result of al-Ṭūsī’s paraphrasing the original text or whether the latter’s wording reflects a slightly different version of the book.⁵⁶⁶ Al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Naǧm al-Ḥalabī also commented on the *Daḥīra*, and although the commentary is now lost,⁵⁶⁷ it provides another indication that the *Daḥīra* must have been a complete summa.⁵⁶⁸ Another pupil of al-Murtaḍā, Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī al-Ḍarīr (d. 441 [1049–50]), is said to have read the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* with al-Murtaḍā and to have memorized the entire work at the age of seventeen.⁵⁶⁹ There is also evidence that the sixth/twelfth-

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⁵⁶⁷ See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 13, p. 277 no. 1011; *Muʿǰam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 68 no. 7856. For Abū l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī, see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two.

⁵⁶⁸ The *Daḥīra* is also referred to explicitly in the commentary on al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *Muqaddima* by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī author Naǧīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭalib b. Muhammad al-Ḥusaynī, who hailed from Ḥalab. See Ms. İstanbul, Atif Efendi 1338/1, fol. 14r. See also below, n. 647.

⁵⁶⁹ See Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Ḥāwī*, p. 75 no. 57.
century Imāmī scholar Abū Muḥammad Rayḥān al-Ḥabašī al-Miṣrī read the Daḥīra in Egypt.570

The evidence presented so far of the Daḥīra’s circulation as a complete summa is further corroborated by another fragmentary copy of the work, Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (NLR), Arab. 111. The manuscript was completed in Fustāṭ in Raḡāb 472 [December 1079–January 1080] by the fifth/eleventh-century Karaite scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ʿĀlī [ʿElī] b. Sulaymān al-Maqdisī (see the colophon on fol. 154v:12–15; fig. 100).571 The codex was copied only some four decades after al-Murtaḍā’s demise, thus predating all other witnesses of the book by several centuries, and it also contains two heavily damaged bifolios (fols 136–139; figs 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108) with text that belongs to the first, concise part of the book. This part is devoted to Divine unicity and God’s attributes, and the damaged section contains the end of al-Murtaḍā’s refutation of the Dualists, as well as chapters refuting the Maǧūs and the Christians. Corresponding, though far more detailed, chapters can be found in the Mulahḥaṣ, where they are placed right before the part on Divine justice: faṣl fi l-kalām ʿalā l-Ṯanawiyya,572 faṣl fi l-kalām ʿalā l-Maḡūs,573 and faṣl fi l-kalām fi l-Naṣārā.574 These are followed in the Mulahḥaṣ, by a chapter refuting the Sabians and another refuting the polytheists during the Ġāhiliyya.576 The relative brevity of these chapters in Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111 in comparison with the corresponding sections in the Mulahḥaṣ suggests that this manuscript is a witness of the full version of the K. al-Ḍaḥīra, which also included the first, concise part on Divine unicity and God’s attributes. Besides the additional chapters found on the damaged pages, the most significant difference between Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111 and the witnesses of the Daḥīra held in

571 See Skoss, The Arabic Commentary; Madelung and Schmidtke, Rational Theology, passim; Goldstein, Karaite Exegesis, pp. 38ff. For a description of the manuscript, see Schmidtke, “Jewish Reception”. Sabine Schmidtke thanks the National Library of Russia for the opportunity to inspect the original codex in in August 2003 and again in June 2013.
572 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Mulahḥaṣ, pp. 258ff.
574 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Mulahḥaṣ, pp. 291ff.
575 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Mulahḥaṣ, pp. 299ff.
Iranian libraries is the additional text contained in Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111, fols 61v:7–64r:4 in the first faṣl of bāb al-kalām fī l-luṭf. However, the absence of this text portion in the Iranian manuscripts evidently reflects an unintentional omission by an earlier scribe—the additional portion in Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111 begins with ʿalā and so does the truncated passage in all other witnesses of the text (homoeoarcton). The scribe may have inadvertently turned two pages in his antigraph instead of one when copying the text. The omission, which is attested in all witnesses of the Daḥīra with the exception of the St. Petersburg manuscript, is thus an indication that all other copies are based on the same antigraph, possibly the abovementioned 505 [1112] copy transcribed by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥārūn b. Muḥammad b. al-[illegible].

There are also indications that the Mulaḥḥaṣ circulated at times without the second part of the Daḥīra. Al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Ṣālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī is credited with a work, now lost, entitled Tatmīm al-Mulaḥḥaṣ, which was meant to complete al-Murtaḍā’s Mulaḥḥaṣ. He must have had access to al-Murtaḍā’s Mulaḥḥaṣ only, not to his Daḥīra, this being the only plausible explanation for his intention to “complete” the Mulaḥḥaṣ. This further suggests that the Daḥīra, unlike the Mulaḥḥaṣ, was unavailable in Daylam at the time of his writing.

Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published an edition of the K. al-Ḍaḥīra in 1411 [1990–91] on the basis of Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi ʿIlāhiyyāt 1054 and Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635, but in view of the work’s transmission history and the availability of new witnesses of the work, a new edition of the Daḥīra is a major desideratum. In addition to the manuscripts of the work, including the material preserved in fascicle four of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10073, quotations in secondary sources should also be taken into consideration. Besides al-Murtaḍā’s own usage of

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577 The passage is missing from al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Daḥīra, p. 187:12–13, where ʿalā ʾafʿāl dūn tarkihā should rather read ʿalā mā huwa luṭf fīhi waqtan wāḥidan [. . .] nahwa ḫāṭiḥ l-ʾafʿāl dūn tarkihā. The full additional passage that has been omitted is quoted in Schmidtke, “Jewish Reception,” pp. 64–65.


579 However, at the time of al-Murtaḍā’s death on 25 Rabīʿ II 436 [19 November 1044] Sallār was still in Baghdad as he was one of the three persons who performed the ritual washing of his corpse. See below, n. 679.

extensive portions of the Ḏaḥīra, most importantly the section on aḥbār, in his Ğarī’a ğī ‘uṣūl al-ṣāri’a, al-Ṫūsī’s Tamḥīḍ contains several excerpts from the K. al-Ḏaḥīra, and al-Ṫūsī also includes a lengthy quotation from the Ḏaḥīra’s section on aḥbār in his ‘Udda ğī ‘uṣūl al-fiğh.581 Additionally, the Mağmū‘ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā Ğ Alam al-Hudā ğī ɣu’nīn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl, assembled by an anonymous compiler (perhaps as a text book for pedagogical purposes) consists of lengthy excerpts from the K. al-Ḏaḥīra, including some that have no parallel in the available manuscripts of the Ḏaḥīra and may originate in another work by al-Murtaḍā; this work would have to be consulted as well.582 Moreover, in view of the fact that al-Murtaḍā clearly saw a close relationship between the Mulahhaṣ and the Ḏaḥīra, a future new critical edition should treat both works together as one comprehensive summa.583

Al-Murtaḍā’s summae were read beyond the narrow confines of Imāmīsm. As has been noted, both the Ḏaḥīra and the Mulaḥhaṣ were also received by Karaite readers. In addition, the striking structural parallels between the Mulahhaṣ-cum-Ḏaḥīra and the K. al-Iḥāṭa ğī ‘ilm al-kalām by al-Murtaḍā’s younger contemporary, the Zaydī Imām al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl b. Zayd al-Ǧūrgānī,584 may suggest that al-Murtaḍā’s work was also read among the Zaydīs of

581 See above, Chapter 1.5, for details.
582 For a critical edition of the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text X).
583 New editions of both the K. al-Mulaḥhaṣ (on the basis of the single extant witness) and the K. al-Ḏaḥīra (on the basis of all manuscripts in Iranian libraries and the St. Petersburg copy) have been prepared within the framework of the Kungiriḥ-yi bayna l-milali-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā Ğ Alam al-Hudā (al-Mu’tamar al-duwali li-afṣyiyat al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā), under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī); see n. 912. These were, however, not available to us.
584 Al-Muwaffaq was certainly well acquainted with al-Murtaḍā. Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī mentions both al-Murtaḍā and al-Muwaffaq in his K. al-Marātīb, and his wording indicates that al-Muwaffaq must have been considerably younger than al-Murtaḍā. See al-Bustī, “Marātīb,” p. 234; see also above, n. 160. It is thus conceivable that the Ḏaḥīra was composed before the Iḥāta. For al-Muwaffaq, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Iranian Zaydisim, chapter 1. A systematic comparison of the Ḏaḥīra and the Iḥāta might yield further insights into the relationship between the two works. The work was accessible to us through Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library Or. 8409, dated Ša’bān 605 [February–March 1209] and containing volume two of the K. al-Iḥāta. We further consulted MS Şan’ā’, Maktubat al-Awqāf 2317, which contains an anonymous commentary (ta’līq) on the first part of the K. al-Iḥāta. The codex, which is incomplete in the beginning and at the end, partly overlaps with the aforementioned volume two of the K. al-Iḥāta, and taken together, the two codices provide a fairly accurate picture of the overall structure of al-Muwaffaq’s Iḥāta. For a more

236
Rayy. Both the Ḍaḥīra and the Ḥaṭṭa end with a chapter on duʿāʾ,585 which is preceded in both works by a chapter on al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt,586 and both include a chapter on aḥbār, which is placed between the sections on prophecy and on abrogation.587 A similar chapter is included in the K. al-Uṣūl of the Muʿtazili scholar Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Ḥallād (fl. fourth/tenth century) in the very same location,588 and the same is true of ‘Abd al-Ḡabbār’s K. al-Muġnī.589 The Muʿgānī further concludes, after the section on the imāma, with a section on the ṣifāt al-afʿāl, i.e., a more narrow discussion of al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt than that found in the Ḍaḥīra and the Ḥaṭṭa, and this is followed by a chapter on duʿāʾ.590

Al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Mūḍiḥ ʿan ǧihat iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān, also known as K. al-Ṣarfa, which includes a refutation of a section of the K. al-Muʿgānī by ‘Abd al-Ḡabbār al-Hamaḏānī, is another example of a nearly forgotten doctrinal text by al-Murtaḍā. The reason for the virtual lack of transmission in this case was al-Murtaḍā’s endorsement in it of the doctrine of “turning away” (ṣarfa), according to which the inimitability of the Qurʾān—the Prophet Muḥammad’s most prominent miracle—was not founded on its inherent superiority but rather resulted from God’s having “turned away” from their project those who attempted to challenge (taḥaddī) the Qurʾān. In the discussions of the miraculous character of the Qurʾān (iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān), the sarfa doctrine was maintained by only a minority of scholars, al-Naẓẓām being the most famous of them, and al-Murtaḍā’s work on the subject must have been considered


588 Adang, Madelung, and Schmidtke, Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology, pp. 150–156 of the Arabic text; see the parallel passage in Šāh Sarbīǧān’s supercommentary on the K. al-Uṣūl in Martin, “A Muʿtazilite Treatise,” pp. 75ff. of the Arabic text. For Šāh Sarbīǧān, see above, n. 77.

589 See above, n. 499 for further details.

irrelevant by most of his coreligionists, especially in view of al-Ṭūsī's rejection of this position.\(^{591}\) The sixth/twelfth-century scholar al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, who refers to the Ṣūrå in his Maṣmaʿ al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qurʾān, was still familiar with the work,\(^{592}\) and so was the Cairene poet and man of letters Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ al-

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\(^{591}\) See, e.g., al-Ṭūsī's critical comments on the notion of ṣarfa in his Iqtiṣād, together with his apologetic remarks explaining that he endorsed the notion in his Tamhīd only because he was commenting there on al-Murtaḍā’s Šumāl; al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Iqtiṣād, ed. al-Mūsawī, pp. 329, 332; the latter passage is also quoted in Ḥulāsat al-nazar, p. 145. Among the later Imāmīs, a few continued to endorse the ṣarfa doctrine, and they include Ibn Sinān al-Ḫafāǧī, the author of a lost K. al-Ṣarfa. On him, see above n. 526. For his endorsement of the ṣarfa doctrine and a quotation from his K. al-Ṣarfa, see Yāqūt, Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ, vol. 1, p. 325; the same passage is also quoted in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Buġyat al-ṭalab, vol. 2, p. 880. For a full discussion, see Ansari, “Kašf-i yik kitāb-i kalāmī”; Schmidtke, The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, pp. 154–158; Zadeh, “Fire Cannot Harm It,” pp. 57–60. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimṣī al-Rāzī (Tāǧ al-Rāzī, fl. 749-50 [1348–49]), names in his commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Qawāʿid al-ʿaqāʾid the following individuals among the proponents of the ṣarfa doctrine: al-Murtaḍā, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī (alive in 610 [1213–14]), and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī; see al-Ḥimṣī al-Rāzī, Kašf al-maʿāqid, fol. 51v. On the notion of ṣarfa, its protagonists, and its opponents, see also the study by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, al-Ṣarfa wa-l-inbāʾ bi-l-ġayb. For another instance in which al-Ṭūsī endorses al-Murtaḍā’s opinion in his Tamhīd while disagreeing with him in his ‘Udda, which is an independent work of his rather than a commentary on al-Murtaḍā, see al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Tamhīd, p. 408. For a case of al-Ṭūsī’s disagreement with al-Murtaḍā’s position in the Ḍarīʿa, see Tamhīd, p. 536. For a disagreement between al-Ṭūsī and al-Murtaḍā, see also ibid., pp. 438 and 440, on the obligatoriness of al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar (it is noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī seems to have changed his opinion and to have made changes to his own text at a later stage). For yet another disagreement between al-Ṭūsī and al-Murtaḍā, see ibid., p. 414. Another instance in which al-Ṭūsī mentions that al-Murtaḍā changed his opinion on a specific matter is recorded in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, Tamhīd, p. 292.

\(^{592}\) Al-Ṭabrisī, Maṣmaʿ al-bayān, vol. 1, pp. 42–43. Al-Ṭabrisī was also familiar with some of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa (see, e.g., ibid., vol. 3, pp. 414–415: ḍakara fi baʾd masāʾillihi . . ., though the quotation has no parallel in al-Murtaḍā’s extant writings; vol. 3, pp. 287–288, containing a quotation from a responsum on the issue of ǧasl al-riḡlayn, which again has no parallel in his extant writings); with al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (see ibid., vol. 1, p. 43 [= masʿala 10 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt i]); with his Darīʿa (see ibid., vol. 10, p. 390 [= Darīʿa, ed. Gurğī, vol. 1, pp. 126–127]); with his ġurar al-fawāʾid (see ibid., vol. 1, p. 261 [= ġurar, ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 3, p. 125]; vol. 5, p. 286 [= ġurar, vol. 2, p. 146]; vol. 6, pp. 331–332 [= ġurar, vol. 4, pp. 35:3–36:9; although the ġurar seems to be an-Ṭabrisī’s immediate source, it appears that this quotation is concerned with Q 18:23, and in fact the entire first part of the maḥlūs in question, originated in an earlier responsa collection of al-Murtaḍā; see esp. ibid., p. 36:8–9, where al-Murtaḍā concludes the text with the words fa-ṣāra mā awrādnā hu ḡāmiʿan li-
Miṣrī (b. 585 [1189], d. 654 [1256]), who included it along with al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, in the list of his sources at the beginning of his K. Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fi šināʿat al-šiʿr wa-l-naṯr wa-bayān iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān.593 A quotation from the K. al-Ṣarfa is also included in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī’s (d. 573 [1177]) al-Ḫarāʾiǧ wa-l-ǧarāʾiḥ,594 and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī quotes extensively from the work in his Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fi dirāyat al-uṣūl.595
Yemeni Zaydi Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-l-lāh Yahyā b. Ḥamza (b. 669 [1270], d. 749 [1348–9]) was also well aware of al-Murtaḍā’s endorsement of the notion of ṣarfa, though it is uncertain whether he had direct access to the K. al-Mūḍiḥ. Al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Mūḍiḥ is preserved in a single manuscript (Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 12409), copied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥimyar al-Ǧišumī and completed mid-Muḥarram 478 [mid-May 1085] (see the colophon on fol. 101r; fig. 110). Since the beginning of the manuscript is missing and the codex thus lacks a title page, it was only around the turn of the twenty-first century that it was properly identified among the manuscripts of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad and subsequently edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (1424/1382 [2003]).

1.8 al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra and “al-Ḥikāyāt”

Al-Murtaḍā also collected and redacted a doctrinal work, al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra min al-ʿUyūn wa-l-maḥāsin, that originated with his teacher, al-Šayḫ al-Muḥīḍ. Al-

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597 He is possibly identical with Abū l-Qāsim Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧišumī’s (d. 488 [1095]) šayḫ Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧišumī al-Ḥumr (perhaps to be read as b. Ḥimyar al-Ǧišumī; “b. Ḥimyar” was perhaps initially written in the margin and later integrated into the main text in the wrong location), as cited by Ibn Funduq; see Ibn Funduq, Lubāb al-ansāb, vol. 2, p. 501 (the edition is unreliable throughout and “Ahmad” may well be a misreading of “Muḥammad”). For al-Barzahī, see Yāqūt, Muʿǧam al-buldān, vol. 1, p. 382.
598 The manuscript was identified by Hassan Ansari; see Ansari, “Kašf-i yik kitāb-i kalāmī”. Āġā Buzurg still considered the work lost; see his Darša, vol. 15, p. 42 no. 264; vol. 21, p. 245 (K. al-Mā‘rifa fi iḡāz al-Qurʾān, a title that was first used in al-Kantūrī, Kašf al-huṣūb, p. 535 no. 3004); vol. 23, p. 267 no. 8912 (al-Mūḍiḥ ‘an waḡh iḡāz al-Qurʾān). Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, “ pp. 171–172 no. 114.
599 For the Fuṣūl, see al-Afandī, Taʿlīqat Amal al-āmil, pp. 200–201; Āġā Buzurg, Darša, vol. 16, p. 244 no. 970; Muḥyī l-Din, Adab al-Murtaḍā, pp. 141–142; McDermott, Theology, p. 34 no. 86; Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, p. 379 no. 641. The eleventh/seventeenth-century Iranian scholar Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥ-latānsārī (d. 1125 [1713]) translated the work into Persian under the title Munāẓarāt (published repeatedly, including in a 1999 edition by Sādiq Ḥasan Zāda). For Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥ-latānsārī, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter 2.4. The thirteenth/nineteenth-century scholar Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Lāriḡānī al-Šāḥābādī, a student of the renowned Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Mūsawī Huḡgāt al-ʿIṣlām al-Šaftī al-İfşaḥānī (d. 1260 [1844]), wrote glosses (ḥawāšī) on the Fuṣūl, which are included in his copy of the work, completed on 2 Dīl-i Hijja 1264 [21 November 1846]. See Āġā Buzurg, Darša, vol. 16, p. 244. See also the editor’s introduction to al-Šāḥābādī’s “Risāla ḥawla l-Qurʾān”.

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Murtadā relates in his brief introduction that he prepared the collection partly based on the lectures given by al-Mufīd during his teaching sessions and on his scholarly disputations (maǧālis),600 and that it contains selected portions of the latter’s (otherwise lost) work al-ʿUyūn wa-l-maḥāsin, in which al-Mufīd recounts disputations between early Šīʿī scholars and non-Šīʿīs.601 The Fuṣūl was thus undoubtedly produced in al-Mufīd’s lifetime, before 413 [1022], at the request of an unidentified questioner. In view of the work’s character it is plausible that al-Murtaḍā compiled the collection when he was still studying under al-Mufīd and long before he embarked on the theological summae in which he developed his own doctrinal views.

The Iraqi historian Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī al-Naǧafī, better known as al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Burāqī (b. 1261 [1845] or 1262 [1846], d. 1332 [1914])602 completed his transcription of al-Fuṣūl al-muḫtāra (Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9738) on

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601 Other examples of this genre include the K. al-Iḥtiǧāǧ ʿalā ahl al-laḡāq by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī scholar Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib al-Tabarsi, which contains records of disputations between Imāmīs and non-Šīʿīs, and the K. ʿUyūn al-munāẓarāt by the Sunnī Ašʿarī scholar Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī (d. 717 [1317]). For al-Sakūnī and his work, see Saʿd Darābī’s introduction to his 1976 edition of the work, which is based on his 1970 doctoral dissertation; Ghrab, “Edition critique”; also see Ess, Theology and Society, vol. 4, pp. 152–153 and passim.

Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke

17 Raǧab 1323 [17 September 1905] on the basis of an antigraph dated 15 Rabīʿ II 466 [18 December 1073]. The antigraph had been copied by one Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧāsbī (or al-Ǧāstī) al-Harāzkānī (or al-Harāzǧānī) in Kāšān (Qāsān) in “al-Ḥayḍariyya al-Ṣafawiyya.” The scribe adds that the mudarris of this madrasa was mawlānā al-Imām Ǧamāl al-Dīn Šaraf al-Islām Sulṭān al-ʿUlamāʾ Ḍiyāʾ al-Šarīʿa adāma llāhu wa-ayyadahu. Ḥassūn al-Burāqī’s copy is interesting because he has transcribed the colophon of his antigraph twice at the end of the text, first emulating the hand of the antigraph and then reproducing it in his own hand, before adding his own colophon (fig. 256a). The antigraph also had a note below the colophon stating that the copy had been read to and corrected upon the guidance of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, the transmitter of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ġurar and the works of the latter’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (quriʾa wa-ṣuḥḥiḥa ʿalā mawlānā Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Tāǧ al-Islām | adāma llāh zillahu . . .). The madrasa called al-Ḥayḍariyya al-Ṣafawiyya is most likely identical with the Madrasa-yi Ṣafawiyya, mentioned by ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Qazwīnī in the K. al-Naqḍ. Our reading of the date in the “original” colophon as 466 AH is not entirely certain, and the reading 566 AH is equally possible. This would place the date of the copy in the lifetime of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, which renders the margin note more plausible. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī may in fact also be the “mawlānā al-Imām Ǧamāl al-Dīn Šaraf al-Islām Sulṭān al-ʿUlamāʾ Ḍiyāʾ al-Šarīʿa” mentioned by the copyist. Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 1144, which contains a copy of al-Mufīd’s K. al-Iršād transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧāsbī (or al-Ǧāstī) al-Harāzkānī (possibly the father of the abovementioned Aḥmad) and dated 14 Šawwāl 565 [1 July 1170] (fig. 386), further corroborates the reading 566 AH. The scribe states that he collated his copy with that of mawlānā Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī at the end of Rabīʿ I 566 [December 1170] (fig. 387); Faḍl Allāh was most likely his šayḫ. Another copy of al-Mufīd’s Iršād that was collated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s copy is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maḥlis 9738 was purchased by Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Kutbī (figs

603 For the nisba al-Ǧāsbī or al-Ǧāstī, see above, n. 273.
604 The nisba refers to Harāzkān (also Harāzǧān or Harāzgān), a village of Ġāsb (or Ġast); see Qummī, Tārīḫ-i Qum, pp. 121, 138.
605 For Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see Chapter 1.4 of the present publication, especially n. 204.
607 Another copy of al-Mufīd’s Iršād that was collated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s copy is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maḥlis 13122. The codex was transcribed in the presence of two of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s sons (fi ḥidmat al-fāḍilayn), ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī (on whom see above, nn. 204, 212) and Muʿaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin Aḥmad (on whom see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn, pp. 12–13), by Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdawayh, who completed part one of the book in Raǧab 574
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

256b, 256c) in Muḥarram 1334 [November–December 1915], and subsequently it entered the Maǧlis Library. What seems to be another apograph of the 566 AH copy is preserved in the Maktatabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUllum in Naḡaf.608

Another fairly early copy of the Fūṣūl, dated 11–20 Ṣafar 601 [8–17 October 1204], was transcribed by Abū l-Ḥusayn Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥabašī (or Ḥabašī or Ḥabaš).609 Although his copy has not come down to us, it served as the antigraph for a number of extant witnesses of the work, including Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13940, copied by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Kamāl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī and dated 22 Ramaḍān 950 [19 December 1543];610 Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 4186, transcribed...
by Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Mašġarī al-ʿĀmilī in 1032 [1622–23] in Mecca;\textsuperscript{611} and Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 15803, transcribed by ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī al-Baḥrānī and dated Muḥarram 1276 [July–August 1859], on the basis of an antigraph from the ninth/fifteenth century, which in turn was based on the 601 AH copy.\textsuperscript{612}

The final chapters of the \textit{Fuṣūl}\textsuperscript{613} are commonly considered to constitute a separate work, known as al-Ḥikāyāt, or al-Ḥikāyāt fī muḥālaflāt al-Muʿtazila min al-ʿadliyya wa-l-farq baynahum wa-bayna l-Šīʿa al-imāmiyya. The reason those final chapters were treated as an independent text was that they were occasionally transmitted independently as an appendix to al-Mufīd’s Awāʿil al-maqālāt. Both the Awāʿil and the final chapters of the \textit{Fuṣūl} are concerned with doctrinal differences between the Imāmiyya and the Muʿtazila, which explains why they were regularly copied together.\textsuperscript{614}

\textit{Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Ganǰīna-yi Iṣfahān 5442} provides an example. In this collective codex, the final chapters of the \textit{Fuṣūl}, beginning with faṣl min al-ḥikāyāt etc., follow the end of Awāʿil al-maqālāt without further introduction (figs 290, 291). Another example is \textit{Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 2833}, copied by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Tabrizī al-Ḫiyābānī and dated 2 Muḥarram 1354 [6 April 1935] (fig. 292).\textsuperscript{615} It is possible that this manner of transmitting the final chapters of the \textit{Fuṣūl} as an appendix to al-Mufīd’s Awāʿil originated with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī al-ʿĀmilī during the Safavid period.\textsuperscript{616} This is suggested by Ms.


\textsuperscript{614} While the \textit{Fuṣūl} was gathered by al-Murtaṣal, the \textit{K. al-Awāʿil} was written by al-Mufīd at the request of al-Murtaṣal’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. See n. 946.


\textsuperscript{616} Cf., however, the case of Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 4471, which suggests that the transmission of
Tehran, Maḡlis 18662, which contains various writings by al-Mufīd, including his Awāʾil, followed by those final chapters, written by ʿAbd al-Maǧīd b. Muḥammad Ġawād on the basis of an antigraph transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī and dated 16 Ġumādā II 1308 [27 January 1891] (figs 347, 348). This transmission gave rise to the title al-Ḥikāyāt, on the false assumption that the heading faṣl min al-ḥikāyāt points to a work entitled al-Ḥikāyāt. This title is found, for example, in Ms Tehran, Maḡlis 3864, which again contains the Awāʾil, followed by the final chapters of the Fuṣūl (fig. 293). Although the chapters are appended to the Awāʾil without introduction, they conclude with the statement “tammat al-ḥikāyāt” (fig. 294). In fact, however, the heading faṣl min al-ḥikāyāt is not limited to the final chapters but rather appears throughout the entire Fuṣūl.

Awāʾil-cum-al-Ḥikāyāt may have started even earlier; see below, n. 778, for details. On Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī al-Āmili, see al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Amal al-āmil, vol. 1, p. 33 no. 22; al-Ṣadr, Takmilat Amal al-āmil, vol. 1, p. 50. Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī states that he lived in Isfahān and that he was one of his contemporaries (min al-muʿāṣirīn). For extant manuscripts in his hand, see Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 93 (s.v. “Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī . . . Maysī ʿĀmilī”). The Maktabat Tiqat al-Islām in Tabrīz held a codex, transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī and dated 1080 [1669–70], that contained some of al-Mufīd’s writings, notably his al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariyya, his Awāʾil al-maqālāt fī l-maḏāhib wa-l-muḫṭārāt, his Taṣḥīḥ al-iʿtiqādat and “al-Ḥikāyāt” (see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd,” pp. 28 no. 6, 60 no. 11, 69 no. 14, 89 no. 9). If the information provided by al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (who relies on Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh, “Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-hā-yi Šahristān-hā,” pp. 328–329) is correct, this codex is identical with the antigraph mentioned in n. 615. Moreover, it would be the antigraph ʿAbd al-Maǧīd b. Muḥammad Ġawād (and others) consulted.
In addition, the end of the work as preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9738 (fols 169v:30–174r:20; figs 256d, 256e) contains the statement “tamma l-kitāb min al-Fuṣūl”. This phrase, appearing in a manuscript based on one of the earliest extant witnesses of the book, indicates that the chapters belonged to al-Fuṣūl al-muḫtāra. The manuscript’s transmission through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī lends additional authority to the view that the “Ḥikāyāt” was not an independent work but rather constituted the final portion of the Fuṣūl.

The differing forms in which the final chapters of the Fuṣūl were transmitted are also reflected in the work’s publication history. The 1950 Naḡaf publication of the Fuṣūl encompassed the work in its entirety, including the final chapters. By contrast, the republication of al-Mufīd’s works on the occasion of his millennium in 1993 saw the issuance of the Fuṣūl in a truncated version, without the final chapters, and the publication of the final chapters of the Fuṣūl as an independent work under the title al-Ḥikāyāt. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī, the editor of the latter work, was well aware of the diverse modes of transmission of those chapters, and he consulted witnesses that testified to the different modes. However, preoccupied with the effort to prove al-Mufīd’s authorship of the Ḥikāyāt, he failed to recognize that the so-called Ḥikāyāt originally formed part of the Fuṣūl. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq also included the “Ḥikāyāt” in his 1993 edition of al-Mufīd’s Awāʾil al-maqāłāt. A future new edition of the Fuṣūl should again bring the two portions of the work together.

Once it has been established that the so-called Ḥikāyāt does not form an independent work but rather constitutes the final chapters of the Fuṣūl, the

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621 The confusing transmission of the final portion of the Fuṣūl in the manuscript tradition is also discussed by ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, although he eventually draws the correct conclusions; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd,” pp. 87–88. See also al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 188–192 no. 43/160, who is likewise aware of the different modes of transmission. However, although he rightly concludes that these chapters were originally part of the Fuṣūl, he nonetheless treats them as a separate entity under the title al-Ḥikāyāt and suggests that al-Murtaḍā added them to the Fuṣūl at a later stage. The evidence of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9738, discussed above, disproves this assumption. For a detailed study of the authorship question, see also Muḥtaṭī and Šafīʿī, Fihrīst-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Ṣayḥ-i Mufīd, pp. 109–112. The question of the contents and status of the Fuṣūl is debated by ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Rāzī and his unnamed Ašʿarī opponent, as recorded in ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Rāzī, Naqḍ, 1358 [1979] ed., pp. 234, 242.

622 See al-Ṣayḥ al-Mufīd, Awāʾil, ed. Muḥaqqiq, pp. 70–79.
question of the *Fuṣūl*’s authenticity as a work by al-Murtaḍā is also settled. The debate around the work’s authorship was prompted by the absence of the title from the inventories of al-Murtaḍā’s writings compiled by al-Buşrawī, al-Nağāší, al-Ţūsī, and Ibn Şahrāşūb. Instead, al-Nağāší attributes the book to al-Mufīd, as does al-Ţūsī. That al-Mufīd cannot be the author of the *Fuṣūl*, however, is evident from the work’s introduction, which points to one of his students as the book’s compiler. An explicit indication in the majority of witnesses of the *Fuṣūl* that the compiler was al-Murtaḍā is found at the beginning of the final portion of the book (the “Hikāyāt”), which is introduced with “qāla al-Šarīf Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī” (fig. 256d). Further, on two occasions al-Murtaḍā includes an account of his conversation with al-Mufīd, suggesting that the *Fuṣūl* also reflects al-Murtaḍā’s contributions to the discussions. Similar redactional additions by later scribes are regularly encountered in other works of al-Murtaḍā, including the *Ġurar* and the *Mūḍīḥ*, so the appearance of this phrase in the *Fuṣūl* is not unusual and rather corroborates al-Murtaḍā’s authorship. Further evidence is provided by Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Ţīhrān, Daniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 119 ǧīm, which contains a colophon at the end of part one of the work that precisely defines al-Murtaḍā’s role in the work’s composition (fig. 561): *tamma l-ǧuzʾ al-awwal min Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-muḫtaṣar min Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa-l-maḥāsin taʾlīf al-Šayḫ Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Mufīd ǧamʿ al-

623 See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buşrawī, al-Ţūsī, al-Nağāší, and Ibn Şahrāşūb”).


Šarīf al-Naqīb Abī l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Husayn al-Mūsawī—the term ġamʿ and the manner in which al-Murtaḍā is mentioned here suggests that the antigraph of this copy was very old. The very same colophon is also found in another copy of the Fuṣūl, Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5392, fols 65r-v (figs 562, 563). That the Fuṣūl was considered a work by al-Murtaḍā in sixth/twelfth-century Ḫurāsān is confirmed by an excerpt from the work included in a notebook dated 580 [1184–85]. The passage, which corresponds to pp. 72–73 of the 1993 edition of the Fuṣūl, is introduced with “qāla al-Aǧall al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu aḫbārānī al-Šayḫ . . .”.

The seventh/thirteenth-century scholar ʿImād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī also adduces a quotation from the Fuṣūl and attributes it to al-Murtaḍā. Moreover, both Abd al-Ǧalīl al-Rāzī, the author of the K. al-Naqd, who wrote in sixth/twelfth-century Rayy, and his Ašʿarī opponent treated the Fuṣūl as a work by al-Murtaḍā.

1.9 Refutations of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, and K. al-Inṣāf

Al-Murtaḍā also composed three refutations directed against the Christian Aristotelian Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 974 CE). Although none of these has come down to us, their titles suggest that al-Murtaḍā discussed some of Ibn ʿAdī’s Aristotelian notions in them. Al-Buṣrawī records the following three refutations of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī written by al-Murtaḍā: (1) Masʾalat al-radd ʿalā Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī al-naṣrānī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā, (2) Masʾala radda bihā ʿalā Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī fi iʿtirādihi dalīl al-muwaḥḥidīn fī ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām, and (3) Masʾala ʿalā Yaḥyā fī ṭabīʿat al-mumkin allaḏī lā yataǧazza. Title 1 may have been directed against Yaḥyā’s Maqāla fī ġayr al-mutanāhī wa-l-mutanāhī wa-l-ǧuzʾ allāḏī lā yataḏazza. Title 2 was possibly a refutation of Yaḥyā’s Maqāla fī l-radd

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628 Ms. Maḡlis, Ţabāṭabāʾi 218, p. 17. A facsimile of the codex, together with an introduction, was published by Hassan Ansari under the title Maǧmūʿa-yi āṯār-i Imāmiyya. The introduction was also published independently as Ansari, “Yik nusḫa-yi kuhansāl-i šīʿī”.

629 Al-Ṭabarī, Kāmil-i bahāʾī, pp. 500–501. Although al-Ṭabarī does not identify the Fuṣūl as the source, the quoted passage corresponds to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Fuṣūl, ed. Ġaʿfariyān al-Iṣbahānī et al., p. 143.

630 See above, n. 621.


632 Cf. Endress, Works of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, no. 4.23. Al-Murtaḍā refers to the refutation in his
ʿālā man qāla bi-anna l-ağsām muḥdaṭa ʿalā ṭarīq al-ǧadal,633 and title 3 was most likely
directed against Yaḥyā’s Fī ʿītbāt ūbd al-mumkin wa-naqḍ ḥuḡāq al-muḫālifin li-liṅka wa-l-tanbīḥ ʿalā fasādihā.634 The latter conclusion is corroborated by al-Murtaḍā’s

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633 See Endress, Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī, no. 4.41. The tract is exclusively preserved in Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 19, fol. 27v–28r. A critical edition and translation were published as Adamson and Wisnovsky, “Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī on a Kalām Argument”.

634 For Yaḥyā’s tract, see Endress, Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī, no. 5.32. For an edition and annotated translation of this tract, see Ehrig-Eggert, “Über den Nachweis der Natur des Möglichen”.

See also our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Six. In 1992 Riḍā Ustādī published a catalogue of the library’s manuscript holdings. In his brief entry on Ms. Madrasa-yi Marwī 19, Ustādī points to the exceptional significance of the miscellany for scholarship on Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī. In the Qāǧār period this was founded in the Qāǧār period and houses an important collection of philosophical manuscripts in its library. For the pursuit of philosophy during the Qāǧār period and the significance of Tehran in this context, see the contributions to Pourjavady, Philosophy in Qajar Iran; see also our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Six. In 1992 Riḍā Ustādī published a catalogue of the library’s manuscript holdings. In his brief entry on Ms. Madrasa-yi Marwī 19, Ustādī points to the exceptional significance of the miscellany for scholarship on Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī, inviting future scholars to study it in depth.
reference to his refutation of this work by Yahyā in his *K. al-Muḥḥas*. Here he also explains his own point of departure, namely the nature of God's knowledge of the non-existent (*al-maʿdūm*).

Another, now lost work by al-Murtaḍā that was possibly concerned with doctrinal matters was his *K. al-Inṣāf*, a title recorded only by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *K. al-Yaṣīn fi iḥtiṣāṣ mawlānā ʿAlī fī al-salām bi-imrat al-muʾminīn*. According to Ibn Ṭāwūs, in this book al-Murtaḍā identified al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād as a Muʿtazilī and refuted the latter's defense of al-Ǧāḥīz.
In addition to his monographic works, a significant portion of al-Murtaḍā’s corpus consists of collections of responsa that were prompted by queries addressed to him, either submitted by his students or colleagues, or dispatched from elsewhere, reflecting his status as a religious authority from a very early stage.\(^{638}\) Responsa in the first category—elicited by students and colleagues—address questions posed to al-Murtaḍā by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tabbān (d. 419 [1028]),\(^{639}\) by al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥasanī al-Rassī,\(^{640}\) by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan

\(^{638}\) Among al-Murtaḍā’s earliest writings were his responsa to three queries dispatched to him by al-ḥill al-Mawṣil “fi sanat nayyif wa-ṯamānin wa-ṯalāṯa miʾa,” i.e., sometime between 381 AH and 389 AH, when al-Murtaḍā was in his thirties and his teacher, al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, was still alive. See Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 204. The responsum format has deep roots and was widespread within and beyond the Islamic context. For the well-documented prevalence of responsa in late antiquity and beyond, see, e.g., Papadoyannakis, “Instruction by Question and Answer”; Cameron, Dialoguing in Late Antiquity, passim (we thank Glen Bowersock for those references). For responsa as a traditional Rabbinical genre, see, by way of example, Haas, Responsa; Glick, Bibliographic Thesaurus; Bányai and Komoróczy (eds), Studies in Responsa Literature. The relevant scholarly literature is enormous.

\(^{639}\) Referred to as al-Tabbāniyyāt in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, Dārī'a, vol. 5, p. 217 no. 1023. See also below for a more detailed discussion of the extant manuscripts of this work. An edition is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text IV). Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Tabbān was initially a Muʿtazilī but then converted to Šīʿism, although he remained uncertain about the conversion. He wrote two works, Kitāb fī Taklīf man ʿalima Allāh annahu yakfur and Kitāb fī l-Maʿdūm. See al-Naḡāšī, Rūjāl, p. 403 no. 1069; Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī, vol. 4, p. 425 no. 9543 (Fi taklīf . . .). Al-Murtaḍā wrote an elegy on the occasion of his death; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 191–194; the redactor of al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān describes him as al-Murtaḍā’s tilmīḏ. He might be identical with the “Ibn Tabbān” mentioned by Ibn ʿAqīl in his Funūn (vol. 1, p. 240), where it is related that Ibn Tabbān debated with some ʾaṣḥāb al-ḥadīṭ in Karḥ. Ibn ʿAqīl may, of course, have had in mind his Muʿtazilī teacher Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Tabbān (fl. late fifth/eleventh century), although the reference to Karḥ may instead point to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tabbān. For Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Tabbān, see Makdisi, Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence, pp. 409–410 and passim.

\(^{640}\) Al-Rassiyyāt in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, Dārī’a, vol. 5, pp. 221–222 nos [1055], 1056; see also vol. 5, p. 239 no. 1139 (Gawābāt al-masāʾil al-Nāṣiriyya), where Āġā Buzurg confuses the questioner of al-Rassiyyāt with a member of the family of al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūṣ, hence the

The second category\footnote{Muntazam, vol. 14, p. 366. For the dār al-ʿilm, see above, nn. 42, 43. For Banū al-Šabih, see also Sayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydī, Taḥṣīb al-ansāb, pp. 105–106; Ibn ʿInaba, ʿUmdat al-tālib, p. 185.} comprises responses to queries sent from Rayy,\footnote{Al-ʿAzīz al-Daylāmī.} Ramla,\footnote{Al-Sallāriyyāt in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, .DAO, vol. 5, p. 223 no. 1061; al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 144–146 no. 64. A critical edition is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text V).} and Aleppo,\footnote{In the case of responsa collections that have not come down to us, it is as a rule impossible to determine whether they were prompted by queries dispatched by former students or colleagues or by members of the Šīʿī community residing in the places from which these queries arose.}
same time are Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, K. al-Ḍaḥīra, and al-Ṣihāb fī l-ṣayb wa-l-ṣabāb. See ibid., nos 292, 426, 578. Generally, this inventory, which is dated 10 Ramaḍān 694 [24 July 1295], indicates that a considerable number of texts by Śīʿī authors were extant in Aleppo at that time. That al-Murtaḍā’s Ḍaḥīra was available in sixth/twelfth-century Aleppo is corroborated by Naǧīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī’s (d. 582 [1186]) commentary on al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s al-Muqaddima fī l-kalām (a unique copy is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Atif Efendi 1338/1; published as Ansari and Schmidtke, The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s Theological Writings). Al-Ḥusaynī refers to the Ḍaḥīra on fol. 14r and quotes from it (pp. 97-98) on fol. 63v without identifying the work. Al-Ḥusaynī also claims to have seen other works by al-Murtaḍā (fol. 14r), including, it seems, some legal works (fol. 53r). The popularity of al-Murtaḍā’s teachings is also indicated by Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Muntaha, p. 319, where he mentions and endorses al-Murtaḍā’s ʿṣarfa doctrine.

648 Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 5, pp. 226–227 nos 1076 (al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I), 1077 (al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II), 1078 (al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III), 1079 (al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV); vol. 20, p. 356 (al-Masaʿīl al-Ṭarābulusiyya); al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 147–151 nos 67–71. Both al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III identify the questioner as Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbdālīrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Abānī [al-Ṭarābulusī]. While nothing is known about this person, al-Murtaḍā’s commendatory words about him suggest that he was an established scholar in his own right. This is corroborated by the quality and detailedness of the questions. Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III opens with a dating clause indicating that al-Murtaḍā received the queries in Šaʿbān 429 [May–June 1038] or, less likely, Šaʿbān 427 [May–June 1036]; see, e.g., Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, fol. 66v (al-wārida fī Šaʿbān min sanat 429) and Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340, fol. 45r (al-wārida fī Šaʿbān min sanat 427). Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II has two cross-references to al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III, which specify that this work was written in the same year (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī [all references to the Rasāʾil in this note are to the same edition], vol. 1, pp. 331 [referring to ibid., p. 395 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III], 355 [referring to ibid., p. 423ff. of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III]), and indicate that al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III precedes al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II chronologically. Moreover, since they address the same questioner and were evidently written in the same year, i.e. 429 [1038] or, less likely, 427 [1036], al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III are typically transmitted together (see below). Although al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I is closely related to al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III, there are a number of indications that it was written much earlier than they were. Unlike the latter two responsa collections, and although it opens with a brief introduction, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I does not identify the questioner, and it seems unlikely that he was al-Abānī. Moreover, as will be seen below, the transmission of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I is completely different from that of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III. A lengthy quotation from al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I in al-Murtaḍā’s Ḍaḥīra (see below) also suggests that this responsa collection preceded al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III by more than a decade (it is noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā refers simply to “al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt” in this context, and the distinction between I, II, and III arose only much later). This theory is further corroborated by the fact that al-Murtaḍā refers in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I only to his early
works, namely al-Šāfi and al-Mulaḫḫaṣ (but not the Ḍaḥīra with which it has several topics in common), whereas he cites other, later works in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III. On the other hand, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III are clearly related to al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. A cross-reference to responsum 9 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I is included in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, p. 424). Moreover, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II consists of queries sent to al-Murtaḍā by al-Abānī on specific points addressed in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, together with al-Murtaḍā’s replies. Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I and II are therefore closely connected, with al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II constituting some kind of commentary (ḥāšiya) on selected passages of al-Murtaḍā’s replies in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. The editor of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, pp. 309–356) was unable to access al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I and thus unaware of the close relation between the two texts. This, as well as the glaring errors in his edition of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II, renders the text as published largely incomprehensible—entire lines of text are missing in the edition and, most importantly, the edition omits the introductory phrase, which is fully preserved in all eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the text (discussed in detail below). Most of the masāʾil of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II are concerned with al-Murtaḍā’s reply to the first question discussed in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. Mas’ala 1 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II comments on mas’ala 1 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, and Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, pp. 3–13 constitutes a verbatim quotation from al-Murtaḍā’s response; mas’ala 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II opens with another lengthy quotation from al-Murtaḍā’s responsum 1 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, p. 324:4–10); mas’ala 8 relates to another section of responsum 1 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, with Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, p. 332:11–12 constituting another quotation from al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I; mas’ala 9 again opens with a lengthy quotation from responsum 1 in al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, p. 344:1–17); mas’ala 10 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II comments on al-Murtaḍā’s responsum 7 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, with Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, pp. 347:14–348:4 constituting a quotation from al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I; mas’ala 11 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II constitutes a commentary on responsum 9 of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. It is astonishing that Abdulsater was unaware of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II being a commentary on al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, since significant portions of the latter text were available to him. A critical edition of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I is included in Ansari and Schmidke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text II). A new critical edition of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II is a desideratum and should be prepared with close consideration of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, accompanied by an in-depth analysis of the two works together. The overall scope of the al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt responsa collections in their original form remains uncertain. According to al-Buṣrawī’s inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I consisted of seventeen responsa (whereas fifteen which have come down to us), al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II consisted of ten (whereas the extant manuscripts have twelve responsa), al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III consisted of twenty-three (which agrees with the preserved text), and the entirely lost al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV consisted of twenty-five. Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I thus constitutes one of the earliest extant works of al-Murtaḍā that is concerned with a variety of doctrinal questions, and it is consequently of utmost importance for an analysis of the development of his thought. In view of its comprehensiveness, it may have been widely read among the Imāmis of Ṭarābulus, which would explain why al-Abānī turned to al-Murtaḍā with queries on his responsa more than a decade later. It is also
Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke

noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī mentions only two responsa collections, al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt al-awwala and al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt al-āḥira, in his list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. Although it is possible that he may have omitted some of the individual collections for some reason, an alternative, and more plausible, explanation is that he distinguished between the early al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt (I), on the one hand, and the two sets of queries submitted to al-Murtaḍā by al-Abānī (II/III) on the other. It should further be noted that al-Murtaḍā quotes some seven lines from al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt (no further specification) in his al-Intiṣār, 1994 ed., p. 272, and that these lines have no parallel in what has come down to us. Likewise, the later Imāmī literature has preserved portions from the Ṭarābulusīyyāt complex that are not found in the extant Ṭarābulusīyyāt texts. Al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī refers to two masāʾil fiqhiyya, gleaned from al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt (he does not specify further); see al-Ḥillī, Muntahā al-maṭlab, vol. 4, p. 409; vol. 5, p. 210. Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī also refers to al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt in one of his iǧāzas, without further specification; see al-Maǧlisī, Bihār, n.d. ed., vol. 107, p. 115. Al-Maǧlisī quotes five riwāyas from al-Mufīd’s Ḍabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb and al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt, which have no parallel in the preserved portions of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt (in fact, it is unlikely that al-Maǧlisī is quoting the aḥādīth in question from al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt); see al-Maǧlisī, Bihār, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 63, pp. 16–18. Provided al-Buṣrawī’s details about the codicological division of the responsa into four parts reflects the division of the material as intended by al-Murtaḍā, these otherwise unaccounted for quotations may have been part of either al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt I, which in its present form is primarily concerned with doctrinal issues, or al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt IV, about which nothing is known. For the quotations from al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt I adduced by Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Kāẓimī (d. 1234 [1818–19]), see below, n. 704.
Şaydā, Damascus, al-Nil (located in the vicinity of al-Hilla), Daylam, Tūs, Ėğrān, Bâdarāyā, Mayyāfarîqîn, Mâmaṭîr, Miṣr, Ţabarîstân, Wâsiṭ, and Mawṣil. Al-Murtaḍâ also received queries from other locations, including

652 Al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Şarîf al-Murtaḍâ,” p. 139 no. 59. Al-Ţūsî mentions al-Masāʾîl al-Daylamîyya among the writings of al-Murtaḍâ. It is very likely that al-Ţūsî is referring to al-Murtaḍâ’s responsa to the queries by Abū Yaʿlâ Sallâr [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz al-Daylamî, i.e., al-Sallaxîyiyyât, which is otherwise not included in his list. Ibn Șahrâšûb, by contrast, lists both al-Sallaxîyiyyât and al-Masāʾîl al-Daylamîyya, specifying fi l-fiqh. See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍâ’s writings as recorded by al-Busrawî, al-Ţūsî, al-Nâgâšî, and Ibn Șahrâšûb”). Either Ibn Șahrâšûb indeed means two different responsa collections (which is more plausible in view of the specification fi l-fiqh for al-Masāʾîl al-Daylamîyya) or he made a mistake by including al-Masāʾîl al-Daylamîyya as a separate entry.
653 According to al-Busrawî, al-Masāʾîl al-Barmakiyya is identical to al-Murtaḍâ’s responsa in al-Masâʾîl al-Ţūsiyya, i.e., queries posed by someone from Tūs. See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍâ’s writings as recorded by al-Busrawî, al-Ţūsî, al-Nâgâšî, and Ibn Șahrâšûb”). It should be noted that al-Murtaḍâ had a student, Abû l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barmaki, who had studied al-Murtaḍâ’s Diwân with him. On this student, see above, Chapter 1.5. The possibility should not be excluded that the queries, which became known as al-Barmakiyyât, originated with him.
657 Al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Şarîf al-Murtaḍâ,” p. 151 no. 71. For Mâmaṭîr, which is located in Ţabarîstân, see Yâqût, Muʿǧam al-buldân, vol. 5, p. 334.
659 Al-Tabariyyât in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Şarîf al-Murtaḍâ,” p. 147 no. 66.
Ḫurāsān. Additionally, he composed some responsa and other writings at the request of political authorities.

20, pp. 369 (al-Mas‘ālā fī l-Mawṣiliyyāt), 383 no. 3549 (Mas‘ālā fī l-i‘timād); al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 154–161 nos 75, 76, 77. See also above, n. 638.

See, e.g., below for his Mas‘ālā fī l-mash ‘alā l-ḥuffāyin.

These include two works written at the behest of al-Wazīr al-Maġribī, namely the K. al-Muqni‘ fī l-ḡayba and the Mas‘ālā fī l-‘amal ma‘a l-sulṭān. According to Āġā Buzurg al-Murtaḍā also wrote Ma‘nā qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā” at al-Wazīr al-Maġribī’s behest; see Āġā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 20, p. 394 no. 3630. However, Āġā Buzurg evidently confused a statement at the beginning of al-Mas‘ālā fī l-‘amal ma‘a l-sulṭān, which he transcribed in his own codex (the Āġā Buzurg Codex, on which see below, Chapter 2.4) right before Ma‘nā qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā”. Āġā Buzurg’s error is repeated by Karīmī Niyā, “Wazīr-i Mağiṟī,” p. 305. Al-Murtaḍā also composed the K. al-İntiṣār for a vizier; see above, n. 93 for details. It was possibly for the same vizier that al-Murtaḍā wrote his Mas‘ālā fī qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallām “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḫayr min ʿamalihi”. Alternatively, this tract may have been written for Šāpūr b. Ardašīr (on whom see above, Introduction). See Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 235. Another work that may fall into this category is al-Murtaḍā’s lost al-Fiqh al-Malikī, which he perhaps wrote for an unknown political authority. The latter may possibly be identified as al-malik Bahā’ al-Dawla b. Ṭūḥ a, the renowned Būyid amīr, with the nisba al-Malikī referring to Bahā’ al-Dawla’s title, or as one al-amīr ‘Anbar al-Malikī al-ḫādim, for whom al-Murtaḍā wrote an elegy on his death in 420 AH (see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār [1433/2012], vol. 1, pp. 243–246). For the work, see Chapter Five of the present publication. Al-Murtaḍā further composed al-Rāziyyāt; see Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106. Two other responsa written at the request of a political authority (al-ḥaḍra al-ʿāliya al-wazirīyya) is found in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar [Takmiła], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 300–302, and 403; for the latter case, see above, n. 93. That al-Murtaḍā was highly regarded by the authorities is further suggested by the fact that he was invited to sign a declaration initiated by the caliph al-Qādir (r. 381 [991]–422 [1031]) that was directed against the Fāṭimids, denying their status as sādāt and rejecting their doctrinal stance; in the list of signatories as related by Ibn al-Ǧawzī (Muntaẓam, vol. 15, pp. 82–83), al-Murtaḍā comes first. For a related instance a few years earlier (before 400 AH when al-Murtaḍā’s father died), which was prompted by a pro-Fāṭimid poem composed by al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, see Ibn al-Aṯīr, Ḧadāyāt al-šaḥīḥ, vol. 6, pp. 577–579; see also al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā al-kabīr, pp. 71–73, who cites Hilāl al-Ṣābī (on whom see n. 71) and conflates the two occurrences.
For the context, see also Daftary, “Sunni Perceptions of the Ismailis,” p. 21. The full range of al-Murtaḍā’s engagement with the political authorities of his time can be gleaned from his Dīwān, which contains dozens of elegies (ristāʿ) for prominent political figures as well as other poetry written for the political authorities. These include an elegy composed on the death of the caliph al-Qādir bi-llāh (422 [1031]) (al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 149ff.), several poems praising the caliph al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 422 [1031] to 467 [1075]) (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 430ff.; vol. 2, pp. 468ff.), and a poem of gratitude addressed to Bahāʾ al-Dawla (d. 403 [1012]) after the latter bestowed on al-Murtaḍā the laqab al-Šarīf al-Ǧalīl al-Murtaḍā “Ḏū l-Maǧdayn” (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 403ff.). According to Ibn al-Ǧawzī, this event occurred in 397 [1007]; see Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Montażam, vol. 15, p. 54. It is not known when al-Murtaḍā was given the laqab ʿAlam al-Hudā. Al-Šahīd al-Awwal includes a ḥikāya in his al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯan (pp. 51–52) according to which it happened in 420 [1029]; see also above, n. 93. However, the fairly late date and the literary character of the ḥikāya, which is repeated in many later sources (e.g., Bahār al-ʿUlūm, Riğāl, vol. 3, p. 135), suggest that it does not provide reliable historical information. It is, however, noteworthy that in two responsa collections, namely al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt and al-Tabbāniyyāt, the questioner addresses al-Murtaḍā as ʿAlam al-Hudā. For other dated elegies, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 238ff., 281ff., 323ff., 345ff., 351ff.; vol. 2, pp. 66ff., 68ff., 246ff., 261ff., 298ff., 367ff., 471ff., 516ff., 516ff.. For al-Murtaḍā’s relations with the political authorities of his time, see also al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī, Harāǧiyyāt, p. 85. Al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān also contains precious, often unique information on some of al-Murtaḍā’s students for whom he composed elegies, including al-Ḥāǧib Abū l-Ḥusayn al-maʿrūf bi-Ḥbūt al-Ustāḏ al-Fāḍil (kāna mulāziman li-darsihi), whom the editor identifies as Abū l-Ḥusayn Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-maʿrūf bi-Ḥbūt (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 418ff.; Ibn Uḥt al-Ustāḏ al-Fāḍil died in 428 [1036–37]; on him see al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, Tārīḫ Baġdād, vol. 14, pp. 72–73); Abū l-Fatḥ al-Nīsābūrī al-Naḥwī, who also served as one of the first teachers of al-Murtaḍā’s sons (wa-kana muqṭiʿan ilayhi muʾaddiban li-waladihi; ibid., vol. 1, pp. 465ff.); Abū l-Ḥasan Ḭalīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Simsimī (kāna mulāziman maǧlisahu; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 205ff.); and al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥasan al-Hudā b. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Ḫaṭīb, al-Murtaḍā’s representative in Kūfa (ḫalīfatuhu bi-l-Kūfa; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 363ff.). Cf. also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb, vol. 3, p. 41 no. 2146, where one Faḫr al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Aṣṭārī al-Ḫuṣaynī, whose father was naqīb al-Kūfa (see Ibn al-Ṭiqaṭqaṭ, al-ʿAsili fi ansāb al-Tālīḥiyīn, p. 303), is mentioned as ḥalīfat al-Murtaḍā. See also al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muʿṣan aṭ-Ṣām al-Šīʿa, p. 252. Ibn Inaba (ʿUmdat al-ṭālib, p. 324) specifies that Abū Tāhir ʿAbd Allāh served as naqīb in Baghdad during al-Murtaḍā’s term. For another ḥalīfat al-Murtaḍā for the niqāba, see al-Marwazi al-Azwāraqānī, al-Fāhri fi ansāb al-Tālīḥiyīn, p. 166. For al-Murtaḍā’s descendants, see below, n. 679. Another student of al-Murtaḍā, who is mentioned by Ibn Ṭawūs (Faraq al-mahmūm, pp. 151–154), but is otherwise unknown, is Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ruḫḫaǧī, the son of one of the wuzarāʾ of the Būyids, Abū ʿAlī al-Ruḫḫaǧī. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ruḫḫaǧī composed two works, Aḥāsin al-maḥāsin (published) and Rayḥān al-muǧālis (or al-maǧālis) wa-tuḥfat al-muʿānis (which is cited by Ibn Ṭawūs). For details, see Ansari, “Atarī maḡhul al-qadr”. For al-Ruḫḫaǧī and his K. al-Rayḥān, see also Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, pp. 314–315 no. 504.
The transmission of responsa collections is problematic in view of the nature of the genre. Unlike monographs, which typically have a title and are easily identifiable through their *incipit* and *explicit*, responsa collections are much harder to identify clearly. Moreover, they lend themselves to division into their individual parts and subsequent reassembly in an entirely different manner. Some collections of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa are partly or entirely lost.\(^{664}\) Partly preserved are, for example, his responsa to queries from Ramla, al-Nīl, and Wāsīt, as well as the *Muḥammadīyyāt*. Meanwhile, no part of the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV* has come down to us.\(^{665}\) Some responsa collections have been partly preserved through quotations in other books by al-Murtaḍā and in the books of some of his immediate students or scholars of later generations. This is the case, for example, for *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, which consisted, according to al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, and al-Naḡāši, of three chapters—on the threat (*al-waʿīd*), on analogy (*al-qiyās*), and on pressure (*al-iʿtimād*), respectively.\(^{666}\) Although the work is no longer extant, the chapter on *qiyās* is quoted in two later works. Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī draws heavily on the chapter in his *K. al-ʿUdda*, as he relates explicitly at the end of the relevant section,\(^{667}\) and al-Murtaḍā integrated the same chapter into his *K. al-Ḍarīʿa fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.\(^{668}\) These two works thus preserve two recensions of chapter two of *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*. A lengthy quotation from the first chapter on *al-waʿīd* is included in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī’s *al-Munqiḍ min al-taqlīd*.\(^{669}\) Another example

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\(^{664}\) The later imāmī tradition occasionally ascribes to al-Murtaḍā works that are lost and whose authenticity is uncertain. Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (*Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, p. 179) mentions, for example, having seen a codex transcribed by the ninth/fifteenth-century Imāmī scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Muʿaḍḍīn al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī that included a *Riṣāla mā qīla fī man ʿānaqa maḥbūbatahu murtadīya bi-l-sayf* by al-Murtaḍā, which was apparently concerned with poetry. The title is not attested anywhere else.


\(^{668}\) Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarīʿa*, 1429 [2008] ed., pp. 453–532 (*al-kalām fī l-qiyās*). Gleave points out that al-Ṭūsī’s discussion on *qiyās* relies heavily on al-Murtaḍā’s but suggests that al-Ṭūsī used al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarīʿa* for this purpose, a possibility that can safely be excluded; see Gleave, “Imāmī Shīʿī Refutations of Qiyās,” pp. 274, 286. See also above, n. 477.

is al-Murtaḍā’s *Masʿala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*. Both al-Ṭūsī in his *ʿUdda* and al-Murtaḍā in his *Darīʿa* quote extensively from this otherwise lost text. Responsum 1 of *al-Ramlīyyāt* is described by al-Buṣrāwī as *Masʿala fi l-ṣanʿa wa-l-ṣāniʿ*, which seems to be preserved in al-Karāǧikī’s *Kanz al-fawāʿid*, where he quotes in full al-Murtaḍā’s reply to a query that matches the title of the *masʿala*. From al-Muḥammadiyyāt, a set of six responsa, four have come down to us through separate transmission. The same applies to *al-Ramlīyyāt*, of whose seven responsa four have been preserved as individual *quaestiones*, in addition to the one quoted in full by al-Karāǧikī.

That al-Murtaḍā retained copies of his writings—monographs and responsa collections, as well as epistles—in his personal library or archive is suggested

670 See above, n. 478.
672 See Appendix 10 (“Editions, manuscripts, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā’s extant works”) for details. Other responsa collections have been transmitted both in their entirety and in truncated form. See, e.g., *Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1517* (fig. 515), consisting of responsum 17 of *al-Rassīyyāt* I (corresponding to Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 361–362), which was copied in 1234 [1818] in Naḡaf by Ahmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿraǧī al-Rammāḥī al-Naḡafī (b. 1193 [1779], d. 1268 [1851–52 or 1270 [1853–54]) bi-nafsihi li-nafsihi. For the manuscript and the date of the codex, see also *Dalīl maḫṭūṭāt Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 392; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya*, vol. 14, p. 544. For Ahmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn and his scholarly activities, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Kirām al-barara fī l-qarn al-ṯāliṯ baʿda l-ʿašara*, vol. 1, p. 80). For another manuscript copied by Ahmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn, see below n. 758. This is a digital surrogate of a codex who present location is uncertain; see n. 440 above. Mention should also be made of a short account in al-Šahīd al-Awwal’s *Ḏikrā al-Šīʿa fī aḥkām al-šarīʿa* (vol. 4, pp. 325–326) of an exchange between al-Murtaḍā and his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, on a legal issue. Moreover, al-Bayāḏī (d. 877 [1472–73]) lists among the sources he consulted for his *K. al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (vol. 1, pp. 4–5) “al-Masāʾil al-fāḫiriyya li-l-Murtaḍā” (no. 38), in addition to “al-Ḡurar wa-l-durar li-Abī l-Qāsim l-Qāsim” (no. 36) and “al-Masāʾil al-Baḡdādiyya li-Abī l-Qāsim” (no. 37). No. 37 may be falsely attributed to al-Murtaḍā, and the identity of no. 38 remains uncertain. See also below, n. 759. Further, al-Bayāḏī mentions among the sources he was unable to access directly (vol. 1, pp. 7, 9, 10) al-Risāla li-l-Murtaḍā (no. 41; what he means is unclear), al-Šāfiʿi li-l-Murtaḍā (no. 59), and Ḥaṣāʾis al-qimma “li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā al-Mūsawī” (no. 128; evidently a misattribution of al-Raḍī’s work to al-Murtaḍā), as well as *al-Nuzha li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* (no. 209; what he means is unclear). As will be seen in the following, later scribes and scholars also excerpted textual units gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḡurar* and his *Takmilah* in their own collections.

673 Al-Murtaḍā left behind an impressive library at his death; see ʿAwwād, *Ḫazāʾin al-kutub al-
by the frequent and often precise cross-references to earlier writings throughout his works. Occasionally, al-Murtaḍā also reiterates individual responsa in later works of his, at times slightly revising the original version. This is the case, for example, with the Addendum (Takmila) to his Ġurar al-fawāʾid, which contains some responsa that are concerned with doctrinal issues. These were gleaned from earlier collections, such as the Sallāriyyāt (questions 5 and 6), and the Ṭarābulusīyyāt I (questions 4, 6, 9, and 11). Al-Murtaḍā also included portions of some of his other works in the Takmila, notably from his Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba. Other examples include a quotation from masʾala 10 of the Ṭarābulusīyyāt I in his K. al-Ḏaḫīra and the previously mentioned inclusion of a chapter from his al-Mawṣiliyyāt in his K. al-Ḏarīʿa. That al-Murtaḍā kept careful track of his writings is further corroborated by the detailed bibliography of al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre by al-Buṣrawī, compiled in Šaʿbān 417 [September–October 1026] or Šaʿbān 419 [August–September 1028]—al-Buṣrawī had clearly compiled the list with al-Murtaḍā’s writings in front of him, and he may also have transcribed a fair number of works by al-Murtaḍā for his own use. Precise information on al-Murtaḍā’s writings is also recorded by

qadima, pp. 234–235; Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, p. 73 (with further references). However, some of the figures mentioned in the sources should be treated with caution. For al-Murtaḍā’s library, see also below. Al-Šafadī has an entry in his al-Wāfī for one Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Naṣīr al-mutakallim, whom he describes as kātib of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā and who died in 435 [1043–44]. He may have been involved in the transcription of al-Murtaḍā’s writings (see above, n. 509, for the process of “publication” of al-Murtaḍā’s works) and the handling of the latter’s personal library. See al-Šafadī, al-Wāfī, vol. 11, p. 393 no. 563; cf. also al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muʿǧam aʿlām al-Šīʿa, pp. 139–140. Al-Marwazī al-Azwāraqānī (Faḫrī, p. 139) mentions another person who assisted al-Murtaḍā, namely al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya (wa-kāna yaḫdimu ʿAlam al-Hudā bi-Baġdād). See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”), for details.

674 See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”), for details.


676 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ḍaḥīra, pp. 361–362. For a critical edition of al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt I, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text II). This work was long believed to be lost. The first to identify the work was Hassan Ansari; see Ansari, “Paydā šudan-i yik kitāb-i ǧadid-i kalāmī”.

677 For al-Murtaḍā’s integration of his discussion on aḥbār in the Ḍaḥīra into his Ḍarīʿa, see above, n. 464.

678 See below, n. 1023. He is known to have copied, for example, al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ḍaḥīra on the basis of the latter’s autograph; see Ibn Hamdūn, al-Taḏkira al-hamdūnīyya, vol. 9, p. 376 no. 770; cf. also al-Suyūṭī, al-Muḥādarāt wa-l-muḥawarāt, p. 405. On al-Buṣrawī, see al-Samʿānī,
Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Naḡāṣī (d. 450 [1058]) in his K. al-Riǧāl, and al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī in his Fihrist.

Ansāb, vol. 1, pp. 252–253 no. 521, where it is related that he excelled in poetry and that he spent many years in companionship with al-Murtaḍā, his teacher in kalām; see also Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kāmil, vol. 9, pp. 580–581 (including quotations of his poetry); Yāqūt, Muʿǧam al-buldān, vol. 1, pp. 441–442 (likewise quoting some of his poems). Some of al-Buṣrawī’s poetry is included in a notebook compiled by Muḥammad b. Ṭūs, b. Ṣulaymān b. Ṭūs, b. al-Zanḡānī al-Mawṣilī, dated 15 Ḫumādāl 1790 [22 May 1388] in Cairo, which is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Sūleymaniye, Ayasofya 4250 (figs 452, 453, 454). Citing the by now outdated information provided by Brockelmann (Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, vol. 1, p. 512 no. 1b), Nassima Neggaz states, “Among his [i.e., al-Murtaḍā’s] students, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī [sic] left a book on the library of Murtaḍā”; see Noggaz, “Al-Karkh, ” pp. 295–296. For al-Buṣrawī, see also Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 12, pp. 193–194 (Ḥusayn Farhang Anṣārī); for his doctrinal works and positions, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Chapter Two.

Al-Naḡāṣī, Riǧāl, pp. 270–271 no. 708. See also below, n. 1025. Al-Naḡāṣī, Abū Yaʿlā al-Ǧaʿfarī, and Abū Yaʿlā Ṣallār al-Daylamī performed the washing of al-Murtaḍā’s body after his death. The ritual prayer on this occasion was conducted by al-Murtaḍā’s son; see ibid, p. 271; cf. also al-Ḥilli, Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl, p. 179 no. 533. It is remarkable that al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, who was still in Baghdad when al-Murtaḍā died, was not mentioned among those who performed the washing of al-Murtaḍā’s body. According to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (attrib.), al-Šaḏara al-mubāraka fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyya, p. 84, al-Murtaḍā had three sons, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (he was ḥalīf al-aṣaʿī wa-l-ṭālīb fī ansāb al-Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, bi-Baḏḏād), who is most likely the one who conducted the prayer; Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad; and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn. For al-Ḥasan, see also al-Dāʿī, al-Maḡmaʿ al-ādāb, vol. 5, p. 184 no. 4894. According to al-Naḡāṣī (see ibid.), al-Murtaḍā was first buried in his house. Later his corpse was transferred to Karbalāʾ; see Ibn ʿInaba, ʿUmdat al-ṭālīb, p. 205. For details of al-Murtaḍā’s descendants, see al-Ḥasanī, “ʿAlā hāmiš sīrat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā, “ pp. 34–41. Although it is unknown when al-Murtaḍā’s corpse was transferred to Karbalāʾ, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Hamaḏānī (d. 521 [1127]) relates in his Kitāb ʿUnwān al-siyar fī maḥāsin ahl al-badw wa-l-ḥaḍar that the corpse of al-Murtaḍā’s successor as naqīb, Abū Ahmad ʿAdnān (d. 449 [1058]), who was the son of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, was transferred in 512 [1118–19] from Baghdad to Karbalāʾ where he was buried in the family tomb on the premises of the shrine of the third ʿImām al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭūsī. By that time, the corpses of both al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī, as well as of their father, were buried there; see al-Hamaḏānī, Qīṭaʿ tārīḫiyya, p. 184.
The significance of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa within his oeuvre and the peculiar character of this genre, as well as the considerable number of individual *quaestiones* and epistles from his pen that have come down to us and that may originate in some of the otherwise lost responsa collections, facilitated the production of “one-volume-libraries,” miscellanies containing selected writings of his that were brought together according to a variety of selection criteria. The overall significance of miscellanies, or multitext volumes, for the transmission of knowledge during the medieval and early modern period in the Islamic world as well as in the European context (first in Latin but then also in vernacular languages) has long been acknowledged among contemporary scholars, and the study of the social and intellectual criteria used in collecting, selecting—or excluding—and organizing textual materials as well as in the transmission of multitext volumes is increasingly coming into focus. 681

The case of al-Murtaḍā provides interesting insights into a variety of aspects related to the study of volumes composed of multiple texts. Apart from the *Takmila*, a miscellany par excellence that originated with al-Murtaḍā himself, some of his students (or, in some cases, possibly al-Murtaḍā himself) may have compiled their own collections of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. Their *maǧmūʿas* subsequently served as antigraphs for scholars and scribes of later generations. The chronological beginning of this process cannot be determined, but a number of codices containing selections of al-Murtaḍā’s works that were transcribed during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries have been preserved. The contents of other, otherwise lost *maǧmūʿas* from this period can be reconstructed on the basis of later manuscripts and secondary sources.

**Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169**, which was completed in Šaʿbān 544 [December 1149–January 1150], consists of two works by al-Murtaḍā, his *Ġurar al-fawāʾid* (fols 1–274) and his responsa to the queries of Abū Yaʿlā Sallār al-Daylāmi (fols 275–287; *fig. 111*). The codex was copied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar al-Muʿaddib, who relates in the colophon to the *Ġurar* (fol. 274v, dated 15 Šaʿbān 544 [18 December 1149]; *fig. 112*) that he had an antigraph at his disposal that had been transcribed by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Zīrak al-Wāʿiẓ al-Qummī.

The combination of these two works into a single codex is apparently unique, and it is plausible that it reflects the individual predilections of al-Ḥasan b. Zīrak al-Wāʿiẓ, a scholar in his own right.

Of an entirely different nature is a codex that was copied by the Šīʿī Imāmī poet and scholar Abū Nizār Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyān al-Šaybānī al-Muḥrizī (d. 560 [1164–65]) and that is dated 545 [1150–51].

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683 A possible reason for transcribing al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar al-fawāʾid* and his *al-Sallāriyyāt* in one codex might be that his *Takmila* to the *K. al-Ǧurar* contains several responsa gleaned from the *Sallāriyyāt*. This observation may have prompted al-Ḥasan b. Zīrak to replace the *Takmila* with the *Sallāriyyāt*.

Although the original codex has not come down to us, it served as an antigraph for a copy transcribed in 1095 [1684] by one ʿAbd al-Riḍā b. Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāḥ Ĥūsain al-Ţanīn al-Kāẓimī. The latter’s maǧmūʿa is preserved as Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr, and it includes al-Dalīl ʿalā ḥaqīqat imān Abī Ŧalīb by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, a text attributed to qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī, viz. al-Muḥtaṣar fī usūl al-dīn,685 and a tract erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ǧabr wa-l-qadar.686 It is likely that the misattribution of the Inqāḏ to al-Murtaḍā originated with the 545 [1150–51] codex, if not earlier. Al-Kāẓimī produced at least two copies of the 545 AH codex—a parallel manuscript is preserved as Ms. Qum, Muʾassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374, pp. 180–366,687 containing the same four texts in his hand:

685 For the question whether it is a work by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār or not, see Ansari, “Munāqaša”; Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies, p. 121 n. 52.

686 The codex, which was not available to us, was consulted by Muḥammad ʿImāra, who provides a brief, incomplete, description of the maǧmūʿa in Rasāʾil al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd, vol. 1, pp. 107, 191. For the contents of the codex, see also Fihris al-Ḫizāna al-Taymūriyya, vol. 1, p. 118. It should be noted that this codex is not included in the open access library of digital surrogates of the manuscripts of the Maktaba al-Taymūriyya, Čāmīʿ al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-Islāmiyya, at http://wqf.me/ [accessed 6 June 2019].

687 The codex belonged at some stage to al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Riḍā Šubbar al-Ḥusaynī al-Naḡaffī al-Kāẓimī (b. 1188 [1774–75], d. 1242 [1827]) (fig. 534); on him, see Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Qaṭīfī al-Naḡaffī, Tarǧamat al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Šubbar 1188–1242h; see also our Imāmī Thought in Transition. The texts preserved in Ms. Qum, Muʾassasat Āyat Allāh-al-Burūḡirdī 374, pp. 1–179 and 368–425, which also contain some writings by al-Murtaḍā and which will be discussed in detail below, are written in a different hand (and unlike the texts copied by al-Kāẓimī, do not end with colophons), and it seems certain that the texts copied by ʿAbd al-Riḍā al-Kāẓimī were bound together with the other materials only at a later stage. Cf., however, Ĥūsaynī Ĥiskawarī, Fihris-i nusḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭi-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Muʾassasat-yi Burūḡirdī (Qum, Irān), vol. 1, pp. 224–226 and likewise Dirāyatī, Fihristwārā, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 295 no. 7964, 296 no. 8003, where it is erroneously assumed that those other works were also transcribed by ʿAbd al-Riḍā al-Kāẓimī. Āḡā Buzurg describes a codex in the Maktabat Sulṭān al-Mutakallimin, i.e., the library of Șayḫ Muḥammad al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kuḡūrī (d. 1353 [1934–35]) in Tehran, which contained various not further specified doctrinal texts and was transcribed by ʿAbd al-Riḍā al-Kāẓimī between 1095 [1684] and 1098 [1686]. See Āḡā Buzurg, Darʿa, vol. 20, p. 102 no. 2118 (“Maǧmūʿat rasāʾil kalāmiyya maʿa fawāʾid uḫrā”); Āḡā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām.

2. (pp. 195–257) A text described on its title page (p. 258; fig. 113) as hāḍā kitāb fīhi maǧmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā . . . fī funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl nafaʿa Allāh bihi sāʾir al-Muslimīn. The work opens with the question, otherwise unattested in al-Murtaḍā’s corpus, of whether God made His creation benefit His creatures out of generosity (tafaḍḍulan), as a facilitating favor (luṭf), or simply to do them well (iḥsānan ilayhim), followed by al-Murtaḍā’s response (pp. 259–260). At the end of his reply, al-Murtaḍā refers to a more detailed discussion on the topic in his K. al-Ḏaḫīra. The anonymous redactor of the text then adduces additional passages from al-Murtaḍā’s Šaḥīra (introduced by qāla ayḍan fī K. al-Ḏaḫīra / wa-qāla raḍīya llāh ‘anhu . . . ), drawing on various chapters of the work, in some cases heavily abbreviating al-Murtaḍā’s elaborations. Towards the end there are some quotations that have no parallel in the available manuscripts of the K. al-Ḏaḫīra and may originate in some other work(s) by al-Murtaḍā. The text concludes with a colophon (p. 288) dated šahr al-mubārak (i.e., Ramadān) 1095 [August–September 1684]. It was presumably on the basis of Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūǧirdī 374, that Āġā Buzurg produced a copy of this text (as well as of Inqāḏ al-bašar) that is dated Dū l-Ḥiǧga 1329 [November–December 1911] and that was consulted by Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn for his publication of the text in Nafāʾis al-maḫṭūṭāt, al-maǧmūʿa al-khāmisah, pp. 57–90 (see below);

3. (pp. 258–288) A concise theological summa, described in the introduction as muḫtaṣar fī uṣūl al-dīn (p. 289:4). This is a work attributed to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, an edition of which was included in ʿImāra’s Rasāʾil al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd (vol. 1, pp. 189–282). The text concludes with a colophon (p. 366)

al-Šīrā: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fī l-qarn al-ṯānī baʿda l-ʿašara, pp. 431–432. For the library, see Āḡā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-Šīrā: al-Ṭiyāʾ aʾl-lāmiʾ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʾ, pp. 172–173. Whether he refers to the codex preserved as Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-at Šayyā Allāh al-Burūǧirdī 374 cannot be decided on the basis of the meager information he provides. For Šayyā Allāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭabāṭabāʾi al-Burūǧirdī (b. 1292 [1875], d. 1380 [1961]), after whom the Muʿassasa-at Šayyā Allāh al-Burūǧirdī is named, see Encyclopaedia Iranica, vol. 4, pp. 376–379 (Hamid Algar); Wāʿiẓ Zāda al-Ḫurāsānī, Ḥayāt al-Imām al-Burūǧirdī. See also below, n. 859.

For a critical edition, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text X).
dated end of Ramadaän 1095 [September 1684] and signed by ʿAbd al-Riḍā b. Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Kāẓimī (fig. 510). Unlike the copy consulted by ʿImāra, this copy does not contain information on ʿAbd al-Riḍā’s antigraph.

A codex containing Inqāḍ al-bašar as well as another work spuriously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq, was apparently available to Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588 [1192]). As indicated by his list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in his Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ—item 43 on his list, Masāʾil muftradāt nahwa min mī’a fī funūn šattā, a title he gleaned from al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s earlier list (on which it is item 32), is followed by a number of writings that Ibn Šahrāšūb includes under this heading. With the exception of items 44 (Masʿala ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam” [Q 17:70]) and 45 (Naqḍ maqāla Yahyā b. ʿAdī al-naṣrānī al-manṭiqī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā), none of these titles is mentioned in any earlier biographical list, which suggests that Ibn Šahrāšūb must have seen them in a codex (or codices) containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings. He specifically mentions the following titles in this context: ġawāb al-muḥīda fī qidam al-ʿālam (= Masʿala fī l-ṣanʿa wa-l-ṣāniʿ = responsum 1 of al-Ramlīyyāt); Fī qawl al-munaǧǧimīn (= Masʿala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmīn); Inkāḥ amīr al-muʿmīnīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar, Tatimmat anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ min ǧamʿ Abī Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī (= Masʿala fī ǧîr anwāʾ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā); al-Ḥuṭba al-muqqammasa (= Tafsīr al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqīyya); al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq; and Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar. He must also have seen the works that are included in his list but not in those of the other bibliographers, especially al-Murtaḍā’s al-Fīqḥ al-Malikī (item 36), which he describes as muḫtaṣar. Moreover, Ibn Šahrāšūb’s comments on some of al-Murtaḍā’s works in his entry (al-Ḍarīʿa [item 28]: ḥasan;


See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāṣī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).
al-Ġurar [item 6]: hasan; al-Mulaḥḥas [item 3]: hasan; al-Šāfi [item 2]: hasan) as well as the divergent titles he cites for some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings (notably Ṭayf al-ḥayāl, which he calls Awwāf Ṭayf al-ḥayāl [item 30], and K. al-Barq, which he lists as al-Marmīqi fi awwāf al-burāq [item 31]) suggest that he had seen these works as well. It should be noted that Ibn Šahrāšūb also had other books by al-Murtaḍā at his disposal, viz. his Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ and Dīwān.  


Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664 [1266]) is also known to have possessed a multitext volume containing several writings by al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā, including some of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa, from which Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes some lines on the question of nuǧūm.693

A maǧmūʿa that was transcribed by Mahdī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nayramī al-Ǧurǧānī in Sabzawār in the years 657 [1259] and 658 [1260] also contains al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq, wrongly attributed to al-Murtaḍā;694 this appears to be the earliest extant witness of the work.695 Fragments of the Inqāḏ al-bašar attributed to al-Murtaḍā’s extant manuscript of the commentary, which remains unpublished, see Ansari, “Nusḥa-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Šarḥ-i Šihāb al-aḫbar-i Abū l-Futūḥ-i Rāzī”.

693 Ibn Ṭāwūs, Faraǧ al-mahmūm, pp. 53–54; see also Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, pp. 142 no. 104; al-Bayāti, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 197–198 no. 181/64. Ibn Ṭāwūs also quotes a conversation between al-Murtaḍā and an unidentified scholar on the same issue; see Ibn Ṭāwūs, Faraḡ al-mahmūm, pp. 181–182. On the question of nuḡūm, see also al-Murtaḍā’s al-Sallāriyyāt in Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory. In general terms, Ibn Ṭāwūs criticizes al-Murtaḍā for repeatedly changing his position; see Ibn Ṭāwūs, Faraḡ al-mahmūm, pp. 44–45. On one occasion Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes some of al-Murtaḍā’s poetry; see Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar, p. 147 no. 113. It is noteworthy that Ibn Ṭāwūs, who otherwise quoted earlier sources regularly, refrained from quoting al-Murtaḍā’s works beyond this.

694 The codex has an ownership note by al-Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Muḥammad b. Mubārakšāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Abarqūhī. In 1276 [1859–60] the codex was endowed by al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Hamadānī and later on became part of the library of the latter’s son, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Hamadānī, in Naḡaf, where Āġā Buzurg inspected it. Today it is kept in the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭāʾ in Naḡaf. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-Samāwī copied al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq in Gumādā II 1341 [January 1924] in Naḡaf on the basis of this antigraph, and he subsequently completed his copy on the basis of another, complete witness of the work, which he found in Baghdad. Al-Samāwī’s copy is preserved as Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 298/5 (fig. 114); see Āġā Buzurg, Daṛīa, vol. 6, p. 301 no. 1611. Cf. also Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, p. 117 n. 10. For al-Samāwī, see also Chapter 2.4 of the present publication. Another copy of al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq is preserved at the end of a multitext volume containing tracts by a variety of authors that was transcribed in 1050 [1640–41] and belonged in the twentieth century to the library of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Tunkābunī (b. 1280 [1863–64], d. 1360 [1941]) (fig. 115). It is nowadays preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10010.

695 See also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 4, p. 561 nos 100583–100586, for three copies transcribed in the ninth/fifteenth century and one undated copy. Not listed is Ms. Tehran, Millī 8759, pp. 156–186, which was transcribed by Šams b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādī in the beginning of Gumādā II 865 [March 1461], with numerous margin and interlinear notes added by a later reader (figs 162, 163, 164). Cf. Muʿḡam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī, vol. 3, p. 92 no. 5165, where no manuscripts are listed.
al-Murtaḍā are also included in a codex copied between 740 [1340] and 742 [1342] by Aḥmad b. Šaraf al-Dīn al-ʿAwdī in al-Ḥilla, which is preserved as Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Arab. F. 64, fols 1r–2v, 3r–12v.

Another collective volume containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings is no longer extant but is regularly referred to in colophons of later copies dating back to Ḍū l-Qaʿda 574 [April–May 1179]. That the codex was available to scholars of the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries is indicated in collation notes and colophons in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40 (part two, fol. 101r; fig. 137) and Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914 (fols 47r, 48r, 80v, 181r, 185r; figs 156, 157, 158, 160, 161), which confirm that these manuscripts, as well as all other manuscripts representing the same cluster (see below), can be traced back to this codex from 574 [1179]. Moreover, the majority of the eleventh/seventeenth- and early twelfth/eighteenth century witnesses indicate that at the time the codex was kept in the library of al-Ḥaḍra al-Ǧarawiyya, in Naḡaf. Another

696 See Schmidtke, “The Doctrinal Views of the Banū al-ʿAwd,” pp. 384–385. A fragment (one folio) containing an epitome of sections of the Inqāḏ is preserved among the Cairo Genizah materials (Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88). For a brief description (without identification), see Shvitiel and Niessen, Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts, p. 244 no. 3734. Further details have been added by the Friedberg Genizah Project (FGP) Philosophy, Theology and Polemics team under “Cataloging Data Details” of the relevant entry at https://fgp.genizah.org [accessed 6 June 2019], FGP No. C378441. According to Gregor Schwarb (“Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī’s Kitāb al-Īmā,” p. 80*), the paraphrastic version originated with al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī. However, this claim is not supported by the text as preserved in the fragment, nor do the historical sources suggest that al-Ṭūsī ever wrote a paraphrase of the Inqāḏ. For a tentative transcription of the fragment, see below, Appendix 13.

697 For the history of the library, see Āl Maḥbūba, Māḍī l-Naḡaf wa-hādiruhā, vol. 1, pp. 148–152; Ṭarrāzī, Ḥazā’in al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, vol. 1, pp. 114–116 (“Maktabat Čāmī’ al-Naḡaf”); al-Amīn, Raḥalāt, pp. 105–107; al-Mīlānī, Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya. The modern cataloguers of the library’s holdings are unaware of this codex beyond some fragmentary knowledge (see al-Mīlānī, Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya, p. 220 no. 253). It is unknown when and why the codex left the library, and it is unlikely that the original 574 [1179] codex is still extant. Some of the earlier layers of the library’s history can still be unearthed through identification and analysis of codices that originated in the library; for example, one of the oldest extant witnesses of volume two of al-Ṭūsī’s Tībyān, which is preserved as Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 642H, was copied in Naḡaf in 567 [1171–72] by ‘Ali b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Šahryār al-ḥāḍin li-mashad Amīr al-muʿminīn ‘Aḥ at b. Abī Tālib and was possibly part of the Ġarawiyya. The copyist’s title indicates that he was at the time the librarian at the Ġarawiyya. For the codex, see https://catalog.
witness of the 574 [1179] codex is preserved as **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 20313 būr**. It contains only al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Nāṣiriyāt*, a work that is attested in some of the eleventh/seventeenth- and early twelfth/eighteenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex. That this Cairene manuscript, too, reflects the 574 [1179] codex is suggested by the colophon at the end, which is dated Ḏū l-Qa‘da 574 [April–May 1179] (*fig. 115a*).

One of the earliest extant miscellanies containing several of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa collections is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448**. The manuscript in its present form consists of 137 folios, the first seventy-seven of which are in disorder; substantial portions of the original codex have been lost. The manuscript was formerly in the possession of Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʾmin al-Ḫātūnī (*fig. 118*). The dated colophons suggest that the original sequence of the individual writings might have been the following:

princeton.edu/catalog/6357755 [accessed 15 March 2021]. The manuscript was consulted for the 1431 [2009–10] edition of al-Ṭūsī’s *Tibyān* (see ibid., vol. 1, p. 31). **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 83** is another copy of the *Tibyān*, which has on its title page (*fig. 530*) an iǧāza issued by al-Ṭūsī in Rabīʿ I 455 [March–April 1063] for Abū l-Wafāʾ ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muqriʾ al-Rāzī in al-Ṭūsī’s own hand; this is the only item in his handwriting that has so far been recorded. For the codex, see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Itkhābān*, p. 103–104. For ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muqriʾ, see Ağa Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḫāmis*, p. 103. For Ibn Ṣahryār, see Ağa Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṯiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, p. 188. Many of the manuscripts that formerly belonged to the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya are nowadays kept in the libraries of Istanbul. **Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 766**, a copy of Ibn Kammūna’s (d. in or after 683 [1284]) *Šarḥ al-Talwīḥāt*, is one example. See Ansari, “Namūna-yi waqf barā-yi Ḫizāna-yi Ġarawiyya”; for the codex, see also Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher*, pp. 76–77.

698 The manuscript is listed in Karabulut and Karabulut, *Muʿǧam al-tārīḫ [sic] al-surāt al-islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 3648–3649 no. 9917. Their assumption that 574 AH is the date of the Cairene manuscript can safely be rejected. The entry on al-Murtaḍā is otherwise marred with errors, and Karabulut and Karabulut confuse three different scholars by the name of “al-Murtaḍā”.

699 The codex also has alternative call numbers, for each of the individual parts of the *mağmūʿa*, i.e., 2335 through 2340; see ʿĀṣif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbāʾ*, p. 173.

700 The endowment date on the codex is 1067 [1656–57]. For Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʾmin al-Ḫātūnī and another codex that was formerly in his possession and belongs nowadays to the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, see n. 114. For the Ibn Ḥātūn family, a renowned family of Imāmī scholars and notables hailing from Ǧabal ʿĀmil in Lebanon, and its individual members, see Dāʿūrat al-marʿāf-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 3, pp. 392–395 (Mahdi Salmāsi). For the history of the library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Foundation, see, e.g., Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazāʿīn al-kutub al-ʿarabīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 162–163.
1. (fols 1r [fig. 116]–1v, 14r–46v) al-Tabbāniyyāt. Colophon (fol. 46v; fig. 117) dated al-ʿašr al-uḫar (21–30) Ḏū l-Qaʿda 676 [15–24 April 1278]. The text as preserved in the manuscript has several lacunae. One leaf is missing following fol. 1v; additional lacunae occur after fols 16v and 19v, and it is unclear how many leaves are missing in each case. Fol. 44 is heavily damaged in the lower outer part (figs 118, 119), with several words missing on each line;

2. (fols 2r–13v, 57r–62v) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, from the beginning of responsum 10 until the end of the work. The first nine responsa are missing in the codex, and the text seems to be interrupted after fol. 13v, with one or several leaves missing;

3. (fols 62v [fig. 119b]–66v) Masʿala fī l-insān. This short tract, which is undoubtedly responsum 4 of al-Ramliyyāt, complements the more concise discussion on the same topic in responsum 12 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I; this appears to be the reason it was placed here. The text breaks off at the end of fol. 66v;

4. (fols 47r [fig. 119a]–56v, 67r–77r) al-Sallāriyyāt. Colophon (fol. 77r; fig. 120) dated 3 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧja 676 [27 April 1278]. For a brief description of this copy, see Āġā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 5, p. 206 no. 960;

5. (fols 97r [fig. 120a]–116v) Ğawābāt al-masāʾil al-ṯāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II in the following). The work concludes in an undated colophon (fol. 116v; fig. 121). Later on, this work circulated under the title Ğawābāt al-masāʾil al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāliṯa;701

6. (fols 117r [fig. 121a]–126v) Ğawābāt al-masāʾil al-ṯāliṯa al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I in the following). Colophon (fol. 126v; fig. 122) dated 11 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧga 676 [5 May 1278]. Later, the work circulated under the title Ğawābāt al-masāʾil al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāniya. The sequence and numbering of the two responsa in this codex disagree with their actual chronological order. This is an error rarely encountered in the later manuscript tradition. A similarly rare error is the scribe’s comment that the two Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya collections are identical with al-Murtaḍā’s Miṣriyyāt;

701 See, however, the cases of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī and al-Šahīd al-Awwal, who refer to al-Mawṣiliyyāt interchangeably as al-Miṣriyyāt and al-Mawṣiliyyāt; see below, nn. 968 and 970.
7. (fols 77r–96v) Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr. Colophon (fol. 96v; fig. 123) dated 12 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 676 [6 May 1278];
9. (fols 137r–137v) Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā (quoted through Salmān [sic] al-Ṣahraštī, who can be identified as al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ṣahraštī) (fig. 573); incomplete at the end.

This codex served, directly or indirectly, as the antigraph for virtually all later maǧmūʿas containing any of the above-listed writings. As all the later copies display similar errors and identical lacunae, the transcription process must have taken place at a time when parts of the codex were already missing (see below).

Another fairly old, though apparently undated, miscellany containing several writings by al-Murtaḍā was preserved in the library of the descendants of al-Šayḫ Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Tustarī (al-Šuštarī) al-Dizfūlī al-Kāẓimī “ṣāḥib al-Maqābis” (b. 1187 [1773–74], d. 1234 [1818–19]) in al-Kāẓimiyya. It was consulted by Āġā It was on the basis of this witness of al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt that Muḥammad Ḥusayn Baḫtiyārī Kūh-Surḫī published in 1346 [1967] a Persian translation of the work.

On him, see above, n. 509.

For the library, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ, p. 158. For Asad Allāh Šūštarī Kāẓimī, see Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, vol. 8, pp. 261–262 (Saʿīd Naḡafī Asad Allāhī); al-Dabbāġ, Ṣāḥib al-Maqābis al-Muḥaqqiq al-Šayḫ Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī. Naḡafī Asad Allāhī mentions a copy of al-Kāẓimī’s writings in the Ǧāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm in al-Kāẓimiyya, and it is possible that parts of al-Kāẓimī’s library were transferred to this institution. Cf. also Ṣadr al-Islām al-Ḫūʾī, Mirʾāt al-šarq, vol. 1, pp. 69–70 no. 18, containing an entry on his son, Ismāʿīl. See also Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī, Maqābis al-anwār, p. 20, where al-Kāẓimī lists his sources (“kutub al-fuqahāʾ”), including those by al-Murtaḍā. The library of the Āl Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī also held a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Šāfī, which is nowadays preserved as Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 242. See al-Mūsawi al-Burūḡīrdī, Fihrist maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya, pp. 284–285, 610; al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 9, p. 63 no. 35547. See also Al Ṭuʿma, “Ahamm fahāris al-maḫṭūṭāt fī l-ʿIrāq,” pp. 444–447 for this and other libraries in al-Kāẓimiyya. Al-Kāẓimī’s keen interest in al-Murtaḍā’s writings is corroborated by the numerous references to and lengthy quotations from them in his Kašf al-qināʿ “an waṯāʾiq huǧǧīyyat al-ʾilmāʾ. He shows familiarity with al-Murtaḍā’s Šuʿbāl ‘al-l-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, K. al-Šāfī, K. al-Intiṣār, al-Māḏhilīyyāt al-fiḥīyya II, Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, and other works (see, e.g., Kašf al-qināʾ, pp. 40, 91, 106 [al-Rassiyārī], 109, 125 [Intiṣār], 122 [al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II], 123 [Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ], 205 [al-Māḏhilīyyāt al-fiḥīyya II], 149–150 [Ṣāfī], 122, 159 [Ḍarʾa]; it is noteworthy that al-Kāẓimī mentions on p. 122 that he had
several copies of the work (wa-lam naqif ʿalayhi fimā ʿindanā min nusaḥihi), 204 [Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿalām bi-l-ʿadad fī l-suhūr]. See also ibid., p. 223, where he quotes Ǧawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣuhūr, which he says is a work by al-Mufīd or, less likely, by al-Murtada; for this tract, see also below, Chapter Four. Al-Kāẓimi’s numerous lengthy quotations of the Tabbāniyyāt are particularly noteworthy (Kašf al-qināʿ, pp. 97–100, 124–125, 159, 205). Occasionally he is uncertain of the identity of the work he cites (e.g., Kašf al-qināʿ, p. 123: wa-qāla fī risāla fī aǧwibat masāʾil ʿadīda . . .; this long quotation is in fact gleaned from al-Tarābulusyyāt I, masʿala 1 and 10; see Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory). In addition, al-Kāẓimi quotes from al-Murtada’s Tarābulusyyāt I, which he identifies explicitly; see Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimi, Kašf al-qināʿ, pp. 204–205. In some cases, al-Kāẓimi indicates that he is citing al-Murtada through Ibn Idrīs (e.g., Kašf al-qināʿ, pp. 127–128). Moreover, he quotes two works by al-Murtada, viz. al-Ḥalabiyyāt and Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim, through another, unidentified source; see Kašf al-qināʿ, p. 128. See also Kašf al-qināʿ, p. 201, where al-Kāẓimi quotes from baʿda masāʾil al-Murtada through Faḫr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥī (d. 1085 [1674–75]). Al-Kāẓimi also includes a biographical summary of al-Murtada in his Maqābis al-anwār (p. 6:14–36) in a section devoted to earlier luminaries of Imāmism (fī bayān baʿḍ al-aṣḥāb). In fact, other than al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī (who apparently had access to only some portions of the work), al-Kāẓimi seems to be one of the few scholars of the premodern period to have actively drawn on al-Tabbāniyyāt. The reason for his interest in al-Murtada’s writings lay in his concern with the notion of iǧmāʿ, which lay at the heart of al-Kāẓimi’s Kašf al-qināʿ and was central to al-Murtada’s legal thought. For a more detailed discussion, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Epilogue. For a list of cases for which al-Murtada used the notion of iǧmāʿ in his legal works, see al-Rawḍātī, Iǧmāʿāt fuqahāʾ al-Imāmiyya, vol. 1, pp. 145–421. At the turn of the century, al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr (b. 1272 [1856], d. 1354 [1935]) also included a quotation from the Tabbāniyyāt in his Nihāyat al-dirāya (p. 88). Since al-Ṣadr hailed from and spent most of his life in al-Kāẓimiyya, he may have accessed the codex held in the library of the family of Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimi. A catalogue of the holdings of al-Ṣadr’s library compiled by his son, ‘Ali, has been published under the title Ibānat al-wasan ʿan maktabat Abī Muḥammad al-Ḫasan. Ḥasan al-Ṣadr’s own catalogue, al-Ibāna ʿan kutub al-ḫizāna, has been edited by Gaʿfar al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī (forthcoming). It lists copies of al-Murtada’s Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʿīma, al-Intiṣār, and al-Šāfī (with al-Ṭūsī’s Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī). For al-Ṣadr’s library, see also Tarrāzī, Ḥazāʿin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, vol. 1, p. 312; Maḥfūz, “al-Maḥṭūtūt al-ʿarabiyya fī l-ʿIrāq,” pp. 238–242 (containing a partial catalog); Ǧaʿfar Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt al-ʿālām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ, p. 176; ʿAwwād, “al-Maktabat al-ʿāmma wa-l-ḫaṣṣa fī l-ʿIrāq,” p. 140. For al-Ṣadr and his Takmilat Amal al-āmil, see also Salati, “La Takmilat amal al-āmil”; Ṣadr al-Islām al-Ḫūʾī, Mirʾāt al-šarq, vol. 1, pp. 521–547 (including al-Ṣadr’s iǧāza ʿāmma issued for Ṣadr al-Islām Muhammad Amīn al-Ḫūʾī); Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, Mufaṣṣal, vol. 2, pp. 117–135; Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizi,” ʿUlamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn, pp. 170–175 no. 110. It is noteworthy that the title of al-Tabbāniyyāt was also known to Mīr Dāmad, although it is unlikely that he had seen the work; see Mīr Dāmad, al-Rawāšiḥ al-samāwiyya, p. 93, where he refers to al-Murtada’s Šāfī, al-Tabbāniyyāt, and a work identified only as al-Masāʾil (the editor adds that this last work was also identified as Sarīrāt al-masāʾil in a gloss by Mīr Dāmad found...
Buzurg, who describes it as “maǧmūʿa ʿatīqa min masāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā” and relates that it contained the following writings by al-Murtaḍā:

1. **al-Tabbāniyyāt** (Ḏarīʿa, vol. 5, p. 217 no. 1023). Āġā Buzurg remarks that the text had numerous lacunae throughout (fi aṯnāʾa l-fuṣūl bayāḍāt fi l-nuṣḥa), and it is possible that this copy, too, was based on Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;

2. **al-Rāziyyāt** (Ḏarīʿa, vol. 5, p. 221 no. 1055);

3. **al-Rassiyyāt II** (Ḏarīʿa, vol. 5, p. 222 no. 1056);

4. **al-Ramliyyāt** (Ḏarīʿa, vol. 5, p. 222 no. 1057). Although Āġā Buzurg lists all seven masāʾil of this responsa collection, he undoubtedly does so on the basis of the information provided by al-Buṣrawī. Since only the last two quaestiones are widely transmitted and clearly identified, it can be assumed that the al-Kāẓimī codex did not contain the complete work;


The combination of writings recorded for this codex, which has not come down to us, seems to be unique—there is no indication that it ever served as an antigraph for a later copyist.

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in some of the witnesses of the Rawāšiḥ). For the reception of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Tabbāniyyāt since the Safavid era, see also the Epilogue to our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*. Al-Kāẓimī’s teacher, Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (b. 1155 [1742], d. 1212 [1797]), also had access to some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings; see Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Riǧāl, vol. 3, pp. 140–155, for a list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, in which Baḥr al-ʿUlūm indicates which titles were in his possession. These titles include Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim (ibid., p. 144), Masʿala fi iḥṭāl al-amal bi-aḥbār al-dhād (ibid., pp. 144–145; see also ibid., p. 215, where he quotes from the text), al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiṣḥiyya II (ibid., pp. 145, 154–155), Gurār with Takmilā (ibid., p. 146; interestingly Baḥr al-ʿUlūm refers to the Takmilā as part 5 [al-ʾguz’-ʾl-ḥamīs] of the Gurār, which he states consists of four parts); al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt (ibid., pp. 148–149; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm says that he has seen several copies of the work), al-Rassiyyāt I (ibid., pp. 149–150), al-Rāziyyāt (ibid., p. 150), and al-Ṭīrābulusīyyāt II and III (ibid., p. 153). Baḥr al-ʿUlūm’s student, Ġaʿfar Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ (d. 1227 [1812]), transcribed al-Murtaḍā’s al-Masāʾil al-Ṭabarīyya, i.e., al-Nāṣirīyyāt in abbreviated form. A digital surrogate is preserved as Ms. Naǧaf, Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ǧiṭāʾ 1082 (figs 414, 415); the codex is mentioned in Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma (1431/2010), p. 107; Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 395. For the codex, see also above, n. 100.

The codex apparently also contained some works by al-Mufīd, which were later transcribed by the renowned Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭīhrānī (on him, see n. 889). Āġā Buzurg saw the codex in Sāmarrāʾ; see Āġā Buzurg, .Daoʾiʿa, vol. 5, p. 195 no. 899.
2.1. Transmitting al-Murtaḍā’s writings during the Safavid period

During the Safavid period, scholars developed a renewed interest in al-Murtaḍā’s writings on legal theory as well as on other disciplines. The first scholar who is attested to have been involved in this process was Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad “al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī” (b. 911 [1506], d. 965 [1558]), who transcribed al-Murtaḍā’s Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʾamal bi-aḫbār al-ʾāḥād. The tract was later transmitted by Zayn al-Dīn’s great-grandson, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn (b. 1013 [1604–5] or 1014 [1605–6], d. 1103 [1681–82] or 1104 [1682–83]). Šayḫ ʿAlī’s contemporary, Šayḫ ʿAlī’s contemporary,

706 See, e.g., Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Riǰāl, vol. 3, p. 145, who had access to the text through al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī’s copy of it. Cf. also Rasāʾīl al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 313, where the tract concludes with a colophon stating that the (otherwise unspecified) antigraph that was consulted for the edition had been transcribed by al-Šayḥ Zayn al-Dīn. See also below. Notably, al-Murtaḍā’s brief comment in this tract to the effect that all Qummī scholars, with the exception of Ibn Bābawayh, were determinists and anthropomorphists (mušabbiha muǧbira) prompted the eleventh-twelfth/seventeenth-eighteenth-century scholar Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Futūnī al-Iṣfahānī (b. ca. 1070 [1659–60], d. 1138 [1725–26]) to compose a comprehensive refutation, Tanzīh al-Qummiyyin, which has been published repeatedly (see bibliography). For the refutation, cf. also Āḡā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 4, p. 457 no. 2042.

707 For ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ṣāḥīb al-Durr al-manṭūr, who is also known as al-Šayḥ ʿAlī al-kabīr, see Āḡā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʾa al-ḥādiyaʿašara, pp. 404–405, and the editor’s introduction to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan’s al-Durr al-manẓūm min kalām al-maʿṣūm. For a list of students to whom he issued an iǧāza, see Āḡā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 1, pp. 212–216 nos 1111–1128. For al-Durr al-manṭūr min al-ḫabar al-maʾṭūr wa-ġayr al-maʾṭūr (an incomplete version of the book was published in 1398 [1978], followed by a complete version published in 1433 [2012]), see Āḡā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 8, pp. 76–77 no. 269. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan produced copies of works by earlier scholars that are extant in manuscript: al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fi šarḥ al-Lumʿa al-dimašqiyya, by his ancestor al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī (copy dated 5 Ṣafar 1049 [7 June 1639]; cf. Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 1001 no. 142040), a work on which he commented in his al-Durr al-manẓūm (published; see bibliography), and al-Kulaynī’s al-Kāfī (copy dated 4 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1059 [9 December 1649]; cf. Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 8, p. 395 no. 220204), a work on which Šayḥ ʿAlī also commented (see his al-Durr al-manẓūm). A holograph of his al-Zahrāt al-zawiyya is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 4320 (figs 258, 259). Another partial copy of the work is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 8821 (figs 260, 261). According to the final colophon, this is also a holograph, although this seems doubtful. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad is not to be confused with his nephew and student, al-Šayḥ ʿAlī al-ṣaġīr, ʿAlī b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn. For al-Šayḥ ʿAlī al-ṣaġīr, his writings (including extant manuscripts) and his transcriptions of works by others (mustansaḫāt), see al-Mūsawī al-Burūǧirdī, “Fāʾida fī ḏikr talāmīḏ al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”; and the editor’s comments in ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan

† The codex contains twenty-two works, including *Muntaḫab al-Mudhiš* by Ibn al-Ǧawzī, "al-Muʿtamad fī l-imāma" by al-Karāǧikī (this is in fact his *al-Risāla al-ʿAlawiyya fī faḍl Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿalā sāʾir al-bariyya*), and *al-Tašrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf* by ʿAlī b. Ṭāwūṣ, most of which al-ʿAynāṯī transcribed on the basis of an antigraph in the hand of al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī (*katabtuhā min ḫaṭṭ al-Šayḫ Zayn al-Dīn qaddasa llāh nafsahu . . .*). Al-ʿAynāṯī completed the codex in Ǧumādā I 1059 [May–June 1649]. Āģā Buzurg relates (*Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*: *al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʾa al-ḥādiya ʿašra*, pp. 332–353; *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 11, p. 61 no. 375) that at the time of writing the copy belonged to the library of Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṯ Urmawī. For the history of the codex, which belonged to Šadr al-Afāḍil’s personal library in Tehran, then came into the possession of Muḥaddīṯ Urmawī, and later became part of the collection of Sayyid Muḥammad Ġazāʾirī before ending up in the Gulpāygānī library, see Šadrāʾī Ḫūʾī, “Dar ḡustu-ġū-yi al-Muʿtamad-i Karāḡikī”. Al-Karāḡikī’s *al-Risāla al-ʿAlawiyya* was first edited by Muḥaddīṯ Urmawī on the basis of the witness in the Gulpāygānī codex (which was at the time still in his possession) and published under the title K. *al-Tafḍīl* (Tehran 1329 [1950]). The manuscript was consulted again for the 1385 [2006] edition of the text; see the editors’ introduction to al-Karāḡikī, *al-Risāla al-ʿAlawiyya*, pp. 34–35, as well as the facsimiles of selected pages from the Gulpāygānī codex at the end of the editors’ introduction. On al-ʿAynāṯī, whose grandmother was a daughter
that Šayḥ ʿAlī transmitted the text from al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī should not be excluded. **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427**, a comprehensive miscellany transcribed in the twelfth/eighteenth century, ends with a text block consisting of abbreviated versions of four of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa, which is introduced with “*min al-Masāʾil al-Maqdisiyāt*”. The block ends with a colophon suggesting that it was transmitted in its entirety from al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī.\(^{709}\)

**Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 15825** contains an anthology of excerpts gleaned from a variety of Imāmī exegetical works brought together by one Qubād b. Šah Qubād al-Muhrānī in 948 [1541–42], in Šīrāz (see the colophons on fols 255v and 275v; figs 125, 126). Qubād is also attested to have transcribed some works on medicine and law between 948 [1541] and 953 [1546].\(^{710}\) The anthology comprises excerpts from ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Qummī’s (d. after 307 [919]) *tafsīr*, selected by Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥusaym b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾirī (fols 16r–202v), the *K. al-Tawḥīd* by Ibn Bābawayh,\(^{711}\) and an otherwise unknown *tafsīr* by one Ibn al-Muḏakkir (fols 205v–232r), as well as excerpts from various other exegetical works (“*min tafsīr mutaʿaddida*”, fol. 244v ff.), and from the *K. al-Tamḥīṣ* by Muḥammad b. Hammām

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\(^{709}\) See below, Chapter 3.2, for details.


al-Iskāfī (d. 336 [947–48])
(fols 273r ff.). Moreover, the anthology also contains lengthy excerpts from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar al-fawāʾid (fols 203r:2–205r:5),713 his K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma (fols 246r:10–252r:17),714 his K. al-Intiṣār (fols 252r:17–255v:5),715 and his K. al-Šāfī (fols 268v ff.). A few decades after Qubād’s transcription, in 986 [1578–79], Tāǧ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāʿid [al-Ṣāʿidī] transcribed two texts attributed to al-Murtaḍā, Inqāḏ al-bašar and Maǧmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl, as well as some of his authentic tracts as part of a maǧmūʿa that is preserved as Mss Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8283, 8287, 8288, 23971, 23972, 8293 (fig. 127).717 Al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī's

712 On him, see Ansari, L’imamat et l’occultation, pp. 43ff.


715 The source is not identified and the section is introduced merely with “faṣl fi l-mutʿa”. The section corresponds to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Intiṣār, 1415 [1994] ed., pp. 268–278, containing the entire masʾala with only minor omissions throughout the text.

716 The source is identified in the text as “min Kitāb al-Šāfī fī l-imāma li-ʿAlam al-Hudā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu”. The section begins with an excerpt from al-Murtaḍā’s Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 63–65:7. The text is interrupted following fol. 268, and it is unclear how many folios are missing.

717 Inqāḏ al-bašar is dated end of Ṣafar 986 [May 1578] (see Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8287, p. 267; fig. 128), Maǧmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā is dated Rabīʿ II 986 [June–July 1578] and was copied from an antigraph dated Raḡāb 545 [November–December 1150] (see Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971, p. 372; fig. 129). It is possible that Tāǧ al-Dīn used the aforementioned codex transcribed by Muhammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak al-Muhrizī in 545 [1150–51] as antigraph for both the Inqāḏ and the Maǧmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. Tāǧ al-Dīn also included among a selection of different texts by various authors (al-Fawāʾid = Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, 23972) the following short pieces by al-Murtaḍā: Masʾala fi bayān qawlihi šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-allīhi wa-sallam ‘Anā wa-anṭa yā ‘Alla kā-hātayn” (pp. 373–374), Masʾala fi ‘illator ‘adam nusrat ahl al-bayt (pp. 374–383), and Mā maʾnā l-qawl ‘inda l-ziyāra li-mašāhid al-aʾimma ‘Ashhadu annaka tasmaʿ kalāmī wa-taruddu ǧawābī’ (pp. 383–387). It is likely that this block of texts also goes back to an earlier codex about which nothing further is known at this stage. Directly or indirectly, Tāǧ al-Dīn’s codex may have served as antigraph for another
son, Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī (d. 1011 [1602–3]), had several works by al-Murtaḍā on legal theory at his disposal, viz. the Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād and the K. al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa, as well as some excerpts from his al-Tabbāniyyāt, al-Murtaḍā’s most detailed exposition on the unreliability of aḥbār al-āḥād. Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan quotes these works in his Montaqā al-ǧumān fī l-āḥādīṯ al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-ḥisān and in his Maʿālim al-dīn wa-mašād al-muṯṭahidin. The

multitext codex (Mss Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33180, 33181, 33183), apparently a twentieth-century copy, which also includes both Inqāḏ al-bašar (fols 32v–53r) and Maĝmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (fols 53v–64r), as well as many other authentic writings by al-Murtaḍā (fols 72v–288v). The copyist refrains from identifying himself in the codex, and the only colophon that is partially dated provides just the month, Šafar (fol. 288v). Tāḏ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Sāʿid was a scholar and a copyist; a fair number of his transcriptions are extant. See Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 12, pp. 166 (s.v. “Tāḏ al-Dīn Ḥusayn”), 249 (s.v. “Ḥusayn [b.] Sāʿid”). See also Tāḏ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Sāʿid Isfahānī, Dastūr. Tāḏ al-Dīn’s codex also served as antigraph for one of the codices transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (see below). Further, Tāḏ al-Dīn produced a copy of Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs’s (d. 673 [1274–75]) Zahrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-riyāḍ (completed on 16 Muḥarram 986 [25 March 1578]) which in turn served as antigraph for Muḥammad b. Tāḥir al-Samāwī; see al-Ḫafāǧī, “al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī,” p. 269 no. 19. Tāḏ al-Dīn was one of the teachers of Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar al-Karakī (d. 1041 [1631–32]), to whom he issued an iǧāza. For the text of the iǧāza, see, e.g., Ms. Yazd, Kitābḫāna-yi Wazīrī 1708/56 (fig. 474). For the manuscript, which contains a collection of sixty-four iǧāzas, see Šīrvānī, Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Wazīrī-yi Yazd, vol. 3, pp. 1027–1033; al-Ṭurayḥī, Fihris Maktabat al-Wazīrī, p. 25; Ṣadrāʾi Ḫūʾī, Fihristgān, vol. 12, pp. 56–68; Ṣadrāʾi Ḫūʾī, “Kitāb-i iǧāzāt-i Sayyid Ḥusayn Karakī,” pp. 169–190. Tāḏ al-Dīn’s šayḫs included ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Tustarī (killed in Buḫārā in 997 [1588–89]), Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥāriṯī (d. 984 [1576]), and Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, who might be identified al-Sayyid Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-muṯṭahid al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1001 [1592–93]); see Āḡā Buzurg, Dafʿ al-munāwāt ʿan al-tafḍīl wa-l-muṣāwāt. Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškāda-yi Ilāhiyyāt 937, fols 87-92 [our foliation] contains a text on the ziyāra of the third Imām, which is related in the manuscript to al-Murtaḍā. The precise relation between the text and al-Murtaḍā is unclear, he may have quoted it or used it when visiting the Imām’s tomb.

case of Ḥāšiyat al-ʿUdda, Mawlā (Mullā) Ḥalīl b. Ğāzī al-Qazwīnī’s (b. 1001 [1593], d. 1089 [1678–79]) commentary on al-Ṭūsī’s ʿUdda is likewise noteworthy. It contains numerous quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s works, including some that have been gleaned, directly or indirectly, from his al-Ḥalabiyyāt; this is the earliest attested evidence of this otherwise lost responsa collection.

Beginning in the second half of the tenth/sixteenth century, an increase in the production of miscellanies containing selections of al-Murtaḍā’s writings can be observed. These testify to the impact of the collections compiled during earlier centuries. In virtually all cases, the direct or indirect antigraph of the later maǧmūʿās can be precisely determined. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 served as the single antigraph for virtually all later codices containing the responsa collections found therein. The following two maǧmūʿās, dated 973 [1565] and 1043 [1633–34], are essentially reproductions of this codex:

Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080, dated 12 Ğumādā I 973 [5 December 1565] (see the colophon on fols 344r–v; figs 130, 131) in Golconda, Hyderabad, was copied by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥafrī. Fols 1v–166r of the codex contain the same works


Ḫalīl al-Qazwīnī’s Ḥāšiyat al-ʿUdda has been published only in part, together with al-Ṭūsī’s ʿUdda, in an edition prepared by Muhammad Mahdī Naḡaʃ. See pp. 62–63 and 63–64 for two lengthy quotations from al-Ḥalabiyyāt. For the unedited portion of the work (which is preserved in numerous witnesses), we consulted Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 190. Pp. 186:13–187:16 constitutes another substantial quotation from al-Ḥalabiyyāt. It is unclear whether Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī accessed al-Ḥalabiyyāt directly or whether he consulted an intermediary source. Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī also quotes from other works of al-Murtaḍā; see ibid., pp. 7:8ff. (Ǧurar), 219:11ff. (al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III), 277:10ff. (Masʾala li-l-munaǧǧimīn [= Masʾala fimā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧimin]).

See Šīrwānī, Fihristwāra-yi nusha-hā-yi ḏuṭṭi-yi maǧmūʿā-yi Miškāt, pp. 93–94. See also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 482 no. 191519. As noted elsewhere in this study, a number of
as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, with the exception of the last item, *Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā*.

1. (fols 1v–46v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. Throughout the first part of the work (especially responsa 1 through 4), which is not preserved in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 in its current state, there are numerous lacunae, indicated by blank spaces (fols 2v, 3v, 4r, 7r, 7v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 11r, 11v). The text contains a lengthy contamination in the course of *al-masʾala al-ʿāšira*, which has erroneously been taken from *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (fols 36r:2 [ḥiṭābuḥu ʿazz wa-ġalla]–42r:14 [mutawātir múǧib li-l-ʿilm] (corresponding to *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾi and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 10:1–26:10);

2. (fols 46v:12–51r) *Masʾala fī l-insān =* responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*, which breaks off at the very same location at which the text in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, breaks off;

3. (fols 52r–81r) *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. The passage that has erroneously been inserted into *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is missing here, the lacuna occurring on fol. 54r:54 of the codex, and the copyist of the present codex (or of his antigraph) adapted the wording between the two parts of the text to make the interruption less noticeable by inserting *min an naʿlam an lā* the lacunae that are indicated on fols 78v, 79r, and 79v at the beginning of *al-faṣl al-ʿāšir* [“al-tāsiʿ” in the present manuscript] (figs 132, 133, 134), correspond precisely to those resulting from damage in the lower outer part of fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (figs 118, 119);

4. (fols 82r–104r) *al-Sallāriyyāt*;

5. (fols 104v–125r) *Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr*;

6. (fols 125v–147r) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*. In contrast to the title given for this work in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (Ḡawābāt al-masāʾil al-ṭāniyā al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr), the title used here reflects the later convention, found, e.g., in Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 235;

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722 Items 1 and 2 of the codex are listed by Āḡā Buzurg in *Ḏarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 179 no. 776 as a work by al-Murtaḍā under the title *Ḡawāb baʿd al-Muʿtazila fī anna l-imāma lā takūn illā bi-l-naṣṣ*. Āḡā Buzurg cites the *incipit*, states that the work covered some one hundred pages and was part of a multitem text codex in the library of al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Miškāt. The information was evidently given to Āḡā Buzurg by Miškāt at a time when the manuscript was still in his house. Since it is unlikely that Āḡā Buzurg saw the codex himself, the title was most likely coined by Miškāt.

al-Murtaḍā’s writings were copied in Golconda.
7. (fols 147v–156v) al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I. Again, this title, unlike that used in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, reflects the later convention; see, e.g., Āḡā Buzurg, Ďarīfa, vol. 5, p. 235;

8. (fols 157v–166r) al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt.

Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Ğaʿfariyya 140, a surrogate of which is preserved in the Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī in Qum under the shelfmark “Film 1690,” concludes with a colophon dated Muḥarram (?) 1044 [June–July 1634] and signed by Mullā Muḥammad al-Lārī (fig. 136a). The codex was commissioned by Muḥammad Ibn Ḫātūn (fig. 533), most likely Ṣams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Nīʿmat Allāh al-Ḫātūnī. Pages 162–423 of this codex constitute a direct or, more likely, indirect copy of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448:

1. (pp. 169–237) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. As in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān Miškāt 1080, the first part of the work (especially responsa 1 through 4) contains numerous lacunae, indicated by blank spaces (pp. 172, 173, 174, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186). Moreover, this codex, too, contains a lengthy contamination in the course of al-masʿala al-ʿāšira, lifted from al-Tabbāniyyāt (pp. 220:21 [ḫiṭābuḥu ʿazz wa-ḡalla]–230:13 [mutawātir mūǧib li-l-ʿilm]);

2. (pp. 237–245) Masʿala fi l-insān = responsum 4 of al-Ramliyyāt, which again breaks off at the very same location as does Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;

3. (pp. 247–294) al-Tabbāniyyāt. The wording of the title page of the work on p. 247 agrees verbatim with that found in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, fol. 1r. As in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān Miškāt 1080, the passage that has erroneously been inserted into the Ṭarābulusiyyāt I is missing here, the lacuna occurring on p. 250:14 of the codex. The wording between the two parts of the text has again been modified to make the interruption less noticeable, by inserting min an naʿlam an lā. In this codex, too, the lacunae on pp. 290 and 291 (figs 135, 136) correspond to the lacunae caused by damage in the lower outer part of fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (figs 118, 119);


724 He transcribed other manuscripts as well; see Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 981 (s.v. “Muḥammad Lārī”).

725 On him, see n. 759.
4. (pp. 295–328) Al-Sallāriyyāt;
5. (pp. 329–359) Naqḍ kalām baʿd maṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr;
6. (pp. 359–391) Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṣāhiyya II. As in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (fol. 97r), the title of this work precedes the responsa collection (p. 359);
7. (pp. 391–405) Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṣāhiyya I;
8. (pp. 407–421) Al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt;
9. (pp. 421–423) Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā. Unlike Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, which in its current form is incomplete at the end, this codex concludes with the full text of this work.

The two codices testify that the fragmentary character of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 dates from at least the late tenth/sixteenth century, and the contamination of the Ṭarābulusiyyāt I in both witnesses suggests that both are based on at least one intermediary, defective apograph of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448.726 The disorder of many of the leaves of the codex and its fragmentary state resulted in uneven transmission of the individual works during later centuries. The Mayyāfāriqiyyāt were transcribed most frequently,727 followed by Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṣāhiyya II728 and Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṣāhiyya I.729 Among the less

726 Another copy of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, followed by Masʿula fi l-insān, with similar features and copied around the same time (late tenth/sixteenth or early eleventh/seventeenth century) is preserved as Ms. Mašhad Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 18499. The work is the last item in a multitext volume (only the last item was accessible to us) that was given in 1032 [1622–23] by Ḥvāğa Šīr Aḥmad b. ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Tūnī (b. 946 [1539–40], d. in or after 1032 [1622–23]) to the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī as a waqf, along with some 232 additional codices. For the characteristic waqfiyya statements found in all these volumes, see figs 535, 536. This copy of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (figs 537, 538, 539) has so far gone completely unnoticed, since the work is not identified in the copy. Instead, it is described as follows: kitāb ǧawābāt masāʾil šattā allatī qad suʿila l-Sayyid al-Murtada raḍiya ʾanhu ʾanḥā wa-huwa ḏu fawāʾid kaṯīra fī anwāʿ al-maṭālib al-dīniyya. For Šīr Aḥmad al-Tūnī, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʿād al-ḥādiya ʿašara, p. 271; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muʿǧam aʿlām al-Šīʿa, pp. 228–229; see also Āġā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 2, p. 221 no. 869; vol. 5, p. 267 no. 1270.

729 Dirāyatī records sixteen copies (Fiḥristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 1, p. 296 nos 7981–7996). It is likely that Dirāyatī generally follows the later naming convention for Al-Mawsīliyyāt tāniya and Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṭāliya. An example from the early twelfth/eighteenth century is Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819 which comprises Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṣāhiyya II (pp. 231–280; dated the end of Ramaḍān 1125 [October 1713]), Al-Mawsīliyyāt al-ṣāhiyya I (pp. 281–303), and Al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt.
frequently copied responsa collections contained in the Mašhad codex were the Tabbāniyyāt,730 the Ṭarābulusiyyāt I,731 the Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man nasara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr,732 and al-Sallāriyyāt.733 During the early twentieth century, Āgā Buzurg inspected Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and, like al-Fāḍil al-Hindī (d. 1131 [1719]; see below),734 he again transcribed the works contained in the codex, omitting, however, the Sallāriyyāt and the Ṭarābulusiyyāt I.

The following codices that were produced im the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries constitute a different cluster. They consist of identical building blocks of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, with occasional variations in the arrangement of the material. Remarks in some of the colophons and collation notes indicate that this group of manuscripts represents a single cluster, which goes back to the 574 [1179] codex (discussed above). One item that is regularly included in miscellanies of this group735 is al-Buṣrawī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. The cluster also includes several complete responsa collections, namely al-Rassiyyāt I, al-Rassiyyāt II, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II, and al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III, as well as selections from the Wāsiṭiyyāt, the Nīliyyāt, and the Ramlīyyāt, which are identified explicitly as such. By contrast, two of the three responsa gleaned from al-Sallāriyyāt (Masʾala fiḥār bihi l-munaǧǧimūn; Masʾala fi tawārud al-adilla) are unidentified in all witnesses.736 The same is the case with two responsa that have been lifted from al-
Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (Masʿala fī l-ʿiṣma; al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʾā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam). Three additional texts included in manuscripts of this cluster are taken from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar al-fawāʾid. Although this is made explicit in all witnesses, the copyists regularly misread “al-Ġurar” as either “al-ʿUmad” or occasionally “al-ʿAhd”. Three other texts found in this cluster are also included in al-Murtaḍā’s Takmilat al-Ġurar (Masʿala fī l-istiṯnāʾ; 737 Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā”; and Masʿala fī waḡh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58]), but this, too, goes unmentioned in all manuscripts.

The earliest witness of this cluster is a codex that in 1183 [1769–79] was in the possession of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Šams al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-Ǧizzīnī (b. 1109 [1697–98], d. 1178 [1764–65]), a descendant of Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad “al-Šahīd al-Awwal” (b. 734 [1334], d. 786 [1384]), who was based in Naḡaf and renowned for his extensive personal library.740 The codex itself, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 66–67) to al-Murtaḍā’s Masʿala fī haqīqat al-manām wa-mā yarāhu l-nāʾim, without reference to the Sallāriyyāt. 737 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 309–310. 738 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 330. 739 Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 258. 740 Ownership statements can be found in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fol. 1r, 41v, and part two, fol. 28v (figs 138, 139, 142). Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī also possessed another codex containing two works by al-Murtaḍā, Tanzih al-arbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma and Inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar, as well as a brief credal tract by Naṣr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The codex (Ms. Naḡaf, Madrasat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā al-Burūǧirdī 172) was transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ǧāmiʿ al-ʿĀmilī in Raǧab 1052 [September–October 1642], the ownership statement by Šaraf al-Dīn is dated 1163 [1750]. For a description of the codex, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Burūǧirdī, Naḡaf, vol. 2, pp. 16–18. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 18404, a multitemplate volume consisting of (partly incomplete) works by al-Mufīd, Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-Karāǧikī, and al-Šahīd al-Awwal, as well as al-Murtaḍā’s al-Rāziyyāt (fols 55r–66v, where the text breaks off, corresponding to Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtadā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 131:9; fig. 141), was also part of Šaraf al-Dīn’s library, as is indicated by his stamp and an ownership statement on the title page, dated 1169 [1175–56] (fig. 140). Additional ownership statements and stamps of Šaraf al-Dīn can be found on fols 22r, 55r, 86r, 92r, and 92v. The codex was transcribed by a single hand, and the scribe added a colophon on fol. 92r, dated 1056 [1646–47], in which he identifies himself as Ḥasan b. Ḥāǧģī Hilāl Ġarb. Another codex from Šaraf al-Dīn’s library, this one containing al-Rāğiб al-Īsfaḥānī’s (d. early fifth/eleventh century) Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muhāwarāt al-ṣuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaqāʾ (copied by ʿAbd al-Aʿīmma b. Ḥāǧģī al-Karbalāʾī and completed on 12 Šaʾbān 1080 [5 January 1670]), is
preserved as Ms. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 1015 (available through HathiTrust at http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015079131994 [accessed 4 October 2019]). Šaraf al-Dīn’s ownership statement and stamp are visible on the final page of the work, dated 1156 [1743] in Iṣfahān (fol. 292v; [fig. 143]). Another codex that belonged to his library is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 14128 (ownership statement dated 1185 [1771–72] [fig. 144]). It comprises several works concerned with legal theory, namely Hidāyat al-abrār ilā ṭarīq aʾimmat al-aṭhār by Ḥusayn b. Šihāb al-Dīn al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1076 [1665]), and a compilation of quotations relevant to legal theory from various works by al-Murtaḍā and others. See below for details. The table of contents on the opening page of the codex is misleading: in its present form it contains neither any text on uṣūl al-fiqh by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, nor the K. al-Šawāhid al-makkiyya by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Mūsawī al-ʿĀmilī [(d. 1068 [1657–58]). Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 1408 is a copy of Fihrist Kitāb Tafṣīl wasāʾil al-Šīʿa ilā taḥṣīl masāʾil al-šarīʿa, which came into the possession of Šaraf al-Dīn in 1167 [1753–54] (see fols 2r, 3r, 300v; [figs 144a, 144b, 144c]). Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis-i Sinā 502 is a copy of Rawḍ al-ǧinān fī šarḥ Iršād al-aḏhān by al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, with an ownership statement from Šaraf al-Dīn dated 1157 [1744–45] on the title page ([fig. 144d]). According to a margin note on fol. 49r of the codex ([fig. 144e]), the text constitutes an autograph from that point onwards, but this is incorrect. For a description of the manuscript, see Dānišpažūh and Anwārī, Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Maǧlis-i Sinā, vol. 1, p. 293. The manuscript was also consulted for the edition of the Rawḍ al-ǧinān (Qum, 1422 [2001–2]) and is also described in the introduction to the edition. Šaraf al-Dīn also owned a copy of Ibn Šahrāšūb’s Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ, which is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Malik 918. The codex was consulted for the edition prepared by Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-ḥiyāʿ al-Turāṭ; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ, ed. Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-ḥiyāʿ al-Turāṭ, vol. 1, pp. 31, 37, 42 (with facsimiles of the ownership statement and the stamp). Šaraf al-Dīn also owned a copy of Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qazwīnī’s (“Āqā Raḍī Qazwīnī,” d. 1096 [1685]) K. Lisān al-ḫawāṣṣ fī ḏikr maʿānī al-alfāẓ al-iṣṭilāḥiyya li-l-ʿulamāʾ (ownership note dated 1096 [1685]). See Āġā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 18, p. 303. For Šaraf al-Dīn Makkī and his library, see al-Ṣadr, Takmilat Amal al-āmil, vol. 1, pp. 191 no. 200, 361 no. 387, 379 no. 401; vol. 5, p. 392 no. 2334; Āḵā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa al-Kawākib al-muntāṣira fi l-qarn al-ṯānī baʿda l-ʿašara, pp. 739–741; see also Ḵān ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Hādī b. ʿAbd Allāh, Khārjī, al-ʿAṣiṣqānī, ed. Muḥammad Bahaʾ, vol. 1, pp. 304; see also ʿAlī b. Ḵān Ḵurešānī, Liḥḥat aʿlām al-Šīʿa, vol. 2, pp. 409–410 (the son of Šaraf al-Dīn), 410 (al-Ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, one of the sons of Šaraf al-Dīn), 410 (al-Ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, one of the sons of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad), 410 (al-Ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, one of the sons of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī), and 410 (al-Ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, one of the sons of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī, Šaraf al-Dīn Makkī’s father). Šaraf al-Dīn Makkī is the author of Muḥtasar Nasīm al-saḥr wa-mā ulḥiqa bihi, an edition of which, with an introduction on the text and its author prepared by Yūsuf Ṭabaṭba, is included in al-Muḥtārī, al-Šahīd al-Awwal, 1395 [2016] ed., pp. 597–666. He also composed a Risāla fi tarāḏīm ‘ulamāʾ al-Baḥrayn (edited by Ismāʿīl al-Galdārī), a kind of mašyaḵa on the scholars of Uwāl, with whom he had studied or whom he had met during his sojourn in this region, which stretched over several years. In many cases Šaraf al-Dīn Makkī relates that he transcribed some of their writings in his own hand.
Petermann I 40,\textsuperscript{741} is simply dated “Ǧumādā I,”\textsuperscript{742} but there is a collation note on the last page of the \textit{maǧmūʿa}, dated Ǧumādā II 1049 [September–October 1639] (fig. 137), stating that the present codex was collated with the copy kept in the library of al-Ḥadra al-Ǧarawiyya—undoubtedly referring to the abovementioned codex of 574 [1179]. Ms. Petermann I 40 consists of two parts, each foliated separately. Part one consists of 41 leaves, part two of 101 leaves. Both parts are written by the same hand and both were part of the library of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī. Ms. Petermann I 40 consists of five building blocks. Part one of the codex (items 1–36) concludes with a colophon (fig. 139) stating \textit{tammat [sic] al-kitāb bi-ʿawn Allāh al-malik al-wahhāb} †‡ The name of the scribe is scratched out, and only the information that he lived in Mašhad remains visible. The colophon indicates that a building block ended at this location in the antigraph. The scribe’s name is again rendered illegible in a colophon on the last page of part two of the codex (fol. 101). Part two opens with another building block consisting of \textit{al-Rassiyyāt I} and \textit{II} (items 37 and 38; fols 86v–103v). The next building block consists of items 40–49 (fols 28v–66v). Al-Ǧuṣrawi’s list of al-Murtada’s writings constitutes item 44 (fols 41v–43r). Ms. Petermann I 40 also includes al-Mufīd’s \textit{Fī ḏabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb} (item 45; fols 43v–47v). The codex ends with another building block, consisting of six works (items 46–51; fols 66v–101r).\textsuperscript{743} The following is a complete list of works included in the volume:


\textsuperscript{742} Although no year is mentioned here, it might be the same as the one given in the collation note, i.e., 1049 AH.

\textsuperscript{743} A nearly identical building block, consisting of items 46–49, can be found in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912, fols 65v–138r, containing \textit{al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II}, \textit{Masʿala fī waḥṣ al-takrār fī l-āyatayn} [Q 10:61 and 10:58], \textit{Masʿala fī l-manāmāt}, and \textit{al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III}. The multitext volume was copied by one Muhammad Ḥusayn b. Muhammad ‘Alī al-Qummī (fig. 587) and apparently dates to the eleventh/seventeenth century. The scribe can be identified as al-Ǧawla Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Qummī al-Naḡafī al-Ǧadīm al-κitābdār fi l-Ǧarī; on him, see Āḡā Buzurg, \textit{Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ}, p. 55; Āḡā Buzurg, \textit{Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawda al-nadira fī ‘ulamāʾ al-miʿāda ʿašara}, p. 180. However, in contrast to Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, in this codex \textit{Masʿala fī waḥṣ al-takrār fī l-āyatayn} [Q 10:61 and 10:58] and \textit{Masʿala fī l-manāmāt} are misidentified as \textit{masʿala} 13 and 14 of \textit{al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II}. The relevant indications (figs 583b, 584, 585) were added by a later reader; the original scribe had marked the end of \textit{al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II} correctly at the end of \textit{masʿala} 12 by concluding it with \textit{tammat tammat tammat} (fig. 584). Moreover, the scribe had specified the identity of \textit{Masʿala fī l-manāmāt} as sādisat al-
1. (part one; fols 1v–4r) Masʿala fi bayān ahkām ahl al-āhira. At the end of this text there is a heading that states: Fihrist mā fi ḥaḏ[hi] l-maǧmūʿa: masāʾil šattā l-l-Murtaḍā wa-min ġumlatihā al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣiriyya. However, there is no table of contents after this title, nor does the codex include the Nāṣiriyyāt;
2. (part one; fols 4r–5r) Masʿala fi l-masḥ ʿalā l-ḫuffayn (imlāʾ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Ḏī l-Maǧdayn raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fī Šaʿbān sanat 415 [October–November 1024] fī dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh waḏhā bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ḣawāban ʿan masʿala waradat min Ḥurāsān);
3. (part one; fols 5r–6r) Masʿala fi ǧawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa (masʿala ḥaraǧat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
4. (part one; fols 6r–v) Masʿala fi ṣīġat al-bayʿ (masʿala ḥaraǧat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
5. (part one; fols 7r–8r) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (masʿala ḥaraǧat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [February 1036]);
6. (part one; fols 7r–v) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʾ;
7. (part one; fols 7v–8r) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī ruʾyat al-hilāl;
8. (part one; fols 8r–10r) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
9. (part one; fols 10r–v) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
10. (part one; fol. 10v) Masʿala fi walad al-bint;
11. (part one; fols 10v–12r) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
12. (part one; fols 12r–v) al-Farq bayna naǧas naǧas (or naǧis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
13. (part one; fols 12v–13r) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ɡafāf;
14. (part one; fols 13r–14r) Masʿala min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ḍanu fi l-raʿya min ġumlat Kitāb “al-ʿUmad” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid];
15. (part one; fols 14r–v) Masʿala “min al-kitāb aydān” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid] fi ibṭāl muddāṭa l-raʿya;
17. (part one; fols 15v–17r) Istihqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ʿalā l-awṣāf (masʿala ḥaraǧat fi Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);
18. (part one; fols 17r–18r) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āhād (masʿala ḥaraǧat fi šahr Rabiʿ II sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);

masāʾil allatī saʿalahu Sallār ʿanhā at the beginning of the text (fig. 586).
19. (part one; fol. 18r) Mas’ala fi l-dalīl ‘alā anna l-ǧism lam yakun kā’inan bi-l-fā’il [mas’ala ḥaraqat fi Rabī‘ I sanat 427 (January–February 1036)];
20. (part one; fols 18r–v) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-nazar;
21. (part one; fols 18v–23r) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. These open with the following words: mas’ala mā wuġida min al-masā’il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ǧawābihā siwā mā šaḏda minhā;
22. (part one; fols 23r–25r) Mas’ala waġīza fi l-ġayba. This tract, by anonymous author, is introduced as follows: waḏadtu fi kutubihī mas’ala waġīza fi l-ġayba lā a’lam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuḥ ‘alā waḏhiḥā wa-hiya;
23. [(part one; fols 25r–32r) Mas’ala min kalām qādi l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muḡbirā wa-l-mušabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidīlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa];\(^{744}\)
24. (part one; fols 32r–33r) al-Radd ‘alā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿ annahā aṣl li-š-ḥam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
25. (part one; fols 33r–34r) Mas’ala fi l-‘iṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. Unlike other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, this manuscript gives the tract’s title as Mas’alat al-‘iṣma;
26. (part one; fols 34r–v) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
27. (part one; fols 34v–35r) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā’il;
28. (part one; fol. 35r) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṯan bi-maʿnā;
29. (part one; fol. 35r) Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsihi;
30. (part one; fol. 35v) Mas’ala ‘an waḏgh al-munāsaba bayna l-aḏal fī l-aqīl wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fīhā min al-šarʿīyyāt;
31. (part one; fols 35v–36r) Mas’alā fi waḏgh ḥusn al-nawāfil;
32. (part one; fol. 36r) al-Dalīl ‘alā anna l-ǧawāḥir mudraka;
33. (part one; fols 36r–37v) Daft ʿubha li-l-Barāhima fī baʿt al-anbiyāʾ;
34. (part one; fols 37v–38v) Mas’ala fi l-alam wa-wuḏūh al-ḥusn fihi;
35. (part one; fols 39r–41r) Mas’ala fi ǧikr anwāʾ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
36. (part one; fol. 41r) Ma’nā qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā”. At the end of this tract there is a partly erased colophon that concludes the entire block. It states: tammat [sic] al-kitāb bi-ʿawn Allāh al-malik al-wahhāb ʿalā yad al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿif . . . sākin al-Mašhad . . .

\(^{744}\) Works by authors other than al-Murtaḍā included in this and any the following codices are enclosed in square brackets.
37. (part two; fols 1r–25v) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The work ends with a colophon by al-Murtaḍā, dated 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037];

38. (part two; fols 25v–28v) *al-Rassiyyāt II*. The end of the text corresponds to the end of a text block. Underneath, at the end of the page, the title of the next tract (item 39) is given (*Tariq al-istikdāl* imlāʾ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā _DETAIL_)

39. (part two; fols 28v–34v) *Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*;

40. (part two; fols 34v–35r) *Masʾala fi aṣālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi*;

41. (part two; fols 35r–37r) *Masʾala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msahū bi-ruʿāsikum”* [Q 5:6];

42. (part two; fols 37r–v) *Masʾala fi l-istiṭnā*;

43. (part two; fols 37v–41r) *Masʾala fi l-ʾamal maʿa l-sulṭān*. The end of the text corresponds to the end of a text block. The title of the next tract (item 44) appears at the bottom of the page (*fa-hāḏā fihrist kutub al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*);

44. (part two; fols 41v–43r) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā*. The item concludes with a colophon stating *tammat* [sic] *al-fihrist wa-kataba ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī fī Šaʿbān min sanat 417*;

45. [(part two; fols 43v–47v) *al-Kalām fi ḏabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb, imlāʾ al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd*];

46. (part two; fols 47v–65r) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;

47. (part two; fol. 65r) *Masʾala fi waḡh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];

48. (part two; fols 65r–66v) *Masʾala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt*;

49. (part two; fols 66v–95v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (al-wārida fī Šaʿbān min sanat 429 [May-June 1038]);

50. (part two; fols 95v–99v) *Masʾala fimā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt*. The *masʾala* is preceded by a basmalah, indicating the beginning of a new text block;

51. (part two; fols 99v–101r) *Masʾala fi tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt*. The text ends with a dated colophon (1 Ǧumādā I), but both the name of the copyist and the year have been wiped out (fig. 73).

Another witness of the 574 [1179] codex is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 12923** (items 1 though 48, and 50 = fols 4v–194r [pp. 10–389], 204v–223v [pp. 408–446]), copied by Rāšid b. Muḥammad b. Šāh Wali around the date 7 Ṣafar 1048 [20 June 1638] (fol. 194r [p. 389]; fig. 509) in Naǧaf (fol. 223v [p. 446]). While the first
part of this codex consists of works included in the 574 [1179] codex, the second part (items 51 though 60 = fols 224v–280v), copied by the same scribe, comprises writings by Faḫr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771 [1369–79]), al-Muḥaqqiq al-ハウスī, and others, including Inqāḏ al-bašar (item 52; dated 1058 [1648]). Part one of the codex displays the characteristic building blocks encountered in other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, viz. items 1–3, 4–5, 6–7, 8–9, 10–45, and 46–47. The inclusion of al-Mufīd’s Masārr al-ハウスā (item 49) is unusual, but the placement of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Nāṣirīyyāt (item 48) and his Ğumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal (item 50) towards the end can also be observed in other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex. Moreover, Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923 is the only eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the 574 [1179] codex that also contains Inqāḏ al-bašar, albeit placed outside the characteristic building blocks and evidently added later. The structure of the first part of the codex is as follows:

1. (fols 4v–26r [pp. 10–53]) al-Rassiyyāt I. The work ends with an authorial colophon dated 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037];
2. (fols 26r–28v [pp. 53–58]) al-Rassiyyāt II. On the following page (fol. 29r [p. 59], the title of the next tract (item 3) is given (Tariq al-istidlāl ʿalā furūʿ al-ハウスīyya ilmla’ Sayyidinā al-ハウスī al-aḡall al-Murtaḍā Ḍī l-Maḡdayn ‘Alam al-Hudā Abī l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-ハウスān al-Mūsā [sic] qaddasa llāh rūḥahu wa-nawwara ḏarīḥahu);
3. (fols 29r–39r [pp. 59–79]) Munāẓarat al-ハウスūm wa-kayfīyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim;
4. (fols 39r–40r [pp. 79–81]) Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aḡall al-Murtaḍā. In contrast to most other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, the dated iǧāza issued by al-Murtaḍā for al-Buṣrawī and usually placed at the end of the fihrīst is not included here;
5. ((fols 40r–43v [pp. 81–88]) al-Kalām fi ḏabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb by al-ハウス Ālī al-Mufīd);
6. (fols 43v–44r [pp. 88–89]) Masʾala fi waḡh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
7. (fols 44r–45v [pp. 89–92]) Masʾala fil-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
8. (fols 45v–49r [pp. 92–99]) Masʾala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munaḡğimūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;

745 The foliation indicated in the following is ours. The surrogate at our disposal is paginated. Although the pagination is not part of the individual pages of the manuscript, we indicate it alongside the foliation. For a partial description of the codex, see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābĥāna-yi Ḥumūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyāt Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naḡafī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 32, pp. 741–784.

10. (fols 50v–52v [pp. 102–106]) Masʿala fī bayān ahkām ahl al-āhīra;


14. (fol. 55r [p. 111]) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (masʿala ḡaragat fī šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);

15. (fols 55v–56r [pp. 112–113]) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī ruʾyat al-hilāl;


17. (fols 57v–58r [pp. 116–117]) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;

18. (fol. 58r [p. 117]) Masʿala fī walad al-bint;

19. (fols 58r–59v [pp. 117–120]) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;

20. (fols 59v–60r [pp. 120–121]) al-Farq bayna naǧas (or naǧis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;

21. (fols 60r–61r [pp. 121–123]) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍīya llāh ‘anhu fī šahr Rabiʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036];


24. (fols 63v–64r [pp. 128–130]) Istihqāq madḥ al-bāriʿ ‘alā l-awṣāf (masʿalā ḡaragat fī Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);

25. (fols 64v–65r [pp. 130–131]) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;
30. (fols 65r–68v [pp. 131–138]) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Niliyyāt. These are prefaced with masʿala mā waǧida min al-masāʿil al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ḡawābihā siwā mā šaḏda minhā;

31. (fols 68v–70r [pp. 138–141]) Masʿala waǧīza fi l-ḡayba. This tract by anonymous author is introduced as follows: waḏadtu fi kutubihī raḥimahu lläh taʿālā masʿala waǧīza fi l-ḡayba lā aʾlam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuḥā ʿalā waḡīzah wa-hiya;

32. [(fols 70r–77r [pp. 141–153]) Masʿala min kalām qādī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Ahmad fi anna l-muḡbira wa-l-mušabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā ʿalā l-nubuwuwa];


34. (fols 78r–v [pp. 155–156]) Masʿala fi l-ʾisma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;

35. (fols 78v–79r [pp. 156–157]) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;

36. (fol. 79r [p. 157]) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʿil;

37. (fol. 79r–v [pp. 157–158]) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṯan bi-maʿnā;

38. (fol. 79v [p. 158]) Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-naḥfih;


40. (fol. 80r [p. 159]) Masʿala fi waḏg huns al-nawāfil;

41. (fol. 80r [p. 159]) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ḏāt laynūn aḥkāmihā;

42. (fols 80r–81r [pp. 159–161]) Dať šubha li-l-Barāhīma ṭaʿālā boʿt al-anbiyāʾ;

43. (fols 81r–82r [pp. 161–163]) Masʿala fi l-ʾalam wa-wuǧūh al-ḥusn fihi;

44. (fols 82r–83v [pp. 163–166]) Masʿala fi diḵr anwāʾ ʿal-ʾaʾrād wa-aqsāmihā wa-aqšāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;

45. (fol. 84r [p. 167]) Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”;

46. (fols 84r–88r [pp. 167–195]) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II;


Another similar codex was copied by one Ismāʿīl b. Sālim, and it is dated Rabīʿ II 1054 [June–July 1644] (see the colophon on p. 430; fig. 512). It is preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṯ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719). The codex in its present form consists of two unrelated parts that were bound together at a later stage. The second part contains the following texts by al-Murtaḍā—a selection of the building blocks that are included in the otherwise more comprehensive Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40:


The Markaz nowadays houses the entire manuscript collection of Muḥaddiṯ Urmawī; see Ḫūʾī, Fihristigān, vol. 11, pp. 27–28.
8. (pp. 304–305) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
9. (pp. 305–306) Masʾala fi walad al-bint;
10. (pp. 306–311) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāṣiṭiyyāt;
11. (pp. 311–312) al-Farq bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
12. (pp. 312–314) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ḡafāf;
13. (pp. 314–318) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fī l-ruʾya min ǧumlat “Kitāb al-ʿUmad” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid];
16. (pp. 324–331) Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ʿalā l-awṣāf (masʾala ḥaraqāt fī Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);
17. (pp. 331–333) Masʾala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād (masʾala ḥaraqāt fī šahr Rabiʾ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
18. (pp. 333–334) Masʾala fī l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿil (masʾala ḥaraqāt fī Rabiʾ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
19. (pp. 334–336) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;
20. (pp. 336–352) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. This item is introduced as masʾala mā wuḏida min al-masāʾil al-wārida min al-Nil wa-ǧawābuhā siwā mā sadda bihā [sic];
21. (pp. 353–360) Masʾala waḡīza fī l-ġayba. This tract of anonymous authorship is introduced as follows: wuḏidat fi kutubihi raḥimahu llāh masʾala waḡīza fī l-ġayba lā ʿulima bihā min kalām man hiya fa-kutibat ʿalā waḡīzah wa-hiya hāḏīh;
22. [(pp. 360–386) Masʾala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muḡbira wa-l-mušabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa];
23. (pp. 386–390) al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
24. (pp. 390–393) Masʾala fī l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
25. (pp. 393–395) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
26. (pp. 395–397) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʾil;
27. (p. 397) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-maʿnā;
28. (pp. 397–398) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ ʿayn li-nafsihi;
29. (pp. 398–400) Masʾala ʿan waḡī al-munāsaba bayna l-afʾāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihā min al-šarʿiyyāt;
30. (pp. 400–401) Masʿala fi wağh ḥusn al-nawâfil;
31. (p. 401) al-Dalîl ‘alâ anna l-ǧawâhir mudraka;
32. (pp. 401–406) Dafʾ šubha li-l-Barâhîma fi baʾt al-anbiyâ’;
33. (pp. 406–411) Masʿala fi l-alam wa-wuqûjî al-ḥusn fihi;
34. (pp. 411–419) Masʿala fi ḏikr anwâʾ al-aʾrâd wa-aqsâmihâ wa-funûn aḥkâmihâ;
35. (pp. 419–430) Masʿala fi bayân aḥkâm ahl al-āhira.

Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawî 2645 (available to us as Ms. Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1256747) is another eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the 574 [1179] codex.748 According to the colophon at the end of the Nāṣiriyyât (fol. 92r; fig. 148), the codex was transcribed around Ğumâdâ II 1093 [July 1682].749 As is the case with Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40 (see above), Masʿala fi bayân aḥkâm ahl al-āhira ends (fol. 99v; fig. 149) with the words masāʾil šattā li-l-Murtaḍâ wa-min ġumlatihâ al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣiriyya; however, this codex in fact opens with the Nāṣiriyyât (whereas Ms. Petermann I 40 they does not include it). The following is the complete list of texts included in the volume:

1. (fols 2v–92r) al-Nāṣiriyyât. The works concludes with a colophon dated awâhir Ğumâdâ II 1093 [July 1682];
2. (fols 94v–96v) Fihrist kutub sayyidinâ al-aǧall al-Murtaḍâ;
5. (fols 100v–101v) Masʿala fi ġawâz nikāh al-mutʿa (masʿala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);

748 Dirâyatî, Fihristwâra, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 498 no. 253134; Āṣif Fikrat, Fihrist-i alifbāʾî, p. 516. The codex is not foliated; the references are to our foliation of the manuscript.

7. (fol. 102v) Ahkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid (masʿala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);

8. (fols 102v–103r) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilāḥ;

9. (fols 103r–104r) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl;

10. (fols 104r–106r) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;

11. (fols 106r–v) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;

12. (fols 106v–v) Masʿala fi walad al-bint;

13. (fols 106v–108r) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;

14. (fols 108r–v) al-Farq bayna naǧas (or naǧis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;

15. (fols 108v–109r) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ǧafāf;

16. (fols 109r–110r) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ḥumlat Kitāb “al-ʿUmad” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid];


20. (fols 113v–114v) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād (masʿala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);

21. (fol. 114v) Masʿala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿīl (masʿala ḥarağat fi Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);

22. (fols 114v–115r) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;

23. (fols 115r–120r) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. This item is introduced with masʿala mā wuǧida min al-masāʾil al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ǧawābihā siwā mā šaḏda minhā;

24. (fols 120r–122r) Masʿala waqīfa fi l-ġayba. As in the other manuscripts, this tract is introduced by the brief comment waqādatu fi kutubīhi rahimahu llāh masʿala waqīfa fi l-ġayba lā aʿlamu min kalām man hiya . . . ;

25. [(fols 122r–129r) Masʿala min kalām qāḍī l-qaḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muḫbira wa-l-muṣabbihā lā yunkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa];

26. (fols 129r–130v) al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿa annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;

27. (fols 130v–131v) Masʿala fi l-ʿisma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
28. (fol. 131v) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
29. (fols 131v–132r) Kawn al-ṣifā bi-l-fāʾil;
30. (fols 132r–v) al-Ǧawhar ḍā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-maʿnā;
31. (fol. 132v) Ḩaṭṭīl al-qawī inna l-šayʾ bayna l-ṣayʾ li-naṭsihi;
32. (fol. 132v–133r) Masʾala ʿan waḡḥ al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fiḥā min al-ṣarʿīyyāt;
33. (fols 133r–v) Masʾala fī waḡḥ ḥusn al-nawāfil;
34. (fol. 133v) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧawāhir mudraka;
35. (fols 133v–135r) Dafʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi baʿṭ al-anbiyāʾ;
36. (fols 135r–136v) Masʾala fī l-alam wa-wuḡūh al-ḥusn fiḥī;
37. (fols 136v–138v) Masʾala fī dikr waḡḥ al-ḥusn wa-aqṣāmih wa-funūn aḥkhāmiḥā;
38. (fol. 138v) Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”. A colophon at the end of this tract reads tammat al-masāʾil bi-ʿawn Allāh wa-ḥusn tawfīqihi wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdahu;
39. (fols 139r–144v) Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim. The text is preceded by the following note: hāḏā mā wuḡīda ʿalā ḍār al-nusḥa al-maṇqūl;
41. (fols 145v–147r) Masʾala fī ḥukm al-bāʾ fī qawlīti taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum” [Q 5:6];
42. (fols 147r–v) Masʾala fī l-istiṯnāʾ. The text ends with a colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle stating: tammat al-masāʾil wa-l-ḥamd li-l-šarīʿāt lā ṣayyidinā Muhammad wa-alīhī l-ṭāhirīn;
43. (fols 149r–158v) al-Rassiyyāt I. The text, too, ends with a colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle. Fols 148v–149r contain the end of al-Mufīd’s al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariya. The surrogate that was available to us seems to be missing some pages and does not permit us to determine whether item 43 indeed concludes the codex or whether it should precede item 39, as it does in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40.

Before, in, or around the year 1088 [1677–78], Nāṣir b. Ḥāǧī Ḥusayn b. Ḥāǧī Tāǧ al-Dīn al-Naḡaffī750 transcribed another codex of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that

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750 The scribe identifies himself on the final page of the codex, fol. 234v (fig. 511). The date (1088 [1677–78]) is mentioned on fol. 159v; see below, item 52. On the scribe, see Dirāyatī,
was also based, directly or indirectly, on the 574 [1179] antigraph. This maǧmūʿa is preserved as Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185. The codex includes some of al-Murtaḍā’s monographic works, viz. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal (item 51; fols 128v–141r) and al-Intiṣār (item 55; fols 163v–234v), as well as some responsa collections, including al-Nāṣiriyyāt (item 1; fols 1r–61v), al-Rassiyyāt I (item 13; fols 86v–102r), and al-Rassiyyāt II (item 14; fols 102r–103v). Other characteristic building blocks that are also found in other witnesses in the cluster are items 15–49 (fols 104v–128r) and items 3–12 (fols 64r–86r). However, there are also small differences. Fī ḏabāʾiḥ ahl al-kiṯāb, by al-Mufīd, which is included in some of the other manuscripts, has been omitted in Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185, and al-Buṣrawi’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings appears in its usual location instead (item 9; fols 72r–73r). Moreover, the various comments by the anonymous redactor of the 574 [1179] codex are largely absent in Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185. Instead, item 3 is preceded by a title page (p. 64; fiq. 150) announcing Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim together with the K. al-Intiṣār, but the latter is in fact located much later in the codex (item 55, fols 163v–234v). Between the Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal and the K. al-Intiṣār, there is an additional building block consisting of three works (items 52 through 54; fols 142v–162v).


Interestingly, the copyist mentions the total number of masāʾil included in the codex in his final colophon. For a description of the codex (with some omissions), see ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, Fihris maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid Ğaʿfar wa-waladihi al-ʿAllāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, vol. 1, pp. 391–402. Al-ʿAllāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (b. 1255 [1840], d. 1384 [1964–65]) also transcribed some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including some of the pages missing from a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Intiṣār that had been transcribed in Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1007 [May–June 1599] and had been given to Hāšim as a gift from his father, al-Sayyid Ğaʿfar Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm; see ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, Fihris maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid Ğaʿfar wa-waladihi al-ʿAllāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, vol. 1, pp. 148–149. Sayyid Hāšim also transcribed a maǧmūʿa (Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 91) containing, among others, al-Fuṣūl al-muḫtāra (dated Ğumādā II 1342 [January–February 1924]) and al-Mufīd’s “al-Ḥikāyāt”; see ibid., pp. 200–206. Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm mentions at the end of his copy of al-Fuṣūl al-muḫtāra that he had a “very old” antigraph at his disposal. It is possible that this is the very same antigraph that was available to his contemporary al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Buṣrawī; see above, n. 608. For the history of the libraries of the Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, see Ṭarrāzī, Ḫazāʾin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, vol. 1, pp. 303–304.
that are also encountered in other miscellanies belonging to this cluster. The full contents of the codex are the following:

1. (fols 1r–61v) al-Nāṣirīyyāt;
2. (fols 62r–63v) Mas’ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira. The text ends in the middle of fol. 63v and concludes with a brief colophon on a centered line;
4. (fols 68r–v) Mas’ala fi aṣālat al-barā’a wa-naṣf al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalîl ʿalayhi;
5. (fols 68v–69v) Mas’ala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʾūsikum” [Q 5:6];
6. (fol. 69v) Mas’ala fi l-istiṯnāʾ;
7. (fols 69v–71v) Mas’ala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān;
8. (fols 71v–72r) Mas’ala fi waḡḥ al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿīd bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār;
9. (fols 72r–73r) Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā;
10. (fols 73v–84v) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II;
11. (fols 84v–85r) Mas’ala fi waḡḥ al-takrār fī l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
12. (fols 85r–86r) Mas’ala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallārīyyāt;
14. (fols 102r–103v) al-Rassiyyāt II. The text ends with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle, and the following page (fol. 104r) is left blank;
17. (fols 105v–106r) Masʿala fi šiğat al-bayʿ (masʿala ḥaraḡat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
18. (fol. 106r) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (masʿala ḥaraḡat fi šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);
19. (fols 106r–v) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʾ;
20. (fols 106v–107r) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl;
22. (fols 108r–v) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
23. (fol. 108v) Masʿala fi walad al-bint;
25. (fol. 109v) al-Farq bayna naḏas (or naḏis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
26. (fols 109v–110r) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ǧafāf;
27. (fols 110r–v) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ġumlat Kitāb “al-ʿUmad” [= ġurar al-fawāʾid];
31. (fols 112v–113r) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (masʿala ḥaraḡat fi šahr Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
32. (fols 113r–v) Masʿala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿil (masʿala ḥaraḡat fi Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
33. (fol. 113v) Awwal al-wāġibāt al-nazar;
34. (fols 113v–116v) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. This item is introduced with masʿala mā waģida min al-masāʾil al-wārida min al-Nil wa-ġawābiḥā siwā mā šaqda minhā;
35. (fols 116v–118r) Masʿala wağiţa fi l-ġayba. This tract is again introduced by the brief comment waģadtu fi kutubiḥu raḥimahu llāh taʿālā masʿala wağiţa fi l-ġayba lá aʾlamu min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuḥā ʿalā wağihiḥā wa-hiya . . . ;
36. [(fols 118r–122v) Masʿala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Ahmad fi anna l-muḫbira wa-l-mušəbbihā lá yumkinuhum al-īstidāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa];
37. (fols 122v–123r) al-Radd ‘alā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-dda’ā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 from al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
38. (fols 123r–v) Masʿala fi l-ʿisma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
39. (fols 123v–124r) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʿnīḥ;
40. (fol. 124r) Kawn al-sifā bi-l-fāʾil;
41. (fols 124r–v) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṯan bi-maʿnā;
42. (fol. 124v) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsihi;
43. (fols 124v–125r) Masʾala ʿan waǧh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihi min al-šarʿīyyāt;
44. (fol. 125r) Masʿala fi waǧh ḥusn al-nawāfil;
45. (fol. 125r) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧawāhir mudraka;
46. (fols 125r–126r) Dafʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fī baʿth al-anbiyāʾ;
47. (fols 126r–v) Masʿala fi l-ʿālam wa-wuǧūh al-ḥusn fihi;
48. (fols 126v–128r) Masʿala fi ǧīkr anwāʾ al-ʿaʾrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
49. (fol. 128r) Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aġbā fa-qad arbā”;
50. (fol. 128r) “al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II”. Only the title of the work is provided here; the work itself is found earlier, on fols 73v–84r (see item 10 above);
51. (fols 128v–141r) K. Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal;
52. (fols 142v–159v) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III. The text ends with a colophon by the copyist, dated 1088 [1677–78];
53. (fols 159v–161v) Masʾala fi mā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧūm = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
54. (fols 161v–162v) Masʾala fi tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
55. (fols 163v–234v) K. al-Intiṣār.

Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571 is another maǧmūʿa of al-Murtaḍā’s epistles, which was transcribed at the behest of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḡlisī (b. 1037 [1627–28], d. 1110 [1699]). The manuscript

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is undated, but it has a collation note (p. 255) that reads: *balağa qibālan min nusḥa ‘alayhā al-i’timād wa-bihā al-i’tidalād sanat 1096* [1685] (**fig. 151**). The wording allows no conclusions as to the identity of the copy consulted for the collation. The codex was published by Wifqān Ḫuḍayr Muḥsin al-Ka‘bī in 1422/2001 under the title *Masā’il al-Murtaḍā* (see below). Like Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḣalāl-ī Islāmī 2719), this *maǧmū’a* contains of only some of the building blocks that were originally included in the 574 [1179] antigraph. The codex consists of the following texts:
  1. (pp. 1–6) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā*;
  2. (pp. 6–16) *Mas’ala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira*. The text concludes with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle dated “fi l-tārīḫ al-maḏkūr qablahā”. To its right there is a heading that reads “mas’ala [sic] šattā li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā raḍiyya ‘anhu wa-min ġumlatihā al-Masā’il al-Nāṣiriyya”;


The codex is preceded by a detailed description prepared by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (b. 1348 [1929], d. 1415 [1995]) (**fig. 152**), who compiled a catalogue of the library, published in several fascicles of the journal *Turāṯunā*. The catalogue, however, remains incomplete, and a description of the present manuscript is not included in the published parts. A publication of al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī’s full catalogue of the library’s holdings (including the present codex) is in preparation, and we thank the library for having made the relevant sections of the new catalogue available to us. The individual texts of the *maǧmū’a* are briefly described in Mūǧānī and Bahrāmiyān, *Fihristwāra*, p. 172 no. 122, pp. 172–173 no. 128, p. 173 no. 135, p. 174 nos 140, 143, 145, p. 175 no. 152, p. 186 nos 270, 271, 272, 273, p. 187 no. 278, p. 229 no. 377, p. 266 no. 785 (here the date is erroneously given as 1039), p. 267 nos 795 (here the date is erroneously given as 193), 796, p. 342 no. 148, p. 347 no. 207, p. 359 no. 334, p. 376 no. 110, according to which the codex was completed in 1093 [1682]. According to Zuwayn et al., the 1096 [1685] codex has the shelfmark Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-‘Āmma 7. See Zuwayn et al., *Muʿqām al-maḥtūṭāt al-naqāfyya*, vol. 2, p. 49; vol. 5, pp. 142, 223, 245, 271, 276, 280, 314, 323, 336; vol. 10, pp. 33, 237, 239, 242, 244, 248, 250, 251. On the basis of the limited information given in the catalogues it cannot be determined whether this is a different codex or identical with Ms. Amīr al-Muʾminin 571. The sections of the new catalogue that were available to us indicate that the shelfmark “7” seems to be an error. Generally for the Amīr al-Muʾminin Library, see Āğa Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlam al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 158; Zuwayn, “The Libraries of Najaf,” pp. 202–205.
fi ḍarb abīhi al-Ṭāhir nadḍara llāh waḡhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ḡawāban ‘an mas’ala waradat min Ḥurāsān;

4. (pp. 19–22) Maṣ’ala fi ḡawāz nikāḥ al-muṭ’a (mas’ala ḡaraqat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);

5. (pp. 22–25) Maṣ’ala fi ṣīqat al-bay‘ (mas’ala ḡaraqat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);

6. (pp. 25–26) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (mas’ala ḡaraqat fi śahr Rabī‘ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);

7. (pp. 26–27) Maṣ’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā; 

8. (pp. 27–29) Maṣ’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi ru’yat al-hilāl;

9. (pp. 29–37) Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;

10. (p. 37) Ḥukm awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;

11. (pp. 37–38) Maṣ’ala fi walad al-bint;

12. (pp. 38–42) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;

13. (pp. 42–43) al-Farq bayna nağas (or naǧis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;

14. (pp. 43–45) Ḥukm māʾ biʾr bi-ṣafāf;

15. (pp. 45–48) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ru’ya min ḡumlat “Kitāb al-ʿUmad” [= Īurar al-fawāʾid];


17. (pp. 50–53) “Min al-kitāb aydan” [= Īurar al-fawāʾid] fi aqṣām al-manāfī;

18. (pp. 53–59) Istihqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ʿalā l-āwṣāf (mas’ala ḡaraqat fi Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);

19. (pp. 59–62) Maṣ’ala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-ḥāfẓ bā’da l-ṣafāf (mas’ala ḡaraqat fi Saḥar sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);

20. (pp. 62–63) Maṣ’ala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʾil (mas’ala ḡaraqat fi Rabī‘ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);

21. (pp. 63–64) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;

22. (pp. 64–79) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. These open with the following words: maṣ’ala mā wuḏida min al-masāʾil al-wārida min al-Nil wa-ḡawābihā siwā mā ṣaḏda minhā;

23. (pp. 79–85) Maṣ’ala waǧīza fi l-ḡayba. This text is again prefaced with waḏadtu fi kutubīḥi raḥimahu llāh maṣ’ala waǧīza fi l-ḡayba lā a‘lamu min kalām man hiya wa-katabtuhā ʿalā waḡhīhā wa-hiya . . . ;
25. (pp. 108–112) al-Radd ʿalā man ʿaṭbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿalam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt 1;
26. (pp. 112–115) Masʾala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt 1;
27. (pp. 115–116) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
28. (pp. 116–118) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʾil;
29. (p. 118) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-maʿnā;
30. (pp. 118–119) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ lī-naṣḥiḥ;
31. (pp. 119–120) Masʾala ʿan waḏgh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fi l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihā min al-ṣarīʿyāt;
32. (pp. 120–122) Masʾala fi waḏgh ḥusn al-nawāfil;
33. (p. 122) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧawāhir mudraka;
34. (pp. 122–126) Daš śubha li-l-Barāḥima fi baʿt al-anbiyāʿ;
35. (pp. 126–131) Masʾala fi l-alam wa-wuḡūḥ al-ḥusn fihī;
36. (pp. 131–138) Masʾala fi ḫiṣr anwāʿ al-ʿaʾrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
37. (p. 138) Maʾnā qawl al-nabi “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”;
38. (pp. 138–156) Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim. The text is preceded by the following note: hāḍā mā wuḡida ʿalā ẓahr al-nusḫa al-manqūl minhā;
39. (pp. 156–159) Masʾala fi aṣālah al-barāʾa wa-naʃfī al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi;
40. (pp. 159–164) Masʾala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum” [Q 5:6];
41. (pp. 164–166) Masʾala fi l-istīʿnāʿ;
42. (pp. 166–176) Masʾala fi l-ʿamal maʾa l-sulṭān;
43. (pp. 176–177) Masʾala fi waḏgh al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿīd bi-l-ḥulūd kaffat al-kuffār;
45. (pp. 190–247) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II. The anonymous redactor notes at the beginning of this text (p. 190): wa-wuǧida fī ẓahr al-nusḥa al-manqūl minhāmaktūban [. . .]. He concludes by indicating his antigraph (p. 247): tammat al-masā’il [. . .] kutibat min nusḥa katabāhā min nusḥa wuǧidat fī l-Ḥizāna al-ğarawiyyaṣaḥīha ḡayyida ‘atifqa;

46. (pp. 247–248) Mas’ala fī waǧh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58]. Items 46 and 47 are introduced by the anonymous redactor as follows: al-mas’alatānwuǧidatā fī āḫar al-kitāb al-manqūlatānminhu mā hāḏā lafẓuhumā. . . (p. 247);

47. (pp. 249–255) Mas’ala fī l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt.

Precisely the same arrangement of building blocks reflecting the 574 [1179]cluster is encountered in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426,754the only difference being that items 42 through 47 of Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571 are not included. Although Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426 is not dated, it is possible either that it was directly transcribed from Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571 or that bothmanuscripts have the same antigraph. The codex consists of the following texts:

1. (fols 1v–3v) Fiḥrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā;

2. (fols 3v–6v) Mas’ala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira;

3. (fols 6v–7v) Mas’ala fī l-masā’īlāl-ḥuffayn (imlā’ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-MurtaḍāḎī l-Maǧdayn raḏiya llāh ‘anhu fī Šaʿbān sanat 415 [October–November 1024]fī dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh waǧhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ǧawāban ʿanmas’ala waradat min Ḫurāsān). This mas’ala begins a new block, introduced asfollows: Masā’il šattā l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā raḏiya llāh [‘anhu] wa-min ǧumlatihāal-Masā’il al-Nāṣiriyya. However, the codex does not include the Nāṣiriyyāt;

4. (fols 7v–8v) Mas’ala fī ǧawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa (mas’ala ḥaraṭat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);

5. (fols 8v–9v) Mas’ala fī ṣīqat al-bayʿ (mas’ala ḥaraṭat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);

6. (fol. 9v) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (mas’ala ḥaraṭat fī šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);

7. (fols 9v–10r) Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā;`

8. (fols 10r–11r) Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fī ruʿyat al-hilāl;

9. (fols 11r–13r) Istimrār al-ṣawm ma’a qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;

10. (fols 13r–v) Ḥāḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ḡadd ḥāḍāfa ḥaqqīyya;
11. (fol. 13v) Mas’ala fi walad al-bint;
12. (fols 13v–15r) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
13. (fols 15r–v) al-Fārqq bayna naǧas (or naqis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm;
14. (fols 15v–16r) Ḥukm mā‘ al-bi‘r ba‘da l-ḡafāf;
15. (fols 16r–17r) Min kalām al-Murtuḍā raḍiyya llāh ‘anhu fī l-ru‘ya min ġumlat Kitāb “al-‘Umad” [= ġurar al-fawā‘id];
18. (fols 18v–20v) Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāri‘ ʿalā l-awṣāf (mas’ala ḥaraqat fī Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);
19. (fols 20v–21v) Mas’ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-ḥāfūd (mas’ala ḥaraqat fī šahr Rabi‘ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
20. (fols 21v) Mas’ala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kā‘in al-bi-l-fā‘il (mas’ala ḥaraqat fī Rabi‘ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
21. (fols 21v–22r) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;
22. (fols 22r–27r) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. These are introduced with mas’ala mā wuǧida min al-masā’il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ġawābihā siwā mā šaḏda minhā;
23. (fols 27r–29r) Mas’ala waqīfa fī l-ḡayba. This tract, by anonymous author, is introduced as follows: waqīdta fi kutubihī rāhimahu llāh mas’ala waqīfa fī l-ḡayba lā a’lamu min kalām man hiya wa-katabthu ʿalā waqīfa wa-hiyya . . . ;
24. [(fols 29r–36r) Mas’ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muġbira wa-l-muṣabbihā lā yumkununum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nūbuwwa];
25. (fols 36r–37v) al-Radd ʿalā man ṣabata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
26. (fols 37v–38v) Mas’ala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
27. (fols 38v) al-Tāfi kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-ta‘niṯ;
29. (fols 39r–v) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdathan bi-ma‘nā;
30. (fols 39v) Ḥaṭṭāl al-qawl inna l-šay‘ šay‘ li-naṣshi‘;
31. (fols 39v–40r) Mas’ala ‘an waqīf al-munāsaba bayna l-af‘al fī l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fiḥā min al-ṣar’iyyāt;
32. (fols 40r–v) Mas’ala fi waqīf ḥusn al-nawāfil;
33. (fol. 40v) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka;
34. (fols 40v–42r) Dafʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi baʿṭ al-anbiyāʿ;
35. (fols 42r–43v) Masʿala fi l-alam wa-wuḡūh al-ḥusn fihi;
36. (fols 43v–45v) Masʿala fi ḍikr anwāʿ al-ʿaʾrāḍ wa-aqsāmih wa-funūn ahkāmih;
37. (fol. 45v) Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”. At the end of this tract, the text block concludes with the following statement in the shape of an upturned triangle: tammat al-masāʾil bi-ʿawn Allāh wa-ḥusn tawfīqihi wa-l-ḥamd li-l-lāh rabb al-ʿālamīn wahdahu;
38. (fols 46r–51v) Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim. The text is preceded by the following note: hāḍā mā wuḡīda ʿalā zahr al-nusḫa al-manqūl [minhā];
40. (fols 52v–54r) Masʿala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fī qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʾūsikum” [Q 5:6];
41. (fols 54r–v) Masʿala fi l-istiṭnāʾ.

Another witness of the same cluster is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914. The codex consists of 306 leaves, of which fols 2v through 231r constitute a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, which was completed on 11 Ǧumādā II 1101 [22 March 1690] (see the colophon on fol. 231r; fig. 153). Like Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, this manuscript seems to be a faithful copy of the 574 [1179] codex, and the copyist apparently attempted to reproduce the codicological peculiarities of the antigraph as precisely as possible. The codex was part of the library of Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Afandī al-Iṣfahānī (b. 1066 [1655–56], d. ca. 1130 [1717]), a student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī and the author of Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ—al-Afandī had in fact commissioned the copy for

755 The codex is not foliated and the folio numbers provided in the following refer to our foliation of the manuscript.
himself (\textit{qad daḫala fī milkī bi-l-istiktāb}), as he states in his ownership note on fol. 2r of the codex (\textbf{fig. 154}).\textsuperscript{757} The manuscript consists of the following items:

2. (fols 4v–5v) Masʿala fī ḡawāz nikāh al-mutʿa (masʿala ḥaraǧat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
3. (fols 5v–6v) Masʿala fī šīḫat al-bayʿ (masʿala ḥaraǧat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
4. (fols 6v–7r) Ḡākām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ ṣawādā ṣawā bīḥi bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ṣawābāna ṣawādā l-lāh min ḥurāsān;
5. (fols 7r–v) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-munāfī lāh;
6. (fols 7v–8r) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī ruʿyat al-hilāl;
7. (fols 8r–10v) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qasād l-munāfī lāh;
8. (fols 10v–11r) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
9. (fols 11r) Masʿala fī waṭal al-bint;
10. (fols 11r–12v) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭīyyāt;
11. (fols 12v–13r) al-Farq bayna naǧas (or naḡis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
12. (fols 13r–v) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ḡafāf;

\textsuperscript{757} The codex later came into the possession of al-Afandī’s son, Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidin; see Ḥakīm, “Fihrist-i taʾlīfāt-i Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Afandī,” p. 186. A precious copy of Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533, pp. 1–409. At the end of this part of the codex (p. 409; \textbf{fig. 154c}), the colophon that appears at the end of Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, including the date, 11 Ḡumādā I 1101 [22 March 1690], is repeated. The remaining pages of Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533 (pp. 410–537) contain works by different authors, including al-Mufīd and al-Karāǧikī. The codex ends with a colophon dated 18 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1248 [8 April 1833] (\textbf{fig. 154d}). For a brief description, see Dānišpažūh and Munzawī, \textit{Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi Sipahsālār}, vol. 5, pp. 557–559 (the shelfmark is given here erroneously as “2524”). According to the catalogue the copy was commissioned by Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī (d. 1168 [1754]). This claim, which is based on a misinterpretation of a note on the first page of the codex (\textbf{fig. 154a}), can safely be rejected. At the beginning of the work there is a statement that the codex became part of the Madrasa-yi Nāṣiri (later: Sipahsālār) in 1297 [1880] (\textbf{fig. 154b}).
16. (fols 16v–19r) Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bārī ʿalā l-awsaf (masʿala ḥaraqat fī Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);
17. (fols 19r–v) Masʿala fī fāṣād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (masʿala ḥaraqat fī Ṣahr Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
18. (fols 19v–20r) Masʿala fī ḥaraqat fī aqsām al-manāfiʿ (masʿala ḥaraqat fī Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
19. (fols 20r–v) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;
20. (fols 20v–25v) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. These open with the following words: masʿala mā wuḏida min al-masāʾil al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ḡawābiḥā siwā mā ṣaḏda minhā;
21. (fols 25v–28r) Masʿala waǧīza fī l-ḡayba. This tract seems to constitute the beginning of a new block, which opens with a basmala. As in the other witnesses, the block opens with the comment waǧadtu fī kutubihi raḥimahu llāh masʾala waǧīza fī l-ḡayba lā aʿlam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuhā ʿalā waǧhihā wa-hiya . . . ; a later reader added an interlinear note pondering the possibility of this tract’s being identical with the Muqniʿī fī l-ḡayba listed by al-Naḡāšī among al-Murtaḍā’s writings, but also considering the option that this is a different tract (fol. 25v; fig. 155);
22. [(fols 28r–36r) Masʿala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muḡbira wa-l-mušabbiba lā yumkinhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa];
23. (fols 36r–37v) al-Radd ʿalā anna aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
24. (fols 37v–38v) Masʿala fī l-ʾiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
25. (fols 38v–39r) al-Taʾī fī kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
26. (fols 39r–40r) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʿil;
27. (fol. 40r) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-maʿnā;
28. (fol. 40r) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-ṣayʾ ṣayʾ li-nafsiḥi;
29. (fols 40r–41r) Masʿala ʿan waḏḥ al-munāsaba bayna l-afāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihā min al-šarʿiyyāt;
30. (fol. 41r) Masʿala fī waḏḥ ḥusn al-nawāfil;
31. (fols 41r–v) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ḡawāhir mudraka;
32. (fols 41v–42v) Dafʿ ʿubha li-l-Barāhima fī baʿṭ al-anbiyāʾ;
33. (fols 42v–44v) Masʿala fī l-ʾalam wa-wuḏūḥ al-ḥusn fihī;
34. (fols 44v–47r) Masʾala fī ḏikr anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;

35. (fol. 47r) Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”. This block of quaeestiones (items 21 through 35) ends on fol. 47r (fig. 156) with a margin colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle that points again to the 574 [1179] codex as the antigraph: kutibat hāḏihi l-masāʾil min nusḥa wuǧidat fī ḥizānat kutub al-Ḥaḍra al-ṣarīfa al-Ḡarawīyya wa-kānat nusḥa ʿatīqa ṣaḥīha . . . Fol. 47v is left blank, and it is followed by a title page (fol. 48r; fig. 157) that introduces a new block in the codex. The wording again refers explicitly to the antigraph: ūṣrat mā huwa maktūb fī zahr al-nusḥa al-manqūl minhā Kitāb Masāʾil al-Ṣarīf Abī l-Ḥusayn [sic] al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥasanī al-Rassi radiya llāh taʿālā ‘anhu imlāʾ Abī l-Qāsim b. al-Ṭāhir al-Awḥad Dī l-Manāqib Abī Aḥmad al-Ṯabī wa-qaddasa llāh rūḥahu. The passage introduces the next work as al-Nāṣīriyyāt, but that work in fact follows only later (see below, item 38).

36. (fols 48v–77r) al-Rassiyyāt I. The text ends with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle; the lower half of the page is left blank;

37. (fols 77v–80v) al-Rassiyyāt II. The work ends with the same margin colophon that appears on fol. 47r, pointing again to the antigraph: kutibat hāḏihi l-masāʾil min nusḥa wuǧidat fī ḥizānat kutub al-Ḥaḍra al-ṣarīfa al-Ḡarawīyya wa-kānat nusḥa ʿatīqa ṣaḥīha (fig. 158);

38. (fols 81r–181r) al-Nāṣīriyyāt. The work opens with a title page (fig. 159) similar to that on fol. 48r (see above). It ends with a colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle pointing again to the antigraph which is now precisely dated (fol. 181r; fig. 160): kutibat hāḏihi l-nusḥa min nusḥa wuǧidat fī ḥizānat kutub al-Ḥaḍra al-ṣarīfa al-Ḡarawīyya wa-kānat nusḥa ʿatīqa ṣaḥīha tārīḫ kitābatihā fī Ḏī l-Qaʿda sanat arbaʿa wa-sabʿīn wa-ḫamsimiʾa wa-kānat hāḏihi l-lafẓa aʿnī balağa l-ʿarḍ maktūba;

39. (fols 181v–185r) Masʾala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira. The text concludes with another margin colophon identifying the location of this tract in the antigraph (fig. 161): wa-hāḏihi l-masʾala kānat maktūba fī āḥir al-nusḥa al-manqūl minhā bi-ḥaṭṭ ʿatīq ǧiddan;

41. (fols 192r–193r) Masʿalā fi aṣālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi;
42. (fols 193r–195r) Masʿalā fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-rūʿūṣikum” [Q 5:6];
43. (fols 195r–v) Masʿalā fi l-istiṯnāʾ;
44. (fols 195v–199v) Masʿalā fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān;
45. (fols 199v–201v) Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā;
47. (fols 207r–228r) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II. This text opens with a title page that reads: mā wuǧida fī ẓahr al-nuṣḥa al-manqūl minhā maktūb Ǧawāb al-Masāʾil al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt al-ṯāniya al-wārida min . . . (fig. 166) and ends with a colophon pointing again to the antigraph (fig. 167);
48. (fol. 228v) Masʿalā fi waǧh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58]. This tract and the tract that follows are introduced as al-masʾalatān wuǧidatā fī āḫir al-kitāb al-manqūl minhu mā hāḏihi lafẓuhumā (fig. 168). Both were gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s Takmila to the Ġurar, which may explain why they were placed together;
49. (fols 228v–231r) Masʿalā fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt. The tract ends with a colophon dated 11 Ǧumādā II 1101 [22 March 1690], concluding the part of the codex that contains al-Murtaḍā’s writings (fig. 169).

Al-Afandī’s interest in and engagement with the writings of al-Murtaḍā is further indicated by his inclusion of two of the latter’s responsa in his al-Fawāʾid al-ṭarīfa. For each of the two texts he specifies the precise date on which he transcribed it: Masʿalā fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar (11 Ǧumādā I 1092 [29 May 1681]) and Masʿalā fi ʿillat imtināʾ ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām ʿan muḥārabat al-

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758 Al-Afandī, Fawāʾid, pp. 697–705. What has been published under the title al-Fawāʾid al-ṭarīfa is one of al-Afandī’s notebooks; the title was coined by the editor. What has been published as al-Mufīd’s Tazwīǧ ʿAli bintahu min ʿUmar (Qum 1371š/1413 [1992]) consists of a section gleaned from al-Mufīd’s al-Masāʾil al-Sarawīyya and a portion of the K. al-Istiġāṭa by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī (d. 352 [963]). For Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī, see Encyclopaedia Iranica, vol. 1, p. 364 (L. Giffen). Al-Mufīd also composed a tract entitled al-Masʿalā al-mūḍiḥa ʿan asbāb nikāḥ amīr al-muʾminin, which is lost; see al-Naǧāšī, Riǧāl, p. 400; cf. also McDermott, Theology, p. 38 no. 142. An undated copy of al-Murtaḍā’s tract is also included in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10183, pp. 170–
ḡāṣibīn li-ḥaqqihi baʿda l-Rasūl șallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam (13 Ǧumādā I 1092 [31 May 1681], in Medina).

178. Additional copies are preserved as Ms. Naqāf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 451, transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Hādī b. Mūsā al-Mūsawī al-Ḫirsān (b. 1322 [1904–5], d. 1405 [1985]) and dated 1369 [1949–50] (figs 170, 171); Ms. Naqāf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1531, transcribed by Ahmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿraǧī al-Naḡafī (on whom see above, n. 672) in Naqāf (figs 269, 270); and Ms. Naqāf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 7715, transcribed by Ahmad b. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ḫādimī and dated 1360 [1941]. See Dalīl maḫṭūṭāt Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 202; al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 4, pp. 323–324. The latter three copies at the Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ are digital surrogates of codices whose present locations are uncertain. Further copies include Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2919/27 (see Naqībī, Taṣḥīḥ wa takmīl, p. 76 no. 248), Ms. Tehran, Malik 1099/10 (figs 271, 272), and Ms. Tehran, Malik 1838/5; see Dirāyatī, Fihristīgān, vol. 8, p. 173. The tract has been published on the basis of the two Malik manuscripts (1099/10 and 1838/5) together with al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s Tazwīǧ Āṭī (on which see above), pp. 23–31. Another copy is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 7539. For al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Ḫirsān, who was a scholar in his own right, see Āġā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 14, p. 67 no. 1719. For other works copied in his hand, see Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 206 (s.v. “Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Hādī b. Mūsā b. Ḥasan b. ʿĀli b. Ṣukr b. Maṣʿūd Mūsawī Ḫirsān”); al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī, Fihris al-turāṯ, p. 809. Al-Ḥasan al-Ḫirsān was also an important editor of Imāmī classics, including al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Istibṣār (third ed. published in Naqāf in 1956–57), to which he added in his introduction a detailed study on the biography of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī. For the Āl Ḫirsān and their library, see Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ḫādimī, K. al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, completed on 22 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧāḥ 1083 [10 April 1673], that was in the possession of al-Šayḫ ʿAbbās b. al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ḫirsān is preserved as Ms. Naqāf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminin al-ʿĀmma 2130; see Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 7539, fols 71a–73b (Masʿāla fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʿminin ʿalayhi l-salām ibnātahu min ʿUmar) and 73b–75a (Masʿāla fi ʿillat imtināʿ ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām ʿan muḥārabat al-ḡāṣibīn li-ḥaqqihi baʿda l-Rasūl șallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam). They are followed by a third text attributed to al-Murtaḍā (fols 74a–78a; figs 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279), which is not recorded in any of the inventories of al-Murtaḍā’s writings by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, or Ibn Ṣahrāšūb. The responsorum opens with the question “Mā al-dalīl ʿalā anna l-qimma ʾinā așar . . . .”. See also al-Bayātī, Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍāʾ, p. 204 no. 210/93, who considers Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 7539 to be a unique witness. Although al-Murtaḍā’s authorship is possible, the tract’s contents and style provide no internal evidence to prove this. At the end of fol. 77a the author refers to al-Mufīd as his šayḫ. This reference lends support to al-Murtaḍā as the tract’s possible author but could just as well point to another.
student of al-Mufid. Another copy of the same tract is preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5138, fols 310v–311v, where it is followed by al-Murtada’s Mas’ala fi ‘illat imtinā’ ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām ‘an muḥārabat al-gāšibīn li-ḥaqiqīhī ba’dā l-Rasūl saļā l-bāḥi ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallām (fols 311v–312r). This manuscript was in the possession of one of the members of the Ibn Ḥatūn family in 1047 [1637–38], according to a date given on the final page of the codex. The person in question may have been Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Maʾālī Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. Āḥmad b. Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥatūnī, who penned most of the tracts included in the codex; others are written by different hands, possibly at his behest. For Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was a student of al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī and was based in Hyderabad, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʾa al-ḥādiya ʿašara, pp. 512–513; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Amal al-āmil, vol. 1, p. 169. For the Ibn Ḥatūn family, its members, and its manuscripts, see n. 700. Both tracts, Mas’ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ‘Umar, and Mas’ala fi ‘illat imtinā’ ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām ‘an muḥārabat al-gāšibīn li-ḥaqiqīhī ba’dā l-Rasūl saļā l-bāḥi ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallām, were also included in a codex transcribed by Ḥamza b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥillī al-Ṭurayḥī al-Naḡafī, an eleventh/seventeenth-century copyist and student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḡlisī (Ms. Naḡaf, Maktatab al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 903). He also copied into a single codex al-Murtada’s al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ‘alā l-anbiyāʾ and another brief tract of less than two folios attributed to al-Murtada, Mas’ala fi mīrāṯ al-anbiyāʾ (figs 463, 464, 465). See ‘Alī Maḡid al-Ḥillī, “Maḫṭūṭāt Faḫr al-Muḥaqqiqīn,” pp. 428–431. The brief tract Mas’ala fi mīrāṯ al-anbiyāʾ contains no internal evidence that would establish its authenticity as a work by al-Murtada. It may, however, originate in one of his otherwise lost responsa collections. Moreover, the style of the tract resembles al-Murtada’s characteristic style, and there is evidence that al-Murtada was indeed concerned with the question of mīrāṯ al-anbiyāʾ; see, for example, Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtada, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 146–147 (Ḥawla ḫabar “Naḥnu maʿāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṯ” wa-kāna raḍiya llāh ʿanhu yunkir . . .). It may have been part of his lectures. The wider context, in which the passage was made, is also unclear. See also his Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 81–82, where al-Murtada supports an interpretation of this ḥadīṯ that is maintained by al-Mufid in his Risāla ḥawla ḫabar “Naḥnu maʿāšir al-anbiyāʾ” (see n. 775). However, al-Murtada is said to have rejected this interpretation in the aforementioned passage, where al-Mufid is alluded to as baʿd al-Imāmiyya. Al-Murtada also discusses this ḥadīṯ at length in his Šāfī, vol. 4, pp. 57ff., in the context of his discussion on Fadak (al-Murtada also has a brief Mas’ala fi Fadak). Al-Murtada is also reported to have debated with the Ḥanafi scholar Abū ‘Ali al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥādir b. Muḥammad al-Buḫārī al-Ḥanafi al-Faṣiḍayzaği (d. 424 [1033]) during the latter’s sojourn in Baghdad on the same topic; see al-Samʿānī, Ansāb, vol. 10, pp. 226–227 no. 3064. See also al-Bayāṭī, “Maktatab al-Šarīf al-Murtada,” pp. 200–201 no. 76/193. According to al-Bayāṭī, al-Bayāṭī’s quotation from al-Murtada in his K. al-Šīrāt al-mustaʿātim, vol. 2, p. 291, constitutes a summary of this tract. It should be remembered, however, that al-Bayāṭī records some otherwise not attested titles by al-Murtada; see above, n. 672. The tract may have been a part of any of these. A further copy of Mas’ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ‘Umar was produced by another important twentieth-century copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-ʾĀbidīn al-
city of Medina that contained those two texts. His transcription of these texts thus predated the completion of the miscellany by a decade, revealing his longstanding interest in and search for al-Murtaḍā’s writings. **Ms. Qum, Marāšī 6862** is another multitext volume that was transcribed by al-Afandī and contains a substantial set of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, correspondingly to items 1–34, and 39 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914. Ms. Qum, Marāšī 6862 thus represents another witness of the 574 [1179] codex. It includes the following works:

2. (fols 16r–v) *Mas’ala fi ġawāz nikāh al-mutʿa* (mas’ala ġaraqat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
3. (fols 16v–17r) *Mas’ala fi šīqāt al-bay’* (mas’ala ġaraqat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
4. (fol. 17r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid* (mas’ala ġaraqat fī šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);
5. (fols 17r–v) *Mas’ala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā*;
6. (fols 17v–18r) *Mas’ala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī ru’yat al-hilāl*;

**Urmawī al-Naḡāfī** (d. ca. 1353 [1950–51]), and preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8110** (dated Dū l-Qaʿda 1346 [April–May 1928]; figs 296, 297). We were unable to inspect the codex in its entirety and it is unclear which other works it includes. Al-Urmawī was particularly interested in ḥadīṯ. Among his *mustansaḥāt*, most of which are preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8133**, consisting of his transcriptions of early Imāmī collections of ḥadīṯ, or *uṣūl* (fols 349, 350); for this genre, see Kohlberg, “*Al-Uṣūl al-arbaʿumiʾa*”. Al-Urmawī also transcribed some writings of al-Mufīd, such as his *al-Masāʾil al-al-ʿUkbarīyya* (dated 1327 [1909]; see al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, *al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbarīyya*, p. 9 [introduction]), his *Awā’il al-maqālāt* (dated 25 Šaʿbān 1352 [13 December 1933]; see al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, *Awā’il*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 16 [introduction]), and his *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya* (see al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, ed. Dargāhī, p. 5 [introduction]). **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7940** is a copy of al-Mufīd’s *Masāʾir al-Šīʿa*. Though the scribe does not identify himself, the hand suggests that this codex was also transcribed by al-Urmawī (fig. 351). For Muḥammad Ḩusayn al-Urmawī, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāṭ aʿlām al-Šīʿa: Nuqabāʾ al-bašar fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿašar*, vol. 2, p. 893 no. 33. For a copy of the *Mas’ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar* transcribed by Ḥabīb al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-ʿAqīl al-Ṭabriẕī al-Naḡaffī (d. 1390 [1971]), the renowned author of *al-ʿAqīl*, see above, n. 96.

*Urmawī al-Naḡaffī* (d. ca. 1353 [1950–51]), and preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8110** (dated Dū l-Qaʿda 1346 [April–May 1928]; figs 296, 297). We were unable to inspect the codex in its entirety and it is unclear which other works it includes. Al-Urmawī was particularly interested in ḥadīṯ. Among his *mustansaḥāt*, most of which are preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8133**, consisting of his transcriptions of early Imāmī collections of ḥadīṯ, or *uṣūl* (fols 349, 350); for this genre, see Kohlberg, “*Al-Uṣūl al-arbaʿumiʾa*”. Al-Urmawī also transcribed some writings of al-Mufīd, such as his *al-Masāʾil al-al-ʿUkbarīyya* (dated 1327 [1909]; see al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, *al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbarīyya*, p. 9 [introduction]), his *Awā’il al-maqālāt* (dated 25 Šaʿbān 1352 [13 December 1933]; see al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, *Awā’il*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 16 [introduction]), and his *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya* (see al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, ed. Dargāhī, p. 5 [introduction]). **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7940** is a copy of al-Mufīd’s *Masāʾir al-Šīʿa*. Though the scribe does not identify himself, the hand suggests that this codex was also transcribed by al-Urmawī (fig. 351). For Muḥammad Ḩusayn al-Urmawī, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāṭ aʿlām al-Šīʿa: Nuqabāʾ al-bašar fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿašar*, vol. 2, p. 893 no. 33. For a copy of the *Mas’ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar* transcribed by Ḥabīb al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-ʿAqīl al-Ṭabriẕī al-Naḡaffī (d. 1390 [1971]), the renowned author of *al-ʿAqīl*, see above, n. 96.

760 For an incomplete description of the codex, see also Marāšī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi ‘Umāmi-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡaffī-yi Marāšī*, vol. 18, pp. 50–57.
7. (fols 18r–19r) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
8. (fols 19r–v) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
9. (fol. 19v) Masʿala fi walad al-bint;
10. (fols 19v–20v) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
11. (fols 20v) al-Farq bayna naqas (or naqis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
12. (fols 20v–21v) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ǧafāf;
13. (fols 21v) Masʾala fī walad al-bint raḍiya Ilāh ḍanū ḍin l-ṣumūlat Kitāb “al-ʿUmad” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid];
21. (fols 28v–29v) Masʿala waḏīza fi l-gayba. This tract, by anonymous author, is introduced as follows: waḏādtu fi kutubihi raḥimahu Ilāh ḍanū ḍin l-ṣumūlat masʿala waḏīza fi l-gayba lá a-lam min kalām man hiya fa-katabthā ala waḏīza wa-hiya . . . ;
23. (fols 35r–36r) Masʾala fī waḏīza wa-dāʿa annahā aṣl lī-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
24. (fols 36r–37r) Masʿala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
25. (fols 37r–38r) Masʾala fi kalimat al-dāt layṣa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
26. (fols 37r–v) Kawn al-şifa bi-l-fāʾil;
27. (fols 37v–38r) al-Ǧawhar là yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-maʾnā;
29. (fols 38v–39v) Masʿala ʿan waḏīza wa-dāʿa annahā aṣl lī-l-ʿālam = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
30. (fols 38v–39r) Masʿala fi waḏīza wa-dāʿa annahā aṣl lī-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
31. (fol. 39v) al-Dalīl ḍanū ḍin waḏīza wa-dāʿa annahā aṣl lī-l-ʿālam = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
32. (fols 39r–40r) Daʕ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi baʕt al-anbiyāʕ;
33. (fols 40r–41r) Masʕala fi l-alam wa-wuʕūh al-ḥusn fihi;
34. (fols 41r–42v) Masʕala fi ɗikr anwāʕ al-άrāʕ wa-aqsāmih wa-funūn aḥkāmih;
35. (fols 42v–45r) Masʕala fi bayān aḥkām ah l-āḥira.

Among the other works included in Ms. Qum, Marʕašī 6862 is al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī’s Amal al-āmil (fols 113v–287v; figs 263, 264). This text is written by another hand, but al-Afandī added extensive taʕlīqāt to the work. In addition, al-Afandī mentions having seen copies of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including the Ĝurar and the Takmilat Ĝurar al-fawāʕid and his commentary on the Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba, that had been transcribed from an antigraph dated 554 [1159], as well as of his al-Muqnić

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761 See also Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s introduction to his edition of al-Afandī’s Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʕ, vol. 1, pp. 23, 29. The codex later came into the possession of Rayḥān Allāh b. Ğaʕfar Mūsawī Dārābī Kašfī (b. ca. 1266 [1849–50], d. 1328 [1910]), the son of the renowned Ğaʕfar Kašfī (b. 1189 [1775–76], d. 1267 [1850–51]). Rayḥān Allāh had an important collection of manuscripts that was later given to the Marʕašī Library (described in Marʕašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naǧafī-yi Marʕašī, vols 32 and 36) and to the Maǧlis Library. His ownership statement is visible in the upper left corner of the codex’s title page (fig. 262). Other codices from his library include Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 14505, a multitext codex containing various writings by al-Mufīd as well as al-Radd ʿalā l-Ṣadūq fī l-sahw (i.e., Ĝawāb al-hārīr fī sahw al-nabī Ġalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt) attributed to al-Mufīd (see fol. 3r, table of contents; for a discussion of the tract’s authorship, see Chapter Four of the present publication). Another codex that originally belonged to his library is Ms. Qum, Marʕašī 113, containing a copy of Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal’s Fadāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminin ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. In both cases, Rayḥān Allāh’s ownership statement is placed in the outer left margin of the first recto folio of the codex. For Rayḥān Allāh, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: Nuqabāʾ al-bašar fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿašar, vol. 2, pp. 790–791 no. 1285; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, ‘Ulamā-i ʿahd-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Šāh Qāǧār, pp. 83–84 no. 100. Al-Afandī’s taʕlīqāt on Amal al-āmil were published twice, first as part of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition of his Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʕ, especially to cover the lost portions of the latter work (Qum 1403 [1982–83]), and again independently under the title Taʕlīqat Amal al-āmil in the edition of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawari (Qum 1410 [1989–90]).

762 See, for example, al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʕ, vol. 2, pp. 30, 40, 47 n. 1.

763 Al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʕ, vol. 2, p. 217–218. The copy of 554 AH was transcribed by one al-Șayḥ Ḥumayd al-Naḡgār. He is possibly the father of the renowned Imāmī scholar Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī. See Abī Šāma al-Maqdisī, al-Rawdatayn fī aḫbār al-dawlatayn, al-Rawdatayn fī aḥbār al-dawlatayn, vol. 3, p. 307, where the author quotes Ibn Abī Ṭayy saying that his father, Ḥumayd al-Naḡgār, was in Mawsil in 555 AH. See also ibid., vol. 3, p. 169 where his name is given as Abū Ͳayy al-Naḡgār. Ibn Abī Ṭayy also mentions his father in his biography of Ibn Šahrāšūb in his ᴥaẗi; see Ibn Abī Ṭayy, ᴥaẗi, p. 85. See also Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Muntaḥab, p. 59, where Ibn Abī Ṭayy cites the Muḫtār faḍāʾil ah l-bayt of his father. Ibn Abī Ṭayy also mentions his father on various other occasions in the Muntaḥab; see ibid., pp. 64, 66, 82, 328.
fi l-gayba and of al-Fuṣūl al-muṭṭāra min al-Uyūn wa-l-mahāsīn, the latter two in the library (ḫizāna) of al-ṣayḥ Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (b. 650 [1252–53], d. 735 [1334]), the eponymous founder of the Safavid Sufi order, in Ardabil.764 Through Hibat Allāh al-Mūsawi’s al-Maḥmūdī al-rāʾiq, al-Afandī also had access to al-Murtaḍā’s Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal.765 There is nothing to suggest that al-Afandī had seen a copy of either of al-Murtaḍā’s theological summae, K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ or K. al-Ḏaḫīra.766 Furthermore, al-Afandī relates, on the basis of a note he found in a Risāla fī uṣūl al-dīn by one Āmīr (abbreviated for Āqā-Mīr) Murtaḍā al-Māzandarānī, that al-Murtaḍā had written a commentary on the Ğumal;767 this note is apparently the earliest reference to an autocommentary.768 Al-Afandī also owned a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Intiṣār.769 In addition, he reports having once possessed a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ḏarīʿa fī uṣūl al-šarīʿa, which he subsequently lost or gave away (qad kānat ʿindī minhu nusḫa ḫaraǧat min yadī), but that he later came across a superb old copy (nusḫa minhu ʿatīqa ṣaḥīḥa ḥiddan) in Astarābād among the books that had been endowed by al-amīr Šaraf al-

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764 See al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, pp. 39, 183; and al-Afandī, Taʿlīqat Amal al-āmil, p. 195, where he relates that he also owned a copy of the Muqni himself, and p. 201 (Fuṣūl). Al-Afandī’s description of the Fuṣūl is noteworthy, as the copy has been collated with an autograph copy. He adds that the copy contained balāḡ notes signed by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī; according to al-Afandī (Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, p. 183), al-Šayḫ Šams al-Dīn ‘Ali b. Kāmil b. Rīḍwān read the book with al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh. The latter might be identical with Ibn Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī, the author of al-Čarābūn ḥadīṯan fī ḥuqūq al-iḫwān; on him, see above, n. 192. For the mausoleum of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī, see Ṭarrāzī, Ḟarāḥat al-ḥizāna, vol. 1, pp. 330–331; Abe, “Mausoleums in Safavid Family History”. The holdings of Ṣafī al-Dīn’s former library are nowadays mostly in the possession of various libraries in Russia.


766 See, e.g., al-Afandī, Taʿlīqat Amal al-āmil, p. 194. See also p. 195, where al-Afandī mentions al-Murtaḍā’s Masāʾil mufradāt fī uṣūl al-fiqḥ (the identity of this work is unclear), which he remembers having seen in (IServiceCollection. His suggestion that this work might be identical with al-Murtaḍā K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fī l-ʿamal shows that he knew nothing about the Mulaḥḥaṣ.


768 Most likely referring to the commentary on the Ğumal al-ʿilm that was published in the edition of Yaʿqūb al-Ǧaʿfārī al-Marāḡī as Šarḥ Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal li-l-Ṣarīf al-Muṭṭāra Al-Ḥudā; see above, n. 112.

769 Al-Afandī, Taʿlīqat Amal al-āmil, p. 195.
Dīn ʿAlī al-Šūlastānī for the library of one Fath ʿAlī Bīk. The copy had been used for instruction; the individual lessons are indicated by balağa notes (kāna fī kull dars qad kutiba ʿalayhi “balağa qirā’atan”).

2.2 The “al-Fāḍil al-Hindi Codex” and its reception

The miscellanies of the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries that have been discussed so far show the extent to which some of the scholarly luminaries of the Safavid period—al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, his son “ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim” al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, and his great-grandson ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, as well as Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḡlīsī, ʿAbd Allāh al-Afandī, and Muḥammad Makkī b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ǧizzīnī—were engaged in transcribing, collecting, and studying al-Murtaḍā’s writings. Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 provides evidence that yet another leading scholar of the Safavid period was actively involved in the reception and transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre. The codex belonged to the library of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī “al-Fāḍil al-Hindī” (b. 1062 [1652], d. 1131 [1719]), as is indicated by his stamp on fol. 3r (fig. 172). In addition, the table of contents that is placed at the beginning of the maǧmūʿa (fol. 2r; fig. 173) mentions explicitly that al-Fāḍil al-Hindī added notes throughout the codex. The


771 For the date of his death, 25 Ramaḍān 1131 [11 August 1719], see Šubayrī Zanǧānī, Ġurar-yi az daryā, vol. 4, pp. 405–407.

772 The codex has additional ownership statements and stamps that inform us of its later history. On fol. 3r (fig. 172) there is an ownership statement dated 1165 [1751–52], and fol. 2r (fig. 173) carries additional stamps and an undated ownership statement. A later owner, Muḥammad b. Ṣādiq al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaḏī (b. 1257 [1841], d. 1339 [1920–21]), a prominent leader of the Iranian constitutional revolution, added his ownership statement, dated 19 Dū l-Qaḍa 1333 [28 September 1915], in several places in the codex; see fol. 6r (fig. 174), 27r, 58r, 83r, 113r, 128r, 210r, 243r, 261r, 366r. In 1375 [1955–56], according to a stamp on fol. 1r (fig. 175), ʿIrāq Ǧinābī Gīlānī presented the codex as a waqf to the Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris in Tehran. Muḥammad b. Ṣādiq al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaḏī was also the owner of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 1044, which contains an incomplete copy of al-Murtaḍā’s Gurar. He added ownership notes in a similar interlinear fashion to that codex. For the codex, see above, Chapter 1.4.
codex was transcribed by several hands, and it may well be that al-Fāḍil al-Hindī commissioned the respective scribes to copy individual works as he encountered them. That the maǧmūʿa testifies to an elaborate process of collecting is also suggested by the generous amount of space left blank wherever there was a lacuna in the antigraph, as in al-Tubbāniyyāt (item 6) and other texts (see items 14, 16, 26, 69). Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī may have hoped to come across other copies of those texts that would have allowed him to complete the respective texts in his copy.\(^{773}\)

The codex, which consists of 380 leaves, reflects the well-known earlier clusters discussed above. Items 1 through 6 are copied from Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, but as in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Qā‘in, Madrasa-yi Ǧaʿfariyya 140; and many later apographs of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I and al-Sallāriyyāt have been omitted. Items 773

Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī is also attested to have had other works by al-Murtaḍā in his library, namely, the K. Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal. A rich source that allows reconstruction of parts of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s personal library is a letter by Mullā Ǧūl Faqār Īsfahānī, a student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī, addressed to al-Maǧlisī, with recommendations on what to include in a revised and enlarged recension of his Biḥār. The letter contains lists of important titles, by Šīʿī and non-Šīʿī authors alike, that its author felt should be taken into consideration. In many cases he mentions the owners of particular titles, including many luminaries of the time. Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s library is mentioned more frequently than any other in the letter, and close to thirty book titles are attributed to it. Of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, copies of the K. Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal and the K. al-Intiṣār are mentioned among the books in al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s library. See al-Maǧlisī, Biḥār, n.d. ed., vol. 107, pp. 165–179, esp. p. 167. For Mullā Ǧūl Faqār, see al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 3, p. 111; al-Qazwīnī, Tatmīm, p. 149. Another rich source for al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s library is al-Afandī’s Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ. For al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s library, see also Ǧaʿfariyān, “Kitābḫāna-yi šaḫṣī-yi Fāḍil-i Hindī, “p. 8; Ǧaʿfariyān, Aḥwāl wa āṯār-i Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, pp. 36–38. Additional codices from al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s library include Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9579, a copy of Mullā Muḥammad Amin al-Astarābādī’s (d. 1036 [1626]) al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyya, which carries an ownership statement in al-Fāḍil’s hand on the title page, followed by his stamp, as well as ḥawāšī throughout the text and a collation note at the end (figs 171a, 171b, 171c). Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10192 is a copy of Nihāyat al-marām by al-ʿAllāma al-Hillī, copied in the hand of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. The latter also added a collation note at the end, dated Šawwāl 1091 [October–November 1680] (figs 171d, 171e). Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 2750, containing the K. Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal of al-Šahīd al-Awwal, has al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s stamp on pp. 3 and 4. Moreover, according to the codex’s title page, the manuscript later came into the possession of Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl, who is, most likely Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī (figs 171g, 171h, 171i). Ms. Ǧiyāḍ, Ǧāmiʿat Ǧiyāḍ 1865, containing Ǧār Allāh al-Zamaḫšarī’s exegetical work, al-Kaṣṣāf, also belonged to the library of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. The upper margin of fol. 8r has al-Fāḍil’s characteristic ownership note (fig. 171f). See also below, n. 838.
8 through 13, as well as 17 through 25, consist of material that was included in the 574 [1179] codex, and the arrangement of the individual texts resembles by and large the sequence characteristic of this cluster, although the approach of the redactor of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex was much more selective. Unusual is the inclusion of al-Rāziyyāt (item 7), which is rarely found in any of the earlier miscellanies, and according to the colophon the antigraph is dated 1089 [1678].

Even more remarkable is a comprehensive building block that covers roughly the second half of the codex (items 26 through 69). The majority of these texts, which consist of exegetical material, as well as tracts discussing specific legal and doctrinal issues, are not attested in any of the earlier miscellanies that have been inspected. Some were included in al-Murtaḍā’s Takmilat al-Ğurar, while others were part of the 574 [1179] codex, and these are accordingly included twice in the present codex: Mas’ala fi l-‘amal ma’ala l-sulṭān (items 22 and 28), Mas’ala fi l-manāmāt (items 25 and 29), Mas’ala fimā yuhbir bihi l-munaǧǧūmūn (items 12 and 32). The block also contains four of the five responsa of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Muḥammadīyyāt (items 63, 64, 65, 67). Moreover, the codex includes al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (item 11), while item 26 again consists of responsum 22 from al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III. Items 70 through 74 constitute another building block, written in a different hand than the previous block of texts. Item 70 is Mas’ala fi ibtāl al-‘amal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād, which is again transmitted on the basis of al-Šahid al-Ţānī’s copy of the text (see the colophon on fol. 370r; fig. 177). It is followed by a block consisting of abbreviated versions of four responsa by al-Murtaḍā, with occasional critical comments by the anonymous redactor, introduced with “min al-Masāʾil al-Maqdisiyyāt” (item 73). The block ends with a brief colophon suggesting that the entire block was transmitted

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774 Additional copies of the Rāziyyāt are included in a composite codex dated 1056 [1646], which is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3694/5 (fols 30r–37r) and on which see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitāb-hāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naqaft-yi Marʿašī, vol. 10, p. 93; and in Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 14673, fols 147v–154r. According to Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitāb-hāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naqaft-yi Marʿašī, vol. 37, p. 154, the entire codex, which contains works by Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, al-Karāḡīkī, and al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (fig. 176), was copied in 1233 [1817–18] by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad Saʿīd Ḫwandār. It also contains another copy of the spurious al-Muqaddima fi usūl al-dīn (fols 174r–175v; see also below, n. 818); see also ibid., p. 157. For another copy of al-Rāziyyāt, see above, n. 740. Further, ‘Īz-al-Dīn Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥilli al-ʿĀmilī (fl. eighth/fourteenth century) mentions in his Muḥṭaḍar (p. 86) al-Murtaḍā’s view on the question of raḥ’a, possibly on the basis of the latter’s al-Rāziyyāt (mas’ala 8). For al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥilli, see Ansari, “Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥilli wa ʿajāraš”; Rizvi, “Esoteric Shi‘i Islam in the Later School of al-Ḥilla”; it is noteworthy that Rizvi fails to mention the Muḥṭaḍar among the works of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥilli in this study on him.
from al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (fol. 380v; fig. 178): kutubat hāḏīhi l-masāʾil min | ḥaṭṭ ḥātimat al-mu gettextahīdīn al-Šayḫ Zayn al-Dīn [. . .]. The codex in its present form contains the following writings:

1. (fols 4v–26r) Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr. The text concludes with a colophon (fig. 179) pointing to Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 as its antigraph: tamma l-kitāb bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-mannihi wa-ḥusn tawfīqihi wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh . . . The date corresponds to the date of completion of this work in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, except for the year—666 is clearly an error, the correct year being 676;

2. (fols 26r–47v) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II. That the title of this responsa collection (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāniya) agrees with the title as given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-ṯāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr) suggests that this work and all the other works in this codex that are also included in the Mašhad codex were directly copied from the latter. Most later copies of the Mawṣiliyyāt identify al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II as al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāliṯa and al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I as al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāniya (see above);

3. (fols 47v–57r) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I. The title given for this work, al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāliṯa, (fols 47v, 48r; figs 180, 181) is again in agreement with Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, against the later convention (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṯāniya). The work ends with a colophon dated 11 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧga 676 [5 May 1278] (fig. 182), which agrees with the date provided in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;

4. (fols 57r–66r) al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt. The work ends with a colophon dated 28–30 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧga 676 [22–24 May 1278] (fig. 183), which agrees with the date provided in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;

5. (fols 66r–67v) Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā. In contrast to the copy of this work in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (in its current state), the copy of the work in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex is complete. The colophon (fig. 184) is undated and contains no indication of the antigraph;

6. (fols 67v–111r) al-Tabbāniyyāt. This work, too, has been copied on the basis of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, as is evident from the wording on the title page (fig. 184) and the date given in the colophon (fig. 185). The scribe of this copy, unlike those of most other copies of the work, was alert to the many lacunae throughout the text, and he left ample space
after each interruption for future additions. The first lacuna occurs on fol. 69v (fig. 186), with the remaining space on the page and fols 70r–v and 71r–v left blank. The second lacuna begins on fol. 75v (fig. 187), and the remainder of this page, fol. 76r and the first half of fol. 76v (fig. 188) have also been left blank. A third lacuna stretches from fol. 80r to fol. 81r. Fols 108r–v and 109r (figs 189, 190, 191) display the familiar lacunae caused by damage to fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;

7. (fols 112r–124v) al-Rāziyyāt. This text is written by a different hand and it concludes with a colophon dated 20 Ǧumādā I 1089 [10 July 1678], most probably the date of the antigraph (fig. 192);

8. (fols 125r–150r) al-Rassiyyāt I. The work opens on fol. 125r (fig. 193) with an indication of its title and author and a brief note on Abū l-Ḥusayn [sic] al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī [sic] al-Rassī, who had posed the questions to al-Murtaḍā. The note is written by the same hand that added the table of contents to the beginning of the codex (fol. 2r; fig. 173), but the work itself seems to be written by yet another hand. The colophon (fols 149v–150r; figs 194, 195) does not indicate the antigraph used;

9. (fols 150r–152v) al-Rassiyyāt II. Again, the colophon (fig. 196) does not indicate which antigraph was used;

10. (fols 153r–170r) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II;

11. (fols 170r–201r) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III;

12. (fols 201r–205r) Masʾala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;

13. (fols 205r–207r) Masʾala fī tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt. The final page of this text (fol. 207r; fig. 197) is written by another hand;

14. [(fols 208r–v) Fol. 207v has been left blank, but fols 208r–v contain the final section of al-Mufīd’s al-Masāʾil al-Šāgāniyya (the beginning of the text corresponding to p. 146:1 of the edition);]

15. [(fols 208v–223r) al-Masāʾil al-Sarawiyya, by al-Mufīd. From fol. 209r onwards, the text is copied by the same hand that transcribed item 7. The text ends with a dated colophon that has been crossed out (fig. 198);]

16. [(fols 223r–241r). al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariyya, by al-Mufīd. The final page of this item is again written in a different hand (fig. 199), and the next two pages (fols 241v, 242r) have been left blank;]

17. (fols 242v–245r) Masʾala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira;
18. (fols 245r–250v) Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istiḍlāl ‘alayhim;
21. (fols 252v–253r) Masʿala fi l-istiṣnāʿ;
22. (fols 253r–255v) Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān;
23. (fols 255v–256r) Masʿala fi waʿgḥ al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿīd bi-l-ḫulūd kāffat al-kuffar;
24. (fol. 256r) Masʿala fi waʿgḥ al-takrār fī l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
25. (fols 256r–257v) Masʿala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
26. (fols 257v–258r) responsum 22 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III. At the end of the text a larger block seems to end (fig. 200), followed by two blank pages (fols 258v, 259r);
27. (fols 259v–268r) A collection of brief tracts, some fragmentary: (a) Maʾnā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-ʿaql fī l-nisāʾ (fols 259v–260r); (b) Maʾnā qawlihi ἀlayhi l-salām “Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥaḡar” (fol. 260r); (c) Waʿgḥ nahy al-nabi ʿallā hā ʿalayhi wa-ʿalīhi wa-sallam ‘an ʿakl al-ṭūm (fols 260r–v); (d) Masʿala fi waʿgḥ istiṣgāf ʿrāhīm ἀlayhi l-salām li-ʿabīhi [Q 14:41] (fols 260v–261r); (e) Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ǧinnī fī ḥaḍf ʿalāmat al-taʾnīṯ (fols 261r–v); (e) Masʿala fi l-ġins wa-l-nasab (fols 261v–262r); (f) Tafsīr qawlihi ἀlayhi l-salām “Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika” [Q 20:129] (fol. 262r); (g) Hukm amwāl al-sulṭān (fols 262v); (h) Hukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām (fols 262r–v); (i) Ġawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḫar (fols 262v); (j) Ŝīḥḥat ḥaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi ἀlayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām (fols 262v–263r); (k) Ḥulm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafātihi aw qatlihi (fols 263v–263r); (l) Hukm ʿibādat walad al-zinā (fols 263v–264r; this tract, heavily abbreviated, is included again towards the end of the codex, as item 73); (m) Muṣāḥādat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi l-salām ḥabla ḥawla (fols 264v–265r); (n) Masʿala fi man yatawāla ǧusl al-imām (fols 264v–265v); (o) Masʿala fi bayān qawlihi ʿallā ḥaʾ ᾀ ᾄ ḡi ᾔ ḍi ᾔ ṣi ᾣ ʿAlī ka-hāṭayn (fols 265v–266r); (p) Masʿala fi l-raġʿa min ḣumlāl al-Dīmaṣqīyyāt (fols 266r–268r);
28. (fols 268r–270v) Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān;
29. (fols 270v–273v) Masʿala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
32. (fols 284r–289v) Mas’ala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaḫǧīmūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
33. (fols 289v–291v) Mas’ala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubh al-ʿaqli;
34. (fol. 291v) Mas’ala: al-murād min al-ṣāʿiqa wa-l-raǧfa fī l-ʿayatayn [Q 41:13 and 29:37];
35. (fols 291v–292r) Mas’ala fī kayfiyyat naǧāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik;
36. (fols 292r–293r) Masʿala: al-murād min al-ṣāʿiqa wa-l-raǧfa fī l-āyatayn [Q 41:13 and 29:37];
37. (fols 293r–294r) Masʾala fī ḫalq al-afʿāl;
38. (fols 294r–298v) Masʾala fī ḫalq al-afʿāl;
42. (fols 301v–302r) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-iḏ naǧǧaynā min āl Firʿawn yasūmūnakum sūʾa l-ʿaḏāb” [Q 2:49];
45. (fols 303v–306r) Masʾala fī l-iǧmāʿ;
46. (fols 306r–v) Min kalām ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām yatabarraʾ min al-ẓulm;
47. (fols 306v–312v) Masʾala fī ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt;
48. (fols 312v–315v) Faṣl fī aqāwil al-ʿarab fī l-ḡahiliyya;
49. (fols 315v–316r) Faṣl: istadalla ǧumhūr al-muslimīn ʿalā anna l-samāwāt sabʿa wa-anna l-araḍīn sabʿa;
50. (fols 316r–317r) Faṣl fī ǧikr maḏāhib ahl al-aṣnām wa-ǧikr buyūt al-nīrān al-muʿaẓẓama;
51. (fols 317r–328v) Ġawāb al-masāʾil al-wārida min Ṭabaristān (= al-Ṭabarīyyāt);
52. (fols 329v–331r) Masʾala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḥayr min ‘amalihi”;
53. (fols 331r–332r) Masʾala fi Fadak;
54. (fols 332r–333r) Faṣl fi l-ġayba;
55. (fols 333r–v) Faṣl: wa-suʿīla radiya llāh ʿanhu ‘an al-ḥāl baʿda imām al-zamān ‘alayhi l-salām fil-imāma fa-qāla ... This text is followed by Ḥawla ḥabar “Naḥnu maʾāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṯ mā taraknāhu šadaqa” (fol. 333v)775 without any indication of the start of a new text, although the subject matter is entirely different. Moreover, the opening words of the second tract, wa-sumiʿa minhu raḍiya llāh ʿanhu yaqūl, suggest that the tract originated in a maǧlis context. It may have been transmitted together with other fragmentary material and assumed to be part of the previous tract;
57. (fols 335v–336r) Masʾala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima ʿalayhā l-salām;
58. (fols 336r–337r) Masʾala fi tazwiǧ Umm Kulṯūm;
59. (fols 337r–339v) Masʾala fi ʿillat mubāyaʿat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr;
60. (fols 339v–341v) Masʾala fi l-ġawāb ʿan al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḫabar al-Ġadīr. The text concludes with a comment, hāḏīhi l-ġumla kāfya fi ǧawāb hāḏīhi l-masāʾil, suggesting that this is the final responsum of a collection of responsa. This impression is further corroborated by the opening words of the query: “Wa-saʾalā ayyān wa-qālā ...”. Item 59 may possibly belong to the same work on the notion of imāma. It also opens with the words “Wa-saʾalā ayyān wa-qālā ...,” indicating that it belongs to a collection of responsa and that it cannot be the first query. The authenticity of items 59 and 60 is confirmed by cross-references to the K. al-Šāfī (items 59 and 60) and the K. al-Ḏaḫīra (item 59);
61. (fols 341v–346v) Masʾala fi irṭ al-awlād;
63. (fols 348r–349r) Masʾala fi istilām al-ḥaǧar = responsum 2 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt;

775 This ḥadīṯ was also discussed in a more detailed manner by al-Mufīd; see al-Mufīd, Risāla ḥawla ḥadīṯ “Naḥnu maʾāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṭu”.
66. (fols 352r–354r) Masʾala fi nafy al-ǧiha wa-l-ruʾya;
68. (fols 355r–364r) “Masāʾil ʿan al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā fī āy min mutašābih al-Qurʾān” = Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mīʾa wa-ḫams wa-ʿišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara;
69. (fols 364r–v) al-Masʾala al-ṯāniya min al-masāʾil [. . .] fī ḥaqīqat al-ǧawhar = responsum 2 of al-Ramliyyāt;
70. (fols 365v–370r) Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād;
71. (fols 370r–374v) Masʾala fi ʿillat imtināʿ ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām ʿan muḥārabat al-ġāṣibīn li-ḥaqqihi baʿda l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam;
72. (fols 374v–376v) Masʾala fi man yatawallā ǧusl al-imām;

Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī’s interest in al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre is also manifested in his al-Kawkab al-durrī fī tafsīr al-āyāt al-muntaḫaba min Ġurar al-fawāʾid, which is primarily based, as the title indicates, on al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar, including the Takmila, and also contains extensive exegetical passages from the latter’s Tanzīḥ al-anbiyāʾ wa-
aʾimma, to which al-Fāḍil al-Hindi has added his own elaborations, occasionally criticizing al-Murtaḍā’s views.\footnote{Ed. Şahib Malakūtī. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 106, 130.}

**Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374** seems partly related to Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 (the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex). This miscellany of writings by al-Murtaḍā was written by two different hands. Pages 188–366 were transcribed by ʿAbd al-Riḍā al-Kāẓimī in 1095 [1684] and have been discussed above. The remaining, undated, parts of the codex, pp. 1–177 and 367–425, were copied by another, unidentified hand. Pages 1–177 represent a well-known cluster, consisting of five responsa collections, which are based (directly or, more likely, indirectly) on Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, al-Sallāriyyāt being the only work that has been omitted:

1. (pp. 1–101) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. The same portion of the Tabbāniyyāt that can also be found in all other later copies of the ṭarābulusiyyāt I has been interpolated into this copy;
2. (pp. 91–101) al-Masʾala fi l-insān = responsum 4 of al-Ramlīyyāt. The text breaks off at the same location as in all other copies. Unlike the other copies, however, the present copy presents this masʾala as part of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I as “al-masʾala al-sādisa ʿašra”;
3. (pp. 103–119) al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt;
4. (pp. 121–138) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I;
5. (pp. 139–177) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II.

Pages 367–425 contain shorter quae stiones by al-Murtaḍā. These are opened by a basmala (p. 367; fig. 201) suggesting that the copyist or redactor of this building block considered them to constitute a unit in their own right. The entire block is identical to items 27 through 38 of Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, and the latter codex may possibly have served as antigraph for this part of the Burūḡirdī codex. Some of the texts are slightly abbreviated here, and item 35 of Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 is not included, precluding the possibility that the Burūḡirdī codex could have served as an antigraph for the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex. This section consists of the following texts:

6. (pp. 367–377) A collection of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa = item 27 in Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
7. (pp. 378–381) Masʾala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān = item 28 in Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;

\[331\]
8. (pp. 381–386) Masʾala fi l-manāmāt = item 29 in Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
9. (pp. 386–396) Masʾala fi ʿadam wuḏūb ḍasl al-riḡlayn fi l-ṭahāra = item 30 in Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
11. (pp. 402–410) Masʾala fimā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧūmūn = item 32 in Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
12. (pp. 410–413) Masʾala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubẖ al-ʿaqlī = item 33 in Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
15. (pp. 414–416) Masʾala fi l-mash ʿalā l-ḥuffayn = item 37 in Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
16. (pp. 416–419) Masʾala fi ḫalq al-afʿāl = a slightly abbreviated version of item 38 in Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427.

**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149** contains a miscellany of writings by al-Murtaḍā (fols 74–140) that also seems to be based on Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427. With the exception of item 12, which is also part of the 574 [1179] codex, all of the included works belong to a different cluster that is attested exclusively in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex, items 51 through 68. With some exceptions, the sequence of the individual tracts also agrees with that in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex, and occasionally the individual tracts are truncated. The miscellany contains no colophon that would allow determination of the date of the copy or the identity of its scribe.

1. (fols 74r–89v) Ġawāb al-masāʾil al-wārida min Ṭabaristān (= al-Ṭabariyyāt) = Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 317r–328v;
2. (fols 89v–92v) Masʿala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḥayr min ʿamalihi” = Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 329v–331r;
3. (fols 92v–94r) Masʿala fi Fadak = Ms. Tehran, Dāništān-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 331r–332r;

332
4. (fols 94r–95r) Faṣl fī l-ġayba = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 332r–333r;
7. (fols 98v–99v) Masʿala fī tazwīq Umm Kulṭūm = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 336r–337r;
17. (fols 132v–133v) Masʿala: fa-mā al-wāḥf fī qawlīhi taʿālā “Al-hamd li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn”. This text, as well as items 18–21 below, are excerpted from Tafsīr
sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī’a wa-ʿišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 355r–364r;
18. (fols 133v–134r) Mas’ala: fa-mā al-waḡh fī qawlihi taʿālā “Al-ḥamd li-l-lāh”;
19. (fols 134r–135r) Mas’ala: fa-mā al-waḡh fī qawlihi taʿālā “Malik yawm al-dīn” [incomplete at the end];
20. (fols 135r–v) Mas’ala: fa-mā al-waḡh fī qawlihi taʿālā “Iyyāka naʿbudu wa-iyyāka nastaʿīnu”;
21. (fol. 135v) Mas’ala: fa-in qīla: mā ankartum an yakūn amruhu lanā… [incomplete at the end];

Occasionally one encounters miscellanies containing writings by al-Murtaḍā that do not fit into any of the widely attested clusters discussed so far. These codices show alternative ways in which the writings of al-Murtaḍā were transmitted and consumed:

Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471 is an example of this category. It is a multitext volume containing sixteen texts by a variety of authors, transcribed by Muḥammad Hāšim b. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī between 1084 [1674] and 1086 [1675–76] in Mašhad.778 One of the texts that originated with al-Murtaḍā, item 6 (pp. 253: Šawwāl 1086 [December 1675–January 1676]). The copyist’s name and the place are disclosed in a colophon to item 13, containing “al-Ḥikāyāt” (p. 327; fig. 473), dated 5 Muḥarram 1084 [22 April 1673]. The scribe adds that his copy is based on a holograph, with one intermediary (ittafaqā l-farāq min intisāḥihi min nusḫa muṣahḥa ṣuqūba bi-nusḫat al-aṣl ʿatīqa). Nusḫat al-aṣl most likely refers to al-Murtaḍā’s “al-Ḥikāyāt,” which is a portion of his Fuṣūl; see Chapter 1.8 of the present publication. Item 13 is preceded by al-Mufīd’s Awāʾil, suggesting that the combination of the Awāʾil and “al-Ḥikāyāt” had started at a very early stage. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471 has not been consulted so far for any edition of the Awāʾil. It might be related to one of the copies consulted for al-Mufīd, Awāʾil, ed. al-Anṣārī (nusḫat yā’). Nor has Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471 been consulted by Muhammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī for his edition of “al-Ḥikāyāt.” Dates are also given at the end of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, item 5 (p. 253: Šawwāl 1086 [December 1675–January 1676]); item 7 (p. 267: Šawwāl 1086 [December 1675–January 1676]); item 10 (p. 285: Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1086 [January–February 1676]); item 11 (p. 298: Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1086 [January–February 1676]). Muhammad Hāšim b. Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad also transcribed Šarḥ-i Šaḥīfa-yi saḡḡādiyya, a Persian translation of al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya. The copy, which he completed on 27 Šawwāl

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254–255) (figs 202, 203), is described in the table of contents, which has been added by a later reader on the opening page of the codex, as Čawāb al-masāʾil al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt by al-Murtaḍā. In fact, however, it consists of selections from three of al-Murtaḍā’s works. The text on p. 254:1–22, which is introduced by “qāla al-Murtaḍā ē firāsī amlāhā ē fi ṭarīq al-istidlāl ‘alā fūrūʿ al-Imāmiyya,” is an abbreviated version of his Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-istidlāl ʿalā furūʿ al-Imāmiyya. Lines 22 (i’ilam) to 26 are quoted as part of the same text, but this passage is in fact an interpolation from al-Murtaḍā’s Masʾala fī aṣālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy l-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl ‘alayhi. In the majority of witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, the two tracts follow one another and this is probably why the anonymous redactor of the epitome thought that the final paragraph he included still belonged to Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-istidlāl ʿalā furūʿ al-Imāmiyya. The epitomic character of the text is intentional, as indicated by the concluding statement, which reads intahā mā naqaltuhu mulaḫḫaṣan muḫtaṣaran min al-risāla al-maḏkūra (p. 254:26). Pages 254:26–255:33 contain al-Murtaḍā’s responsum to al-masʾala al-ḥādiya ʿašara on metempsychosis (musūḫ), which has been lifted from his al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II. The responsum is quoted in full, as is again indicated by the concluding phrase, which reads intahā kalāmuhu bi-lafẓihi (p. 255:33). All three texts were also part of the 574 [1179] codex, with Masʾala fī aṣālat al-barāʾa invariably following right after Masʾalat ṭarīq al-istidlāl, and the redactor who selected those materials may well have consulted one of the eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of that cluster.

Ms. Tehran, Maĝlis 8461 is a codex consisting of numerous ḥadīṯ works (kutub al-uṣūl), copied by Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Dalīzī al-Ḥamdawī al-Naḡafī. At the end of the codex, beneath the final colophon on p. 298 (fig. 203a), which is dated 1226 [1811], there is another title, announcing Risāla fī l-radd 1075 [13 May 1665], is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 23732; see Dirāyatī, Fihrīstwāra, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 64 no. 181746 (here the name of the scribe is mistakenly given as Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī).

See also below, Appendix 12, for a juxtaposition of the epitome with the full tract.

On him, see Āġā Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Kirām al-barara fī l-qarn al-tālīf ba’da l-ʿašara, vol. 3, p. 246 no. 371, with a list of other works that were copied in his hand; see similarly Āġā Buzurg, Ǧarīʿa, vol. 21, pp. 82–83 no. 4048. His son, Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. after 1247 [1832]) was also engaged in transcribing manuscripts; see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, Tarāǧim al-riǧāl, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 1, p. 297 no. 577; al-Ǧabūrī, Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ, vol. 2, p. 228 (with information on the family which is described here as urṣa adabiyya naḏafiyya ʿarīqa). For an example of a manuscript copied in his hand (Risāla fī l-ʿilm, by Šayḫ Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī, d. 1241 [1826]), see Āġā Buzurg, Ǧarīʿa, vol. 15, p. 315 no. 2018.
ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ʿadad (i.e., Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr) by al-Murtaḍā. The following page (p. 299; fig. 203b) contains the beginning of the tract, but the text ends abruptly in the present codex. Whether the remaining folios of the codex were lost or whether the copyist discontinued the text cannot be determined. However, Qāsim b. Muḥammad also transcribed in 1227 [1812] a codex containing al-Murtaḍā’s al-Tabbāniyyāt, al-Rāziyyāt, al-Rassāyyāt I, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III, al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiṣḥiyya I, al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiṣḥiyya II, al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt, Mas’ala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧimūn, and Risāla fī l-radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ʿadad (i.e., Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr), as well as the spurious Inqāḏ al-bašar. The codex is preserved as Ms. al-Kāẓimiyya, Ġāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26. Unless the scribe produced two maǧmūʿas, the possibility that the abovementioned truncated copy of the Risāla fī l-radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ʿadad (i.e., Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr) originated in the al-Kāẓimiyya codex and that the original volume included both the kutub al-uṣūl and a selection of al-Murtaḍā’s writings should not be excluded.

Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 14128 (fols 1v–97v), which belonged to the library of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makki b. Diyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ǧizzīnī,782 contains a copy of Hidāyat al-abrār ilā ṭarīq aʾimmat al-aṭhār by the Aḫbārī scholar Ḥusayn b. Šihāb al-Dīn al-Karakī (d. 1076 [1665–66]). The work concludes with a colophon that is dated 20 Ramaḍān 1095 [31 August 1684] and signed by Sayyid Masīḥ al-Ḥusaynī in Aurangabad, India (fol. 97v; fig. 145).783 It is followed by a selection of passages from works by al-Murtaḍā and other scholars on selected questions of uṣūl al-fiqh, primarily īǧtihād (fols 98r–105r; fig. 146). The copyist of these passages is clearly identical with that of the Hidāya, and the compilation ends with

781 See al-Dirāyatī, Muʿğam al-maḥfūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 1, pp. 344 no. 1573, 348 nos 1586 and 1588, 360 no. 1622, 361 no. 1624, 374 no. 1666, 375 no. 1668, 377 no. 1672; vol. 2, p. 823 no. 7926; vol. 5, p. 510 no. 19666; vol. 8, p. 90 no. 31452. See, however, Haddaw, Maḥṭūṭāt Ḫizānat Ġāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿilm, pp. 286–289 for a full description of the codex, which begins with Risāla fī ṣalāt al-musāfir wa-muddat al-iqāma fī ayy balad by an anonymous author, followed by Inqāḏ al-bašar and then thirteen uṣūl works. Next, the codex contains the abovementioned writings by al-Murtaḍā. The codex concludes with two works by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-baġdādiyya and Ġawābāt al-masāʾil al-ʿizziyya) and one work by Fahr al-Muḥaqiqīn, the son of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (al-Risāla al-Faḫriyya fī maʿrīfat al-niyya). According to Haddaw, the codex belonged to the library of al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Šadr.

782 See above, n. 740.

783 For the codex, see also the brief entry in Dirāyatī, Fīhrīstwāra, 1st ed., vol. 10, p. 1134 no. 297963.

Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 17380 is a maǧmūʿa transcribed by different hands and comprising numerous, primarily philosophical works by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908 [1504]), Mullā Šamsā (d. 1064 [1654]), Rafīʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Nāʾīnī al-Iṣfahānī “al-Mīrzā Rafīʿā” (b. 998 [1589–90], d. 1082 [1671–72]), and others. It also contains a heavily abbreviated version of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt (pp. 299–302 [the pages in the codex are upside down and in reverse order]; figs 204, 205, 206, 207).

Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1132 is the personal notebook of al-Sayyid al-Ṣādiq al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaǧī al-Ṭihrānī (d. 1300 [1883]) in which he wrote down short notices, poetry, excerpts from a wide variety of earlier writings, and at times entire texts.784 This notebook is particularly significant because the

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784 Compiling personal notebooks, which circulated under titles such as maǧmūʿ, ġung, safīna, bayād, sawād, taḏkira, kaškūl, and dastūr, was a common practice among scholars during the premodern period. These notebooks often preserve excerpts from works that are otherwise lost. Only a few compilations have so far been published and studied. Examples include Ibrahīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kafʿamī’s (alive in 898 [1492–93]) Maǧmūʿ al-ġarāʾib wa-mawḍūʿ al-raġāʾib (published; see bibliography), in which the author lists the books he had access to and quotes them extensively, as well as another notebook of his, Ḥadiqat al-nufūs wa-hiǧlat al-ʿarūs, which is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 897. The date of death, 905 AH, given for Ibrahīm b. ʿAlī al-Kafʿami by, for example, Āġā Buzurg (Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: Iḥyāʾ al-dāṯir min al-qarn al-ʿāšir, p. 6) is unreliable. Al-Afandī describes al-Kafʿami’s use of notebooks in his work in some detail; see al-Afandī, Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 1, pp. 21–25. See also Muhammad Husayn Hakim’s introduction to the 1394 [2015] publication of a facsimile of one of al-Kafʿami’s transcriptions of al-Ṣaḥīfa al-saṟḡādiyya (dated 867 AH), pp. 101–140 for al-Kafʿami’s biography, and pp. 162–167 for a description of Ms. Istanbul, Reisülküttab 897; see also above, n. 420. Al-Kafʿami’s brother, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḡabāʾī (b. 822 [1419], d. 866 [1461–62]), who was the great-grandfather of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʾĀmilī “al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī” (b. 953 [1547], d. 1030 [1621]), also produced a number of mustansaḫāt, including a copy of al-Ṣaḥīfa al-saṟḡādiyya, and he also compiled
family of al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaǧī is renowned for its exceptionally rich library which is said to have comprised some 1,400 manuscripts, these were eventually given to the Maǧlis library by al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaǧī’s grandson Muḥammad Ṣādiq (b. 1260š [1881], d. 1340š [1961]). Pages 129–131, 136 contain abbreviated renderings of masāʾil 11, 15, and 16 of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, followed by the opening words of Masʾala fī l-insān, this being responsum 4 of al-Ramliyyāt (p. 136), in addition to portions of masāʾil 2 and 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (pp. 137–138) (figs 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213).

Similar observations can occasionally be made also about writings erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḍā. Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 3758 consists of two parts transcribed by two different hands (fols 1–30, 31–87) that were only at a later stage brought together in a single volume. Part two (fols 31–87), whose beginning

several study notebooks; see Ḥakīm’s introduction to al-Šahīfa al-saǧǧādiyya, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 87–99. Three of Šams al-Dīn al-Ǧabāʿī’s notebooks are preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 8932, Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1795 and 1796, and Ms. Tehran, Malik 604. In them, he relies heavily on al-Šahid al-Awwal’s maǧāmīʿ; for the latter’s notebooks and their transmission, see also al-Muḥtārī, al-Šahīd al-Awwal, 1395 [2016] ed., pp. 486ff. Moreover, in Ms. Tehran, Maļģis 8932 and the much more comprehensive Ms. Tehran, Malik 604 (written by different hands, mostly by Šams al-Dīn al-Ǧabāʿī but occasionally by his son, his grandson, or his great-grandson, i.e. al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī), there are also excerpts from al-Murtaḍā and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Maļģis 8932, p. 192 (fig. 443), containing a quotation of al-Murtaḍā’s poetry, and Ms. Tehran, Malik 604, pp. 371–372 (fig. 444), quoting Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī on the basis of al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī’s Ḥaridat al-qāṣr. For the study notebook compiled by Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. Yūsuf b. al-Zanǧānī al-Mawṣilī, dated 15 Ǧumādā I 790 [22 May 1388] in Cairo, see above, n. 678. Other examples include the Kaškūl works by al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī and Yūsuf b. Ahmad al-Bahrānī (b. 1107 [1695–96], d. 1186 [1772]) (both published repeatedly). An example from the early thirteenth/eighteenth century is Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Šafīʿ Hazārǧarībī Ḥāʾirī’s (d. 1234 [1818]) Kaškūl, written between 1222 [1807–8] and 1227 [1812]; see Dānişpažūh, Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī, pp. 107–110. For additional examples, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, pp. 377–378. Ibn ʿAqīl’s K. al-Funūn (published; see bibliography) constitutes a subgenre, in that the compilation consists of both quotations from other works and his own comments and thoughts on the material.

On al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaǧī, see al-Kāẓimī, Aḥsan al-waḍīʿa, pp. 72–73 no. 30; Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizi,” ʿUlamāʿ-ı muʿāṣirin, pp. 11–12 no. 3; i’timād al-Salṭanā, ʿUlamāʿ-ı ʿaḥd-ı Nāṣir al-Dīn Šāh, pp. 57–59. For another member of the Sangalaǧī family, see also above, n. 772. For the history of the Maļģis Library and the various collections that were donated to it over time (including al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī’s), see Tārīḫča-yi Kiṭabḫāna-yi Maļģis-i Šūrā-yi Millī and Tārīḫča-yi Kiṭabḫāna-yi Maļģis.
and end are missing, contains Inqāḏ al-bašar, as well as an excerpt of §§13 through 15 of Maḏmū‘ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā fī funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl, which is not identified as such but was transcribed into the maǧmū‘a as a seemingly independent treatise by al-Murtaḍā.

2.3 The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The patterns encountered in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in the manuscript tradition of the eleventh/seventeenth century largely continued over the course of the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. They can be observed, by way of example, in five comprehensive miscellanies of his oeuvre, dating from 1116–17 [1704–6], 1119 [1707], 1234 [1818–19], 1266 [1849–50], and 1281 [1864–65], as well as in a sixth undated miscellany, all of which are described in detail below. Their contents show that the cluster based on the codex of 574 [1179] was most widely received, followed by the selection of texts included in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448. Only two cases reflect the


787 Ms. Tehran, Malik 593, presumably transcribed around 1125 [1713], is somewhat exceptional for the twelfth/eighteenth century in that it reflects only the cluster that was transmitted through Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448. The codex contains al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, al-Masʾala fī l-insān = responsum 4 of al-Ramliyyāt, al-Ṭabḵāniyyāt, al-Sallāriyyāt, Naḏq kalām ba’d man naṣara l-amāl bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr, al-Mawsiliyyāt al-Ṣalāriyyāt, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I, I, and al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt, followed by various writings by Muḥammad Šafīʿ b. Muḥammad ‘Ali b. Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Astarābādī (specifically his glosses on al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Ṣafī, which have been previously discussed) and by al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. For a description of the codex, see Afṣār and Dānišpāzūh, Fihrīst-i nuniša-hā-yi Ḵᵛāṭṭi-yi Kitābḵāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, vol. 5, pp. 92–98. See also figs 469 (containing a table of contents for the entire codex) and 470 (containing a list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and a table of contents for his al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I). Another important codex containing writings by al-Murtaḍā from both Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 and the 574 [1179] codex is Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 14254, which was produced by Zayn al-ʿAbidin b. Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥusayn al-Ṭaḥṣīnsārī al-Ḫawānī (b. 1192 [1778–79], d. 1275 [1858–59]), the father of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṭaḥṣīnsārī (b. 1226 [1811], d. 1313 [1895]), the author of Rawḍāt al-ṣanāt fī aḥwāl ḵawānī al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-sādāt. For a description of the relevant portions of the codex, which was not accessible to us, see Marʿašī et al., Fihrīst-i Kitābḵāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḵᵛāṭṭ-ī Ḵᵛāṭṭ-ī Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡfī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 36, pp. 68–73.
transmission of the cluster represented by the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex, Ms. Tehran, Dāniḡhā-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 (items 27–38):

The first example, **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340**, consists of writings by al-Murtaḍā that were included in the 574 [1179] codex. While the identity of the scribe remains unknown, colophons at the ends of items 7 and 35 indicate that the codex was written over the course of 1116 [1704–5] and 1117 [1705–6].

1. (fols 1v–22r) *al-Rassīyāt I*. The work ends with a colophon by al-Murtaḍā, dated 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037];
2. (fols 22r–24v) *al-Rassīyāt II*;
4. (fols 29r–44v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
5. (fols 45r–70v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (al-wārida fī Šaʿbān min sanat 427 [May–June 1036]);
6. (fols 71v–74v) *Masʾala fīma yuḫbir bihi l-munaḡǧimūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt*;
7. (fols 74v–76r) *Masʾala fī tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt*. The work ends with a colophon dated Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1116 [March–April 1705]. In the margin there is also a collation note dated 1117 [1705–6].
8. (fols 76v–148r) *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*. The work begins with a title page (fols 76v–77r), which includes the sigla for the legal authorities referred to in the work (**figs 214, 215**);
9. (fols 148v–151r) *Masʾala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira*;
10. (fols 151v–156v) *Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*;
13. (fols 159r–v) *Masʾala fī l-istiṭnāʾ*;
14. (fols 159v–162v) *Masʾala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*;
15. (fols 162v–163r) *Masʾala fī waḡḥ al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿīd bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;

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For a description of the entire codex (with omissions and occasional errors), see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmi-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naʿṣāf-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 28, pp. 561–580.
16. (fols 163r–164v) Masʾala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Ṣallāriyyāt;
17. (fols 165r–v) Responsum 22 of al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt III, introduced with min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā;
19. (fols 166r–167r) Masʾala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa (masʾala ġarağaṭat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
20. (fols 167r–168r) Masʾala fi šīqat al-bayʿ (masʾala ġarağaṭat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);
21. (fol 168r) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (masʾala ġarağaṭat fī šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);
22. (fols 168r–v) Masʾala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʾ;
23. (fols 168v–169r) Masʾala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fī ruʿyat al-hilāl;
24. (fols 169r–171r) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
25. (fol. 171r) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
26. (fol. 171r) Masʾala fi walad al-bint;
27. (fols 171r–172v) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
28. (fol. 172v) al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
29. (fols 172v–173r) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ǧafāf;
30. (fols 173r–v) Masʾala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād (masʾala ġarağaṭat fī šahr Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);
32. (fols 176r–v) Masʾala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt I;
33. (fols 176v–177r) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḥāl laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
34. (fols 177r–179r) Masʾala fi dikr anwāʾ al-aʿrād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
35. (fol. 179r) Maʾnā qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā”.

At the end of this tract there is a colophon dated Rabīʿ I 1117 [July 1705], which concludes the portion of the codex that contains al-Murtaḍā’s writings.

Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751 is a one-volume library of al-Murtaḍā’s works that was completed on 2 Šafar 1119 [5 May 1707] by
Baktāš al-Bağdādī al-ʿUmayrī (see the colophon on fol. 255r)\textsuperscript{789} The codex consists of the following writings, which again reflect the cluster of the 574 [1179] codex:

1. (fols 1r–45v, 46v–94v) al-Intiṣār;
2. (fols 98v–99r) Masʿala fi l-maṣḥ ʿalā l-ḥuffayn;
3. (fols 99r–v) Masʿala fi ǧawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa;
4. (fols 99v–100r) Masʿala fi ʂįqat al-bay';
5. (fols 100r–v) Ahkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafż wāḥid;
6. (fol. 100v) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil il-Ramlīyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā';
7. (fols 100v–101r) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil il-Ramlīyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl;
8. (fols 101r–102r) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
9. (fols 102r–v) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
10. (fols 102v–103r) Masʿala fi walad al-bint;
11. (fols 103r–104r) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
12. (fols 104r–v) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ǧafāf;
13. (fols 104r–105r) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya yaṭīn ḥumāt “Kitāb al-ʿUmad” [= Ğurar al-fawāʾid];
16. (fols 106r–107v) Iṣṭiḥqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ʿalā l-awsāf;
17. (fols 107v–108r) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād;
18. (fols 108r–v) Awwal al-wājibāt al-naẓar;
20. (fols 111v–113r) Masʿala waǧīza fi l-ġayba;
21. (fols 113r–117v) Masʿala min kalām qādī l-ṭuğāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. ʿAhmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-mušabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa;  

25. (fols 118v–119r) Masʾala fi l-ʿisma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
26. (fols 119r–v) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīt;
27. (fol. 119v) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʾil;
28. (fols 119v–120r) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṯan bi-maʿnā;
29. (fol. 120r) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsīhī;
30. (fols 120r–v) Masʾala ‘an waḏgh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fi l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihā min al-ṣarʿiyyāt;
31. (fol. 120v) Masʾala fi waḏgh ḥusn al-nawāfīl;
32. (fol. 120v) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧawāhir mudraka;
33. (fols 120v–121v) Daʿf ʿubḥa li-l-Barāhima fi baʿṭ al-anbiyāʾ;
34. (fols 121v–122v) Masʾala fi l-alam wa-wuǧūh al-ḥusn fihi;
35. (fols 122v–124r) Masʾala fi dikr anwāḥ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
36. (fols 124v–137v) Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal;
37. (fols 138v–152v) al-Rassiyyāt I;
38. (fols 152v–154r) al-Rassiyyāt II;
39. (fols 155v–207r) al-Nāṣiriyyāt;
40. (fols 207r–209r) Masʾala fi bāyān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira;
41. (fols 211v–214v) Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim;
42. (fols 214v–215r) Masʾala fi aṣālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi;
43. (fols 215r–216r) Masʾala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʾūsikum” [Q 5:6];
44. (fols 216r–v) Masʾala fi l-istiṭnāʿ;
45. (fols 216v–218v) Masʾala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān;
46. (fols 218v–219v) Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā;
47. (fols 219v–231r) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II;
48. (fols 232v–251v) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III;
49. (fols 251v–254r) Masʾala fimā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧimūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
**Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187** was copied in 1234 [1818–19] by Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Akbar.\(^{790}\) Pages 184–336 of the codex constitute a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that contains the following items, reflecting once again the 574 [1179] codex:

1. (pp. 184a–186a) *Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*;
2. (pp. 186a–b) *Masʿala fi ašālat al-barā’ā wa-nafy al-ḫukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ‘alayhi*;
3. (pp. 186a–187a) *Masʿala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum” [Q 5:6]*;
4. (p. 187a) *Masʿala fi l-istiṭnā*;
5. (pp. 187a–188b) *Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*;
6. (p. 188b) *Masʿala fi waḥq al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-wāʿid bi-l-ḫulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;
7. (pp. 188b–189a) *Fiḥrist kutub sayyidinā al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā*;
8. (pp. 189a–196a) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II;
10. (pp. 196a–197a) *Masʿala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt*;
11. (pp. 197a–206b) al-Rassiyyāt I;
12. (pp. 206b–207b) al-Rassiyyāt II;
13. (pp. 208a–240b) al-Nāṣiriyyāt;
14. (pp. 241a–242a) *Masʿala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira*;
15. (pp. 242a–254b) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III;
17. (pp. 256a–257a) *Masʿala fi tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt*;
18. (pp. 257a–312a) K. al-İntiṣār;
19. (p. 312a) *Masʿala fi l-maš ʿalā l-ḫuffāyn*;

\(^{790}\) For a description of the codex, see also Ḥāʾirī et al., *Fiḥrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 16, pp. 5–12. Cf. also Madelung, “A Treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 20ff. Madelung prepared his edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān* on the basis of this codex (pp. 187a–188b). For the tract, see also Ḥābir al-ʿAtābī, “Masʿalat al-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān”; Gleave, “Quietism and Political Legitimacy”. The manuscript is foliated on the verso side of each leaf; the verso page is here labeled “a” while the recto page that follows is referred to as “b”.

344
20. (pp. 312a–b) Masʿala fi ġawāż nikāḥ al-mutʿa;
21. (pp. 312b–313a) Masʿala fi šiğat al-bayʿ;
22. (p. 313a) Aḥḵām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid;
23. (p. 313a) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā;
24. (pp. 313a–b) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl;
25. (pp. 313b–314b) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
26. (p. 314b) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
27. (p. 314b) Masʿala fī walad al-bint;
28. (pp. 314b–315a) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
29. (p. 315a) al-Farq bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
30. (pp. 315a–b) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʾda l-ghafā;
31. (p. 315b) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fī l-ruʿya min ḥumlat “Kitāb al-ʿUmad” [= Ğurar al-fawāʾid];
32. (pp. 315b–316a) “Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= Ğurar al-fawāʾid] fi ibṭāl muddaʾī l-ruʿya;
33. (p. 316a–b) “Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= Ğurar al-fawāʾid] fi aqsām al-manāfī;
34. (pp. 316b–317a) Istiḥqāq maḏ ḥ al-bārīʾ ḥal-l-awsaf;
35. (pp. 317a–b) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād;
36. (p. 317b) Masʿala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿīl;
37. (p. 317b) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;
38. (pp. 317b–319b) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Niliyyāt;
39. (pp. 319b–320b) Masʿala waǧīza fi l-ġayba;
40. (pp. 320b–323a) Masʿala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Ahmad fi anna l-muǧbira wa-l-mušabbiha lá yumkinuhum al-istiḍlāl al-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
41. (pp. 323a–b) al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʾā annahā ašl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
42. (pp. 323b–324a) Masʿala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
43. (pp. 324a–b) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṯ;
44. (p. 324b) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʾīl;
45. (p. 324b) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsihi;
46. (pp. 324b–325a) Masʿala ʿan waṯūf al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fi l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihā min al-šarīyyāt;
47. (p. 325a) Masʾala fi waḡh ḥusn al-nawāfil;
48. (p. 325a) al-Dalīl ʾalā anna l-ḡawāhir mudraka;
49. (pp. 325a–b) Dafʿ ʿubha li-l-Barāḥima fi baʿẓ al-anbiyāʾ;
50. (pp. 325b–326a) Masʾala fi l-alam wa-wuḡūh al-ḥusn fihi;
51. (pp. 326a–327a) Masʾala fi ḏikr anwāʾ al-aʾrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
52. (pp. 327b–335b) ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal.

Ms. Tehran, Millī [uncatalogued] was probably copied between 1262 [1846] (or possibly earlier) and 1266 [1849–50] by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Qāsim al-Kāšānī (see the colophon on fol. 197v at the end of Iṣbāḥ al-Šīʿa bi-miṣbāḥ al-šarīʿa by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kayduri [alive in 610 (1213–14)].791 Fols 2v–81r constitute a miscellany of al-Murtaḍāʾs writings, comprising the following texts:

1. (fols 2v–3r) Masʾala fi l-masḥ ʿalā l-ḫuffayn;
2. (fols 3r–v) Masʾala fi ḡawāzh nikāḥ al-mutʿa;
3. (fols 3v–4r) Masʾala fi šiğat al-bayʿ;
4. (fol. 4r) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid;
5. (fols 4r–v) Masʾala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʾ;
6. (fol. 4v) Masʾala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi ruʾyat al-hilāl;
7. (fols 4v–6r) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
8. (fol. 6r) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
9. (fol. 6r) Masʾala fi walad al-bint;
10. (fols 6r–7r) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
11. (fol. 7r) al-Farq bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
12. (fols 7r–v) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿr baʿda l-ḡafāf;
13. (fols 7v–8r) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ġumlāt Kitāb š...† [= ġurar al-fawāʾid];

791 See, however, fol. 109r, at the end of Nuzhat al-nāẓir fi l-ġamʿ bayna l-ašbāh wa-l-naẓāʿir by Ibn Ridda al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (for the work and its author, see below, n. 955), for another colophon signed by Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Kāšānī. The entire codex appears to be written by the same hand, and it is unclear why this colophon is signed with a different name. Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn might be the son of Muḥammad Ḥusayn with a very similar hand. However, it is noteworthy that there is considerable space between the end of the text and the colophon on fol. 109r, and Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn may have added his name at a later stage. For codices transcribed by Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāšānī, see Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 175 (s.v. “Gaʿfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāšānī”).

346
16. (fols 9r–10r) Iṣṭihqāq madh al-bāri‘ ʿalā l-awṣāf;
17. (fols 10r–v) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād;
18. (fol. 10v) Masʿala fi l-dalil ʿalā anna l-ġism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿil;
19. (fol. 10v) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-nazar;
20. (fols 10v–13v) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Niliyyāt;
21. (fols 13v–14v) Masʿala waǧīza fi l-ġayba;
22. [(fols 14v–19r) Masʿala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muǧbira wa-l-mušabbiba lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwaw];
23. (fols 19r–v) al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
24. (fols 19v–20r) Masʿala fi l-ʿīṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I;
25. (fols 20r–v) al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḏāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṭ;
26. (fol. 20v) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʿil;
27. (fols 20v–21r) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṯan bi-maʿnā;
28. (fol. 21r) Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsihi;
29. (fol. 21r) Masʿala ʿan waǧh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fīhā min al-šarʿiyyāt;
30. (fols 21r–v) Masʿala fi waǧh ḥusn al-nawāfil;
31. (fol. 21v) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka;
32. (fols 21v–22r) Dař Šubha li-l-Barāḥima fi baʿṭ al-anbiyā‘;
33. (fols 22r–23r) Masʿala fi l-alam wa-wuǧūh al-ḥusn fihi;
34. (fols 23r–24v) Masʿala fi ẓikr anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;
35. (fol. 24v) Maʾná qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā”. The end of the text is followed by a new title, introducing al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II. However, the text is in fact placed later in the codex as item 40 (see below);
38. (fol. 29v) Masʿala fi l-istiṯnā‘;
39. (fols 29v–31v) Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān;
40. (fols 31v–41v) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II;
41. (fol. 41v) Masʾala fi waḏgh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
42. (fols 41v–43r) Masʾala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt;
43. (fols 43r–56v) al-Rassīyyāt I;
44. (fols 56v–58r) al-Rassīyyāt II;
45. (fols 58v–60r) Masʾala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira;
46. (fols 60r–77v) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III;
47. (fols 77v–80r) Masʾala fimā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;

**Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615** is a precise transcription of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427), produced by a single unidentified scribe, as indicated by the identical sequence of the works and similar codicological features throughout the codex.792 Items 69 through 73, now located at the end of Ms. Marʿašī 7615, were originally placed at the beginning of the codex, as in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex. The first texts of the original codex are dated: item 69: 1281 [1864–65], item 70: Muḥarram 1281 [July 1864], item 71: 1281 [1864–65], item 72: 1281 [1864–65], item 1 (fol. 28r; fig. 216): 1282 [1865–66]. The full contents are as follows:

1. (fols 1v–28r) a fragment of the Tabbāniyyāt, the beginning of which (qarīna li-l-ḫabar . . .) corresponds to fol. 76v of the text as preserved in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex. The remaining leaves contain the rest of the work until the end. Like the scribe of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex (fols 75v–76v), the anonymous scribe of Ms. Marʿašī 7615 left about one and a half pages blank at the next lacuna (fols 4r–v). The lacunae towards the end of the work (fols 25v–26v) that reflect the damage to fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 are likewise arranged in a similar way as in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex (fols 108r–109r). The text concludes with the original colophon of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (fol. 28r), followed by the year 1282 [1865–66];

792 For a succinct, though incomplete, description of the codex, see Marʿašī et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafī-yi Marʿašī, vol. 20, pp. 14–22. A useful methodology to identify antigraph-apograph pairs that are directly related to one another has been developed by Farnes, Simply Come Copying, pp. 42–49.
2. (fols 28r–36r) *al-Rāziyyāt*. As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fols 112r–124v), the text ends with a colophon dated 20 Ǧumādā I 1089 [10 July 1678];
4. *al-Rassiyyāt II* = Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 150r–152v;
5. (fols 61r–76v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* = Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 153r–170r;
7. (fols 102r–105r) *Masʾala fimā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 201r–205r;
9. [[(fol. 107r)] As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fols 207v–208v), one page is left blank (fol. 106v), and it is followed by the final section of al-Mufīd’s *al-Masāʾil al-Ṣāġāniyya* (the beginning of the text corresponding to p. 146:1 of the edition)];
22. (fols 140v–145r) A collection of brief tracts, some fragmentary, consisting of the following = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 259v–268r:
   (a) Maʿnā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-ʿaql fī l-nisāʾ (fol. 140v);
   (b) Maʿnā qawlihi ʿalayhi l-salām “Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥaǧar” (fols 140v–141r);
   (c) Waḡḥ nahy al-nabi šallā llāh “alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ʿan akl al-ṯūm (fol. 141r);
   (d) Masʿala fi waḡḥ istiḡfār Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām [Q 14:41] (fols 141r–v);
   (e) Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fī ḥaḏf ʿalāmat al-taʾnīṯ (fol. 141v);
   (f) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika” [Q 20:129] (fols 141v–142r);
   (g) Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān (fol. 142r);
   (h) Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥārām (fols 142r);
   (i) Ğawāz al-tażkiya min al-māl al-ḥār (fol. 142r);
   (j) Šīḥḥat ḥaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām (fols 142r–v);
   (k) ʿIlm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafātihi aw qatlihi (fol. 142v);
   (l) Ḥukm ʿibādat waḥd al-zinā (fols 142v–143r);
   (m) Muḥāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi l-salām qabla mawṭūthi (fol. 143r);
   (n) Masʿala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām (fols 143r–v);
   (o) Masʿala fi bayān qawlihi šallā llāh “alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Anā wa-anta yā ʿAlī ka-hātayn” (fols 143v–144r);
   (p) Masʿala fi l-raḡʿa min ġumlat al-Dimašqiyyāt (fols 144r–145);
24. (fols 146v) Masʿala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt. Whereas in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fols 270v–273v) this responsum is adduced in full, here only a truncated version has been included, evidently because the text is already cited earlier in the codex, as pointed out in a margin note in the codex;
27. (fols 152r–154v) Mas’ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 284r–289v;
30. (fol. 156r) Mas’ala fi kayfīyyat naḡāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 291v–292r;
32. (fols 156v–157r) Mas’ala fī l-masḥ ʿalā l-ḫuffayn = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 293r–294r;
33. (fols 157r–159r) Mas’ala fi ḫalq al-afʿāl = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 294r–298v;


40. (fols 161v–163r) Mas’ala fi l-iǧmāʿ = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 303v–306r;

41. (fol. 163r) Min kalām ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām yatabarra’ min al-zulm = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 306r–v;

42. (fols 163r–166v) Mas’ala fi ‘illat ādam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 306v–312v;

43. (fols 166v–168r) Faṣl fi aqāwil al-‘arab fi l-ǧāhiliyya = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 312v–315v;


47. (fols 174v–175v) Mas’ala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḫayr min ʿamalihi” = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 329v–331r;

48. (fols 175v–176r) Mas’ala fi Fadak = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 331r–332r;

49. (fols 176r–v) Faṣl fi l-ġayba = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 332r–333r;


52. (fol. 178r) Mas’ala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima ‘alayhā l-salām = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 335v–336r;
53. (fols 178r–v) Mas’ala fi tazwiq Umm Kulthum = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 336r–337r;
54. (fols 178v–180r) Mas’ala fi ’illat mubāya’at amīr al-mu’minin ‘alayhi l-salām Abā Bakr = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 337r–339v;
56. (fols ?–183v) Mas’ala fi irţ al-awlād = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 341v–346v;
57. (fols 183v–184r) Mas’ala fi ‘adam taḥti’at al-‘āmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 346v–348r;
58. (fols 184r–185r) Mas’ala fi istilām al-ḥaǧar = responsum 2 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 348r–349r;
61. (fols 186v–187r) Mas’ala fi nafy al-ǧiha wa-l-ru’ya = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 352r–354r;
63. (fols 188r–192v) Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mīʾa wa-ḫams wa-ʿišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 355r–364r;
64. (fol. 192v) al-Mas’ala al-ṯāniya min al-masā’il . . . fi ḥaqiqat al-ǧawhar = responsum 2 of al-Ramlīyyāt = Ms. Tehran, Danišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 364r–v. As in the al-Fādil al-Hindi codex, the end of this responsum is missing, and the anonymous scribe has left some blank space here (fols 192v–193r), following the model of his antigraph;

793 In the digital surrogate at our disposal, a double page containing fols 180v–181r is missing.
67. (fols 196r–v) Mas’ala fi man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 374v–376v;
68. (fols 196v–197v) wa-min al-Masāʾil al-Maqdisiyyāt, a block of four textual units, each consisting of an epitome of one of al-Murtaḍā’s tracts that is occasionally followed by comments by the anonymous compiler = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 376v–380v;
69. (fols 200v–216v) Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 4v–26r. As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex, the text ends with the colophon found in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, which gives the year erroneously as 666 AH rather than 676. The anonymous scribe has also added the year of his own transcription, 1281 [1864–65] (fol. 216v);
70. (fols 216v–234r) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 26r–47v. At the end of the text, the anonymous scribe gives the date as the end of (salḥ) Muḥarram 1281 [July 1864];
71. (fols 234r–241r) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 47v–57r. The anonymous scribe has again added the year 1281 [1864–65] to the end of the text;
72. (fols 241r–248r) al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 57r–66r. The end of the text again carries the year 1281 [1864–65];
73. (fols 249r–254v) The beginning of the Tabbāniyyāt; the text continues with item 1 of the present codex.

Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147 is an undated miscellany that is missing parts in the beginning and at the end (figs 217, 218). It has tentatively been dated to the twelfth/eighteenth century. Pages 3 to 134 constitute a fragment of a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings consisting of items 27 through 47 of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex. The arrangement of the tracts also agrees with that of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex and the possibility that the latter served as antigraph for this codex should not be excluded. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147 is thus another witness for the third cluster of works by al-Murtaḍā, which consists of material that extends beyond the contents of both the 574 [1179] codex and Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448:
1. (p. 3) End of Maʿnā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-ʿaql fī l-nisāʿ;
2. (pp. 3–4) Maʿnā qawlihi ʿalayhi l-salām “Al-walad li-l-firās wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥaḡar”;
3. (pp. 4–5) Waḡh nahi al-nabī šallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ʿan akl al-ṭūm;
4. (pp. 5–6) Masʿala fi waḡh istiḡfār Ḯbrāhim ʿalayhi l-salām li-abīhi [Q 14:41];
5. (pp. 6–8) Ḥawla kalām Ibn Činnī fī ḥadfʿ al-ṭāʾniṯ;
6. (p. 8) Masʿala fi l-ṭīns wa-l-nasab;
7. (p. 8) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika” [Q 20:129];
8. (pp. 8–9) Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān;
9. (pp. 9–10) Ḥukm al-taṣ₇adduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām;
10. (p. 10) Ğawāz al-taẓkiya min al-māl al-āḥar;
11. (p. 10) Šīḥḥat Ḥaml raʿs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām;
12. (pp. 10–12) ʿIlm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafātihi aw qaṭlihi;
13. (pp. 12–13) Ḥukn ʿibādat waḏad al-żinā;
14. (pp. 13–14) Muḥāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi;
15. (pp. 14–17) Masʿala fiy man yatawaallā ġusl al-imām;
16. (pp. 17–18) Masʿala fi bayān qawlihi šallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Anā wa-antar yā ʿAlī ka-hāṭayn”;


31. (pp. 106–107) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿāla “Ṭumma awraṭnā l-kitāb allaḏīna šṭafaynā min ʿibādinā” [Q 35:32];


33. (pp. 108–109) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-iḏ naḏḏaynā min āl Firʿawn yasumūnakum sūʾa l-ʿaḏāb” [Q 2:49];


36. (pp. 114–120) Masʾala fi l-iǧmāʿ;

37. (pp. 120–122) Min kalām ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām yatabarraʾ min al-ẓulm;

38. (pp. 122–134) Masʾala fi ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt (incomplete at the end, as the manuscript is cut off).

Some of al-Murtaḍāʾ’s writings were not included in any of the afore-mentioned clusters of miscellanies that apparently originated in the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries. Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār 914, a composite volume copied in 1237 [1822] and comprising works by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, al-Karāǧīkī, al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, and Muḥammad Mahdī b. Murtaḍā Bahr al-ʿUlūm (b. 1155 [1742], d. 1212 [1797]), for example, also includes al-Murtaḍāʾ’s al-Rāziyyāt (fols 22v–28r; fig. 219) and the spurious Muqaddima fi l-ʿusūl (fols 28r–29r; fig. 220).⁷⁹⁴ The maḏmūʿa may be partly based on a similar earlier cluster of miscellanies that consisted of writings by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, al-Karāǧīkī, and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, as well as al-Murtaḍāʾ’s al-Rāziyyāt and Muqaddima fi l-ʿusūl. Witnesses for this earlier cluster include Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 17254, which was copied in Mašhad in 983 [1575–76] (figs 220a–

⁷⁹⁴ See also below. For a description of the codex, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār, vol. 3, pp. 682–683.
and *Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15359*, which was transcribed by one Muḥammad Muqīm b. Muḥammad Šāliḥ b. Amīr Badr al-Dīn b. Amīr Hādí al-Mūsawi al-Ḥusaynī in Naḡaf in 1063 [1653]. Al-Rāziyyāt and the Muqaddima were transmitted jointly as well as individually before the turn of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, when they became regular components of miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings.\(^{795}\) Al-Murtaḍā’s *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar* was also not included in any of the earlier clusters of miscellanies, although its authenticity seems confirmed by a reference to it in al-Murtaḍā’s other tract on a related theme, *Mas'ala fi tazwiṭ Unm Kūltūm*.\(^{796}\) The earliest witness of *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar* is the sixth/twelfth-century Sunnī scholar Ibn al-Ǧawzī, who cites it in his *Muntaẓam*, providing precise information on how he had access to the text.\(^{797}\) One of the earliest manuscripts of the tract is *Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3694*, which is dated 1022 [1613–14]; the codex also includes al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Rāziyyāt*, as well as writings by al-Mufīd and others.\(^{798}\) Al-Afandī also quotes the text in his *Fawāʾid*, indicating that he transcribed it on 11 Ǧumādā I 1092 [29 May 1681].\(^{799}\)

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\(^{795}\) Another noteworthy example is *Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10006*, a multitext volume written by different hands. The first tract included in the codex is *Istiqṣāʾ al-naẓar fi l-baḥṯ ʿan al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, transcribed in 1327 [1909] by Faḍl Allāh al-Zanǧānī, who consulted an antigraph produced by Śayḫ al-šarīʿa Fatḥ Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ǧawād al-Namāzī al-Šīrāzī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1339 [1920], on whom see n. 853). The tract is followed by *al-Ibāna ʿan maḏhab ahl al-ʿadl bi-ḥuǧaǧ al-Qurʾān wa-l-ʿaql* and *al-Taḏkira fī l-uṣūl al-ḫamsa* by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (both texts were published by Āl Yāsīn in *Nafāʾis al-maḫṭūṭāt*; see also Āl Yāsīn, *al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād*, pp. 199–201 [on the *Ibāna*], 211–213 [on the *Taḏkira*]) and the Muqaddima attributed to al-Murtaḍā. It is possible that these additional texts were copied by others at Faḍl Allāh al-Zanǧānī’s request. See also nn. 774, 818.

\(^{796}\) See below, Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”).


\(^{798}\) See Marʿašī et al., *Fihrīst-i Kitābḫāna-yiʿ Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzma Naḏaṣr-yi Muʿašrī*, vol. 10, p. 94. For other manuscripts of the text, see above, n. 758.

\(^{799}\) See above, n. 758.
2.4 Transcription of al-Murtaḍā’s writings during the twentieth century

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, a new wave of intensive engagement with the writings of al-Murtaḍā began, indicated by another increase in the transcription of his monographs and miscellanies. It was apparently Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (b. 1293 [1876], d. 1389 [1970]) who initiated this new engagement. Challenged by Ğurǧī Zaydān’s (b. 1278 [1861], d. 1332 [1914]) statements in his *Tārīḫ ādāb al-luġa al-ʿarabiyya* belittling the contributions of Imāmī Šīʿīs to Arabic literature, Āġā Buzurg and others strove to counter this claim by collecting, transcribing, and publishing as many earlier Šīʿī texts as possible. While working on this enterprise, which resulted in two monumental biobibliographical encyclopaedias (his *Ḏarīʿa ila taṣānīf al-Šīʿa* and his *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*), Āġā Buzurg had unprecedented access to a large number of manuscripts, and in the process of consulting them he produced a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings for his own library. Ahmed al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī consulted Āġā Buzurg’s codex of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, which, he reports, is held in the Āġā Buzurg Library in Naĝaf. A microfilm of the codex is available in the library of Tehran University (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. al-Iškawarī (1386 [1966]), pp. 9–10, 18, 32, 40, 52. This claim is confirmed by stamps throughout the codex. For the library, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, pp. 175–176; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī, *Gāyat al-amānī*, pp. 109ff.; al-Ḫalīlī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 261–263. Another description of the codex is included by al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī in his *Fihris al-turāṯ*, p. 292 no. 16. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn (b. 1910, d. 1983), the author of *Adab al-Murtaḍā* (1957), repeatedly refers to the Āġā Buzurg codex in his study.
The codex was transcribed between 1329 [1911] and 1331 [1913–14] by two hands. The majority of the texts were copied by Āġā Buzurg himself (pp. 1–40, 79–236), while others were transcribed at the latter’s behest by Ġulām Ḥusayn, whom Āġā Buzurg describes on p. 319 (fig. 221) as his qurrat al-ʿayn, a typical description for one’s son or close younger relative (pp. 42–78, 237–341). This was Mīrzā Ġulām Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī (d. 1365 [1946]), the son of Āġā Buzurg’s brother al-Mawlā al-Karbalāʾī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. It may have been Ġulām Ḥusayn, or a later hand, who eventually added a table of contents to the opening page of the codex (p. 1; fig. 222). The table of contents is preceded by three additional texts, which were apparently also copied by Āġā Buzurg, namely al-Murtadā’s Masʾala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād’s Ibāna, and the latter’s Taḏkira. None of the three texts is dated. Āġā Buzurg relates in his Ḍarīʿa that he saw a copy of Masʾala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn in the library of al-Mullā Muḥammad b. ʿĀli al-Ḥānsārī, and this was most likely the antigraph for his copy of the text. It can be assumed that Āġā Buzurg transcribed the two texts by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād on the basis of a multitext volume in the hand of Šaraf al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī and his student Nūr al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʾAlawī al-Aysarī al-Naḡafī.

The main codex contains numerous balāʿ notes, including one dated 13 Ṣafar 1348 [21 July 1929] (p. 307). Many of the individual texts are preceded by brief statements that, in most cases, reflect the description of the text included in the Ḍarīʿa under the respective lemma. The codex thus also allows some glimpses into the DNA of Āġā Buzurg’s Ḍarīʿa. The antigraphs Āġā Buzurg used to produce the

804 Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī, Gāyat al-amānī, p. 33. See also Āġā Buzurg, Kaškūl, p. 83.
805 For al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād’s two works, see above, n. 795.
806 Āġā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 5, pp. 183–184 no. 811. The holdings of library of al-Mullā Muḥammad b. ʿĀli al-Ḥānsārī, which was in Naḡaf, are nowadays part of the Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Fāḍil Ḥānsārī in Ḥānsārī. See Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, Fihrist-i nusha-hā-yi ḡaṭṭ-yi Kitābhāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh Fāḍil-i Ḥānsārī.
807 For the codex, see below, n. 818. See also Āl Yāsīn, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, pp. 211–213, where the author specifically mentions that Āģā Buzurg consulted this codex, which contained the Ibāna and the Taḏkira.
808 Further valuable sources for the reconstruction of Āģā Buzurg’s work mode are his many notebooks, some of which have been published in critical edition, including Āģā Buzurg, Mağmūʿa riğāliyya wa-tārīḥiyya, which is based on Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15816. Another
maḏmūʿa can, in most cases, be identified on the basis of the colophons found in the codex as well as additional pieces of information scattered throughout his Ḍarʾa. Whereas items 1 and 2 were copied from one of the codices transcribed by ʿAbd al-Riḍā b. Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Šāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭanīn al-Kāẓimi (see above), items 3 through 7, as well as item 15, were transcribed from Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448. It is noteworthy, that Āģā Buzurg omitted al-Sallāriyyāt and al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. Item 7 (al-Tabbānīyyāt), and possibly also item 8 (al-Rāziyyāt), was transcribed from a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in the library of the descendants of al-Šayḫ Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī in al-Kāẓimiyya, which Āģā Buzurg inspected (see above), and this is also the case for items 9 and 10 (al-Rassīyyāt I and II). Items 16 and 17 were part of a codex containing other writings by al-Murtaḍā. Although Āģā Buzurg does not identify the manuscript, he apparently copied

809 See Āģā Buzurg, Ḍarʾa, vol. 23, p. 150 (Munqiḏ [sic] al-bašar min asrār al-qaḍā wa-l-qadar), where Āģā Buzurg refers to his own copy of the tract without mentioning his antigraph. This is not the case in Ḍarʾa, vol. 2, pp. 401–402 no. 1612 (Inqāḏ al-bašar).


811 That he was aware of them is evident from his entries in Ḍarʾa, vol. 5, p. 206 no. 960 (Ǧawābāt Sallār); vol. 5, p. 223 no. 1061 (Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-Sallāriyya).

812 The colophon at the end of item 7 in the Āģā Buzurg codex points to Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 as antigraph. See, however, Āģā Buzurg, Ḍarʾa, vol. 5, p. 217 no. 1023 (Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-Tabbānīyyāt), according to which he consulted the codex held in the library of Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī as antigraph. This suggests that al-Kāẓimī’s copy was also directly or indirectly based on Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; for details, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory. For item 8, see Ḍarʾa, vol. 5, p. 221 no. 1055 (Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-Rāziyya), where Āģā Buzurg names a codex in al-Kāẓimiyya as antigraph for his own copy but also mentions other copies of the text he had inspected.

only those two tracts from it.\textsuperscript{814} Items 9–14,\textsuperscript{815} 21–40,\textsuperscript{816} and 42–50 are included in most of the many eleventh/seventeenth-century and twelfth/eighteenth-century

\textsuperscript{814} See Āḡā Buzurg, Ṭarīqa, vol. 4, p. 359 no. 1564 (Tafḍīl al-anbiyā'); vol. 20, p. 385 no. 3542 (Mas'ala fi tafḍīl al-anbiyā'); vol. 20, p. 395 no. 3638 (Mas'ala fi l-man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika). For the two tracts, see also Muʿjam al-turāth al-kalāmī, vol. 6, p. 313–314 no. 3938 (Tafḍīl al-malā'ika . . .); vol. 5, pp. 303–304 no. 11744 (al-Man' fi tafḍīl . . .). The following manuscripts contain both works: Ms. Qum, Marwaši 255, copied by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad Muqīm Ḫaṭīb 'Abd al-ʿAẓīmī and dated 17 Rabīʿ II 1056 [2 June 1646] (see Marwaši et al., Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naḡafī-yi Marwaši, vol. 1, pp. 281–288; Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 204 no. 66142; vol. 10, p. 241 no. 276632). The codex, which was only partly accessible to us, otherwise consists of writings by Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, and al-Murtaḍā (fig. 225).

Apart from the two tracts discussed here (fols 55v–60r: Tafḍīl . . . [fig. 513]; fols 61v–63v: al-Man' min tafḍīl . . . [fig. 514]), it contains the following two texts by al-Murtaḍā: al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (fols 82v–84r) and Masʾala fī man yatawallā ġusl al-imām [Q 17:70] (fols 84v–86v).

Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis Ḫūṭ 8 is a multitext volume containing numerous writings by various Imāmī Šīʿī scholars, including al-Mufīd and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, which was transcribed by a single hand in or around Rabīʿ II 1034 [January–February 1625] (see the dated colophons on fols 169v and 180r). The codex opens with two tracts by al-Murtaḍā, al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyā', Masʾala fī l-radd ʿalā man ta'allqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bani Ādam” (fols 1v–4v) and Masʾala ʿalā man ta'allqa vihihi taʿālā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bani Ādam” [Q 17:70] (fols 4v–6v) (cf. also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 205 no. 66145; vol. 10, p. 241 no. 276633).


Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876, copied by Maḥmūd b. Fāyūd al-Ḥusaynī (about whom nothing further is known), is a multitext volume containing the following four texts by al-Murtaḍā: al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyā', Mas'ala fi l-radd 'alā man ta'allqa bi-qawlihi ta'alā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bani Ādam” [Q 17:70], Mas'ala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām, and Mas'ala fi dīkr anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā, in addition to numerous tracts by al-Mufīd and some others; some information on the codex is provided at http://alhakeemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx [accessed 19 October 2021].

\textsuperscript{815} See Āḡā Buzurg, Ṭarīqa, vol. 10, p. 229 no. 702 (al-Radd ʿalā l-munaḏḏimīn); vol. 20, p. 382 no. 3539 (Mas'ala fi aḥkām al-muqīm); vol. 20, p. 385 no. 2564 (Mas'ala fi tawārīd al-adilla); vol. 20, p. 387 (Mas'ala fi l-radd ʿalā l-munaḏḏimīn).

\textsuperscript{816} See Āḡā Buzurg, Ṭarīqa, vol. 20, p. 372 no. 3479 (al-Masā'il al-Wāṣiṭiyāt).
witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, one or several of which must have been at Āġā Buzurg’s disposal. Item 18 was included in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex, but Āġā Buzurg’s antigraph for it remains undetermined.817 Item 19, Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl, may be based on an antigraph produced by al-Šayḥ Abū Muḥammad Šaraf al-Dīn ‘Ali b. Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Paṅg-Hazārī al-Māzandarānī al-Naḡafī (alive in 1070 [1659–60]), which Āġā Buzurg consulted in the library of the renowned author and scholar al-Šayḥ Hādī b. al-Šayḥ ‘Abbās Kāšif al-ǦiṭāELY (d. 1361 [1942]).818 At the beginning

817 See also Āġā Buzurg, DarīṣA, vol. 20, p. 395 no. 3635, where he mentions his copy of the tract but refrains from indicating his antigraph.

and the end of item 20 (Mas’ala fi ʿibtāl al-ʿamal bi-ḥbār al-ḥād), Āgā Buzurg remarks that the text was transmitted through šāhīb al-Durr al-manṭūr (p. 236, fig. 223), that is, ‘Ali, the great-grandson of al-Šahīd al-Ṭāmī, who is known to have transmitted this tract by al-Murtaḍā (see above).⁸¹⁹ In his transcription of item 41, al-Muqniʿ fī l-ḵayba, Āgā Buzurg relates in the colophon (p. 275, fig. 224) that he was limited to a corrupt and incomplete but unique copy of the text (istansaḥtuhu min nusḥa saqīma naqīṣa waḥīda), and he signals several lacunae in the antigraph (pp. 268, 271).⁸²⁰ The inclusion and location of item 41 is remarkable, since it is placed in the location where in earlier witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, the Masʿala waḵīza fī l-ḵayba would typically be found. Āgā Buzurg may have decided to add the Muqniʿ in the place of the Masʿala waḵīza fī l-ḵayba because the earlier manuscript tradition harbored doubt about the authenticity of the latter work. It is nevertheless included in the codex as no. 43, introduced, with no indication of its spuriousness, as “masʿala waḵīza fī l-ḵayba li-mawlānā wa-sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā . . . ” (p. 308).⁸²¹ Like with many earlier copyists of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, Āgā Buzurg selected material from different clusters of miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that had been transmitted largely independently of one another during the preceding centuries. His codex comprises the following texts:

1. (pp. 2–20) Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ḵabār wa-l-qadar (colophon dated 20 Ḍū l-Qaʿaʿda 1329 [12 November 1911]);

(see above). Cf. also Dirāyatī, Fihristwāra, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 1170 nos 270045–270048. Another copy is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10006/4, pp. 32–35, which is undated and unsigned but was undoubtedly produced during the early twentieth century. For this codex, see also n. 795.


⁸²⁰ For witnesses of the Muqniʿ in the libraries of Iran and Iraq, see Chapter 1.2 of the present publication.

⁸²¹ According to Āl Yāsīn, Āgā Buzurg consulted a witness of this text that was kept in the library of the Āl al-ʿAʿraḡī; see the introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Min Rasāʾil al-Šayyid al-Murtaḍā, p. 24, where it is related that the codex was subsequently destroyed by water damage. See also Āgā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 16, p. 82 no. 411 for an entry that possibly refers to the same tract.
2. (pp. 21–31) Mağmūʿa min kalām al-Sayyid al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā fī funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl (colophon dated beginning of Dū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1329 [November 1911] fī baldat Sāmirrā');

3. (p. 31) Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā;

4. (pp. 33–40) al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I (copied on the basis of an antigraph dated 11 Dū l-Ḥiǧǧa 676 [5 May 1278], which agrees with the date given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and completed on 17 Ṣafar 1330 [6 February 1912]);

5. (pp. 42–78) al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II (colophon dated 14 Ṣafar 1330 [3 February 1912]);

6. (pp. 79–86) al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt (copied on the basis of an antigraph dated 30 Dū l-Ḥiǧǧa 676 [24 May 1278], which agrees with the date given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and completed on 21 Ṣafar 1330 [10 February 1912]);

7. (pp. 87–119) al-Ṭabbāniyyāt (copied on the basis of an antigraph dated 21–30 Dū l-Qaʿda 676 [15–24 April 1278], which agrees with the date given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and completed 4 Rabīʿ I 1330 [22 February 1912]);

8. (pp. 120–129) al-Rāziyyāt (colophon dated 8 Rabīʿ I 1330 [26 February 1912] in Sāmirrā');

9. (pp. 130–154) al-Rāziyyāt I;

10. (pp. 154–156) al-Rāziyyāt II (colophon dated 17 Rabīʿ I 1330 [6 March 1912]);

11. (pp. 157–173) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II (colophon dated 27 Rabīʿ I 1330 [16 March 1912]);

12. (pp. 174–204) al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (colophon dated 27 Rabīʿ II 1330 [15 April 1912]);

13. (pp. 205–209) Masʾala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaǧǧimūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt;

14. (pp. 209–210) Masʾala fī tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt;

15. (pp. 211–229) Naqḍ kalām baʾd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr (colophon dated 8 Ğumādā I 1330 [25 April 1913] in al-Kāẓimiyya);

16. (pp. 229–232) al-Manʿ min tafsīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ;

17. (pp. 232–233) Masʾala ʿalā man taʾallaqa bi-qawlihi taʾālā “Wa-la-qad karrāmnā bani Ādam” [Q 17:70];
18. (pp. 233–234) Mas’ala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām (colophon dated 18 Raḡab 1331 [23 June 1913]);
19. (p. 234) Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl;
20. (pp. 235–236) Mas’ala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (copied in Mašhad);
21. (pp. 237–238) Mas’ala fi l-mash ‘alā l-ḥuffayn;
22. (pp. 238–239) Mas’ala fi ġawāż nikāḥ al-muṭ‘a;
23. (pp. 239–240) Mas’ala fi ǧiḥalat al-bay‘;
24. (pp. 240–241) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid;
25. (p. 241) Mas’ala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā;
26. (pp. 241–242) Mas’ala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl;
27. (pp. 242–245) Istimrār al-ṣawm ma’a qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
28. (p. 245) Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ḡadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
29. (p. 245) Mas’ala fi walad al-bint;
30. (pp. 246–248) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
31. (p. 248) al-Farq bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm;
32. (pp. 248–249) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʾr baʿda l-ǧafāf;
33. (pp. 249–250) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ǧumlat Kitāb al-Ġurar [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid];
34. (pp. 250–251) “Min al-kitāb ayyān” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid] fi ibṭāl muḍḍaʾi l-ruʿya;
35. (pp. 251–252) “Min al-kitāb [aydan]” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid] fi aqṣām al-manāfiʿ;
36. (pp. 252–255) Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bārīʿ ‘alā l-awṣāf;
37. (pp. 255–256) Mas’ala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād;
38. (p. 256) Mas’ala fi l-dalīl ‘alā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʾl;
39. (pp. 256–257) Awwal al-wāḡibāt al-naẓar;
40. (pp. 257–263) Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Niliyyāt;
41. (pp. 264–275) al-Muqniʿ fi l-ḡayba;
42. (pp. 275–307) Ġumal al-ʿīlm wa-l-ʿamal (with a balāḡ note in the hand of Āḡā Buzurg at the end, dated 13 Ṣafar 1348 [21 July 1929]);
43. (pp. 308–311) Mas’ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba;
Al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḫwānsārī (b. 1280 [1863–64], d. 1359 [1940–41]), the author of another bibliographical encyclopaedia of Imāmī literature, Kašf al-astār ʿan waḡh al-kutub wa-l-asfār, also produced a comprehensive miscellany containing al-Murtaḍā's writings. The manuscript was kept in the library of his son, al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḫwānsārī (b. 1321 [1903], d. 1413 [1992]), in Qum. The entire manuscript collection of Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʾī, including the Šafāʾī codex, was purchased for the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad. The codex's opening page (fig. 256) has an ownership note by Muṣṭafā

al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḥānsārī, dated 1360 [1941], as well as a rudimentary table of contents. In addition, there is a quotation from al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ḥalabiyyāt on a doctrinal issue that has been gleaned from the Ḥāšiya at-’Udda, Mawlā (Mullā) Ḥalīl b. Ğāzī al-Qazwīnī’s (b. 1001 [1593], d. 1089 [1678–79]) commentary on al-Ṭūsī’s ’Udda.823 The maǧmūʿa is an amalgam of some parts of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī

istidlāl (no. 169), Risāla fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān (no. 121), Risāla fī l-ʿayba (no. 123), al-Rāziyyāt (no. 212), al-Rasuliyāt (no. 215), al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt (no. 217), al-Mawṣiliyyāt (no. 218), Risāla fī l-ṭalāʾ (no. 219), Risāla fī l-ṣuṭūr (no. 220), Risāla fī l-ṣulṭān (no. 221), Mašʿala fī l-ʿismā (no. 222), al-Mawṣiliyyāt I and II (no. 216), “al-Masāʾil al-mutafarriqa” (no. 218), al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ḥāfiqiyyāt (no. 220), Masʿala fī ḫalāf al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-ḥādd (no. 226), Mašʿala fī ḫalāf bihi l-munaḍǧūmūn (no. 228). The Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library holds another miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, which also came from al-Ṣafāʾī’s library. The bulk of the codex was copied in 1243 [1827–28] by ʿAbd al-Maǧīd b. Muḥammad Mahdī, but the final five folios of the manuscript were transcribed by Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḫānsārī (dated Ramaḍān 1372 [May–June 1953]; fig. 257). Each textual unit has again a shelfmark of its own: Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20995 (= fols 182v–203v; cf. Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾ-ī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāminiʾī, vol. 3, p. 28; Ġulāmī Muqaddam, Fihrist-i kutub-i ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markāzī: kutub-i fiqhī, p. 19 no. 13), Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20996 (fols 205v–213v), Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20997 (fols 224v–255v; cf. Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., “al-Ḥalabiyyāt” (no. 218), al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I (no. 220), al-Mawṣiliyyāt II (no. 221), Masʾala fī ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-ḥāhd (no. 226), Masʿala fīmā yuḫbir bihi l-munaḍǧūmūn (no. 228). For the same codex, see also Ustādī, Fihrist-i hazār wa pānṣad nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī, pp. 291–293 (shelfmark: “maǧmūʿa š. 786”). In addition, the Šafāʾī library contained a copy of al-Murtadā’s K. al-Šāfī; see Ustādī, Fihrist-i hazār wa pānṣad nusḥa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī, p. 140 (shelfmark: “s. 1093”). Like his father, Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʾī also engaged in transcribing manuscripts. For a list of his mustansaḫāt, see Ibn al-Ridā, Dīyāʾ al-ʿabsār, vol. 3, pp. 596–598 (s.v. “al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʾī”).

823 The quotation matches Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī’s Ḥāšiya as found in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdāʾ-ī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 190, pp. 186:13–187:16. For other quotations from al-Ḥalabiyyāt in the Ḥāšiya, see above, no. 720.
portions of the 574 [1179] codex, and texts that are preserved exclusively in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex (as well as the later witnesses of this cluster). It consists of the following items (each textual unit of the maǧmūʿa has been given a shelfmark of its own):

1. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509**
   - Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr (fols 1v–12r);

2. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30650**
   - al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II (fols 11v–22r);

3. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30651**
   - al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I (fols 22v–26v; dated 1329 [1911]);

4. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30652**
   - al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt (fols 27r–31r; dated 13 Ǧumādā I 1329 [12 May 1911]);

5. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30653**
   - al-Tabbāniyyāt (fols 31v–51r; dated 13 Ǧumādā I 1329 [12 May 1911]);

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824 Viz. items 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the Şafâʾî codex. Not included are al-Ţarābulusiyyāt I, Maṣʿala fi l-insān = responsum 4 of al-Ramlīyyāt, al-Sallāriyyāt, and Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā.

825 Viz. items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 19 of the Şafâʾî codex.


827 For a description of the codex, which includes four additional texts by various other authors after the writings of al-Murtaḍā (those were not available to us), see also Ustādī, Fihrist-i hazār wa pānṣad nusah-i ḥattī, pp. 372–374 (here the shelfmark for the entire codex is given as “maǧmūʿa š. 1475”).


6. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30654, al-Rāziyyāt (fols 51v–56v);
7. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30655, al-Rāziyyāt (fols 56v–70r); followed by al-Rāziyyāt II (fols 70r–72r; dated 14 Šumādā II 1329 [12 June 1911]);
8. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30663, al-Ťarābulusiyyāt II (fols 72r–82r);
9. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30656, al-Ťarābulusiyyāt III (fols 82r–100r; dated Raǧab 1329 [June–July 1911]);
10. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30657, al-Rassiyyāt I (fols 83v–103r; dated 14 Ǧumādā II 1329 [12 June 1911]); followed by (ii) al-Rassiyyāt II (fols 70r–72r; dated 14 Ǧumādā II 1329 [12 June 1911]);
11. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30658, Masʾala waǧīza fī l-ġayba (fols 104r–105r);
12. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30659, Masʾala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira (fols 105r–107r);

ʿalayhi l-salām li-abīhi [Q 14:41] (fol. 116v); (v) Ḥawla kalām Ibn Činnī fī hadīf ʿalāmat al-taʿniḥ (fols 116v–117r); (vi) Masʾala fī l-ġīns wa-l-nasab (fol. 117r); (vii) Tafsīr qawlıhi taʿālā “Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika” [Q 20:129] (fol. 117r); (viii) Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān (fol. 117r); (ix) Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām (fol. 117r); (x) Čawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḫar (fol. 117r); (xi) Ṣiḥḥat ḥaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām (fols 117r–v); (xii) ʿIlm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafātihi aw qatlihi (fol. 117v); (xiii) Ḥukm ʿibādat walad al-zinā (fol. 117v); (xiv) Mušāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi (fols 117v–118r); (xv) Masʾala fī l-raǧʿa min ǧumlat al-Dimašqiyyāt (fols 118v–119v); (xvi) Masʾala fī man yatawallā ġusl al-imām (fols 118v–119v); (xvii) Masʾala fī l-ṭahāra wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqlī (fols 124r–v); (xviii) Masʾala fī kayfiyyat naǧāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik (fol. 125r); (xix) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿāla “Wa-ka-ḏālika nuwallī baʿḍa l-ẓālimīn baʿḍan” [Q 6:129]; (xx) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Ṯumma awraṯnā l-kitāb allaḏīna ṣṭafaynā min ʿibādinā” [Q 35:32] (fols 128v–129r); (xxi) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-iḏ naǧǧaynā min āl Firʿawn yasūmūnakum sūʾa l-ʿaḏāb” [Q 2:49] (fol. 129r); (xxii) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-mā adrī mā yufʿalu bī wa-lā bikum” [Q 46:9] = Ġurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317–319 (fols 129r–130r); (xxiii) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Fa-in kunta fī šakk mimmā anzalnā ilayka” [Q 10:94] = Ġurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317–319 (fols 129r–130r); (xxiv) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxv) Faṣl fī ḏikr maḏāhib ahl al-aṣnām (fols 135r–v); (xxvi) Maʿnā qawlıhi taʿālā “Qul taʿālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum” [Q 6:151] = Ġurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300 (fols 127v–128v); (xxvii) [a] Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-ka-ḏālika nuwallī baʿda l-ẓālimīn baʿḍan” [Q 6:129]; [b] Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Ṯumma awraṯnā l-kitāb allaḏīna ṣṭafaynā min ʿibādinā” [Q 35:32] (fols 128v–129r); [xxviii] Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxix) Masʾala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-ka-ḏālika nuwallī baʿda l-ẓālimīn baʿḍan” [Q 6:129]; (xxx) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxi) Min kalām ‘Ali ʿalayhi l-salām yatabarrā min al-ẓulm (fols 130v–131r); (xxxii) Masʾala fī ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt (fol. 131r–133v); (xxxiii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxiv) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxv) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxvi) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxvii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxviii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xxxix) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xl) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xli) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xliii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xliii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xliv) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlv) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlvi) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlvii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlviii) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xl ix) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (xlix) Faṣl fī l-iǧmāʿ (fols 130r–v); (l) Maṣʾala fi qawl al-nabī šallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam
“Niyyat al-muʾmin ḫayr min ʿamalihi” (fols 140v–141v); (iii) Masʿala fi Fadak (fols 141v–142r); (iv) Faṣl fi l-ġayba (fol 142r); (v) Faṣl: wa-suʿila raḍiya llāh ʿanhu ḫayr min ʿamalihi l-salām fī l-imāma fa-qāla . . . (fols 142r–v); Ḥawla ḫabar “Naḥnu maʿāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṯ mā taraknā huṣdaqwa” (fol. 142v); (vi) Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Qul li-l-muḫallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm” [Q 48:16] (fols 142v–143r); (vii) Masʿala fi tafṣīl Faṣl: wa-suʾila raḍiya llāh ʿanhu ḫayr min ʿamalihi l-salām (fols 143r–v); (viii) Masʿala fi istilām al-ḥaḏar = responsum 2 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt (fols 143v–144r); (ix) Masʿala fi iʿllat muḥāyaʾat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr (fols 144r–v); (x) Masʿala fi l-ḡawāb ḫayr min ʿamalihi l-salām Abā Bakr (fols 145r–v); (xi) Masʿala fi iʿllat muḥāyaʾat al-muḫallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm = responsum 3 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt (fols 145r–v); (xii) Masʿala fi iʿllat muḥāyaʾat al-muḫallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm = responsum 4 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt (fols 145v–150v); (xiii) Masʿala fi iʿllat muḥāyaʾat al-muḫallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm = responsum 5 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt (fols 145v–150v); (xiv) Masʿala fi iʿllat muḥāyaʾat al-muḫallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm = responsum 6 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt (fols 145v–150v); (xv) Masʿala fi iʿllat muḥāyaʾat al-muḫallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm = responsum 7 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt (fols 145v–150v);

17. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738. (i) Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-šams wa-ʿišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara (fols 151v–154v); (ii) al-Masʾala al-ṯāniya min al-masāʾil . . . fī ḥaqīqat al-ḥaḏar = responsum 1 of al-Ramliyyāt (fols 154v–155r); (iii) al-Masʾala al-ṯāniya min al-masāʾil . . . fī ḥaqīqat al-ḥaḏar = responsum 2 of al-Ramliyyāt (fols 154v–155r);


Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb al-Samāwī (b. 1292 [1876], d. 1370 [1950]), who hailed from Samāwa, in southern Iraq, spent many years in Naḡaf, between 1886 and 1912, for the purpose of study. During his time in Naḡaf, as well as in later

835 Yāqūt, Muʿğam al-buldān, vol. 3, p. 245.
years, he produced a number of miscellanies containing selections of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. 836 **Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438** consists of ten texts by

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al-Murtaḍā. 837 Item 9 presumably concludes the original volume, since it ends with

1985) reportedly also purchased many manuscripts from the al-Samāwī library for his own library (initially located in Naǧaf, later in Baghdad), and these were eventually transferred to the library of the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad. See the editor’s introduction to al-Samāwī, al-Ťalī‘a min šu‘arā’ al-Šī‘a, vol. 1, pp. 39–41. For the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library, which was founded in 1377 [1957], see also Min nawādir maḫṭūṭāt, as well as Zuwayn, “The Libraries of Najaf,” pp. 207–209; Zuwayn et al., Mu’qam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-naḡafiyya, passim; ‘Ali Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḫṭūṭāt Faḥr al-Muḥaqqiqīn,” passim. The first and last pages of the manuscripts and individual texts of the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library are accessible through alhakeemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx [accessed 9 November 2018]. For the Ya’qūbī Library, which holds most of al-Samāwī’s transcriptions of works of poetry (see, e.g., above, n. 368) and which has not been catalogued, see al-Ḥalīlī, Mawsū‘at al-’Atabāt al-muqaddasa, vol. 7, pp. 301–304. For Muhammad Riḍā Faraǧ Allāh and his library, see above, n. 233. For Ṣādiq Kamīnī’s library, see al-Ḫalīlī, Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-muqaddasa, vol. 7, pp. 301–304. The manuscript holdings of the National Museum of Iraq were transferred in 1988 to the Dār Šaddām li-l-Maḫṭūṭāt (nowadays Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya). Only some portions have been catalogued by Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqšbandī and others; see al-Naqšbandī, “Iraq,” pp. 19–25; Āl Ṭuʿma, “Ahamm fahāris al-maḫṭūṭāt fī l-ʿIrāq,” pp. 429–436. A large part of the manuscript holdings of the libraries of Iraq, including the Dār Šaddām li-l-Maḫṭūṭāt, was destroyed or looted in 2003. See Johnson, “The Impact on Libraries and Archives in Iraq of War and Looting in 2003”; Kam, “Cultural Calamities”; al-Tikriti, “‘Stuff Happens’”; al-Naqšbandī, “Qadīman wa-ḥadīṯan fī sariqa wa-taḫrīb al-maḫṭūṭāt fī l-ʿIrāq”. For other codices, which originally belonged to the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya but are now lost or have resurfaced in Europe, see Schmidtke, “Preservation, Loss, and Recovery”. For a critical assessment of al-Samāwī’s work as a copyist, see ‘Aṭāʾī Naẓarī, “Az farāz wa furūd-i taṣḥīḥ-i mutūn (2).” Āḥmad ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī has in recent years published a number of catalogues focusing on manuscripts of works by specific authors in the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library, including many that originated with al-Samāwī. See the bibliography for details. Some of al-Samāwī’s manuscript transcriptions preserved in the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library and the library of the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭā, are described in al-Ḫafāǧī, “al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī”. Al-Ḫafāǧī also lists al-Samāwī’s mustansaḫāt, which are recorded by Āghā Buzurg in his al-Ťarīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Šī‘a, but their current whereabouts remains unknown. Al-Samāwī’s son, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, also participated to some degree in transcribing Imāmī classics; see, e.g., “ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿAllāma al-Hili: al-Qism al-ṭānī,” p. 344. He transcribed Mas’asla min kalām qāṭi l-qudāt ‘Abd al-Ǧabār b. Ahmad fi anna l-muṣbīra wa-l-muṣabbiba là yumkinū hum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubaawwa, which is preserved in Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182 (figs 582, 583). See Daiber, “Maqāla fī l-radd ‘alâ l-Mujbira”; for Daiber’s edition, see also below, n. 918. The same codex also includes ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s copy of al-Buṣrawī’s inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings (figs 580, 581).

a colophon (fig. 226) in which al-Samawī relates that he transcribed the codex on the basis of an antigraph written by al-Sayyid Abū l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥāʾirī “al-mudarris” “al-šahīd” (b. 1109 [1697–98], d. 1168 [1754]), who in turn had consulted a copy dated 676 [1278]. The latter date points again to


838 The colophon (fig. 226) seems to read “alf wa-miʾatayn wa-sitta ʿašar,” which is impossible, given Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī’s dates. It is possible that al-Samawī used as antigraph Ms. Naǧaf, *Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190*, which contains the same ten writings in the same sequence; see al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya*, vol. 8, p. 188 no. 31554. However, we were unable to consult the latter codex, so the suggestion that al-Samawī may have consulted it is tentative at best. According to Dānišpažūh, “Kitābḫāna-hā-yi ʿIrāq wa ʿArabistān,” p. 427, Ms. *Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190* was transcribed by al-Samawī. Dānišpažūh clearly confused this codex with Ms. *Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438*, which matches his description. Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī was one of the teachers of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Tustarī (d. 1173 [1759]), who devoted chapter nine of his *Iǧāza al-kabīra* to Naṣr Allāh. See al-Ǧazāʾirī, *Iǧāza al-kabīra*, pp. 83–85. In the chapter al-Ǧazāʾirī comments on, among other things, Naṣr Allāh’s precious personal library. On Naṣr Allāh, see also Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʾī, *Mirʾāt al-šarq*, vol. 2, pp. 1352–1354 no. 662; ‘Araǧ, *al-Sayyid Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī; Naṣr Allāh, al-Sayyid Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī; al-Wāṯiqī, *Aʿlām al-muǧāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʿaẓẓama*, vol. 2, pp. 770–774 no. 318. Ownership statements by both Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī and al-Fāḍil al-Hindī in a number of extant codices suggest that a significant part of the latter’s library later became part of Naṣr Allāh’s library. An example is Ms. *Tehran, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 92*, a copy of *al-Farāʾid fī šarḥ al-Fawāʾid* by Ǧawnpūrī Fārūqī (b. 1015 [1603], d. 1062 [1652]), whose copying al-Fāḍil al-Hindī requested at the age of sixteen (the copy is dated Ramadān 1078 [February–March 1668]. The codex carries ownership statements by both al-Fāḍil al-Hindī and Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī. We thank Rasul Jazini for sharing with us his observations on the codex, which was not accessible to us. Among Naṣr Allāh’s extant writings is his *Diwān* (published, see bibliography), in which he also addresses contemporary social and political events. One of his poems is addressed to Muḥammad Taqi, one of the sons of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. Naṣr Allāh also had access to the library of al-Afandi. Ms. *Tehran, Maǧlis 13832* is a copy of al-Afandi’s *Risāla dar tankīl wa tamṯīl*, dated 22 Ṣafar 1108 [20 September 1696] (fig. 226b), possibly an autograph. On the title page there is an ownership statement by Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī al-mudarris (fig. 226a). He also owned a portion of al-Afandi’s *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, which al-Afandi had given to his son Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (covering mostly the
Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, which includes items 2, 3, and 8, but not the other items of al-Samāwī’s codex. Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī must have consulted Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, as well as other maǧmūʿa in which he found the remaining tracts, during his sojourn in Mašhad. Item 10, which was transcribed some ten months after the other texts, may have been added to the codex at a later stage. The full contents are as follows:

1. *Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ǧabr wa-l-qadar* (colophon dated 7 Raǧab 1334 [10 May 1916], in al-Kāẓimiyya);
2. *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (colophon dated 10 Raǧab 1334 [13 May 1916]);
   The beginning of the work is on p. 76 of the codex;
4. *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (colophon dated 14 Raǧab 1334 [17 May 1916]);
5. *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (colophon dated 20 Raǧab 1334 [23 May 1916], in al-Kāẓimiyya);
7. *al-Rāzīyyāt* (colophon dated Șaʿbān 1334 [June–July 1916], in al-Kāẓimiyya);
10. *Ǧawāb masʿala fī ġaybat al-imām* (colophon dated 17 Raḡab 1335 [10 February 1917]).

Around the same time, al-Samāwī also transcribed al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Ḏarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa*, which he completed on 1 Ğumādā II 1334 [5 April 1916], again in al-Kāẓimiyya (*Ms. Naḡaf, Maktatab al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 943*), as well as *al-Fuṣūl letter mīm*) and which is now lost. See al-Bahrānī, *Kaškūl*, vol. 1, pp. 455ff. For the textual transmission of al-Afandī’s *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, see the editor’s introduction to the work, vol. 1, esp. p. 29; Rawdātā, *Dar partūw-i rawdāt*, pp. 364–366; Rawdātā, *Nuḥustin dā guftār*, pp. 115–119. *Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15684* is an example of a codex that first belonged to the library of al-FAḏil al-Hindi and then to that of al-Afandī, who later gave it to his other son, Āḥmad. *Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 3357*, containing a copy of Ibn Šahrāšūb’s *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, was also given by al-Afandī to his son Ahmad (*fig. 471*). For another case, see above, n. 757. For the books from al-Afandī’s library that went either to Āḥmad or to Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, see Ḥakīm, “Fihrist-i taʾlīfāt-i Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Afandī”. For the personal library of al-FAḏil al-Hindi, see above, n. 773.


The Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm holds another miscellany transcribed by al-Samāwī in 1335 [1917] (Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432), which contains a different selection of al-Murtaḍā’s works.

See for details, see above, Chapter 1.5. Al-Samāwī had copies of other works by al-Murtaḍā in his library, see Ḍamīr, “al-Muḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fl-l-ʿIrāq,” pp. 216 no. 28 (Tātimmat al-Ǧurar, dated 555 AH; see also above, n. 233), no. 32 (Ǧurar, dated 1116 AH), 221 no. 119 (Ṭayf al-ḫayāl), 230 no. 297 (multitext codex, including Rasāʾil al-Murtaḍā), dated 1134 AH), 231 no. 339 (multitext codex, including a Šarḥ Ǧumal al-Murtaḍā, dated 1242 AH), 234 no. 407 (multitext codex, including al-Ǧumal).

attested in virtually all witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex and were also included in the Āğa Buzurg codex, the inclusion of al-Sallāriyyāt is noteworthy. Al-Samāwī refrains from indicating his antigraph(s) in the codex, which consists of the following texts:

1. al-Sallāriyyāt (colophon dated 17 Raḡab 1335 [9 May 1917]);
2. Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim (colophon dated 1335 [1917]);
3. Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt (colophon dated 20 Raḡab 1335 [12 May 1917], in the ʿImāra neighborhood [mahallat al-ʿImāra] of Naḡaf);
4. Masʿala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira (colophon dated Raḡab 1335 [May–June 1917], in Naḡaf);

Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433 is another miscellany transcribed by al-Samāwī containing writings by various Imāmī authors. Of particular interest in the present context are items 2 and 7. Item 2, which the copyist has titled Fawāʾid li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, is a witness of Maǧmūʿa min kalām al-Sayyid al-aḡāll al-Murtaḍāʿ Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl, a compilation of quotations gleaned from al-Murtaḍāʿ’s Daḥīra and possibly other writings by him, which was also included in the Āğa Buzurg codex. This copy concludes with al-Samāwī’s citing two earlier colophons that allow us to identify the antigraph he consulted (fig. 227). The earliest provided date, which apparently pertains to the completion of the tract, is Raḡab 545 [November–December 1150], and it is followed by a colophon dated mid-Rabīʿ II 986 [June 1578], when Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šāʿīd transcribed the text in Mašhad. This shows that his antigraph was Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971. Al-Samāwī in turn completed his copy on 7 Muḥarram 1358 [27 February 1939] in Naḡaf. Item 7 which is entitled hāḏihi aḡwibat masāʾil al-Murtaḍā

846 Cf. also Naḡaf, Fihrist, vol. 1, p. 28; Zuwayn et al., Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-naḡafyya, vol. 1, p. 20; vol. 7, p. 263; Mūǧānī et al., Fihrist, vol. 1, p. 27 [no. 433/7]. Cf. also al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 11, p. 485 no. 47210, where the codex is erroneously listed among the witnesses of al-Murtaḍāʿ’s Ġurar, an error that may reflect confusion between the Fawāʾid li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (item 2) and al-Murtaḍāʿ’s al-Ġurar wa-l-fawāʾid.

847 For Tāḡ al-Dīn b. Šāʿīd’s copy of the Maǧmūʿa min kalām al-Sayyid al-aḡāll al-Murtaḍāʿ Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl (Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971) and its antigraph, see above, n. 717.

848 Cf. also Āğa Buzurg, Ṭabaqāt aṭlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʾa al-ḥādiya ʿašara,
was also copied from an antigraph written by Tāǧ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāʿid (nağazat ʿalā nusḥat Ṣāʿid [sic] al-maktūba sanat 986 al-mustansaḥa ʿalā nusha qadima lam tunqaṭ . . .) (fig. 228), which is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792. It opens with al-Murtaḍā’s Masʾala fi ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt (fig. 577), followed by his Masʾala fi bayān qawlihi ʿalā lālā ʿalayhi wa-ʿalīhi wa-sallam “Anā wa-anta yā ʿAlī kahātayn”. The latter text is preceded by a note stating that the questioner is unknown (wa-amlā radiya llāh ʿanhu fī ǧawāb masʾala suʾila ʿanhā kitāba am wa-łam yuʿlam šāḥiḥuḥ) (fig. 578). The presence of this note (which is not included in Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792 in its current state to the extent we can judge on the basis of the digital surrogate at our disposal) is remarkable; it must have been added to the text at a very early stage. Item 7 ends with yet another text, Mā maʿnā l-qawlʿinda l-ziyāra li-mašāhid al-aʾimma ‘Ašhadu anna kalāmī wa-taruddu ǧawābī’ (fig. 579), which is also by al-Murtaḍā. Beyond Tāǧ al-Dīn b. Ṣāʿid’s codex (Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792, pp. 383:9-387), this tract is not attested anywhere else, and the empty spaces throughout al-Samāwī’s copy largely reflect the damage to one leaf (pp. 383–384) in Tāǧ al-Dīn’s codex.

**Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10007** is a multitext volume containing several writings by al-Murtaḍā. It was transcribed between 1336 [1917–18] and 1337 [1918–19] by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī (d. 1370 [1950–51]), who in 1338 [1919–20] is attested to have been in Naḡaf, where he studied with Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī al-Naḡafī [“Āġā Ḍiyāʾ-i ʿIrāqī”] (b. 1278 [1861], d. 1361 [1942]), one of the most prominent Uṣūlīs of twentieth-century Iraq. Like Muhammad al-Samāwī, al-Haštrūdī was active in transcribing Imāmī classics, with a focus on works of kalām

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849 The item is also briefly mentioned in al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 1, p. 331 no. 1527.


and related disciplines. See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 448 (s.v. “ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Haštrūdī Tabrīzī”); cf. also Muḥtārī and Šafīʿī, *Fihrist*, pp. 20, 112, and Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Naḡaftī-yi Maṛāšī*, vol. 10, pp. 184–186, for some of the manuscripts produced by al-Ḥaštrūdī that are kept in the Maṛāšī Library, Qum, including a copy of al-Afandī’s *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ* (Ms. Qum, Maṛāšī 3804). Interestingly, al-Ḥaštrūdī also transcribed a partial copy of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Qurʾān commentary, *Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl fī mutašābih al-tanzīl*, which is preserved as Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 545 tafsīr Taymūr. The codex (171 pp.) is signed by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaštrūdī al-Tabrīzī and dated 1337 [1918–19]. The title page of the codex carries a note, evidently written by Aḥmad Taymūr (b. 1288 [1871], d. 1348 [1930]), stating that the codex was presented to him as a gift by Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanḡānī during the latter’s sojourn in Cairo on the way to the ḥaǧǧ and that the meeting between the two took place on 10 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1342 [13 June 1924]. For Taymūr and his manuscript collection, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḫazāʾin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204; Wollina, “The Library of Ahmad Taymur”. Al-Ḥaštrūdī produced another copy of the *Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwil*, completed on 16 Rabīʿ II 1343 [14 November 1924], which is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maṛāšī 1225 (antigraph not identified). The Maṛāšī Library also holds numerous other manuscripts transcribed by al-Ḥaštrūdī. These include Ms. Tehran, Maṛāšī 10544, a copy of the K. al-ḥaṭṭād by al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī (dated Ḏū l-Ḥiǧḏa 1338 [August–September 1920]; antigraph not identified); Ms. Tehran, Maṛāšī 9718, a copy of al-ʿArbaʿūn ḥadīṯan fī ḥuqūq al-iḫwān by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhra al-Ḥalabī (dated 1338 [August–September 1920]; antigraph not identified); Ms. Tehran, Maṛāšī 9740, a collective codex containing Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs’s (d. 673 [1274–75]) *ʿAyn al-ʿabra fī ġabn al-ʿitra* as well as a work identified as al-Miʿyār wa-l-muwāzana, this being an alternative title for the K. al-Īḍāḥ by Faḍl b. Šāḏān, on which see Ansari, “Nusḫa-yi Kitāb al-Miʿyār wa-l-muwāzana-yi Faḍl b. Šāḏān” (copied in Ġumādā II 1337 [March–April 1919] in Naḡaft; no antigraph identified); Ms. Tehran, Maṛāšī 6713, a multitem text volume, of which parts apparently originated in a diferent codex, containing two dated colophons among the many included at the ends of the individual items, giving the dates 1337 [1918–19] (fol. 27a) and 19 Ġumādā I 1339 [29 January 1921] (fol. 38v); Ms. Tehran, Maṛāšī 11579, a copy of K. Lisān al-ḥawāṣṣ fī ḏikr maʿānī al-alfāẓ al-iṣṭilāḥiyya li-l-ʿulamāʾ by Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qazwīni “Aqā Raḍī Qazwīni” (d. 1096 [1685]), dated Rabiʿ II 1335 [January–February 1917]; and Mss Tehran, Maṛāšī 10143, 10452, and 10144, which contain volumes one through three of al-Asrār al-ḥaṭṭāyda fīʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, dated Rabiʿ II 1339 [December 1920–January 1921], 11 Ġumādā II 1338 [2 March 1920], and Ġumādā II 1338 [February–March 1920], respectively (figs. 257a, 257b, 257c, 257d). All three copies are listed in al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, p. 52 nos 11, 12, and 13. For all three volumes, al-Ḥaštrūdī consulted an antigraph transcribed by al-Samāwī, whose colophons al-Ḥaštrūdī quotes in full at the end of each volume after his own. Al-Samāwī relates that he transcribed volume one, on logic, on the basis of a holograph preserved in the Ḥizāna al-Ḡarawiyya in Naḡaft, and that he completed his copy on Saturday, 5 Šaʿbān 1338 [24 April 1920]. Al-Samāwī’s copy of volume one is preserved as Ms. Naḡaft, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 69; see Mūḡānī et al., *Fihrist*, p. 79; cf., however, al-Ḥaḡaṭ, “al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī,” p. 263 no. 4, which cites the colophon with wording that rather matches
the information provided for Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 380 (see below). Below al-Samāwī’s colophon as cited by al-Haštrūdī at the end of Ms. Maǧlis 10143 (fig. 257b), there is a note by Šayḫ al-Islām Faḍl Allāh al-Zanǧānī in which he states that he commissioned al-Haštrūdī to transcribe the work on the basis of al-Samāwī’s copy, and that al-Samāwī had consulted the holograph. At the time, however, some pages had been missing from the holograph and, thus, were also missing in al-Samāwī’s copy. In 1364 [1945] Faḍl Allāh visited Nağaf and saw that al-Samāwī had completed the missing parts. This prompted Faḍl Allāh to ask al-Samāwī to transcribe the missing portions into his copy, too. Al-Samāwī agreed and returned the completed copy to Faḍl Allāh in Ramaḍān 1365 [July–August 1946]. This, Faḍl Allāh explains, is the reason for the two different hands in the codex. However, these later additions are not preserved in any of the three Maǧlis codices. In Ms. Maジャー is there are two lacunae, the first between folios 48 and 49, and the second between folios 75 and 76 (with three and two pages left blank, respectively). The digital surrogate at our disposal suggests that the additions by al-Samāwī either have been lost or are preserved separately. In volume two, on physics, al-Haštrūdī includes at the end first the colophon of an unspecified earlier copy (obviously al-Samāwī’s antigraph), dated 29 Rabī’ 1 776 [7 September 1372], then his own colophon, and finally al-Samāwī’s colophon, which specifies that al-Samāwī completed his copy at the end of Ramaḍān 1335 [July 1917]. Al-Samāwī also states that the antigraph (which was “marred with errors,” nusḥa maġlūṭa) was based on the holograph, with two intermediaries. For volume three, on metaphysics, al-Samāwī consulted an antigraph (again a nusḥa maġlūṭa, according to al-Samāwī) that was copied directly from the holograph. Al-Samāwī completed his copy on 14 Šawwāl 1335 [3 August 1917]. A holograph of volumes one through three is preserved, in a single volume, as Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 380, and at the end of volume one there is a note by al-Samāwī stating that he completed the text on pages 437, 438, 457, 458, and 459 in 1355 [1936–37]. See Mūǧānī et al., Fihrist, p. 79; cf. also al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī, p. 51; ‘Ali Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-awwal,” pp. 357ff., 394–397. See also ‘Ali Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, Mustadrak al-Ḏarīʿa, vol. 1, pp. 144–145, 283–293, for a more detailed account of the fate of the holograph. The manuscript was initially held by the Maktaba al-Garawiyya, but it came into al-Samāwī’s possession at some stage, most likely after 1917, when he produced copies of volumes two and three on the basis of different antigraphs. The latter had evidently unrestricted access to the Garawiyya’s holdings and was regularly granted permission to borrow individual codices from the library for the purpose of copying them, in accordance with centuries-old practice in the library; see al-Amin, Raḥulāt, pp. 105–106. For the Garawiyya and its history, see also above, n. 697. This practice may explain why some manuscripts that originally belonged to the Garawiyya were later part of al-Samāwī’s personal collection—he may have forgotten to return them or he may have died before he was able to do so. Later, when the manuscripts of his library were given to other libraries (see above, n. 836), the holograph was transferred to the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm; see also al-Milānī, Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya, pp. 118–119 no. 12; Āl Maḥbūba, Māḍī l-Naḡaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā, vol. 1, p. 149. The holograph in the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm was consulted by the work’s editors, Ḥusām Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Ālūsī and Sāliḥ Maḥdī al-Hāšim; see their introduction to al-Hillī, Asrār, pp. 110, 122–124, for a description and sample facsimile of the codex. Another manuscript copied
back to Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and al-Ḥaštrūdī’s transcription of the *Tabbāniyyāt* has all the characteristic lacunae and errors observed also in the December 2020]; see above, n. 212. On the basis of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10365, Hassan Ansari has shown that it was Rukn al-Dīn al-Ǧurǧānī who for some unclear reason transcribed the text as *al-Qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* and ascribed it to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. This version, for which Ansari identified five witnesses, differs from the one copied by Abū Naṣr ʿAlī al-Ṭabīb [al-Mutaṭabbīb], and a detailed analysis of the different versions is a desideratum. See Ansari, “ʿĀmirī nāma (1)”; Ansari (ed.), *Išrāq al-lāhūt* (dar šarḥ-i *Kitāb al-Yāqūt*); introduction. Saʿīd al-Ǧānimī, unaware of the numerous apographs of Rukn al-Dīn al-Ǧurǧānī’s copy of the text, included an edition of Ms. Naḡaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 675/2 in his edition of some of al-ʿĀmirī’s work, *Arbaʿ rasāʾil falsafiyya*, without addressing the relation between Rukn al-Dīn’s version and that copied by Abū Naṣr ʿAlī. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10365 also contains (3) an anonymous text that is often erroneously attributed to al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, pp. 223–224 no. 4), entitled *al-Ḥuǧaǧ al-qawiyya fī iṯbāt al-waṣiyya* (dated Ǧumādā I 1336 [February–March 1918], and based on a copy dated Rabīʿ I 1121 [May–June 1709]). Copies of al-Nawbaḫtī’s *Firaq al-šīʿa* were also produced by al-Samāwī and Šayḫ al-šarīʿa al-Iṣfahānī; these are preserved in the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm; see the editor’s introduction to al-Nawbaḫtī, *Firaq al-šīʿa*, ed. Malikiyān, p. 116. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 12706 is another multitext codex, containing short tracts by different authors that was copied by al-Ḥaštrūdī during Rabīʿ I 1338 [November–December 1919]. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9796 is a multitext volume, consisting primarily of legal tracts by different authors. With the exception of the final tract, the codex was transcribed by al-Ḥaštrūdī in 1337 [1918–19] on the basis of a manuscript of Šayḫ al-šarīʿa Fatḥ Allāh (see pp. 15, 19, 25, 34, 37). Al-Ḥaštrūdī also transcribed in 1338 [1919–20] volume one of *Wadāʾiʿ al-nubuwwa* by Šayḫ Hādī b. Muḥammad Amin al-Ṭihrānī al-Baḥrānī (b. 1253 [1837], d. 1321 [1903]) (on whom see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*), and his copy is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 22 *Fayyād* (see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 10, p. 1036 no. 295948). In 1341 [1922–23] he transcribed *Miṣbāḥ al-faqīh fī šarḥ šarāʾiʿ al-Islām* by Ḥāǧǧ Āqā Rīḍā b. Muḥammad Hādī Hamadānī (d. 1322 [1904]), preserved in two volumes as Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 7426 and 7427 (see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 671 nos 257497 and 257498). Al-Ḥaštrūdī also transcribed volumes two and three of al-Afandī’s *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, and these copies were consulted by Aḥmad al-Iškawarī al-Ḥusaynī for his edition of the work: Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3804 is dated Ǧumādā II 1336 [March–April 1918], and Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3805 is dated Šaʿbān 1336 [May–June 1918]; see al-Afandī, *Riyūd*, vol. 1, pp. 27–28 (editor’s introduction).
earlier copies that depend on the Mašhad codex. In this codex, too, item 3 relies on an antigraph transcribed by the great-grandson of al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī. The copy contains the following texts:

1. (fols 1v–23r) al-Tabbāniyyāt. The copy is signed and dated Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1336 [August–September 1918];
2. (fols 24v–40r) al-Sallāriyyāt. The work ends with a signed colophon, dated 1336 [1917–18];
3. (fols 40v–41v) Masʾala fī ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād, with a colophon dated Ṣafar 1337 [November–December 1918] (fig. 230). The tract opens with the following statement by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, the transmitter of this text: naqaltu min ḫaṭṭ ǧaddī al-mabrūk al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī quddisa sirruhu min kitāb bi-ḫaṭṭihi fī l-Mašhad al-muqaddas wa-hiya allatī yakhi kalāmahā ḡaddī al-Šayḥ Ḥasan ṭāba ṭarāhu fī uṣūl al-Maʿālim (fol. 40v; fig. 229). Al-Haštrūdī, in turn, received the text from his teacher Šayḫ al-šarīʿa Fatḥ Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ğawād al-Namāzī al-Šīrāzī al-Iṣfahānī (b. 1266 [1849–50], d. 1339 [1920]), as he explains at the end of the tract (fol. 41v; fig. 230). The antigraph in the hand of al-Haštrūdī’s teacher is preserved as Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087, fols 445r–v (undated; figs 230a, 230b). For the date of Fatḥ Allāh’s copy, see below;


4. (fols 42v–56r) Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr. The colophon is signed and dated Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1336 [August–September 1918], and fol. 56v contains a dated statement (1336 [1917–18]) by al-Ḥaštrūdī, noting that he copied the codex up to that point at the behest of Faḍl Allāh al-Zanĝānī;


Al-Ḥaštrūdī also transcribed Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9728, a multitext volume consisting of works by Čaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Qummī “Ibn al-Rāzī” (fourth/tenth century), Ibn Bābawayh, and al-Šayh al-Ṭūsī, as well as a copy of al-Murtadā’s al-Rāziyyāt (pp. 33–55). The codex ends with a colophon dated Šaʿbān 1339 [April–May 1921].

The prominent Iraqi scholar and politician al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Hibat al-Dīn al-Šahrastānī (b. 1301 [1884], d. 1386 [1967]), who founded in the early 1940s the Maktabat al-Imāmayn al-Ǧawādayn in al-Kāẓimiyya, of which his personal library became part, also transcribed some of the Imāmī classics. Noteworthy among his mustansaḥāt is a multitext volume, completed on 13 Čumādā l 1327 [2 June 1909] and consisting of works by al-Mufīd as well as an item that is described in the catalogue as Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā and that appears on pages 105–115 of the codex. It is not entirely clear which of al-Murtaḍā’s tracts are included. In the library’s catalogue, the specification “al-Masāʾil al-Nīliyyāt” has been added to the item’s heading, but the incipit and explicit, which are also cited in the catalogue, indicate that the specification relates to only part of the material. The block begins with masʿala 20 from al-Nīliyyāt, but the final item is masʿala 6 (“fī l-ʾiṣma”) of al-

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855 He is the author of several works of ḥadīṯ, including Čāmiʿ al-ahādīt. On him, see Ansari, L’imamat et l’occultation, p. 79 and passim; see also the introduction by Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Nišābūrī to his edition of Ibn al-Rāzī’s Čāmiʿ al-ahādīt.


At the end of the codex, where al-Šahrastānī provides details about the antigraphs he consulted for the individual items he chose to include, he states that he borrowed a maǧmūʿa from the library of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī (b. 1245 [1838], d. 1320 [1902]). The latter included additional works by al-Murtaḍā, and al-Šahrastānī chose only some of them.  


859 See al-Šahrastānī, “Fihris maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ǧawādayn al-ʿĀmma,” pp. 654–655. The codex in Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī’s library is not described in detail in his own catalogue, see al-Ṭabarsī, “Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥāǧǧī Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī,” ed. Hossein Modarressi, p. 144 (Masāʾil-i mutafarriqa az Sayyid-i Murtaḍā); see also p. 150 (Masāʾil al-Sayyid). For Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī’s catalogue of his library, see Āġā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, vol. 16, pp. 390–391 no. 1825. Mīrzā Ḥusayn had also other works by al-Murtaḍā in his library, namely K. al-Intiṣār (ibid., p. 133), and Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ (ibid., p. 136). Al-Nūrī’s own catalogue lists several hundreds of titles. Another document that is relevant in the present context is preserved in a manuscript, the current whereabouts of which are uncertain (fig. 265). The document consists of the two parts. Part 1 parallels Mīrzā Ḥusayn’s aforementioned catalogue of his library. It is another copy than the one used by Modarressi for his edition of the text; it was transcribed by Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Šūštarī al-Naḡafī and is dated 1354 [1935] and may be identical with the copy of the catalogue mentioned by Modarressi in his introduction but not consulted by him for the edition in the library of the Ḥusayniyya Šūštariyya in Naḡaf. Part 2 seems to be a catalogue of the holdings of the Ḥusayniyya Šūštariyya (for the library, which consisted of some 800 manuscripts, see Āġā Buzurg, Ḏarīʿa, p. 161; Ismāʿīliyān and Ustādī, “Fihrist”). The second list includes al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Intiṣār, Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, K. al-Ḍahīra, K. al-Ṣāfī, K. al-Ǧurur, and K. al-Ǧurar. Mīrzā Ḥusayn’s Library also included a precious copy of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s Talḫīṣ al-Šāfī, which is nowadays preserved as Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Masāǧīd-i Aʿẓam 1375 (for a description of the manuscript, see above, n. 54); Mīrzā Ḥusayn’s ownership statement is visible on the titlepage of the codex (fig. 592). For the library of al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, see also al-Amin, Rahalāt, p. 108; Roper, World Survey, vol. 1, p. 499; Zuwayn, “The Libraries of Najaf,” pp. 199–200; Mudarris Gīlānī, “Kitābḫāna-hā-yi Naʿaf,” p. 930 no. 13. The collection was dispersed after its owner’s death in 1320 [1902], with the majority of the books coming into the possession of Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Burūḡīrdī (b. 1292 [1875], d. 1380 [1961]). Most of these books were divided between the two libraries that are named after him, in Naḡaf and in Qum. ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī prepared a handlist of the Nūrī collection when it was still kept in al-Burūḡīrdī’s private house; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḡuṣṣī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi ḡuṣṣī-yi marḥūm-i Āyat Allāh Burūḡīrdī dar Qum”; see ibid., pp. 69, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77 for al-Murtaḍā’s works. Part of the al-Nūrī library came into the possession of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī’s daughter, the wife of the prominent Ṣayyī Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (b. 1259 [1843], d. 1327 [1909]), who in turn was the son of Mīrzā Nūrī’s sister. Part of the collection of Faḍl Allāh’s son Dīyāʾ al-Dīn Nūrī was later given to the Maḡlis Library in Tehran. See figs 459 and 460 for examples of codices from Dīyāʾ al-Dīn Nūrī’s library, featuring his stamp. For the history of the Maḡlis Library and the various collections that were donated to it over time (including Nūrī’s), see Tārīh-
Another twentieth-century scholar who was renowned for the quantity and quality of his transcriptions (*mustansaḫāt*) of Imāmī classics was al-Šayḫ Šīr Muḥammad b. Ṣafar ‘Alī b. Šīr Muḥammad al-Ǧūrakānī al-Hamadānī al-Naḡafī (b. 1302 [1884], d. 1390 [1970]). Among his more than one hundred transcriptions are a few texts by al-Murtaḍā, viz. *Masʾala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar* (dated Muḥarram 1347 [June–July 1928]), *al-Fuṣūl al-muḫṭāra* (dated Rabīʿ I 1350 [July–August 1931]), and the spurious *Inqāḏ al-bašar* (dated Šaʿbān 1361 [August–September 1942]) ([fig. 312]).

Mention should also be made of his contemporary Ṣadr al-Islām Muḥammad Amīn al-Imāmī al-Ḫūʾī (b. 1303 [1885–86], d. 1367 [1948]), a prolific scholar in his own right and another important copyist of Imāmī classics, including some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. His library was transferred in 1993 to the Marʿašī Library in Qum. His transcriptions include, yi Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis-i Šīrā-yi Millī and Tārīḫča-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Maḏlis. The holdings of the two Burūḡirdī libraries were described by Aḥmad and Gaʿfar Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, respectively; see Gaʿfar Ḥusaynī Iškawarī’s *Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Burūḡirdī, Naḡaf* and Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Iškawarī’s *Fihrist-i nusḥa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Muʿāssasa-yi Burūḡirdī* (Qum, Ḩāʾirān). For the Burūḡirdī library in Naḡaf and the Nūrī collection, see also Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Dalīl al-maḫṭūṭāt*, vol. 1, pp. 4–34; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 175.

860 On him, see Gāhānbaḵš, “Šayḫ Šīr Muḥammad Hamadānī”. He is the author of *Sanad al-ḫiṣām fīmā untuḫiba min Musnad al-Imām Ahmad b. Ḥanbal*. The work was published in the edition of Ahmad ʿAli Maḏīḵ al-Ḥillī, whose introduction includes a study on the life and work of Šīr Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (see bibliography). For his library, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 175.


863 ʿAlī Maḏīḵ al-Ḥillī, “Maktabat al-Ḥuḡga al-Šayḥ Šīr Muḥammad Ibn Ṣafar ʿAlī al-Hamadānī,” [part one], p. 272 no. 57. The copy is nowadays preserved as *Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 3215*. At the time of his copying the text had already been published (it was printed in Naḡaf in 1354 [1935]), of which Šīr Muḥammad was initially unaware, as he remarks in his copy towards the end of the text ([fig. 313]). Šīr Muḥammad also transcribed some writings by al-Mufīd, including his *al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariyya* (see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd,” p. 29 no. 14), *al-Ifṣāḥ fī l-imāma* (ibid., p. 50 no. 7), *al-Amālī* (ibid., p. 56 no. 3), and *al-Masāʾil al-ʾašar fi l-gāyba* (ibid., p. 119 no. 7).

864 On him and his library, see the editor’s introduction to his *Mirʾāt al-šarq*. For a catalogue of his manuscripts in the Marʿašī Library, see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi
by way of example, Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2904, a mağmû’a which also contains al-Murtaḍā’s Mas’ala fi ibtâl al-‘amal bi-aḥbâr al-āḥâd (pp. 45–48; figs 231, 232), as well as texts by al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṣadūq ibn Bâbawayh, al-Ṣahīd al-Ṭânî, and Mîrzâ Muḥammad al-Âḥbârî. Likewise noteworthy is ‘Alî b. Muḥammad Riḍâ b. Mūsâ b. Ga’far Kâšîf al-Ǧîṭâ (b. 1267 [1850], d. 1350 [1931]), the author of al-Ḥuṣūn al-manîʿa fi ʿtâbaqât al-Şî’â, whose numerous mustansaḫāṭ include some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. The


**Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005** is a miscellany consisting of writings by various authors ([fig. 233](#)). The codex was transcribed in 1336 [1917] by a single, unidentified hand. Three of its works are of interest in the present context. The first item (fols 1r–3r) is a copy of al-Buṣrawī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings (incomplete at the end). Item 2 (fols 4v–13r), dated 3 Rabīʿ I 1336 [17 December 1917], is ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s tract against the Muḡbira. And item 5 (fols 35r–65v) is entitled Mutafarriqāt multaqaṭa min Masāʾil al-Šarīf al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudāʿ ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī and consists of texts that form one of the building blocks of the cluster that is based on the 574 [1179] codex:

1. (fols 35v–36r) Masʿala fi l-masḥ ʿalā l-ḫuffayn;
2. (fols 36v–37v) Masʿala fi ḡawāz nikāh al-mutʿa;
3. (fols 37v–38v) Masʿala fi šīqat al-bayʿ;
4. (fols 38v–39r) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid;
5. (fols 39r–v) Masʿala min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā;
7. (fols 40r–42v) Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu;
8. (fol. 42v) Iḏāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya;
9. (fol. 42v) Masʿala fi walad al-bint;


10. (fols 42v–44v) Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt;
11. (fol. 44v) al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm;
12. (fols 44v–45v) Ḥukm mā’ al-bi’r ba’da l-ḡafāf;
13. (fols 45v–46v) Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ru’ya min ǧumlat “Kitāb al-Ḡurar” [= Ġurar al-fawāʾid];
16. (fols 48v–50v) Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ʿalā l-awsāf;
17. (fols 50v–51r) Mas’ala fi fāṣād al-ʿāmal bi-ḥbār al-āḥād;
18. (fols 51r–v) Mas’ala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ḡism lam yaka-num kā-inan bi-l-fāʿīl;
19. (fols 51v–52r) Awwal al-wāǧibāt al-naẓar;

Muḥammad Šādiq b. Ḥasan Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (b. 1315 [1898], d. 1399 [1979]) was a renowned scholar and judge in Naḡaf who edited many Šīʿī classics. He had studied with Āġā Buzurg and was a close companion of Muḥammad al-Samāwī, and, like the latter, he transcribed some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. In 1971, he produced a miscellany of nineteen texts by al-Murtaḍā, preserved as Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79, and for some of the works he consulted the Āġā Buzurg codex as antigraph. The codex contains the following writings:

1. Mas’ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira (dated 20 Ṣafar 1391 [17 April 1971]), copied from the Āğa Buzurg codex (figs 234, 235),

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868 For all the works transcribed in his hand, see the editor’s introduction to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, al-Durar al-bahiyya, vol. 1, pp. 73–90 (168 titles in total). For his mustansaḫāt preserved in the Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, see ‘Alī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, pp. 91–185, 311; see also ibid., pp. 317–325 for those of his mustansaḫāt that are preserved outside his personal library.

869 See al-Dirāyatī, Muʿǰam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 1, p. 459 no. 2092 [no. 79/1]. The codex was only partly available to us, and the following information on this and other codices transcribed by Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm is largely based on the information provided in the catalogue; see ‘Alī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, p. 125 no. 164. Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm also compiled a handwritten inventory
2. *al-Muqniʿ fī l-ğayba* (dated 27 Ṣafar 1391 [24 April 1971]), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex (fig. 236),870

3. *Masʿāla waqīfa fī l-ğayba* (undated);871

4. *Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā* (undated), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex;872


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10. Masʾala fi l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt (dated 1 Rabiʿ II 1391 [27 May 1971]).878


l-Hiǧga 1359 [18 January 1941]), another copy of the spurious Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl (undated), and Masʿala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (dated 11 Ǧumādā II 1389 [25 August 1969]). This last text was again transmitted through the great-grandson of al-Šahid al-Ṭānī: Baḥr al-ʿUlūm had a copy in the hand of Šayḫ al-šarīʿa Fatḥ Allāh b. Muhammad b. Ėawād al-Namāzī al-Šīrāzī al-Īṣfahānī (dated Ǧumādā II 1327 [June–July 1909]) as his antigraph—evidently the same one that had been available to al-Haštrūdī (see above)—which in turn was based on a copy transcribed by ʿAlī b. Zayn al-Dīn, al-Šahid al-Ṭānī’s great-grandson.886 Baḥr al-ʿUlūm also kept in his library a copy of the K. al-Ḏarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa, transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥammūd al-Ḥillī (dated Ǧumādā II 1329 [23 September 1911]).887

Another noteworthy example of a twentieth-century codex containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings is Ms. Qum, Muḥaddīṭ Nāma-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūǧirdī 18, which was copied by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Qummī and completed in 1371 [1951] (see the colophon on p. 63; fig. 246). The codex comprises al-Murtaḍā’s ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal (pp. 1–37; figs 241, 242), Ibn al-Barrāǧ’s commentary on the legal portions of the work (pp. 39–170; figs 243, 244), and al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Iqtiṣād (with separate pagination, pp. 1–63; figs 245, 246).888


886 Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 87/19; see ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, p. 171 no. 253; al-Dirāyatī, Muʿjam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 1, p. 103 no. 458. The Iranian scholar Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (d. 1358š [1979]) also produced a copy of Masʿala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (dated Ǧarāḥ 1365 [January–February 1946]). The antigraph he consulted was produced by al-Sayyid Riḍā al-Mūsawī al-Zanĝānī (d. 1362 [1983]) and dated 1362 [1943]. Al-Zanĝānī also issued an iǧāza for the text to Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī. Al-Zanĝānī had in turn consulted a copy in the library of Šayḫ al-Islām al-Zanĝānī (on which see n. 537), and the latter was again indirectly transcribed from that of Šayḫ al-Šīrāzī (see Wāyqān, Muḥaddīṭ nāma, pp. 81, 684–696, 1022; see also ibid., p. 81 n. 2 for Riḍā al-Mūsawī al-Zanĝānī.


Perhaps one of the most recent documented manuscripts of a work by al-Murtaḍā is a copy of his Šarḥ al-ḫuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya that was completed on 28 Ḏū l-Ḥiḡga 1403 [6 October 1983]. It was transcribed by the scholar and bibliophile ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (b. 1348 [1929–30], d. 1416 [1995–96]) on the basis of a codex that includes Šarḥ al-ḫuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya, namely Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Raḍawī 7734 (dating to the ninth/fifteenth or tenth/sixteenth century; figs 310, 311). Al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī had apparently worked on a critical edition of the work, which was never published.889

889 Ms. Qum, Maktabat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (no shelfmark). See also al-Muḥaqiq al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī fī ḏikrāhu al-sanawiyya al-ūlā, vol. 1, p. 98. Al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī kept his notes on the manuscripts he had consulted over the years in several notebooks, including one that he entitled Qayd al-awābiḍ. His notebooks remain in his personal library today. Al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī also transcribed a codex comprising various works by al-Mufīd, as well as Ǧawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salāt, which he attributed to al-Mufīd (fig. 466; for the tract, see Chapter Four of the present publication). A surrogate of the codex was available to us through the Bunyād-i Muḥaqqiq-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī in Qum (no shelfmark). At the end of al-Mufīd’s al-Risāla al-ūlā fī l-ḥayba (ed. ʿAlāʾ Āl Ǧaʿfar, 1413 [1992]), al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī mentions al-Ḥaštrūdī’s copy of the text as his antigraph, and he identifies al-Ḥaštrūdī as ustāḏi wa-muʿallimī fi l-kitāba (fig. 472). Al-Ḥaštrūdī had completed the copy in 1345 [1926–27], and he had produced it for the renowned Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭihrānī (b. 1281 [1864–65], d. 1371 [1951–52]), the author of Mustadrak Biḥār al-anwār. Another twentieth-century copyist of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is Muhammad ʿUsayn b. al-Kāẓim al-Qazwīnī al-Mūsawī, who completed a copy of al-فزūl al-muḥtāra on 27 Ğumādā II 1335 [20 April 1917] on the basis of an antigraph transcribed by Ǧamāl b. Šāh Muḥammad al-Fasawī and dated Šawwāl 1056 [November–December 1646]; the copy is preserved as Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 55 (fig. 541). For ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, see also al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī, Fiḥris al-turāṯ, p. 841.
The transition of al-Murtaḍā’s *quaestiones*, epistles, and responsa collections from manuscript to print shows that, by and large, the main characteristics of the earlier transmission of his oeuvre in manuscript persisted when his works began to be published. Selected epistles of his were included in collective volumes that appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century in lithograph prints. *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, a compilation of thirty tracts by a variety of Šīʿī and non-Šīʿī authors that was prepared for publication by Āqā Mīrzā Sayyid Bāqir and published in 1315 [1897] (fig. 247), contained the following three tracts: *Masʿala waḡīza fī l-ğayba* (pp. 531–533; fig. 248), *Masʿala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (pp. 534–538; fig. 249), and *Masʿala fi l-ʾiṣma* (p. 539; fig. 250). The first print of al-Murtaḍā’s *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ* was published by al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥaydariyya under the auspices of its owner, Muḥammad Sādiq al-Kutbī, and is dated 29 Ṣafar 1350 [16 July 1931] (figs 567, 568). The pseudo-Murtaḍā *Inqāḏ al-bašar* was included in a volume that was edited by ʿAlī al-Ḫāqānī al-Naḡafī (b. 1328 [1910–11], d. 1400 [1979–80]), the renowned author of *Šuʿarāʾ al-Ġarī*, and published in Naḡaf in 1354 [1935] and that also contained *Istiqṣāʾ al-naẓar fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī. Using the Āġā Buzurg codex as antigraph, the prominent Iraqi scholar Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn al-Kāẓimī (b. 1350 [1931], d. 1427 [2006]) included in fascicles two and five of his *Nafāʾis al-maḫṭūṭāt* (published in 1954 and 1955 respectively) editions of *Muqaddima fī l-uṣūl al-iʿtiqādiyya*, *Masʿala waḡīza fī l-ğayba*, and *Maḡmūʿa min kalām al-Sayyid al-aḡall al-Murtaḍā fī funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl*. In 1958–1959 the Iraqi scholar Rašīd ʿAbbās al-Ṣaffār (b. 1921, d. 1995) published two of al-Murtaḍā’s works, *K. al-Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* and *Dīwān*. A first attempt towards a comprehensive publication of al-Murtaḍā’s epistles and responsa was made in 1966, when Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-

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890 See also Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 295 no. 1542 (Aḥkām ahl al-āḥira); vol. 18, p. 118 no. 981 (*Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*); vol. 20, p. 382 no. 3538 (Masʿala fi aḥkām al-āḥira); vol. 20, p. 390 no. 3600 (Masʿala fi l-ʾiṣma).

891 On the occasion of al-Murtaḍā’s millennium, these were republished in 1436/2015, with revisions, under the title *Min rasāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*. For Āl Yāsīn’s biography and writings, see Āl Yāsīn, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAllāma al-Kabīr al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn*. Volume “0” of this publication is devoted to his biography.

892 See Chapters 1.2 and 1.5 of the present publication. For his biography, see al-Ǧabūrī, *Muʿǧam al-ʿudabāʾ*, vol. 2, pp. 382–384.
Iškawarī published a volume containing four texts, for which he had consulted two manuscripts, the Āġā Buzurg codex and Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 32, a collective manuscript with works by different authors, which had been copied by ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī over the course of 1234 [1818–19].

893 Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī included the following texts: (1) al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ‘alā l-anbiyāʾ (pp. 17–29); (2) Masʾala ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bāni ʿĀdam” [Q 17:70] (pp. 31–38); (3) Masʾala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira (pp. 39–50); (4) Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ḡabr wa-l-qadar (pp. 51–124). In the following year, 1387 [1967], al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published an edition of al-Murtaḍā’s Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, for which he had consulted three manuscripts: the Āġā Buzurg codex; a multitext volume of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that had been transcribed by Muḥammad al-Samāwī, housed in the Maktabat al-Ḥakīm in Naǧaf; and Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 401, which was undated. In 1971, Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh published an edition of the spurious al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq.


Whereas both publications by al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī come close to constituting critical editions, the same cannot be said of the four volumes that were published between 1405 [1984–85] and 1410 [1989–90] under the title Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, containing most of al-Murtaḍā’s extant responsa collections and epistles (as well as spurious material). These were prepared by Mahdī Raǧāʾī, under the supervision of Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī. Some of the larger tracts of the 1984/85–1989/90 publication were individually reprinted in 2004, without corrections, modifications, or revisions. In the same year, a slim collective volume entitled al-Rasāʾil al-adabiyya wa-l-ḥadīṭiyya was published, containing items 11, 12, 13, 17, 25, 32, 40, 41, and 43 of the 1984/85–1989/90 publication and constituting yet another variant of a one-volume library of selected writings by al-Murtaḍā.

Despite its shortcomings, the 1984/85–1989/90 publication of the Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā is an interesting case of a miscellany that represents a continuation of the earlier transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s works in manuscript. Several of the building blocks that have been identified in the various clusters of the manuscript tradition discussed above have been retained in the Rasāʾil, despite a fair amount of rearranging. The editors’ main goal seems to have been to gather as many works by al-Murtaḍā as possible, and the arrangement of the various building blocks seems partly to reflect the sequence in which antigraphs became available. No consideration has been given to a careful selection of manuscripts. Instead, the choice of manuscripts seems rather accidental, based on what happened to be accessible. Moreover, it is interesting to note that of the works included in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (items 1, 4, 5, 6, and 10 in the Rasāʾil), two are missing: the Sallāriyyāt and al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I. Since these were also omitted by Āģā Buzurg, their omission from the printed version underscores the significance of this codex in Raǧāʾī’s and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s undertaking. Among the material originating with the 574 [1179] codex (items 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 [= 97], 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, and 97 [= 14]), the three texts explicitly identified as having been gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar have also been left out. The majority of the texts that are included in volume three of the Rasāʾil reflect the cluster represented by the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex.

Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī added introductions to volumes one and four of the Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. The introduction to volume one refers to the contents of

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896 Items 2, 23, and 31 in the following list.
the first three volumes. In this introduction, he states that he began the work on the basis of a multitext volume containing “more than twenty works” (akṭar min ʿišrīn masʿala) by al-Murtaḍā, which were copied by al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muhammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Šafāʾī al-Ḥwānsārī and held at the time in the library of the latter’s son, al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Šafāʾī al-Ḫwānsārī, in Qum. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī vaguely indicates that he also consulted other manuscripts, but he gives no details. That these included the Āġā Buzurg codex is beyond doubt. In the opening to volume four, al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī further explains that he recently came across a surrogate (muṣawwara) of an unspecified miscellany containing numerous writings by al-Murtaḍā and others in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mūsawī al-Ǧazāʿirī. This, he states, enabled him to complete the Rasāʾīl al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā with the publication of volume four. Indeed, a comparison of the contents of volumes one through three of Raǧāʾī’s and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition with the Šafāʾī codex shows a significant degree of overlap. Not included in the Šafāʾī codex are items 17, 21–25, 30, 38, 46, and 67 of volume one through three. Some of the published texts (items 21, 22, 23, 30, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, and 87) are included in the Āġā Buzurg codex, their plausible antigraph. However, the majority of the texts included in volume four are also found in the Āġā Buzurg codex, which appears to contradict al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s statement at the beginning of volume four. The arrangement of the individual texts in volumes one through three largely disagrees with that of the Šafāʾī codex (and, in fact, all other miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in manuscript), and the rationale behind al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s modifications of the ordering in his principal antigraph remains unclear.

To varying degrees, the volumes are marred by errors, misreadings, and cases of homeoteleuton—whether these originated with the editors or appeared in the consulted antigraph(s) cannot be determined in most cases. We have probed the editors’ methodology in detail in the case of their edition of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Tabbāniyyāt, and it is evident that their edition is a faithful reproduction of

897 Rasāʾīl al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 18. For a detailed description of the codex, which is nowadays preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad, see above.

898 For the library, see http://talei.kateban.com/post/2843 [accessed 5 December 2019].


the work as preserved in the Ṣafāʾī codex. This suggests that they refrained from consulting different manuscripts in this case and probably in that of the other works, too.\textsuperscript{901} Be that as it may, the poor quality of the Rasāʾil al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā may have been the main reason scholars took little note of the publication, an observation that applies particularly to the many kalām texts included in the volumes. Items 72 (Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba) and 73 (al-Şihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb) are reproductions of the editions that were available at the time (see below).

The four volumes contain the following works (for writings that are also preserved either in the Ṣafāʾī codex or the Āġā Buzurg codex, the respective equivalent is indicated):

1. (vol. 1, pp. 3–96) al-Tabbāniyyāt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 5;
2. (vol. 1, pp. 97–132) al-Rāziyyāt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 6;
3. (vol. 1, pp. 133–166) al-Ţabariyyāt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16i;
4. (vol. 1, pp. 167–198) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya i = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 3;
5. (vol. 1, pp. 199–267) al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 2;
6. (vol. 1, pp. 269–306) al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt II = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 4,\textsuperscript{902}
7. (vol. 1, pp. 307–356) al-Ţarābulusiyyāt II = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 8;
8. (vol. 1, pp. 357–443) al-Ţarābulusiyyāt III = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 9;
9. (vol. 2, pp. 7–14) Masʾala fī l-manāmāt = responsum 6 of al-Sallāriyyāt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 14iv;
10. (vol. 2, pp. 15–63) Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 1;

\textsuperscript{901} The titles coined by the editors for the individual masāʾil are also at times inappropriate for the contents. Tracts that clearly did not originate with al-Murtaḍā are not identified as such in the table of contents or the introduction, and in one case a tract is included twice in the Rasāʾil under different titles (al-Lafẓa al-dālla ʿalā l-istiğrāq [vol. 4, pp. 354–355] = Masʾala fī waḡh al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿīd bi-l-ḫulūd kāffat al-kuffār [vol. 2, pp. 83–86]); it is evident that the editors were unaware that the tract is duplicated. See also below.

\textsuperscript{902} Ibrāhīm Bahādurī published in 1411 [1990–91] another edition of al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt, which he appended to his edition of Ibn al-Barrāǧ’s Ğawāhir al-fiqh (pp. 253–269). His antigraph was a copy of the text he found in a multitext volume that is part of the library of Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī.
13. (vol. 2, pp. 77–81) Masʾala fī l-istiṯnāʾ = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 13iv;
15. (vol. 2, pp. 87–97) Masʾala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 14i;
17. (vol. 2, pp. 105–114) Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 13i;
18. (vol. 2, pp. 114–130) Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 12;
19. (vol. 2, pp. 131–143) Masʾala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḫira = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 12;
20. (vol. 2, pp. 145–152) Masʾala fī tawārud al-adilla = responsum 7 of al-Sallāriyyāt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 10ii;
23. (vol. 2, pp. 175–247) Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ŷabr wa-l-qadar = Ėgā Buzurg codex, item 1;
24. (vol. 2, pp. 249–257) al-Risāla al-bāhira fī l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira = Ėgā Buzurg; 905
25. (vol. 2, pp. 259–289) al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq;

903 The same tract in found in vol. 4, pp. 354–355 under the title al-Lafẓa al-dālla ʿalā l-istiğiţraq.
904 This work, a commentary on the sermon by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib known as al-Šiqšiqiyya, was mentioned by al-Buṣrawī (as Tafsīr al-ḫuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya) and by Ibn Šahrāšūb (as al-ŷuṭba al-muqammama); see Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāshi, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). For the work, see Ėgā Buzurg, Ḯarʿa, vol. 4, p. 348 no. 1531 (Tafsīr al-ḫuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya); vol. 13, p. 222 (Šarḥ al-ḫuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya); vol. 14, pp. 137 (Šarḥ al-Nahgh), 147 (Šarḥ al-Nahgh).
27. (vol. 2, pp. 299–312) Masʾala fimā yaḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 10i;
28. (vol. 2, pp. 313–379) al-Rassiyyāt I = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 7i;
29. (vol. 2, pp. 381–391) al-Rassiyyāt II = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 7ii;
30. (vol. 3, pp. 7–81) Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal = Āğā Buzurg codex, item 42;
34. (vol. 3, pp. 94–95) Masʾala fi kayfyyat naḏgāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xii;


46. (vol. 3, pp. 121–151) Aǧwibat masāʾil mutafarriqa min al-ḥadīṯ wa-ġayrihi. A collection of various brief tracts, some fragmentary, consisting of (a) Maʾnā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-ʿaql fī l-nisāʾ (pp. 123–124) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15i; (b) Maʾnā qawlihi ‘alayhi l-salām “Ar-al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥaǧar” (pp. 124–125) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15ii; (c) Wağh nahy al-nabi šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ‘an akl al-ṯūm (pp. 125–126) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15iii; (d) Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ǧinnī fi ḥadīṯ ‘alāmat al-taʾnīṯ (pp. 126–127) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15v; (e) Masʿala fi l-ģins wa-l-nasab (pp. 127–128) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15vi; (f) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika” [Q 20:129] (p. 128) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15vii; (g) Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān (pp. 128–129) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15viii; (h) Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām (p. 129) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15ix; (i) Ğawzd al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḥar (p. 130) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15x; (j) Ǧiḥrat hamīl raʾs al-Ǧusayn ‘alayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām (p. 130) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xi; (k) ʿIlm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafāṭihi aw qatlihi (pp. 130–131) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xii; (l) Ḥukm ‘ibādat waṭāfi al-zinā (pp. 131–132) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xiii; (m) Mušāḥadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi l-salām qabla mawtihī (pp. 133–134) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xiv; (n) Masʿala fi bayān qawlihi šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Anā wa-anta yā ‘Alī ka-hātayn” (pp. 134–135) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xvii; (o) Masʿala fi l-raḏʿa min ǧumumat al-Dimašqiyyāt (pp. 135–139) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xviii; (p) Min kalām ‘Ali ‘alayhi l-salām yatabarraʾ min al-zulm (pp. 139–140) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xix; (q) Faṣl: istadalla ǧumāḥīr al-muṣlimīn ‘ālā anna l-samāwāt sabʿa wa-anna l-araḍīn sabʿa (pp. 140–141) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxv; (r) Masʿala fi Fadak (pp. 141–144) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16i; (s) Faṣl wa-l-ġayba (pp. 144–145) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16iv; (t) Faṣl: wa-suʾila raḍiya llāh ‘anhu ‘an al-ḥāl ba-da’mām al-zamān ‘alayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . . (pp. 145–146) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16v; (u) Ḥawla ḥabar “Nahnu maʾāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṯ mā tāraḵnū šaḏaqa” (pp. 146–147) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16v (cont.); (v) Masʿala fi tafḍil Fāṭima ‘alayhā l-salām
(pp. 147–148) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16vii; (w) Masʿala fī tazwīj Umm Kulṭūm (pp. 148–150) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16viii; (x) al-Kalām fī ḥaqidat al-ḡawhar = responsum 2 of al-Ramlīyyāt (pp. 150–151) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 17ii;
47. (vol. 3, pp. 153–157) Masʿala fī man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxv;
48. (vol. 3, pp. 159–173) Masʿala fī ʿadam wuḡūb ḡasl al-riḡlayn fī l-ṭahāra = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xviii;
49. (vol. 3, pp. 175–180) Masʿala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqli = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xx;  
50. (vol. 3, pp. 181–185) Masʿala fī l-mashʿ alā l-ḥuffāyn = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxiv;
51. (vol. 3, pp. 187–197) Masʿala fī ḥalq al-afʿāl = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxv;
52. (vol. 3, pp. 199–205) Masʿala fī l-iḡmāʾ = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxxi;
53. (vol. 3, pp. 207–220) Masʿala fī ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxiii;
54. (vol. 3, pp. 221–229) Faṣl fī aqāwīl al-ʿarab fī l-ḡāhibiyya = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15iv;
55. (vol. 3, pp. 229–231) Faṣl fī ḍikr maḏāhib ahl al-aṣnām wa-ḍikr buyūt al-nīrān al-muʿaẓẓama = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxvi;
56. (vol. 3, pp. 233–239) Masʿala fī qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʿāmin ḥayr min ʿamalihi” = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16i;
58. (vol. 3, pp. 249–254) Masʿala fī ʿillat ʿamīr al-muʿminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xi. This responsum may have originated as part of the same work as the following item (58); see below;
59. (vol. 3, pp. 255–266) Masʿala fī irt al-awlād = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xii;
60. (vol. 3, pp. 267–272) Masʿala fī ʿadam taḥṭiʿat al-ʿāmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xii;
62. (vol. 3, pp. 279–284) Masʿala fī nafy al-ḡiha wa-l-ruʿya = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xvi;
63. (vol. 3, pp. 285–305) Taḥṣīl sūrat al-ḥam da-wārīd l-ḥam wa-mī’a wahuṣams wa-išrin ʿaya min sūrat al-baqara = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 17i;
64. (vol. 3, pp. 307–313) Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-ḥbār al-ḥād = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 18i;


66. (vol. 3, pp. 323–327) Masʾala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyāt I = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 19;


68. (vol. 4, pp. 14–35) Reponsa 6 through 27 of al-Niliyyāt = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 40;

69. (vol. 4, pp. 37–44) Reponsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiʿiyāt = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 30;


72. (vol. 4, pp. 51–139) Sarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḏahhaba;

73. (vol. 4, pp. 141–275) al-Šīḥāb fi l-sayb wa-l-šabāb;


75. (vol. 4, pp. 300–306) Masʾala fi ǧawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 22;

76. (vol. 4, pp. 307–315) Masʾala fi ḍikr anwāʾ al-aʿrād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā;

77. (vol. 4, pp. 317–321) Masʾala fi ṣīḡat al-bayʿ = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 23;

78. (vol. 4, pp. 321–322) Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid wāḥid = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 24;

79. (vol. 4, pp. 322–327) Istimrāʿr al-ṣawm maʿa qāṣd al-munāfī lahu = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 27;

80. (vol. 4, pp. 327–328) Iḏāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ḡadd iḏāfa haqqiyā = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 28;

81. (vol. 4, p. 328) Masʾala fi walad al-bint = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 29;

82. (vol. 4, pp. 328–329) al-Farq bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm = Āģā Buzurg codex, item 31;
83. (vol. 4, pp. 329–331) Ḥukm māʾ al-biʿr baʿda l-ḡafāf = Āḡā Buzurg codex, item 32;
84. (vol. 4, pp. 331–335) Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ‘alā l-awsāf = Āḡā Buzurg codex, item 36;
85. (vol. 4, pp. 335–337) Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād = Āḡā Buzurg codex, item 37;
86. (vol. 4, pp. 337–338) Masʿala fi l-dalil ‘alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʾil = Āḡā Buzurg codex, item 38;
87. (vol. 4, pp. 338–339) Awwal al-waġībāt al-naẓar = Āḡā Buzurg codex, item 39;
89. (vol. 4, pp. 341–342) Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʾil;
90. (vol. 4, pp. 342–343) al-Ǧawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṯan bi-maʿnā;
91. (vol. 4, p. 343) Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsihi;
93. (vol. 4, pp. 345–346) Masʿala fi waḏgh ḥusn al-nawāfīl;
94. (vol. 4, p. 346) al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka;
95. (vol. 4, pp. 346–349) Dafʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi baʿṭ al-anbiyāʾ;
96. (vol. 4, pp. 349–353) Masʿala fi l-alam wa-wuḏūḥ al-ḥusn fiḥi;
97. (vol. 4, pp. 353–354) Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aḏbā fa-qad arbā”;

Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muḥsin al-Kaʿbī’s publication of Ms. Naḡāf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʾĀmma 571 in 2001 under the title Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā is yet another example of the continuation into print of the centuries-old reading and transmission practices of al-Murtaḍā’s works.907 The editor (or, more accurately, the redactor) rearranged the individual writings contained in the manuscript codex into four rubrics (maǧmūʿa), viz. “ʿilm al-fiqh,” “ʿilm al-uṣūl,” “ʿilm al-kalām,” and “ʿilm al-adab”. Under “ʿilm al-fiqh,” the Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā contains the following

906 The tract included here as al-Lafẓa al-dālla ‘alā l-istiġrāq was already included in vol. 2, pp. 83–86, as Masʿala fi waḏgh al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿīd kāffat al-kuffār.
907 The editor/redactor also consulted Ms. Naḡāf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438, although he generally refrains from indicating variant readings.

In 1433 [2012], on the occasion of al-Murtaḍā’s millennium (“Ḏikrā alfiyyat al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”), the most comprehensive multi-volume library of his works so far was published by the Muʾassasat al-Tārīḫ al-ʿArabī in Beirut under the general title Mawsūʿat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, in twenty-two volumes. The collection contains reprints of all works by al-Murtaḍā that had been published up to the time of its appearance. Again, rather than approaching al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre scientifically and producing new critical editions when needed, the set of volumes is a continuation of the transmission that began centuries ago in manuscript. A digital equivalent was released at about the same time by the Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Kāmpyūterī-yi ʿUlūm-i Islāmī in Qum (Kitābḵāna-yi Dīǧītālī-yi Nūr), under the title Maǧmūʿa-yi āṯār-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā.909 The printed series, Mawsūʿat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, comprises the following earlier publications of al-Murtaḍā’s writings:


908 The problems, weaknesses, and numerous errors of the publication have been analyzed in detail by ʿAṭāʾī Naẓarī, “Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā wa muškilāt-i ān”. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 88.
909 We have consulted version 2.1 (released in 2015).
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought in Context


The most recent approach to al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre reflects yet another traditionally minded pattern that enjoys immense popularity—sifting through the entire oeuvre of a classical Muslim author, selecting all passages of an exegetical nature, and rearranging these according to the sequence of the sūras and verses of the Qurān to produce a comprehensive exegesis by this scholar. In the case
of al-Murtaḍā, this has been done twice over the past decade. In 1430 [2009], the Mu’assasat al-Sibṭayn ‘alayhimā l-salām al-ʿĀlamiyya in Qum published an eight-volume *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, compiled by Wisām al-Ḥaṭṭāwī and Ḥaz’al Ġazī. And in 1431 [2010], Muǧtabā Aḥmad al-Mūsawī published the result of a similar project, in three volumes, entitled *Tafsīr al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā al-musammā bi-Nafā’is al-taʾwil*. The material contained in the two publications, most of which is gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, is largely the same. A comparable project in the realm of *kalām* was published in 2015 in Naǧaf, under the title *Mawsūʿat turāṯ al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā fī ʿilm al-kalām wa-radd al-šubuhāt*. The three volumes consist of 190 entries on legal and doctrinal terms and concepts, Qur’ānic figures, and the Imāms and other venerated members of the family of the Prophet as well as Qur’ānic verses, and for each lemma the redactorial team, sponsored by al-Markaz al- İslāmī li-l-Dirāsāt al-Istrātīǧiyya (Naǧaf) on the occasion of al-Murtaḍā’s millennium, adduces the relevant passages from al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre. These publications, though certainly gratifying for a pious readership, add little to a more text-critical approach to al-Murtaḍā’s writings. Efforts to prepare new editions of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and to further scholarship on his oeuvre continue within the framework of the *Kungirih-yi bayna l-milalī-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā (al-Mu’ṭamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā)*, under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī).


913 Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī Yazdī (ed.), *Šināḫtnāma-yi Sayyid-i Murtaḍā* (2020); Maḏmūʿat al-maqqālāt al-ʿarabīyya, 4 vols; Maḏmūʿa-yi maqqālāt-i fārsī, 6 vols; al-Taʿrīf bi-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, 1 vol.
compilations focusing on specific themes with extracts from some of his writings have also appeared.\textsuperscript{914}

\textsuperscript{914} Šarḥ al-Âḥbār al-kalāmiyya al-mustahraǧ min turāṭ al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Wisām al-Ḫaṭāwī, in two volumes. In addition, a version of al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān, arranged according to qawāfī that was essentially a republication of Rašīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition of 1958–59 was published under the title Tartīb al-Dīwān in two volumes. None of those 2020 publications listed in nn. 912, 913, and in the present footnote were available to us. The overall scope and methodology of the editorial enterprise, which promises to provide scholars with far better editions of al-Murtaḍā’s writings than has been the case so far, is explained in detail in the memorandum (muḏakkira) signed by the scientific head of the Kungirih, Mahdī Mihrizī, and dated 24 December 2016, which is included in the beginning of all volumes in the series.
The foregoing analysis of the various clusters of miscellanies and their transmission sheds new light on the authenticity of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and on how and when some of the inauthentic works entered the canon. Moreover, the analysis has identified some additional tracts that have generally been considered authentic but should instead be classified as spurious or at least doubtful.

The works that are included in the 676 [1278] codex, Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, are invariably authentic; with the exception of the Sallāriyyāt, they are all listed in al-Buṣrawī’s, al-Ṭūsī’s, and al-Naǧāšī’s bibliographical lists. It is possible that this miscellany was redacted at a very early stage, possibly by one of al-Murtaḍā’s students, and perhaps even at al-Murtaḍā’s behest, although there is no evidence that would allow us to narrow down the time of its redaction. Although all its individual components constitute complete works, the Masʾala fī l-insān is the only individual responsum that has been taken out of a larger work, most certainly al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ramliyyāt, something the anonymous redactor does not mention. As for the Sallāriyyāt, a work that is recorded only by Ibn Šahrāšūb, its authenticity is confirmed by the fact that al-Murtaḍā himself chose three of its eight responsa for inclusion in the Takmilat al-Ġurar.

The 574 [1179] codex, by contrast, was of an entirely different nature. In its original form it included some of al-Murtaḍā’s monographic works, namely the Intiṣār, Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, and al-Nāṣirīyyāt, along with a number of responsa collections in their entirety, such as al-Rassiyyāt I and II and al-Ṭarābulsiyyāt II and III; as well as individual quaestiones and responsa, some of which had been gleaned from larger works. In some cases the source is indicated, as it is, for example, for the responsa that originated in the Ramliyyāt, the Niliyyāt, and the Wāsiṭiyāt, and for the three tracts taken from the Ġurar al-fawāʾid. In other cases, no such reference is provided and it may be assumed that the redactor was unaware of their origin. This seems to be the case with some of the responsa gleaned from Sallāriyyat and from al-Ṭarābulsiyyāt I. However, these began to circulate as individual tracts at a very early stage, as al-Murtaḍā most likely himself had integrated them into his Takmilat al-Ġurar. Many of the other tracts that were included in the 574 [1179] codex are accompanied by precise information as to when and where al-Murtaḍā composed them, which suggests that a fair number of them belonged to the group of individual quaestiones to which al-Ṭūsī refers, without further specification,
as *masāʾil mufradāt nahwa min miʿatī masʾala fi funūn šatār.*

The overall careful treatment evident in the redaction of the codex, which is further corroborated by the table of contents preserved in truncated form in some of the eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the original codex, suggests that the anonymous redactor had at his disposal an extensive library of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, from which he chose what he wanted to include. Another characteristic of the 574 [1179] codex was that it also contained a number of writings by other authors. Standard components were *Fi ḏabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb* by al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, a refutation by the Muʿtazilī scholar ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār of determinists and anthropomorphists, and a concise tract on the occultation (*Masʾala waḡīza fi l-ġayba*) of uncertain authorship. Each text included in the 574 [1179] codex opens with clear indication of its author, whether al-Murtaḍā, al-Mufīd, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, or unknown (e.g., *waḡadtu fi kutubihī rahimahu llāh masʾala waḡīza fi l-ġayba lā aʿlamu min kalām man hiya . . .*). In view of the codex’s overall character, then, the authenticity of the writings ascribed to al-Murtaḍā in it is beyond doubt. This being said, it is noteworthy that the *Masʾala waḡīza fi l-ġayba* is increasingly considered to have been written by al-Murtaḍā. The anonymous redactor’s cautious opening words, quoted above, about the tract’s uncertain authorship are omitted in some of the twelfth/eighteenth-century copies of the codex, and by the twentieth century, the tract is regularly classified as a work by al-Murtaḍā. In *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn* (p. 531) the tract is described as *Masʾala waḡīza fi l-ġayba li-mawlānā wa-sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā . . .* (*fig. 248*), and Āḡā Buzurg omits any indication of the uncertain authorship of the tract in his codex of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. A close comparison between the *Masʾala waḡīza fi l-ġayba*, on the one hand, and al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Muqniʿ* and the later addition to the *Muqniʿ*, *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqniʿ*, on the other, shows that the *Masʾala waḡīza* constitutes a highly abbreviated version of the *K. al-Muqniʿ*, with one passage taken also from the *Ziyāda* to the *Muqniʿ*.

Although the possibility that another author used al-Murtaḍā’s work to compile the text cannot be excluded, it may have been al-Murtaḍā himself who wrote the *Masʾala waḡīza* as an additional brief tract on

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915 See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).

916 See Appendix 14 (“*Masʾala waḡīza fi l-ġayba*, a summary of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Muqniʿ* and *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqniʿ*”). It is astonishing that Omid Ghaemmaghami, who devoted a full chapter to al-Murtaḍā in his *Encounters with the Hidden Imam* (pp. 121–132) and who discusses and quotes both the *Masʾala waḡīza* and *al-Muqniʿ* in it did not notice the intimate relation between the two texts. Ghaemmaghami is also unaware that the authorship of the *Masʾala waḡīza* was deemed undecided by the early manuscript tradition.
the issue of ḡayba, using material from his earlier work on the topic, although the omission of any reference to his earlier and more comprehensive work is odd. Be that as it may, the close relation between the two works may prove helpful when new editions of them are prepared.

A somewhat similar observation can be made of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s refutation of determinists and anthropomorphists. Although the introductory passage that clearly identifies the tract as one by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār has been retained in virtually all manuscripts as well as in Raḡāʾi and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition of the Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (vol. 4, pp. 277–299) and Wifqān Ḫuḍayr Muḥsin al-Kaʿbī’s edition of the Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā (pp. 162–183), the respective scribes and the two editors generally seem assume that the tract is nonetheless by al-Murtaḍā. This is indicated by the fact that they erroneously identify Abū ʿAbd Allāh, whom ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār mentions in the text, as Muḥīd, even though the intended referent is Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369 [980]), ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s erstwhile teacher and head of the Bahšamiyya before him. Hussein Abdulsater made the same mistake, listing the work without further comment in “Murtaḍā’s bibliography”. 917 Hans Daiber identified correctly the tract as a work by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, but he was unaware of its wide transmission as part of the 574 [1179] codex and assumed the Naḡaf manuscript at his disposal to be a unique witness of the text. 918

The cluster that appears to be first attested in the eleventh/seventeenth-century al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex (items 26 through 69) is likewise of an entirely different nature and more problematic with respect to the authenticity of its individual textual components. It consists partly of individual tracts that have been gleaned from larger works by al-Murtaḍā, among them al-Muḥammadiyyāt, al-Sallāriyyāt, al-Ramliyyāt, and Takmilat al-ʿUmar; some of these tracts are also attested in the 574 [1179] codex. But the majority of the codex’s contents are individual quaestiones,

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917 Abdulsater, Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology, p. 36 no. 107. See also al-Dirāyatī, Muʿgambar al-maḥṭūṭat al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 15, p. 557 (Munāqaṣat raʾi al-muǧbira wa-l-mušabbiha), where the tract is similarly attributed to al-Murtaḍā.

918 Daiber, “Maqāla fi l-radd ʿalā l-Mujbira”. The title Daiber used for the tract is misleading. A more appropriate title, which is given in the majority of the witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, is Masʿala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muǧbira wa-l-mušabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa. Daiber was also unaware of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s and Wifqān Ḫuḍayr Muḥsin al-Kaʿbī’s earlier publications of the tract. On Daiber’s publication, cf. also Ansari, Az ganǧīna-hā-yi nusaḫ-i ḫaṭṭī, pp. 59, 60, 316–319. For the copyist of the witness consulted by Daiber (Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182), ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Muḥammad Ẓāhir al-Samāwī, see above, n. 836.
including many of an exegetical character, and unlike the redactor of the 574 [1179] codex, the anonymous redactor of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex nowhere comments on when and where the individual tracts were composed. Besides *quaestiones*, some tracts are entitled *faṣl*, indicating that they originated as parts of larger works. Item 48 (*Faṣl fī aqāwīl al-ʿarab fī l-ḡāhiliyya*) is described as an excerpt from Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq’s (fl. first half of the third/ninth century) *K. al-Maqālāt* (*ḥakā Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq fī kitābihī Kitāb al-Maqālāt*. . .). A parallel, though more concise quotation of the same passage is included by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī in his *K. al-Muğnī*. Since the latter is known to have consulted al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḵtī’s (d. between 300 [912] and 310 [922]) *K. al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*, it is likely that item 48 is likewise an excerpt from al-Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* through the intermediary of al-Nawbaḵtī’s *K. al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*. Item 50 evidently originated with Abū Maʿšar al-Balḫī (d. 272 [886]) (*ḥakā qawm mimman yaʿrif umūr al-ʿālam wa-yahbaṭ ʿan qiṣaṣihim minhum Ǧaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-munaḏǧim Abū Maʿšar* . . .). The same passage, which may come from Abū Maʿšar’s *K. Buyūt al-ʿibādāt*, is also included in ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s *K. al-Muğnī*, again in a more concise form than that found in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex. A parallel passage is also included in Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s *K. al-Muʿtamad*. Here, al-Nawbaḵtī is explicitly mentioned as the source, lending support to the thesis that both the relevant chapter in ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s *Muğnī* and item 50 in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindi codex are based on al-Nawbaḵtī’s *K. al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*. In other cases, no indication of the source is present, but there is nonetheless reason to doubt al-Murtaḍā’s authorship. The *quaestiones* are replete with textual

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units that clearly originate in larger works, and the authenticity of some of these is uncertain.\textsuperscript{924} The following \textit{quaestiones} on doctrinal issues were apparently gleaned from a larger theological summa (or several of them), and none contains cross-references to any of al-Murtaḍā’s other writings: \textit{Mas’ala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlí} (item 33), \textit{Mas’ala fī ḫalq al-afʿāl} (item 38), and \textit{Mas’ala fī nafy al-ḡiḥa wa-l-ru’ya} (item 66). Among these three, \textit{Mas’ala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlí} seems to have originated with al-Murtaḍā: an epitome of it is included in a block of four textual units in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (introduced as “\textit{min al-Masāʾil al-Maqdisiyyāt}”; item 73), and the other three are epitomes of tracts whose attribution to al-Murtaḍā is not in doubt. Moreover, \textit{Mas’ala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlí} has a cross-reference to other works by its author, and the wording of the reference is characteristic for al-Murtaḍā (\textit{wa-qad bayyānā al-kalām fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-staqṣaynāhu fī mawāḏī min kutubīnā}).\textsuperscript{925} As for the other two \textit{masāʾil}, the style and wording of \textit{Mas’ala fī nafy al-ḡiḥa wa-l-ru’ya} indicate that it originated with a non-Šīʿī Muʿtazīli author who predated al-Murtaḍā.\textsuperscript{926} Moreover, it seems to be an excerpt from a larger work, possibly a summa. \textit{Mas’ala fī ḫalq al-afʿāl} was most likely written by a non-Šīʿī Muʿtazīli author, possibly before or around al-Murtaḍā’s lifetime.

None of the three clusters of miscellanies contains either the \textit{Inqāḏ al-bašar fī l-ḡabr wa-l-qadar}, or \textit{al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq}, both of which are known to have been attributed to al-Murtaḍā erroneously.\textsuperscript{927} Among the Imāmī biographers,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{924} This is the case, for example, with \textit{Faṣl fī l-ḡayba}, which Ghaemmaghami accepts, without further consideration, as an authentic work by al-Murtaḍā; see Ghaemmaghami, \textit{Encounters with the Hidden Imam}, p. 123 n. 172. Although the doctrinal views expressed in this text regarding the notion of \textit{luṭf} in arguing for the \textit{ḡayba} indeed agree with those of al-Murtaḍā, there is no external proof for its authenticity. Moreover, this \textit{faṣl}, as well as the following one in the Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (items 54 and 55), both of which are concerned with the \textit{ḡayba}, clearly constitute fragments of a larger work whose identity remains unclear.
  \item \textsuperscript{926} A possible candidate for the author might be ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī’s former pupil Abū Maṇṣūr Ibn al-Ǧabbān whom al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī credits with a \textit{Masʾala fī l-ru’ya}. See above, n. 225.
\end{itemize}
Ibn Šahrāšūb was the first to list them among al-Murtaḍā’s writings. The *Inqāḏ* is first attested in a codex transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak al-Muḥrizī in 545 [1150–51], which included several works by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and (pseudo-)al-Murtaḍā, including the *Inqāḏ*. The first attestation of *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq* is in a codex transcribed in 657–58 [1259–60] in Sabzawār by Mahdī b. Ḥasan b. Muhammad al-Nayramī al-Ǧurǧānī. The entirely different transmission histories of the *Inqāḏ* and the *Ḥudūd* thus support the inauthenticity of those two works.  

Other works that are known to have been attributed to al-Murtaḍā erroneously include *al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih* (which also circulated under different titles),  

*al-Istiḡāṭa fī bidaʿ al-ṯalāṯa*, by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī (d. 352 [963]),  

*ʿUyūn al-muʿ#abīt*, by the fifth/eleventh-century Šīʿī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb,  

*ʿAǧāʾib al-aġlāt*, 

928 It seems that the *Inqāḏ al-bašar* in its transmitted form is an amalgam of several distinct textual units. Their partly fragmentary form suggests either that they constitute fragments of more than one work or, if indeed they come from one and the same work, that their original sequence was garbled at some stage. *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 177–224:4 constitutes the first unit, which opens with the text entitled *Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ǧabr wa-l-qadar* and ends with a conclusion in which the anonymous author refers to his own *K. Ṣafwat al-naẓar* (p. 224:2). Another textual unit, pp. 224:6ff., begins with *in saʾala sāʾil fa-qāla . . . qīla lahu*  

and ends on p. 239:15–16. The third textual unit ends on p. 247:1–3. The three units have distinct characteristics. Whereas the second unit may well have been composed by a Šīʿī author, the first and third units point rather to non-Šīʿī Muʿtaṣilī authorship. A critical edition of the work is a desideratum. If based on a thorough study of all extant witnesses of the work, it may allow restoration of the *Inqāḏ al-bašar* in its original form and possibly lead to the identification of its author—if what has come down to us as *Inqāḏ al-bašar* in fact originated with a single author.  


930 See, e.g., *Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 8940* (fig. 217d). The work has been published repeatedly. On Abū l-Qāsim, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 364 (L. Giffen).  

931 Published repeatedly (see bibliography). The work’s attribution to al-Murtaḍā is mentioned by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 365; al-Afandī, *Taʾlīqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 201; al-


Examples of manuscripts in which the work is ascribed to al-Murtaḍā include Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15015 (fig. 218a), and Ms. Tehran, Millī 2542/ʿayn (fig. 458). For the latter manuscript, see Anwār et al., Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Millī, vol. 12, pp. 437–439. For a detailed study of the work’s authorship, see Ansari, Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī-yi dīgar, pp. 941–977; Ansari, “Min Abī l-Qāsim al-Kūfī ilā muʾallif Kitāb ʿUyūn al-muʿǧizāt.”

The renowned Imāmī scholar al-Sayyid Hāšim al-Baḥrānī al-Tublī al-Katkānī (d. 1107 [1695–96] or 1109 [1697–98]) also mentions ʿUyūn al-muʿǧizāt as a work by al-Murtaḍā. Moreover, he occasionally names al-Murtaḍā as the author of a work entitled al-Manāqib al-fāḫira fī l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira, which is also attributed to his brother, al-Raḍī (both attributions are wrong); see Tabrizīyān, al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Hāšim al-Baḥrānī, pp. 228 (ʿUyūn), 254 (Manāqib). For al-Manāqib al-fāḥira, see also Āġā Buzurg, Dāštūr, vol. 22, p. 331 no. 7319; al-Afandi, al-Fawāʾid al-ṭarīfa, p. 196. Of al-Murtaḍā’s authentic works, al-Sayyid Hāšim quotes his Ǧurar and his Šāfī; see Tabrizīyān, al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Hāšim al-Baḥrānī, pp. 108 (Šāfī), 228–229 (Ǧurar). For al-Sayyid Hāšim al-Baḥrānī, see also our Imāmī Thought in Transition.

See, e.g., Āġā Buzurg, Darīʿa, vol. 15, p. 218 no. 1436, where the work is attributed to al-Murtaḍā on the basis of two manuscripts inspected by Āġā Buzurg, one transcribed in 1307 [1889–90], and the other copied by Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ǧā’id in 982 [1574–75] in a multitext codex in his hand, containing thirty-two tracts in total. Cf., however, Āġā Buzurg, Darīʿa, vol. 4, p. 210 no. 1044, where al-Ḵarāǧikī is named as the work’s author. The multitext codex containing Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ǧā’id’s copy is housed in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī in Mašhad. See the editor’s introduction to Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ǧā’id, Dāštūr, p. 13 n. 1 (Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8283). Another example of a manuscript in which the work is attributed to al-Murtaḍā is Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8971/18 (the manuscript was available to us through a digital surrogate provided by the Markaz-i ʿIrāqi-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Qum, Film no. 2229). For a brief description of the codex, see Dānišpāžūḥ and Munzawī, Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i ʿIrāqi-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, vol. 17, pp. 266–267. For yet another example, copied during the fourteenth/twentieth century by Muḥammad Ḩāminiʿī, see al-Dirāyatī, Muʿjam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 11, p. 32 no. 44971. The work has been published twice, first together with al-Karāǧikī’s Kanz al-fawāʾid (Tabriz, lithograph print, 1322 [1904–5]) and then, in 1421 [2000–1], under the title al-Taʿaǧġub min aġlāṭ al-ʿāmma fī masʾalat al-imāma in an edition prepared by Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm. See also the editor’s introduction (ibid., pp. 19–24) for a discussion of the work’s authorship.

In this book (published repeatedly), al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī discusses Qurʾānic passages that were taken to support ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib and the ahl al-bayt. On the work and its author, see Ansari, “The Shiʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (I): Zaydīs,” pp. 187–188. Tanbih al-qaṭilin was transmitted both in Yemen and in Iran. Whereas the Yemeni manuscripts invariably name al-Ḥākim al-
**Tafsīr Taymūr** contains a work entitled *Tafsīr sūrat “Hal atā ‘alā l-insān”* (i.e., sūra 76, *al-Insān*), which is attributed on the title page to al-Murtaḍā ([fig. 218b](#)). The possibility of al-Murtaḍā’s authorship can, however, safely be excluded; the text has tentatively been suggested to constitute a portion of the otherwise lost exegesis by Abū ‘Ali Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī (d. 508 [1114]), entitled *al-Tanwīr fī maʿānī al-tafsīr*. Another probably spurious work, a brief text entitled *Masʾala fī bayān ḥaqīqat al-ḫayy al-faʿʿāl fī ḏikr al-ḫilāf fīhi wa-l-dalāla ʿalā l-ṣaḥīḥ fī dālika li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā* is preserved in three witnesses. The tract is not contained in any of the earlier miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, nor does it contain any cross-reference to other relevant writings of his that would confirm its authenticity. Moreover, in addition to providing an account of earlier *mutakallimin*, both Šīʿī and non-Šīʿī, on the subject matter, the author discusses in detail the views of philosophers, including Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Socrates—an approach that does not support the work’s attribution to al-Murtaḍā. The style of the text also differs significantly from al-Murtaḍā’s as attested in his extant authentic writings. It is possible that the author is Abū l-Faḍl Asʿad b. Ahmad b. Abī Rawḥ al-Ṭarābulusī (d. early sixth/twelfth century). He was a pupil of Ǧišumī as the author, some of the Iranian manuscripts make the erroneous attribution to al-Murtaḍā. An example of the latter is *Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 12109*, transcribed by one Šīr ‘Ali b. Shāḥb al-Dīn, who completed the copy in Ramadān 960 [August–September 1553]; see fols 2v and 60v ([figs 251a, 251b](#)). A digital surrogate of another example is preserved as *Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšīf al-Ḡiṭā al-ʿĀmma 7771*, copied by Ḥasan b. Muẓaffar b. Ḥasan al-Šarīf and dated 869 [1464–65]; see al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿǧam al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya*, vol. 5, p. 39 no. 17190; *Dālīl maḫṭūṭāt Muʾassasat Kāšīf al-Ḡiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 102. We were unable to inspect this manuscript, which is a digital surrogate of a codex whose present location is uncertain. The attribution of the work to al-Murtaḍā is attested already during the early Safavid period, in al-Sayyid Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-muǧtahid al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī’s (d. 1001 [1592–93]) *Dafʿ al-munāwāt ʿan al-tafḍīl wa-l-musāwāt*, p. 158.

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934 See *Fihris al-Ḫizāna al-Taymūriyya*, vol. 3, p. 276. See also al-Amin, *A’yān al-Šī’a*, vol. 9, p. 427, where yet another copy of the same work is mentioned, again attributed to al-Murtaḍā.


936 A critical edition is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text XI).
of al-Murtaḍā’s student, qāḍī ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Niḥrīr Ibn al-Barrāṅ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400 [1009], d. 481 [1088]). Asʿad b. Aḥmad is credited with a work entitled al-Bayān ‘an ḥaqīqat al-insān, which is thought to be lost but may in fact be the text in question.

Another title of uncertain authorship is a tract concerned with the possibility of the Prophet’s absent-mindedness during prayer, Ğawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabī ‘alayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt. In it, the author harshly criticizes Ibn Bābawayh, who had accepted the possibility that the Prophet and the Imāms could have committed errors in prayer through absent-mindedness or forgetfulness, to prevent their deification and to emphasize their humanity. The text, which circulated under various titles and is preserved in a fair number of manuscripts, is ascribed to al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd in the earliest extant witness of the tract, which is contained in a multivolume tentatively dated to the sixth/twelfth century (Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 243, pp. 113–124; figs 246a, 246b, 246c). ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn “Šayḫ ‘Alī al-kabīr,” the author of al-Durr al-manṯūr, who quotes the tract in its entirety, was the first to cast doubt on al-Mufīd’s authorship, suggesting that the tract may have been composed either by al-Mufīd or al-Murtaḍā; his suggestion was regularly mentioned by later scholars. The principal argument against al-

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938 Bar-Asher, Scripture and Exegesis, pp. 171ff.

939 For detailed descriptions of the individual texts of the codex, including facsimiles of selected pages, see Muḥtārī and Šafīʿī, Fihrist, pp. 24–25, 30, 33, 40, 51, 64, 66, 72, 74, 78, 80, 84, 87, 90, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 107, 115, 122, 126, 138, 141, 144.

940 See ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, al-Durr al-manṭūr min al-maʿṭūr, vol. 1, pp. 137–148 for the tract and p. 136 for Šayḫ ‘Ali’s comments on the tract’s authorship. See also al-Bihbānī, al-Rasāʾil il-uṣūlīyya, p. 184. Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī also quotes extensively from the tract, which, he says, is attributed to al-Mufīd, in his al-Tanbīh bi-l-maʿlūm min al-burhān ‘alā tanzih al-maʿṣūm ‘an al-sahw wa-l-nisyān, in which he criticizes those who allow that the maʿṣūm, i.e., the Prophet or the Imāms, may have committed errors as a result of absent-mindedness or forgetfulness during prayer; see al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Tanbīh, pp. 6, 16, 19. For the tract and discussion about its author, see also Āqā Buzurg, Ḍarīʿa, vol. 11, p. 200 no. 1214; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd,” pp. 93–96; McDermott, Theology, p. 41; Muḥtārī and Šafīʿī, Fihrist, pp. 67–72. See also Muʿṣam al-turāt al-kalāmī, vol. 4, p. 222 no. 8554, for extant manuscripts and publications of the tract. It was also quoted in full by al-Maḡlīsī in his Biḥār, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 17, pp. 122–129. Despite doubts regarding the tract’s attribution
Mufīd’s authorship is the harsh tone the author employs against Ibn Bābawayh, which is hard to imagine a student’s adopting when speaking of his former šayḫ in ḥadīṯ, especially when compared to al-Mufīd’s overall respectful tone towards Ibn Bābawayh in his Taṣḥīḥ al-ʿītiqāḍāt, a critique of the doctrinal views of his teacher. Additionally, the tract’s anonymous author refers to Ibn Bābawayh as baʿḍ mašāyiḥikā,941 wording that indicates that Ibn Bābawayh was a teacher of the person who formulated the query, not of the one who responded. Al-Mufīd’s authorship can thus be safely excluded. Al-Murtaḍā can also be ruled out as its author. Not only is the title not mentioned in any of the lists of his writings,942 but there are other reasons that argue against al-Murtaḍā’s authorship: Whenever al-Murtaḍā mentions Ibn Bābawayh in his writings, he does so with utmost respect,943 which is not the case with the author of Ǧawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt. Moreover, while the author of the latter tract criticizes in this context the famous ḥadīṯ relating Ḏū l-Yadayn’s query to the prophet Muḥammad, al-Murtaḍā relies on this ḥadīṯ in his al-Nāṣirīyyāt.944 It is possible that the tract originated with

to al-Mufīd, twentieth-century copyists continue attributing it to him. See, e.g., al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Ḥādī al-Ḥirsān’s copy, dated 10 Rabī’ I 1357 [10 May 1938], a digital copy of which is preserved among the surrogates of the library of the Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḡiṭāʾ in Naḡaf (figs 266, 267; shelfmark uncertain). For Ḥirsān, see above, n. 758. Another example is a copy of the tract included in Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1284 (fig. 268). ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī also included the tract as a work by al-Mufīd in a codex he transcribed in Naḡaf containing various writings by al-Mufīd; see above, n. 889. Al-Mufīd’s authorship of the tract is also assumed by Šayḫ Muḥammad Taqī al-Tustarī (“al-ʿAllāma al-Šūštarī, “ b. 1320 [1902–03], d. 1416 [1996]) in his own Risāla fī sahw al-nabī, in which he criticizes the position of the earlier tract; see al-Tustarī, “Risāla fī sahw al-nabī”.


942 A similar title is recorded for responsum 3 of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ramlīyyāt, Masʿala fī ʿīsmat al-rasūl ʿalayhi l-salām min al-sahw, which has not come down to us. Al-Bayāṭī (“Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 143–144) suggests that Ǧawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt may have been part of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Ramlīyyāt, although the tract’s title (Hāʾir [i.e., Karbalāʾ] versus Ramla) and structure argue against this possibility. Moreover, if indeed al-Ramlīyyāt are responsa to queries posed to al-Murtaḍā by al-Karāḡīḵī, the third responsum is not likely to be identical with Ǧawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt, since the latter text is addressed to an immediate student of Ibn Bābawayh, which al-Karāḡīḵī was not.


944 See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Nāṣirīyyāt, 1417/1997 ed., pp. 234ff. (masʿala 94), 241; see also al-Šarīf
the little-known Abū l-Ḥusayn Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Bakrān al-ʿAqrāʾī al-Tammār, who is credited with a *K. Nafī al-sahw ʿan al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi*. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan was still alive during the lifetime of al-Naḡāšī, who reports having met him in Kūfa, when Isḥāq was already very old (*wa-kāna fī hāḏā l-waqt ʿuluwwan*). Al-Naḡāšī adds that Isḥāq transmitted directly from al-Kulaynī. Isḥāq was thus a contemporary of Ibn Bābawayh, which would have enabled him to criticize the latter as harshly as the author of this tract does.

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Al-Murtaḍā produced a considerable body of juridical writings. Besides his numerous responsa collections and more concise tracts on specific legal questions, the books al-Murtaḍā composed on *fiqh* represent a range of genres, and each sheds a different light on his legal thought. While the *Nāṣiriyat* is a rare example of a work in which an Imāmī jurist discusses the legal views of his Zaydī ancestor, evaluating and comparing the latter’s positions with those of the Imāmīyya, the *Intiṣār* is a book in which al-Murtaḍā presents and justifies the distinctive juridical positions of Twelver Šīʿī jurists. Al-Murtaḍā’s erstwhile teacher, al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, had written a work within a related genre, namely, *al-lʾīlām bi-mā ittafaqat ʿalayhi al-Imāmīyya min al-aḥkām*, which may have served al-Murtaḍā to some extent as a model. Al-Mufīd wrote the *lʾīlām* most likely at the request of al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, and he states in the introduction to the work that he intended to be appended to his *Awāʾil al-maqālāt*.  

946 See al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *lʾīlām*, pp. 15–16. Āḡā Buzurg suggests that “al-Sayyid al-Šarif” refers to al-Murtaḍā; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarʾu*, vol. 2, p. 237 no. 944; cf. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd,” pp. 57–58 no. 12; this information is also repeated in McDermott, *Theology*, p. 28 no. 8. However, this is unlikely. In the introduction to both his *lʾīlām* (pp. 15–16) and his *Awāʾil al-maqālāt* al-Mufīd refers to *sayyidunā al-šarīf al-naqīb* (see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 33). Depending on when the *Awāʾil* was written, this phrase may refer either to the father of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (if al-Mufīd composed the *Awāʾil* before 400 AH), to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (if the *Awāʾil* was written after 400 AH but before 406 AH), or to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (if al-Mufīd wrote the *Awāʾil* after 406 AH). Neither the *Awāʾil* nor the *lʾīlām* is dated. It is unlikely, however, that al-Mufīd wrote the two works at the request of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī’s father—the latter is not known to have been a theologian, and there would have been little reason for him to ask al-Mufīd to compose a work such as the *Awāʾil*, which discussed in detail the differences between the Imāmīyya and the Muʿtazila. Moreover, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s remarks in the introduction to his Ḥaṣāʾīs al-aʿīma (p. 37) suggest that his and al-Murtaḍā’s father was not an Imāmī but rather a Wāqīfī. The *lʾīlām* is written from a distinctly Imāmī point of view. It is unlikely that al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā’s father would have asked al-Mufīd to compose such a work. Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī added an appendix to the *Awāʾil*, containing some responsa by al-Mufīd (see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 134). Here it is clear that the addition was done by al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. This suggests that al-Šarīf al-Raḍī is also meant when al-Mufīd addresses *sayyidunā al-šarīf al-naqīb* in the introduction to the *Awāʾil*. In addition, since al-Mufīd intended the *lʾīlām* to be an extension of the *Awāʾil*, it is reasonable to assume that in the introduction he refers again to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. If true,
The *K. Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* concludes with references to the *Mulahhaṣ* and the *Daḥira* for doctrinal matters, and the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* for jurisprudence. The reference to the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* suggests that the latter work predates al-Murtaḍā’s other books on *fiqh*, notably the *K. al-Intiṣār* and *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, as well as his *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf*. Both al-Buṣrawī and al-Ṭūsī note that the *Miṣbāḥ* was left incomplete. This may suggest that al-Murtaḍā embarked on its composition prior to his appointment in 406 [1015] as syndic (*naqīb*) and leader of the pilgrimage and the *maẓālim* jurisdiction and that he stopped working on it because of lack of time. It is likely that works that refer to the *Miṣbāḥ* only were written during the middle period of al-Murtaḍā’s scholarly career. Besides the *Ǧumal*, this would apply to his *Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu*, in which he specifically refers to the *kitāb al-ṣawm* in his *Miṣbāḥ*. In this text, he also refers to a *masʿala* on the topic that he had written a long time ago (qadīman) and reports that he later changed his position in the *Miṣbāḥ* (*tumma raǰaʿtu ʿanhu fī kitāb al-ṣawm min al-Miṣbāḥ wa-aftaytu fīhi . . .*), indicating that the *Miṣbāḥ* is not a very early work. The *Miṣbāḥ* nonetheless continued to circulate beyond al-Murtaḍā’s demise as is suggested by

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948 This is corroborated by the established dating of the *Intiṣār* and *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*; see below, Chapter Six, for details.

949 See Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Ḥusaynī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb"). Cf. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Riǧāl, vol. 3, p. 145, where the author relates that he saw a copy of Ibn Šahrāšūb’s *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* with a margin note in which an unidentified reader attested to having seen a copy of the work that was complete and covered all the rubrics of the law (al-Miṣbāḥ fi l-fiqh raʿaytu thu tāmman muštamilan ‘alā kull abwāb al-fiqh). Baḥr al-ʿUlūm evidently doubts this statement.

950 For details, see below, Chapter Six.

Ibn Idrīs’s references to it as *K. al-Miṣbāḥ fī aḥkām al-šarīʿa*. Moreover, ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Rāzī mentions it in his *Naqd* among the authoritative works of Imāmī scholars on *fiqh*, an indication of the book’s status in sixth/twelfth-century Rayy. The *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* is also regularly cited by the seventh/thirteenth-century al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, indicating that the work was available to the scholars of al-Ḥilla, and it is cited by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī’s older contemporary Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥaḏḏab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faraǧ b. Ridda al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (d. 644 [1246–47]), who has been suggested as the author of a legal work entitled *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-giatan fayna l-ašbāḥ wa-l-naẓāʿir*. The seventh/thirteenth-century author al-Fāḍil al-Ābī also regularly refers to the *Miṣbāḥ* in his *Kašf al-rumūz fī šarḥ al-Muḫtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*. The

952 For details, see above, n. 524.


extant quotations from the work and references to it suggest that the *Miṣbāḥ* was a systematic juridical book based on al-Murtada’s *fatāwā*.

Al-Murtada is also credited with another lost work on jurisprudence, *al-Fiqh al-Maliki*, which he wrote for an unknown governor, possibly *al-malik* Bahāʾ al-Dawla b. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla or *al-amīr* ‘Anbar al-Malikī al-ḥādīm (d. 420 [1029]).\(^9\) The work, which is included only in Ibn Šahrāšūb’s bibliography of al-Murtada’s writings,\(^8\) was still available to al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, who quotes several lines from it.\(^9\)

Al-Murtada’s *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf* (or *Šarḥ Masāʾil al-ḫilāf*, as al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, r-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, r-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, or al-Naḡaší render the title) was a work within the genre of legal controversy (*iḥtilāf al-fuqahā*). In this evidently comprehensive book al-Murtada discussed issues that were controversial among jurists, juxtaposing the legal opinions of the Imāmiyya with those of the various Sunnī schools of law, and arguing for the juridical opinions of the Imāms. Whereas the genre had a long tradition among Sunnī authors,\(^9\) al-Murtada’s *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf* was preceded only by al-Mufīd’s *K. Masāʾil ahl al-ḫilāf*.\(^9\) The work has not come down to us, but it seems to have prompted later Imāmi jurists to contribute to this genre, and one who did so is al-Murtada’s former student al-Ṭūsī, with his *K. al-Ḫilāf*. It is reasonable to assume that al-Ṭūsī had al-Murtada’s *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf* at his disposal when writing his own book and that he was inspired by his teacher’s work. Although al-Ṭūsī refrains from referring to the *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf* throughout his book, he regularly cites al-Murtada’s views until the middle of the book.\(^9\) The fact that he does not cite al-Murtada thereafter further supports the assumption of al-Ṭūsī’s reliance on the *Masāʾil al-

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\(^9\) See below, n. 663.

\(^8\) See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtada’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡaší, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).


\(^9\) See, e.g., Masud, “*Ikhtilaf al-Fuqaha*”.


\(^9\) Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, *Ḫilāf*, vol. 1, pp. 59, 133, 172, 190, 194, 222, 258, 259, 268, 423, 479, 560, 620; vol. 2, pp. 21, 189, 221; vol. 3, pp. 425, 436. One of the earliest extant partial manuscripts of the work is preserved as *Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 3093*, containing part three (al-ḫuš’ al-ṭālīf); the end is missing. See *flux 287, 288, 289*. Another early witness of al-Ṭūsī’s *Ḫilāf*, copied in or before 588 [1192], is preserved in the Kitābhāna-yi Ḡūrāb mad Muḥammad Ḥilāl in Ārān (Kāshān); see above, n. 276. For earlier editions and selected manuscripts, see also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shiʿī Law*, p. 64.
Ḫilāf, since the latter is known to have remained incomplete. Al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Hilāf*, in turn, served as the basis for al- Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī's *K. al-Muṭṭalaf min al-Muḥṭalaf bāyn aʾīmmat al-salaf* (completed in 520 [1126]). Another work within this genre is the Čamiʿ al- Ḥilāf wa-l-wifāq bāyn l-Imāniyya wa-bayna aʾīmmat al-Ḥiḡāz wa-l-ʿIrāq by the seventh/thirteenth-century Imāmī author ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī, which was completed in Raḡab 698 [April–May 1299]. In the introduction and the concluding remarks to this book, which he wrote as a complement to Ibn Zuhra’s *K. al-Ǧunya*, the author explains in detail his *modus operandi* in the work and names his principal sources.


Quotations from the Šarḥ al-Risāla can also be regularly encountered in the legal writings of later Imāmī scholars. Whether they are citing the work through al-Muḥaqqiq’s Muʿtabar or whether they had direct access to it is uncertain at present. These include al-Fāḍil al-Ābī’s Kašf al-rumūz, some of the legal writings of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, viz. Taḏkirat al-fuqahāʾ, some of the legal writings of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, viz. Taḏkirat al-fuqahāʾ, Taḏkirat al-fuqahāʾ, Taḏkirat al-fuqahāʾ, and Muntahā al-maṭlab, and al-Šahīd al-Awwal’s Ẓikrā al-šiʿa fī aḥkām al-šarīʿa. It can be assumed that he consulted a codex related to Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, where both titles are indicated for al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I and II: Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-ṯāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr; see Chapter Two. Al-Ḥillī’s references to al-Murtaḍā’s al-Muḥammadiyyāt are also noteworthy. As al-Muḥammadiyyāt is not juridical work, it is possible that al-Ḥillī refers to it in error, while in fact meaning a different work by al-Murtaḍā.


Al-Ḥillī evidently employs the title al-Miṣriyyāt as an alternative for al-Mawṣiliyyāt, as did al-Šahīd al-Awwal (see below, n. 970). It can be assumed that he consulted a codex related to Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Radawi 1448, where both titles are indicated for al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ḏiḥiyya I and II: Ǧawābāt al-masāʾil al-ṯāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr; see Chapter Two. Al-Ḥillī’s references to al-Murtaḍā’s al-Muḥammadiyyāt are also noteworthy. As al-Muḥammadiyyāt is not juridical work, it is possible that al-Ḥillī refers to it in error, while in fact meaning a different work by al-Murtaḍā.

al-Muḥammadīyyāt is not juridical work, it is possible that al-Ḥillī refers to it in error, while in fact meaning a different work by al-Murtaḍā. Al-Ḥillī, Munṭahā al-maṭlab, vol. 2, p. 116 (here al-Ḥillī distinguishes between Miṣbāḥ, Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-lʿamal, and Șarḥ al-Risāla). See also vol. 4, p. 355, where al-Ḥillī refers to al-Murtaḍā’s “al-Masāʾil al-Mawṣiliyya” and K. al-Miṣbāḥ.
In the introduction to his comprehensive *al-Mabsūṭ fī l-fiqh*, written after the demise of al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī states that his is the first systematic work on jurisprudence, covering all issues of fiqh, ever written within Imāmism that is based on Imāmī legal reasoning (*taʿlīluhā wa-waǧh dalīluhā*), while according probative force to the āḥād traditions. The *Mabsūṭ* constitutes a turning point in the development of Imāmī law. Al-Ṭūsī’s different approach to the āḥād traditions constitutes the principal difference between al-Murtaḍā’s and al-Ṭūsī’s attempts to lay the foundations for a new legal school within Imāmism. Al-Ṭūsī’s success is the main reason that some of al-Murtaḍā’s legal works have fallen into oblivion. At the same time, it is evident that al-Ṭūsī was deeply influenced by al-Murtaḍā’s legal thought and that he modeled his own legal writings on those of al-Murtaḍā. A close analysis of their respective legal works is a major desideratum.


For a discussion of al-Murtaḍā’s and al-Ṭūsī’s opinions on ḥabar al-wāḥid and their respective approaches to legal theory, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Epilogue.

Another desideratum is a comparative study of al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī as exegetes. While al-Murtaḍā never completed a systematic *tafsīr*, al-Ṭūsī did his *Tibyān*. The first title recorded in al-Buṣrawī’s inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mīʾa wa-ḫams wa-ʿišrīn ʿayā min sūrat al-baqara*, and the *Tafsīr*’s prominent position in al-Buṣrawī’s list suggests that he considered it to be one of al-Murtaḍā’s most important works. The beginning of the *Tafsīr* has come down to us in fragmentary form; see *Rasāʾīl al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 285–305. Other portions of the *Tafsīr* are possibly scattered throughout al-Murtaḍā’s works, most importantly his *Ǧurar*, see n. 481. Al-Murtaḍā’s introduction to the *Tafsīr* (*Rasāʾīl*, vol. 3, p. 285) provides more background on the work’s genesis and suggests that the work was possibly entitled *Mutašābih al-Qurʾān* (al-Buṣrawī’s title is merely descriptive and most certainly not the work’s title). The *Tafsīr*’s detailedness as exemplified in the little that is preserved further shows how comprehensive the work must have been. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā had started its composition at an early stage.
In his periodization of Imāmī law, Hossein Modarressi subsumed al-Murtada under the school of the rationalists, founded by al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, which was followed by the school of Šayḫ al-Ṭāʾifa, who departed from the earlier school by combining the rationalist approach with traditionalism and granting probative force to āḥād traditions. Modarressi further argues that al-Ṭūsī’s legal works “opened much new ground in Shīʿī law,” that his K. al-Ḫilāf was “the first notable work in the field of comparative law among the Shīʿīs” and that his K. al-Mabsūṭ treated “many cases which Shīʿī jurists had not dealt with previously”. By contrast, al-Murtada, in his view, simply continued the rational approach of al-Mufīd, without making any intellectual contributions beyond those of his teacher. This perspective is no longer tenable. It is evident that al-Murtada founded his own school of law, departing from the methods of his former teacher, al-Mufīd. Among his most original contributions was his elaboration of the argument that āḥād traditions have no probative force, and his notion of the iǧmāʿ, as well as his methods of arguing for the legal positions of the Imāmīs, and these can be discerned in his programmatic Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim. With respect to their different views on the probative force of the ḥabar al-wāḥid, al-Ṭūsī’s legal works largely consigned al-Murtada’s legal writings to oblivion for about a century, before the latter were again brought to the forefront by Ibn Idrīs (and a few others) in his attempt to limit the ubiquitous influence of al-Ṭūsī’s legal writings.

and that he considered the project as a life-long project. At some stage he may have stopped working on it, which may explain why some of its material was integrated into his Ġurar. For the Tafsīr, see also below, n. 1027. However, al-Murtada wrote extensively within the genre of exegesis, primarily in his Ġurar, and it is likely that his methodology had a significant influence on al-Ṭūsī and his Tibyān. As in his legal works, in the introduction to the Tibyān al-Ṭūsī refrains from mentioning al-Murtada while explicitly referring to some other exegetical sources. See al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Tibyān, 1957–1963 ed., vol. 1, pp. 1–2. Throughout the work, al-Ṭūsī refers to al-Murtada only on a few occasions, and in two cases he quotes al-Murtada; see ibid., vol. 2, pp. 9, 398. For references to al-Murtada, see also ibid., vol. 5, p. 452; vol. 9, p. 149. Cf. also Ibn Idrīs, Sarāʿir = Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs, vol. 10, pp. 38–39, where he mentions that al-Ṭūsī in his Tibyān supported one of al-Murtada’s views while he disagreed with him in his Iqtiṣād on the same issue.

973 Modarressi, Introduction to Shiʿī Law, pp. 40ff.
974 Modarressi, Introduction to Shiʿī Law, p. 44.
975 Modarressi, Introduction to Shiʿī Law, p. 44.
976 Modarressi, Introduction to Shiʿī Law, p. 44.
977 For details, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition, Epilogue.
978 See the concluding remarks of Chapter 1.6.
A study of al-Murtaḍā’s legal system is a major desideratum. Although some of his systematic works, notably his Miṣbāḥ and his Masāʾil al-ḫilāf, have not come down to us, a critical number of his legal writings remain extant, including numerous relevant responsa collections. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal is al-Murtaḍā’s most important extant work on jurisprudence as it reflects his own legal opinions. The work’s robust and continuous transmission since al-Murtaḍā’s lifetime, as well as Ibn al-Barrāḡ’s commentary on it, testify to its lasting popularity, which may have been the reason why the far more detailed Miṣbāḥ, which was left incomplete and possibly reflected al-Murtaḍā’s earlier legal opinions, was largely replaced by the Ğumal and was eventually no longer transmitted. On the basis of al-Murtaḍā’s legal writings, which have come down to us (directly or indirectly), an analysis of the development of his legal thought is both feasible and a desideratum. An in-depth study of al-Murtaḍā’s legal system should also examine closely investigate al-Ṭūsī’s legal writings, specifically his Nihāya, which may be modelled on al-Murtaḍā’s Miṣbāḥ, and his K. al-Ḫilāf, which is most likely modelled on al-Murtaḍā’s Masāʾil al-ḫilāf. The numerous and sometimes extensive quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s otherwise lost writings on jurisprudence, notably his Miṣbāḥ and his Masāʾil al-ḫilāf, that are included in the writings of Ibn Idrīs and later Imāmī scholars constitute an important source.

979 Among the few studies in the West on al-Murtaḍā as a jurist, mention should be made of Stewart, Islamic Legal Orthodoxy, passim; and Stewart, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā”. Al-Murtaḍā as a faqīh and his contributions to jurisprudence are not discussed in Abdulsater, Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology.

980 It should be noted, however, that al-Murtaḍā still considered the Miṣbāḥ authoritative as he referred his readers to the work in the concluding remarks to his Ğumal (see above, n. 947), this being one of the reasons why scholars continued to refer to the work as long as it was available to them.

981 For Ibn Idrīs’s quotations of al-Murtaḍā’s legal works, see above, n. 524. Important advances towards a study of al-Murtaḍā’s legal system are made in Ansari and Ehteshami, Seeking Certitude: Scriptural Authority in Early Shiʿi Jurisprudence. Maĝīd Hādīzāda published partial reconstructions of al-Murtaḍā’s Miṣbāḥ and his Masāʾil al-ḫilāf on the basis of the quotations from the two works in secondary sources. See his “al-Mutabaqqī min Kitāb Miṣbāḥ” and “al-Mutabaqqī min Kitāb Masāʾil al-ḫilāf”. During the pre-modern period, the sixth/twelfth century Imāmī scholar Nāşir al-Dīn Rāšid b. İbrāhīm b. İbrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605 [1208]; on him, see our Imāmī Thought in Transition) is reported to have summarized thirty-three masāʾil from a partial copy of the Masāʾil al-ḫilāf, from the kitāb al-ṭahāra and up until the bāb al-tayammum. A note to this effect was found on an old copy of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī’s K. al-Nihāya. Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, who relates this in his Kaškāl (vol. 3, pp. 1795–1796), only cites two masāʾil. See also al-Afandī, al-Fawā’id al-ṭarīfa, p. 561, where a truncated version of the incident is mentioned.
Chapter Six
Towards a Chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s Writings

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā was one of the most outstanding minds of his time within and beyond Imāmī Šīʿism and his oeuvre is encyclopaedic. Besides his contributions to theology, he was a faqīh who wrote several influential works on jurisprudence and legal theory. In addition, he was an important adīb as is evident from his Ġurar al-fawāʾid, a work that not only belongs to the tradition of literary criticism but also demonstrates his competence as an exegete and a traditionist. Moreover, the Ġurar’s “neutral” character indicates that it was addressed to a mixed Šīʿī-Sunnī (particularly Muʿtazilī) audience, and its continuous reception among Sunnī and Šīʿī readers across the centuries testifies to the wide acceptance al-Murtaḍā enjoyed as a religious authority. Finally, al-Murtaḍā also composed several works of poetry. Since a significant portion of his writings is extant, scholars are in a good position to analyze the development of his doctrinal and juristic thought.

Examining al-Murtaḍā’s intellectual trajectory requires establishing at least a relative chronology of his writings in the relevant field(s). For some of his works, al-Murtaḍā provides precise or at least approximate dates of composition. This is the case for his al-Mawṣiliyyāt, apparently one of his first books, which he wrote sometime between 381 [991–92] and 389 [998–99]. The approximate dating is related in al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II, which al-Murtaḍā wrote in or after Rabī’ I 420 [March–April 1029]. In al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II al-Murtaḍā also refers repeatedly to his al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I, referring to it as al-masāʾil al-ūlā and ġawāb al-masāʾil al-wārida qabla hāḏihī. This suggests that both of the two responsa collections were written within the same, relatively short period of time. On the other hand, al-Murtaḍā’s reference to al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I in his Intiṣār (p. 442) as wa-qad katabtu qadīman fī ġawāb masāʾil waradat min al-Mawṣil, especially if

983 It is noteworthy that al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I has no introduction, whereas al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II opens with a comprehensive methodological introduction (Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 201–213), which applies to both responsa collections and may have been prompted by queries sent to al-Murtaḍā from Mawṣil regarding his first responsa. Remarkable is further the preface to al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II (p. 201), which was clearly written after al-Murtaḍā had composed both the introduction and the responsa.
read against his reference to al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiṣḥīyya II in the same work as ǧawāb masāʾil ahl al-Mawsil al-fiṣḥīyya al-wārida fī sanat 420. This may suggest that some time has passed between al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiṣḥīyya I and II. Alternatively, qadīman is just another way to refer to the work’s composition, around 420 AH, especially in view of the Intiṣār having been composed only towards the end of the 420s AH. However, in this specific case, al-Murtada perhaps simply wanted to emphasize that he changed his opinion on the matter in the Intiṣār—qadīman is thus less an indication of time but rather a reference to a view no longer held. Another early work of his is al-Šāfī fī l-imāma, which he completed on 7 Ramadān 398 [16 May 1008], although individual instalments were published before that date. It seems safe to assume that al-Murtada began writing the Šāfī during the 380s AH. Al-Murtada’s al-Ḏarīʿa ilā usūl al-šarīʿa is also precisely dated, as it ends with an authorial colophon according to which he completed the work on 11 Šawwāl 430 [6 July 1039]. Several of the responsa included in the 574 [1179] codex open with a dating clause. These include Masʾala fī l-mash ʿalā l-huffayn (Šaʿbān 415 [October–November 1024]), Masʾala fī ǧawāb nikāḥ al-mutʿa (Muḥarram 427 [November–December 1035]), Masʾala fī siḡat al-bayʿ (Muḥarram 427 [November–December 1035]), Istihqāq madḥ al-bāriʾ ʿalā l-awsā (Ṣafar 427 [October 1035–January 1036]), Masʾala fī fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (Rabīʾ I 427 [January–February 1036]), Masʾala fī l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ǧism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿil (Rabīʾ I 427 [January–February 1036]), and Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (Rabīʾ II 427 [February 1036]). Some of these individually transmitted tracts may have originally been part of a responsa collection that is now believed to be lost. In particular, the responsa dated Muḥarram 427 AH and Rabīʾ I 427 AH may have been part of distinct responsa collections. Some of the extant responsa collections are also dated, including al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (Šaʿbān 429 [May–June 1038] or, less likely, Šaʿbān 427 [May–June 1036]) and al-Rassiyyāt I (9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037]). Moreover, al-Rassiyyāt II was evidently written shortly after al-Rassiyyāt I, so the former, too, can be dated fairly precisely. Similar observations can be made for the responsa collections al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II through III. The two sets contain ample indications that they were written within the same short

984 See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtada’s writings”).
985 See also below, n. 1006.
986 See also al-Fāḍil al-Ābī, Kašf al-rumūz, vol. 1, p. 495.
987 That al-Rassiyyāt I and II were composed only some few years before al-Murtada’s death explains why he himself never refers to the works in any other of his writings. Ibn Idris was the first scholar after al-Murtada’s lifetime to consult the works. See above, n. 524.
period of time. Al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb is the only work in which al-Murtaḍā states both when he began writing it, namely in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 419 AH, and when he completed it, in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 421 AH. Another particular case is al-Murtaḍā’s Dīwān, which is arranged chronologically with many ašʿār being preceded by precise dating clauses, in addition to an iǧāza indicating the date of completion of volume one of the work.

Beyond precisely dated works, an approximate dating can be deduced for some responsa collections on the basis of what is known about the questioners. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tabbān, for example, died in 419 [1028], thus providing the terminus ante quem for al-Ṭabbāniyyāt. Abū l-Faṭḥ Muhammad b. ‘Ali al-Karāǧikī, apparently the questioner behind al-Ramliyyāt, studied with al-Murtaḍā for a short time only, presumably at some point between 412 [1021–22] and 416 [1025–26]. His queries must have been dispatched to al-Murtaḍā after al-Karāǧikī had left Baghdad for al-Ramla, i.e., most likely in 416 AH; al-Murtaḍā’s responsa were presumably composed shortly afterwards, i.e., in 416 AH or 417 AH.

Other works can be dated on the basis of the dedications al-Murtaḍā included in the respective introductions. K. al-Muqniʿ fī l-ġayba and Masʾala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān were composed for the vizier al-Maġribī, who was appointed to the vizierate in 414 [1023–24] and served in this function for ten months and four days. Al-Maġribī’s term in office thus provides the time frame of the works’ composition. In the case of Masʾala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān, al-Murtaḍā further relates in his responsum that the issue at hand was debated during a maǧlis in Ġumādā II 415 [August–September 1024], which was the immediate occasion for the composition of the tract.

There are other indications that may help us establish at least a tentative terminus ante quem for individual works. In 397 [1007] the Būyid amīr Bahāʾ al-Dawla (r. 379 [989] to 403 [1012]) induced the caliph al-Qādir (r. 381 [991] to 422

988 See above, n. 648.
989 See Ansari, L’imamat et l’occultation, pp. 109–114 for a tentative reconstruction of his biography. Stewart (“The Disputed Name and Origin,” p. 34) disagrees with Ansari’s biography of al-Karāǧikī, but without providing any compelling proof. Be that as it may, it is very unlikely that al-Karāǧikī would have studied with al-Murtaḍā while al-Mufīd was still alive. Al-Karāǧikī received other responsa form al-Murtaḍā, as is suggested by a responsum he quotes in al-Karāǧikī, al-Risāla al-ʿalawiyya, p. 72. Al-Murtaḍā also responded to him on the question of ‘adad; see below, nn. 1011, 1042.
[1031]) to grant al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā the title al-Murtaḍā “Ḏū l-Maǧdayn”.

Since al-Murtaḍā is addressed with the laqab “Ḏū l-Maǧdayn” in some of the queries that were dispatched to him, it is likely that the queries that do not use this title were sent before that date, although it is also possible that later scribes added the laqab when copying those works.

Another recurrent motif in the introductory or concluding remarks of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is the comment that the author is working under immense time pressure. This comment may hint at the increased workload that accompanied al-Murtaḍā’s appointment as syndic (naqīb al-nuqabā’) on 3 Ṣafar 406 [23 July 1015], when he was granted oversight over the leadership of the pilgrimage (imārat al-ḥaǧġ) and the maẓālim jurisdiction, which was a particularly time-consuming responsibility. Notes to this effect can be found, for example, in the beginning of his K. al-Tanzīh (ʿalā ḍayq al-waqt wa-tašaʿʿub al-fikr), in his al-Tabbāniyyāt, and in the concluding remarks to his al-Nāṣiriyyāt. Such comments may indicate that the works in question were written around or after 406 [1015], as his new responsibilities as a political authority must have taken an enormous toll on al-Murtaḍā. They may also have induced him to discontinue, for example, his

991 See above, n. 663.

992 It is further noteworthy that in Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm’s edition of al-Murtaḍā’s Ġurar (1373/1954), al-Murtaḍā is mentioned with this honorific title for the first time at vol. 1, p. 127 (qāla Sayyidunā al-Šarīf al-Aǧall al-Murtaḍā Ḏū l-Maǧdayn . . .), with subsequent occurrences at vol. 1, pp. 146, 167, 228, and vol. 2, p. 134 (at the end of the Ġurar). This observation may perhaps help to date the composition of the Ġurar more precisely.


comprehensive summa, the *K. al-Mulāḥḥaṣ*. The repeated attacks by the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdad against the Šīʿī community in Karḫ and against al-Murtaḍā personally in 416 [1025–26], 417 [1026–27], and again in 422 [1031] must also have severely affected his work routine during the last decades of his life. At the same time, there is nothing to suggest that al-Murtaḍā undertook the ḥaǧǧ in person beyond his one recorded pilgrimage in 389 [999]. During al-Murtaḍā’s term in office, the political situation regularly prompted the cancellation of the ḥaǧǧ from Iraq. Sībṭ Ḯn al-Ǧawzī relates, for example, that the ḥaǧǧ pilgrimage from Baghdad was canceled between the years 416 [1026] and 422 [1031]. Moreover, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Aqsāsī is reported to have served as al-Murtaḍā’s deputy in leading the ḥaǧǧ (*nāʾib al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā fī imrat al-ḥaǧīǧ*) and to have led the pilgrims to Mecca over many years (*ḥaǧǧa bi-l-nās sinīn mutaʿaddida*) until his death in 415 [1024–25].

The most important sources on al-Murtaḍā’s writings are the bibliographical inventories of three of his contemporaries, al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, and al-Naǧāšī.  

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996 For al-Murtaḍā’s pilgrimage in 389 [999], see above, n. 72. Ibn Ǧahd records in his *Itḥāf al-warā* not a single instance in which the ḥaǧǧ from Baghdad took place during al-Murtaḍā’s term in office with al-Murtaḍā leading the pilgrims himself.


999 See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).
However, the three lists are of limited value for establishing a chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s works. Although al-Buṣrawī’s bibliography of al-Murtaḍā’s writings was initially compiled in either 417 AH or 419 AH, it should be used with great caution as a means for determining a *terminus ante quem* for the titles included in it, as al-Buṣrawī—or perhaps al-Murtaḍā himself as the muǧīz, who continued to have access to the iǧāza, as is suggested by the wide circulation of the inventory among al-Murtaḍā’s writings—continued to revise and expand the inventory afterwards, as is evident from the presence in his list of a fair number of titles that are known to have been written after 419 AH. Why he failed to include some of the later titles, such as al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ḏarīʿa*, remains unknown. In addition, all extant witnesses of al-Buṣrawī’s inventory go back to the antigraph included in the 574 [1179] codex. With only a single version of the bibliography at our disposal, it is impossible to determine which entries were part of the original list and which ones were added later.

Al-Ţūsī began to compile his list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings some time around 414 AH, and he continually updated and expanded the list, especially in view of al-Buṣrawī’s list, to which he refers in his inventory as *fihristihi l-maʿrūf*. Moreover, al-Ţūsī states that in his own inventory he focuses on the most important and most comprehensive books by al-Murtaḍā and refers readers to al-Buṣrawī’s more exhaustive *fihrist* for his shorter and less important writings. It is interesting to observe the titles listed by al-Ţūsī but not by al-Buṣrawī. Al-Ţūsī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s *adab* works is far more comprehensive than al-Buṣrawī’s, and he also mentions some of al-Murtaḍā’s later works that are not included in al-Buṣrawī’s list, such as the *K. al-Ḏarīʿa*. With great caution, it may be argued that the titles included in al-Ţūsī’s list but not in al-Buṣrawī’s were written during the last decade or two of al-Murtaḍā’s life.

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1000 Cf. Stewart, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 174–175, who is less reluctant to use al-Buṣrawī’s inventory for dating purposes. On the other hand, most of the textual problems related to al-Buṣrawī’s list that Stewart discusses are solved with a new critical edition of the inventory; see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text I. The editor of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ţayf al-ḥayāl*, Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, also assumes al-Buṣrawī’s bibliographical list to include all of al-Murtaḍā’s writings up to 417 AH. Al-Ṣayrafī recognizes that some of the works on the list are dated later, but he is unable to explain the obvious contradiction and eventually even suggests that the authenticity of the entire document is doubtful. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ţayf al-ḥayāl*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, pp. 35–39 (introduction).

Al-Naḡāšī also started his list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings at an early stage. His list includes most of the smaller tracts and responsa collections mentioned by al-Buṣrawī but excluded by al-Ṭūsī, although he provides less detail on the individual titles than does al-Buṣrawī. On the other hand, a fair number of writings by al-Murtaḍā are not included in al-Naḡāšī’s list for some reason; he may not have seen al-Buṣrawī’s list. Al-Naḡāšī, too, must have updated and revised his inventory over the years. Of the last four titles on his list, two, *K. al-Ḏarīʿa* and *K. al-Intiṣār*, are known to have been late books. The two other titles, *K. al-Waʿīd* and *Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihi*, are lost. The *K. al-Waʿīd*, one of his latest works, may have been written because al-Murtaḍā changed his opinion on some aspects of *waʿīd*. Since he had dealt with the issue extensively in one of the chapters of his early *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, to which he regularly referred in his later writings, it is remarkable that he returned to the subject and wrote about it again. *Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihi* may possibly be identical with *Tafsīruhu al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya min šiʿrīhi* in al-Buṣrawī’s list, which is lost. Nothing further is known about this work, but it may be tentatively assumed that all four titles were added at a late stage.

The numerous autoreferences that appear throughout al-Murtaḍā’s works— and the absence of cross-references where such references might be expected—are immensely significant for establishing the relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in any discipline. As al-Murtaḍā advanced in age, he referred not only to specific titles in his oeuvre but increasingly to his writings in general, without further specification (*fī kutubinā / fī kāṭīr min kutubinā / fī mawāḍīʾ kāṭīrā min kalāminā / fī mawāḍīʾ min kutubinā / fī mawāḍīʾ kāṭīra min kutubinā / fī ǧayr mawāḍīʾ / fī mawāḍīʾ min kalāmī / fī kāṭīr min kutubī wa-amāliyya / fī baʿd kalāmī*). In his *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*, for example, he refers specifically only to his *K. al-Šāfī*; however, since he also refers generally to a number of his writings (*fī kāṭīr min kutubinā*), the reference to the *Šāfī* cannot be interpreted as an indication that the *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba* is an early work—to the contrary. It is further noteworthy that a

1003 See above, n. 526.

1004 See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”).

1005 An example is a responsum on the notion of *bayān* that is included in al-Murtaḍā’s *Takmilat ġurar al-fawāʾid*; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Fadl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 358–361. Although al-Murtaḍā mentions towards the end of the text (p. 361) that he has discussed the issue repeatedly (*fī mawāḍīʾ min kutubinā*), he does not refer to his most authoritative work of legal theory, the *K. al-Ḏarīʿa* where he discusses the issue in detail (1429 [2008] ed., pp. 270–281) This suggests that this responsum, at least, was written prior to the *Ḏarīʿa*. 

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portion of Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba is included in the Takmilat al-Ġurar;\textsuperscript{1005} the dating of one of the two works, to the extent that it can be determined, thus has immediate bearing on that of the other.

A certain indication for a terminus post quem for the composition of a work is provided by cross-references to works other than the most relevant one on a given topic, which suggest that the relevant work postdates the work containing such cross-references. Such a telling cross-reference appears, for example, in al-Murtaḍā’s al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II, in which he refers to his K. Masā’il al-ḥilāf with respect to al-masā’il allatī ḍukira infīrāq al-Imāmiyya bihā, even though his most important work on the topic was his K. al-Intiṣār. That al-Murtaḍā ignores the latter indicates that when he composed his al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II in or after Rabī’ I 420 AH, he had not yet begun to write his Intiṣār. By contrast, in the course of the latter work he refers repeatedly to al-Mawsīliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II, which had been completed by the time he wrote al-Intiṣār.

For the study of the development of al-Murtaḍā’s doctrinal thought, his Šāfiʿī and his Ġurar al-fawāʾid constitute important landmarks. Although it is uncertain when he began composing the Ġurar, the work undoubtedly postdates the completion of the Šāfiʿī by many years, possibly a decade. A comparison of his doctrinal stances in these two works shows that his attitude towards Muʿtazilism changed between them. Al-Murtaḍā was far more distanced from the movement when writing the Šāfiʿī than he was when writing the Ġurar. A fairly positive attitude towards Muʿtazilism can also be observed in his K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ. The work is undated, but certainly belongs to his earlier works. This is suggested by the absence of cross-references to any of his responsa, which are specifically devoted to latīf al-kalām, including his al-Mawsīliyyāt, which has a chapter on ʾiṭtimād. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā began writing al-Mawsīliyyāt and al-Mulaḥḥaṣ around the same time, possibly during the second half of the 380s AH. The Mulaḥḥaṣ contains only some few autoreferences to other works, namely, his refutations of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī’s Fī iṯbāt ṭabīʿat al-mumkin wa-naqḍ ḥuḡaḡ al-muḥālifin li-ḏālika wa-l-tanbih ʿalā fasādihā and his Maqāla fī ʿayr al-mutanāḥī wa-l-mutanāḥī wa-l-ḏuaʾi ṭallāḏī lā yataḏgaẓzaʾ, as well as his Masʿala fī taʾwil Q 75:22–23 (one of his earlier works as is suggested by the wording masʿala amlaynāḥā qadīman) and his lost Masʿala fī anna l-nafy innamā fāraqa l-iṯbāt fī l-iṭtiqār ilā l-šarṭ. It is certain that al-Murtaḍā had started work on the Mulaḥḥaṣ before he embarked on the K. al-Ḍaḥira. It may have been preoccupation with the obligations attendant to his administrative positions that led him to discontinue the Mulaḥḥaṣ

and instead expand on his discussions in the *K. al-Daḥira* as he continued writing the latter book. If this is the case, he must have written the *Mulaḥḥas* before 406 AH. In any case, the *Daḥira* was completed much later than the *Mulaḥḥas* was. Twice in his *Išārāt fi l-imāma* in the *K. al-Daḥira* al-Murtaḍā refers to the *K. al-Muqniṭ* written for the vizier al-Maġribī in 414 or 415 AH. This suggests that the composition of the *K. al-Daḥira* began after he had discontinued the *Mulaḥḥas*. It is possible that since his attitude towards Muʿtazilism again became more critical al-Murtaḍā decided to discontinue to *Mulaḥḥas* and to expand the *Daḥira* instead, which is suggested by his more distanced, critical approach towards the Muʿtazila in the *Daḥira* than is the case in the *Mulaḥḥas*. Since it is further possible that copies of some of the written parts of the *Mulaḥḥas* already circulated, the only feasible manner to continue writing a summa that reflected his stance towards Muʿtazilism at the time was to write a different work. Moreover, he may have envisaged the *Daḥira* as an authoritative doctrine work at a stage of his life when he was expected to play a leading role for the community. *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, which has a reference to his *Mulaḥḥas* but not his *Daḥira* (although there is a thematic overlap), while al-Murtaḍā refers in the *Daḥira* to *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, was evidently written between those two summas, possibly around 408 AH or 409 AH. The work already heralds al-Murtaḍā’s again more critical approach towards the Muʿtazila, as it was later expressed in the *Daḥira*. Al-Murtaḍā’s *Istīḥqāq madḥ al-bāriʿ ‘alā l-awṣā*, which is dated Šafar 427 AH, is another late theological tract, in which al-Murtaḍā’s critical attitudes towards Bahšamite thought at an advanced stage of his life is evident.

In his *K. al-Mūḍiḥ*, al-Murtaḍā refers only to his *K. al-Šāfī*, and he does so only once, suggesting that the *K. al-Mūḍiḥ* was another fairly early work. This thesis is further corroborated by references to the *K. al-Mūḍiḥ* in the *K. al-Daḥira*. This indicates that al-Murtaḍā began his scholarly career with two refutations directed against ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār’s *K. al-Muqniṭ*. In addition, the only work al-Murtaḍā refers

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1006 In his *Daḥira*, al-Murtaḍā refers on three occasions to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*. While he does not refer to them as *al-Mawṣiliyyāt I* in two instances (pp. 285, 303), he explicitly identifies the work as ǧawāb ahl al-Mawṣil al-awwal on p. 282. This would suggest that he had already composed at this stage *al-Mawṣiliyyāt I*, which were apparently written before or in 420 AH. Since the reference is placed fairly early in the *Daḥira*, this might suggest 420 AH as terminus post quem for the composition of the major part of the *Daḥira*, which is unlikely. It is possible that either al-Murtaḍā or one of his students added the specification al-awwal at a later stage. Alternatively, al-Murtaḍā’s previously discussed reference to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiṣḥiyya I* in his *Intiṣār* (wa-qad katabtu qadīman fi ǧawāb masāʾil waradat min al-Mawṣil) may indeed suggest that some time has passed between *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiṣḥiyya I* and II.
to in his *Tanzīh* is the Šāfī, which also points to a fairly early dating for the *Tanzīh*. It is noteworthy that the *Tanzīh* does not refer to the *K. al-Muqniʿ*, whereas the latter work does refer to the former. 414 AH or 415 AH is thus the *terminus ante quem* for the *Tanzīh* (which has a chapter on ḡayba), though it is likely that it was written some years before.\(^{1007}\) Of his later works, al-Murtaḍā alludes to responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* in his *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, dated Šaʿbān 429 [May–June 1038]) or, less likely, Šaʿbān 427 [May–June 1036], stating that he wrote *al-Sallāriyyāt* “some years ago.”

The *K. Čumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* concludes with references to the *Mulaḥḥas* and the *Dahiira* for doctrinal matters, and the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* for jurisprudence. The way in which he refers to the *Mulaḥḥas* and the *Dahiira* indicates that when he completed the *Čumal* he still intended the two summae to be two separate works, one detailed and comprehensive and the other brief and concise. The *Čumal* was thus written before al-Murtaḍā decided to discontinue the *Mulaḥḥas* and to expand his discussions in the *Dahiira*, suggesting that the *Čumal* was completed when al-Murtaḍā just began composing the *Dahiira*, i.e., during the early 410s AH. The relatively early date of the *Čumal’s* completion is supported by al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī’s note according to which the *Čumal* was completed during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, that is, before 415 [1025].\(^{1008}\) The *Čumal*’s concluding reference to the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* suggests that the latter work predates al-Murtaḍā’s other books on *fiqh*, notably the *K. al-Intiṣār* and *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, as well as his *K. Masāʾil al-ḫilāf*.

During the last two decades of his life, al-Murtaḍā wrote primarily on *fiqh*. After the death of his erstwhile teacher, al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā became the principal religious authority for the Imāmī community far beyond Baghdad, and questions of jurisprudence were of utmost significance for the community’s members, which explains the shift in al-Murtaḍā’s scholarly activities towards jurisprudence.\(^{1009}\) *Al-Tabbāniyyāt* was apparently one of his first works exclusively devoted to legal theory. This responsa collection was composed shortly before 419 [1028], the

\(^{1007}\) That the *Tanzīh* predates the *Muqniʿ* is corroborated by al-Murtaḍā’s concluding statement in the *Tanzīh*, in which he expresses a desire to write later a work specifically devoted to the question of the ḡayba. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh*, ed. Qāḍī Šuʿār and Ġaffārī, p. 281.

\(^{1008}\) See above, nn. 75 and 111.

\(^{1009}\) It may be assumed that al-Murtaḍā also hesitated to publish some of his major doctrinal works while al-Mufīd was still alive (or at least active), most importantly his *Mulaḥḥas*, which, in view of the author’s endorsement of Bahšami doctrines, went directly against al-Mufīd’s theological views. In fact, most of al-Murtaḍā’s works date after 413 AH.
year of Ibn Tabbān’s demise. Since it is not referred to in his discussion of the aḥbār al-āḥād in the Šoḥira (which is placed right before al-kalām fi l-imāma, where al-Murtaḍā refers to Muqni’), al-Tabbāniyyāt was most likely written after 414 AH or 415 AH.\textsuperscript{1010} The fundamental importance of al-Tabbāniyyāt for al-Murtaḍā is indicated by his regular references to it in most of his later writings on legal matters, including Ḍaḥīra, Intiṣār, Mas’ala fi lbāṭal al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād, Mas’ala fi l-iǧmāʿ, al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira, Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr,\textsuperscript{1011} al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhīyya II, and even al-Rassiyāt I, written in 429 AH. Both in al-Tabbāniyyāt and in al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhīyya II, written in or after Rabīʿ I 420 [March–April 1029], al-Murtaḍā refers to his K. Masāʾil al-ḫilāf. The wording of the references indicates that he was still very much at the beginning of writing that book.\textsuperscript{1012} Moreover, in one of the references to the K. al-Nāṣiriyyāt in al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhīyya II he specifically mentions the distinctive positions of the Imāmīs on legal questions (infrād al-Imāmiyya).\textsuperscript{1013} That he does not refer in this context to his K. al-Intiṣār, which is specifically devoted to the topic, suggests that he had not yet started writing the Intiṣār at this point in time, and was perhaps not yet even planning the book. That the K. al-Nāṣiriyyāt was written after al-Murtaḍā had completed major parts of his K. Masāʾil al-ḫilāf is suggested by the numerous references to the latter work in the Nāṣiriyyāt. Moreover, in the Nāṣiriyyāt, al-Murtaḍā refers to his Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr, which in turn has a reference to al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhīyya II (dated 420 AH). This shows that the K. al-Nāṣiriyyāt was certainly composed after 420 AH. The K. al-Intiṣār is not

\textsuperscript{1010} At the same time, it is remarkable that the extant parts of al-Tabbāniyyāt do not contain any reference to the K. al-Ḍaḥīra. Al-Murtaḍā may have written the two works partly in parallel. The author’s attitude in al-Tabbāniyyāt on ḥabar al-wāḥid goes against that of al-Mufīd, this being another indication that it was composed before al-Mufīd’s death.

\textsuperscript{1011} Al-Murtaḍā wrote this work in response to a text by one of his unidentified Imāmī contemporaries with whom al-Murtaḍā disagreed over whether the beginning of Ramaḍān is determined by calculation or by the sighting of the crescent moon. See Ansari, “Matn-i risāla-yi imāmi az yikī az aṣḥāb al-ʿadad”. Ansari argues against the theory that the original tract was composed by al-Karāǧikī, as suggested, for example, by Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Riǧāl, vol. 3, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{1012} This is another indication that al-Tabbāniyyāt was composed only shortly before 419 [1028].

mentioned in the Nāṣiriyyāt, indicating that it was written only after the completion of the Nāṣiriyyāt. Throughout the Intiṣār, al-Murtaḍā refers to the K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf as well as to “kitābunā fī ʿusūl al-ḥiqāḥ”. Assuming that this is a reference to his Ḍarīʿa, it is possible that the Intiṣār and the Ḍarīʿa were written around the same time, towards the end of the 420s AH.

Another important juridical work by al-Murtaḍā that dates to the later period of his life and in which he lays down his fundamental reasoning in jurisprudence, is his concise tract Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim. As in the Nāṣiriyyāt and the Intiṣār, al-Murtaḍā refers also in this text to the Masāʾil al-ḥilāf. The manner of the latter reference suggests that the Masāʾil al-ḥilāf and Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm were intimately related to each other, in the sense that al-Murtaḍā explained in his Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm the methodology he employed when writing the Masāʾil al-ḥilāf. 1014 This is corroborated by al-Murtaḍā’s reference to the Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm in his al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I, where he explicitly states that the work was composed as a methodological addendum to his Masāʾil al-ḥilāf. 1015 This also explains why there is no reference to the K. al-Intiṣār in Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm. Both al-Buṣrawī and al-Ṭūsī note that the K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf was left incomplete. 1016

Comparison of quotations from the book in the works of al-Murtaḍā and later scholars shows that al-Murtaḍā continued working on the Masāʾil al-ḥilāf even after completing the Nāṣiriyyāt and the Intiṣār but was unable to finalize it before his demise. He may also have discontinued the book deliberately at some point and instead focussed exclusively on completing the K. al-Intiṣār, a decision that would echo his modus operandi with the Mulahḥas and the Daḥira at an earlier stage of his scholarly career. Another very late tract is al-Risāla al-bāhira fī l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira, which contains references to the K. al-Intiṣār and al-Tubbāniyyāt. This work, which is partly preserved in the citation of the sixth/twelfth-century scholar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalīb al-Ṭabarṣī in his K. al-Iḥtiǧāǧ ʿalā ahl al-laǧāǧ, is listed only in Ibn Şahrāšūb’s inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings; Ibn Şahrāšūb knew it through his teacher al-Ṭabarṣī. Perhaps al-Murtaḍā’s last work were his al-Ḥalabiyyāt II and III. Al-Murtaḍā himself invariably refers in his Masʾala fī ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḫbār al-āḥād, al-Rassiyyāt I, and al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II to “al-Ḥalabiyyāt”, without specifying which

1016 See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Şahrāšūb”).
collection he means, which suggests that he means *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* I. This indicates that *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* II and III were composed only after 429 AH. Their late date of composition may also be the reason that the works’ transmission was limited and that they were eventually lost.\(^{1017}\) Between *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* I on the one hand and *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* II and III on the other al-Murtaḍā apparently also wrote his *Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*. In it he refers to *al-Tabbāniyyāt* and *K. al-Intiṣār* as well as *al-Ḥalabiyyāt*, without further specification. That this was a very late work is further corroborated by the lack of references to it in any other work by al-Murtaḍā.\(^{1018}\) Its late composition also accounts for the fact that it was not included in the 574 [1179] codex—the first to find and transcribe it was al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī. Later, the text was included by al-Fāḍil al-Hindī in his codex of al-Murtaḍā’s writings.

\(^{1017}\) See below, n. 1039.

\(^{1018}\) However, al-Murtaḍā does not refer in the *Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* to his *Ḍarīʿa*, which has a chapter on *aḥbār al-āḥād*. This may suggest that this part of the *Ḍarīʿa* (completed in 430 AH) was not yet written when he composed the *Masʾala*. 
Appendices
### Appendix 1:

Structure of Zaydi, Muʿtazili, and Imami usūl al-fiqh works in the fifth/eleventh century

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<td>faṣl fi ḥaqīqat al-ʿilm wa-aqṣāmihā wa-ḥaqīqa wa-l-maḡāz</td>
<td>bāb al-kalām fī l-ḥitāb wa-aqṣāmihā wa-ḥakāmā</td>
<td>bāb al-kalām fī l-ḥiṭāb wa-aqṣāmihā wa-ḥakāmā</td>
<td>bāb al-kalām fī l-ḥiṭāb wa-aqṣāmihā wa-ḥakāmā</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḍikr al-ĝaraḍ min ḥāḍā l-kitāb</td>
<td>qismat usūl al-fiqh</td>
<td>fi ṯāb al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-maḡāz wa-fī ḥaddihā</td>
<td>fi ṯāb al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-maḡāz</td>
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al-fiqh huwa al-ʿilm bi-l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām al-šarī wa-asbābihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā wa-ṣūrāṭihimā...
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awāmir

DONāṭLT
ELOḤDTT
Abū Ṭālib,
Ǧawāmiʿ al
DGLOOD


DOḫilāf fī l
awāmir

DONāṭLT
ELOḤDTT
Abū Ṭālib,
DOMuǧzī 

450

DOkalām fī lDḫbār
DOkalām fī lawāmir

asmāʾ_IDṣl fī ḏikr mā
yaǧib maʿrifatuhu min
ṣifāt Allāh Taʿālā wa
ṣifāt alnabī waṣifāt al
aʾimma ḥattā yaṣLḥḥ
maʿrifat murādihim_
IDṣl fī ḏLNUDOwaǧh
DOODḏī yaǧib an yuḥPDO
ʿalayhi murād Allāh bi
ḫLṭābihi

DOšarʿiyya_DOḥaqāʾiq
DOʿurfiyya_LṯEāt al
maǧāz fī lluġa_fī
ḥXVQGXḫūl almaǧāz fī
ḫLṭāb Allāh wafī
DQQDKXḫāṭLEELKL_
ḏikr mā yufṣDOELKL
ED\QDOḥaqīqa waO
maǧāz_ḏLNUDḥkām al
ḥaqīqa waOmaǧāz_
DOqawl fī lḥurūf

DOkalām fī lawāmir

DOṬūsī, .DOʿUdda 

Abū lḤXVD\QDO
%Dṣrī, DOMuʿtamad 


bāb alqawl fī l
DPUZD

DO0XUWDḍā, DO
Ḏarīʿa 


masāʾil alDPU

DOmaǧāz fī lluġa ._
masʾala iḫWDODIDO
qāʾilūn bianna fī lluġa
maǧāzan hal fī kalām
Allāh subḥānahu
maǧāzan am lā ._
IDṣOZDOḥaqīqa immā
an takūna luġawiyya
aw ʿurfiyya aw šarʿiyya


Abū Yūsuf al
Qazwīnī, DOWāḍLḥ

Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke


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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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<td><strong>al-kalām fī l-afāl</strong></td>
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<td><strong>bāb al-kalām fī l-nāṣiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ</strong></td>
<td><strong>al-ḥilāf fī l-aḥbār</strong></td>
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<td><strong>bāb al-ḥilāf fī l-nāṣiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ</strong></td>
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<td>al-kalām fī l-iṯṭihād</td>
<td>bāb al-kalām fī l-iṯṭihād wa-mā yataʿallaq bihi</td>
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<td>bāb al-kalām fī l-ḥāzr wa-l-ibāha</td>
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<td>bāb fī l-nāfī wa-l-mustaṣḥib li-l-ḥāl hal ʿalayhīmā dalīl am lā</td>
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<td>al-kalām fī l-muṣṭī wa-l-mustaṭī</td>
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Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ, a principal source for Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s K. ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ
d

The striking similarity of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ (abbreviated in the following as IA) with the more voluminous part 1 of al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ (abbreviated in the following as TA), both of which discuss prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, can be observed in the overall structure of the two works as well as in the arrangement of the individual chapters. It is further corroborated by the routine verbal agreement of parallel passages in the two works and by the numerous paraphrastic renderings in IA of other passages from TA. There are two notable exceptions to this general similarity: al-Murtaḍā’s and Faḥr al-Dīn’s respective introductions, in which they lay out their doctrinal positions on the issue, and the final chapters, which treat Muḥammad. Faḥr al-Dīn replaces al-Murtaḍā’s final comments, which revolve around a number of aḥādīṯ, with his own discussions, based on selected Qur’ānic verses.

No attempt has been made to emend the text of the two editions we consulted for the comparison of the two works. However, the sample texts reproduced here show that for a future critical edition of Faḥr al-Dīn’s ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ, close consultation of selected witnesses of al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ would be indispensable. Another related desideratum that goes beyond Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s IA is an in-depth study of the sources he consulted and incorporated into his oeuvre. Although this is no easy undertaking, as al-Rāzī usually refrains from identifying his sources, such an endeavor would contribute significantly to our understanding of his place in the history of Islamic thought.

Appendix 2:

For the comparison, we have consulted the undated Dār al-Kutub edition of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ and Fāṭima Qāḍī Šuʿār and ʿAlī Akbar Ġaffārī’s edition of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Tanzīh.

Beyond al-Murtaḍā’s TA, another example of al-Rāzī’s sources is Šaraf al-Dīn al-Masʿūdī’s work, particularly his commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s Iṣārāt, which al-Rāzī used extensively in
The division of the material into chapters is largely identical in the two works, the only exception being two brief chapters on Lūṭ and Zakariyyā in IA, which have no parallel in TA, as well as Faḥr al-Dīn’s short final chapter:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Murtaḍā, Tanzih al-anbiyā’</th>
<th>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ʿĪsmat al-anbiyā’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[introduction] (pp. 15–25)</td>
<td>[introduction] (p. 37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faṣl fī ʿšarḥ al-aqwāl wa-l-maḏāhib fi hāḍihi l-maḥāḥib wa-l-maṭāḥib (pp. 39–48)</td>
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<tr>
<td>fī tanẓih Ādām ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 25–37)</td>
<td>ʿīsmat Ādām ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 49–56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fī tanẓih Nūḥ ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 37–42)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Nūḥ ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 57–60)</td>
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<tr>
<td>fī tanẓih Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 42–74)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 61–82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm ʿalayhim al-salām (pp. 74–80)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Yaʿqūb ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt (pp. 83–84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb ʿalayhimā l-salām (pp. 80–100)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Yūsuf ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt (pp. 85–95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayyūb ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 100–107)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Ayyūb ʿalayhi l-salām (p. 97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ʿUbayb ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 107–111)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat ʿUbayb ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt talāt (pp. 99–100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsā ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 111–140)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Mūsā ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt sitta (pp. 101–105)</td>
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<td>qīṣṣat Mūsa wa-l-Ḥaḍir ʿalayhimā l-salām wa-fihā baḥtān (pp. 107–109)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

several of his writings, including his own commentary on the ʿIṣārāt and his exegetical work, Mafāṭīḥ al-ʿayb; for al-Masʿūdī’s commentary on the ʿIṣārāt, see Shihadeh, Doubts on Avicenna. See also Ansari, “Dunbāla-yi taḥqīqāt dar-bāra-yi Šaraf al-Dīn Masʿūdī”.
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<tr>
<td>Dāwūd ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 140–148)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Dāwūd ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fīhā šubhatān (pp. 111–119)</td>
<td>Sulaymān ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 148–157)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Sulaymān ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fīhā šubuhāt ṭalāṭ (pp. 121–128)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yūnus ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 158–161)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Yūnus ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 129–130)</td>
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<td>qīṣṣat Lūṭ ʿalayhi l-salām (p. 131)</td>
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<td>qīṣṣat Zakariyyā ʿalayhi l-salām (p. 133)</td>
<td>ʿĪsā ʿalayhi l-salām (pp. 161–167)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat ʿĪsā ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fīhā šubhatān (p. 136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muḥammad ʿalī wa-sallam (pp. 167–207)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat sayyidinā wa-mawlānā Muḥammad ʿalī wa-sallam wa-fīhā šubuhāt (pp. 137–158)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>faṣl āḥar fīmā tamassakū bihi fī ḫubat al-dānb lā li-nabī muʿayyān (pp. 159–160)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the textual units in the individual chapters of IA, as well as their structural arrangement, evidently rely on passages in TA, which Faḥr al-Dīn regularly abbreviates. He also adapts the discussions to his own doctrinal outlook whenever his Sunni Ašʿarī perspective disagrees with al-Murtaḍā’s Imāmī views. In the following, we discuss the individual chapters and the parallels between the two works. For each chapter, the corresponding textual units are given in a table, followed by sample textual units to demonstrate Faḥr al-Dīn’s usage of al-Murtaḍā’s TA.

**Ādam** (TA, pp. 25–37 / IA, pp. 49–56)

| al-Murtaḍā, Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ | Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ʿĪsmat al-anbiyā’ |
| mas’ala . . . yuqāl lahum (pp. 25:7–26:15) | ammā qiṣṣat Ādam ‘alayhi l-salām fa-qad tamassakā bihā min wuǧūḥ sitta: al-waḡh al-awwal (p. 49:2–9) | [unlike al-Murtaḍā, al-Rāzī adduces the various wuǧūḥ at the beginning of the chapter; his replies follow later in a separate text block, introduced as fa-amma lla ḏīna lam yuǧawwīzū ṣudūr al-mašiyya ‘an al-anbiyā’ qabra l-nubuwwa fa-qad aḡābū ‘an kull wāḥida min hāḏihi l-wuḡūh] . . . ammā l-awwal (pp. 50:18–51:18) |
| fa-in qīla . . . qulnā (pp. 27:15–28:14) | al-waḡh al-ṯāliṯ (p. 49:16–18) . . . wa-ammā l-ṯāliṯ (pp. 52:5–53:8) |
| fa-in qīla . . . qulnā (pp. 28:15–29:6) | — |
| fa-in qīla . . . qulnā (pp. 29:7–14) | al-waḡh al-rābiʿ (p. 50:1–4) . . . wa-ammā l-rābiʿ (pp. 53:9–14) |
| — | al-waḡh al-ḥāmis (p. 50:1–4) . . . wa-ammā l-ḥāmis (p. 53:15–16) |
| fa-in qīla . . . qulnā (pp. 29:15–30:8) | al-waḡh al-sādis (p. 50:8–15) . . . wa-ammā l-sādis (pp. 53:17–54:5) |
| fa-in qīla . . . qulnā (pp. 30:9–31:7) | — |
| mas’ala fa-in qīla . . . al-ḡawāb [Q 7:189–190] (pp. 31:8–37:7) | wa-tamassakā bi-qawlihi ta’ālā [Q 7:189–190] (pp. 54:6–56) |

The following juxtaposition of the two works’ respective renditions of the final unit of this chapter illustrates the extent to which Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī excerpted material from al-Murtaḍā’s TA. Sections of verbal agreement are indicated in bold:
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

**TA, pp. 32:16 (wa-laysa)—34:9**

|---|---|

**OBJECTIVE:**
- Evaluating the significance of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's work within a specific context.
- Discussing the influence of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s thought on contemporary Islamic thought.

**MAIN POINTS:**
- **Tanzīḥ al-anbiyāʾ:** A work that celebrates the prophets and their teachings.
- **Iṣmāṭ al-anbiyāʾ:** A critique of the work of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.

**CONCLUDING THOUGHTS:**
- Highlight the lasting impact of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's work on Islamic scholarship.
- Acknowledge the contributions of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā to the development of Islamic thought.

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**AL-SHARIF AL-MURTAḌĀ’S OEUVRE AND THOUGHT IN CONTEXT**

This page features a discussion on al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s work and its impact on Islamic thought. The page includes extracts from his works *Tanzīḥ al-anbiyāʾ* and a critique by Fahr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in *Iṣmāṭ al-anbiyāʾ*. The text explores the significance of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre within the broader context of Islamic scholarship. The references to specific pages from TA (32:16-34:9) and *Iṣmāṭ al-anbiyāʾ* (54:6-56) indicate a thorough examination of the author’s contributions and their reception by contemporaries. The page concludes with a reflection on the enduring influence of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s work on the development of Islamic thought.
ومناها أن تكون الهاء في قوله (جعلاً الله شريكًا) راجعة إلى الولي لا إلى الله تعالى، وإن تكون المعني أنها طبنا من الله تعالى أمثال لولاصل الخطأ بين الطبلين، ويجري هذا القول مجرد قول قليل، فطلب من درهماً فلي أعطيك شرلكه أبداً، أي طلبت أبداً هناك السئ، 효بيه كيف يكون ذلك الولي تعالى أبداً إلى الله تعالى راجعة إلى الله تعالى على الله تعالى عن أن طلب منه ولد

بعد أبداً.

فقال فأنه على هذا الوجه قوله (فليس الله عما يضروتك) وكيف تطلب الله عن أن طلب منه ولد.

فقال: لا، لم ينفع الله تعالى نفسه بهذا الإشكال، وإنما نزها

عن الإشكال، وليس ينبغي أن يقطع هذا الكلام عن حكم الولي، ولكن غير متعلق به، لأنه تعالى قال (إِنِّي لَمْ أَعِنَّ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْهُ مَّنْ هُوَ خُلْقُونَ) نفه نفسه تعلى عن هذا الشرك دون ما تقدم، وليس ينبغي أن يكون الشريك مع الهاء في الصورة، وهذا كثير في القرآن في كتاب العرب، لأن من عادة العرب أن ينفع لعبة الألفاظ أكثر من مزاعم الحالة. فكان عليه ما قال (جعلاً الله شريكًا) في الإشكال، ورد الإشكال في تلبت الولي جاء

وقتلاه أن قوله (فِي أَنَّ نَفْسَ واحِدَةٍ) هو أدام ومثله من تلك النفس زوج، وهي حواء، إلى هايلاً حديث أدام ومثله. ثم خص بالذكر المشركين من أولاد الذين سألوا ما سألوا وعلعوا له شريك. وجعل أن يكون الفاصل بينه فيه من الذكر، ومن مذهب الذكر، ومنه كثير في القرآن. قال الله تعالى: (هُوَ الَّذِي يُسِيرُكَ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَالْبَحرِ حَتَّى إِذَا أَتَتَكُهُ الْكَلَّكِ وَجِرَّ إِنْ بِيَ فَبِجِيرَتِهِمْ) فصمت جميع الخلق في أول الآية ثم خص في خصها ببعضهم. فذاهبا

وأعلم أن هذه النصائح في الكتابات الحفاظية يقوم مذكور واحدهحرف بعضها إلى الدعوة وبعضهم إلى شيء آخر. وذلك يفكك النظم.
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Again, the following table juxtaposes the two works’ rendition of the final unit of this chapter to demonstrate Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s reliance on al-

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<tr>
<td>mas’ala: fa-in sa’ala sā’il ... qīla lahu</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ūlā (p. 57:2–8) ... wa-l-ğawāb ‘an al-awwal (p. 58:7–18)</td>
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<td>(pp. 37:9–39:12)</td>
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<tr>
<td>fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 39:13–41:12)</td>
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<tr>
<td>fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 41:13–42:11)</td>
<td>al-ṭānī [read: al-šubha al-ṭānīya] (pp. 57:8–58:6) ... wa-’an al-šubha al-ṭānīya (pp. 58:19–60:5)</td>
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Murtadā’s TA. In this case, Faḥr al-Dīn used additional material beyond al-Murtadā’s TA. Sections of verbal agreement between TA and IA are again indicated in bold:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ذكر الله تعالى في آية: فِي النَّارِ ذُکِرَ الْحَدِيثُ الْمَطْلُوبُ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>فإنه قال: إن كان الأمر على ما ذكرتم فلم قال الله تعالى</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>مَّا سَلَّمَ، مَا أُعَطِّكُ لَيْسَ لَهُ يَعْلَمُ إِلَّا أَعْطَى أَنَّ نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَّ</td>
<td>مَّا سَلَّمَ، مَا أُعَطِّكُ لَيْسَ لَهُ يَعْلَمُ إِلَّا أَعْطَى أَنَّ نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الكافي: إن سؤال نوح عليه السلام كان معمقة للثلاث آيات:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>دَيْنَاءُهُ، فكيف قال نوح عليه السلام من بعد حرب إلى</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>أحدهما قوله: «فَلَا تَسْتَنَلِّي مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ يَعْلَمُ إِلَّا أَعْطَى أَنَّ نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَّ»، وثانيها قوله: خُذْ عَنْ نَوح (قال</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>بِإِنَّكُنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ»، ثُمَّ صَوَاتُهُ نَزَقَةُ الرَّبِّ، أَفْعَلْ مَا أَنَا مُلْكُ مَنْ يَأْمُرُ بِالْبَيَانِ</td>
<td>بِإِنَّكُنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ»، ثُمَّ صَوَاتُهُ نَزَقَةُ الرَّبِّ، أَفْعَلْ مَا أَنَا مُلْكُ مَنْ يَأْمُرُ بِالْبَيَانِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>في وثّقوني أنَّ نَزْيَكَانِي ﷺ.</td>
<td>في وثّقوني أنَّ نَزْيَكَانِي ﷺ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

وعن الشيء الثاني، أُنا: لاتسلم أنه دعا لابن مطاف، بل

قَالَ اللهُ ﷺ لِيْسَ لَهُ يَعْلَمُ إِلَّا أَعْطَى أَنَّ نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَّ. | قَالَ اللهُ ﷺ لِيْسَ لَهُ يَعْلَمُ إِلَّا أَعْطَى أَنَّ نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَّ. |

قال: ليس يمتعن أن يكن نوح عليه السلام نهي عن سوالف ما ليس له به علَّم، وإن لم يفى منه وأن يكون هو عليه السلام تعوذ من ذلك. وإن لم يوافقه. ألا ترى أن نيابي صي الله عليه وأثِبَت نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَ. | قال: ليس يمتعن أن يكن نوح عليه السلام نهي عن سوالف ما ليس له به علَّم، وإن لم يفى منه وأن يكون هو عليه السلام تعوذ من ذلك. وإن لم يوافقه. ألا ترى أن نيابي صي الله عليه وأثِبَت نَزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَ. |

وأما قوله تعالى في آية: إِنَّكُنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ، فمماه كان لا تكون منهم. ولا شك أن وعظًا فعله الذي صرف نوح عليه السلام عن الجهال. وأما قول نوح عليه السلام إِنَّكُنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ، فإن نُزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَ لَمْ يَعْلَمُوا بِذَلِكَ إِنَّ السُّلَّمَانَ يَا أَيُّهَا الْمُؤْمِنُوُا، فَلَا تَخْرُطُوا الْإِيَّارَةَ الَّتِي ﷺ. | وأما قوله تعالى في آية: إِنَّكُنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ، فمماه كان لا تكون منهم. ولا شك أن وعظًا فعله الذي صرف نوح عليه السلام عن الجهال. وأما قول نوح عليه السلام إِنَّكُنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ، فإن نُزِّلَتْ عَلَى الْجَاهِلِينَ لَمْ يَعْلَمُوا بِذَلِكَ إِنَّ السُّلَّمَانَ يَا أَيُّهَا الْمُؤْمِنُوُا، فَلَا تَخْرُطُوا الْإِيَّارَةَ الَّتِي ﷺ. |

وكان صلماً في الظاهر، وكان نوح عليه السلام ماذآً في
Ibrāhīm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-in qāla qāʿil… al-ḡawāb (pp. 42:13–46:10)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ʿulā … wa-l-ḡawāb (pp. 61:3–68:20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 46:11–50:10)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ṭāniya … al-ḡawāb (pp. 68:21–69:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 50:11–54:7)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ṭāliṭa … al-ḡawāb (pp. 70:1–71:15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 54:8–55:19)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-rābiʿa … al-ḡawāb (pp. 71:16–74:13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 56:1–62:8)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ḥāmisa … al-ḡawāb (pp. 74:14–78:5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 66:7–67:12)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-sābiʿa … al-ḡawāb (pp. 80:5–14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ṭāminī … al-ḡawāb (p. 80:15–18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 67:13–70:13)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-tāsiʿa … al-ḡawāb (pp. 81–82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla … al-ḡawāb (pp. 70:14–74:13)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Yaʿqūb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>masʿala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (pp. 74:15–78:3)</td>
<td><strong>al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 84:1–7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>masʿala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 78:4–13)</td>
<td><strong>al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 84:8–13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>masʿala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 78:14–79:3)</td>
<td><strong>al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 84:14–19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>masʿala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 80:6–17)</td>
<td><strong>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa ... al-ḡawāb</strong> (p. 84:14–19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table illustrates Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s dependence on al-Murtaḍā’s TA by comparing the opening queries to the respective *masāʾil* / *šubuhāt* in the two works, not including TA, pp. 78:14–79:3, which has no parallel in IA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ما مسألة:</strong></td>
<td><strong>الشبيبة الأولى:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فإن قيل: فيا معنى تفضيل يعقوب عليه السلام على إخوته في البر والتنزيل والملحة. حتى أوقع ذلك التحسس بينهم وتبينه وأفقض إلى الحال المكرمة التي تطل بها القرآن، حتى قالوا على ما حكاه الله تعالى عبهم ليوسف وأوحوه أحب إلى أيباإيما ونحّ عبدها إن آيانا لفي ضلال مبين فنسبوه إلى الضلال والخطأ، وليس لكم أن تقولوا: إن يعقوب عليه السلام م يقول بذلك من حالهم</td>
<td>قالوا لم يرجع يعقوب عليه السلام يوسف على إخوته في التنزيل والملحة مع عبده إفشاء ذلك الترجيح إلى الحسد والفصل العظيمة؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>الشبيبة الثانية:</strong></td>
<td><strong>أن إخوة يوسف ومعفأداه بالضلال بقوله إن آيانا لفي ضلال مبين.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>شبهة الأولى:</th>
<th>قبل أن يكون منه التفضل ليوسف عليه السلام لأن ذلك لا يد من أن يكون معلومًا من حيث كان في طبع البشر من التنافس والتاجرة؟</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>شبهة الثانية:</td>
<td>قال أسير يعقوب عليه السلام يوفي عليه السلام مع خوفه عليه منهم، فقوله: {وأخف عن [{بكلة الذل} ودائم عن {عقولكم}} وهل هذا إلا تغيير به ومخاطرة؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شبهة الثالثة:</td>
<td>مثى أسير يعقوب عليه السلام في الحزن والبكاء حتى أتت عيناه ومن شن الأئمة التاجرة والتصير؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شبهة الرابعة:</td>
<td>مثى أسير يعقوب عليه السلام في الحزن والبكاء حتى أتت عيناه ومن شن الأئمة التاجرة والتصير؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شبهة الخامسة:</td>
<td>فإن قال قائل: كيف ينفث يعقوب عليه السلام ولا يخفف عن الحزن ما تخلقه من رؤية ابنه يوسف عليه السلام، ووزرائه الأئمة عليه السلام لا تكون إلا صادقة؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| يُوسُف | 
|---|---|
| mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ǧawāb (pp. 80:19–81:18) | al-šubha al-ūla ... al-gawāb (p. 85:3–9) |
| mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ǧawāb (pp. 81:19–88:15) | al-šubha al-ṭāliya ... al-gawāb (pp. 85:10–91:6) |
| fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 88:16–92:9) | al-šubha al-ṭāliya ... al-ǧawāb (pp. 91:5–92:5) |
| mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ǧawāb (pp. 92:10–95:7) | al-šubha al-rābi’a ... al-ǧawāb (p. 92:6–14) |
| mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ǧawāb (pp. 95:8–96:1) | al-šubha al-ḥāmisa ... al-ǧawāb (pp. 92:15–93:3) |
| mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ǧawāb (p. 96:2–15) | al-šubha al-sādisa ... al-ǧawāb (p. 93:3–8) |
The following juxtaposition of Faḥr al-Dīn’s third and ninth ṣubhas with the corresponding text in al-Murtada’s chapter illustrates Faḥr al-Dīn’s adaption of al-Murtada’s text, which he partly quotes and partly paraphrases:

| masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (pp. 96:16–98:2) | al-ṣubha al-sābī’a ... al-ġawāb (pp. 93:9–94:3) |
| masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (p. 98:3–9) | al-ṣubha al-tāmina ... al-ġawāb (p. 94:4–6) |
| masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (pp. 98:10–99:17) | al-ṣubha al-tāsiʿa ... al-ġawāb (p. 94:7–14) |
| masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (p. 100:1–6) | al-ṣubha al-ʾāšira ... al-ġawāb (p. 94:15–18) |
| masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (p. 100:7–13) | al-ṣubha al-hādī ʿāšara ... al-ġawāb (pp. 94:19–95:4) |

The shībīa third:

masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb

al-ṣubha al-sābī’a ... al-ġawāb (pp. 93:9–94:3)

masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (p. 98:3–9)

al-ṣubha al-tāmina ... al-ġawāb (p. 94:4–6)

masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (pp. 98:10–99:17)

al-ṣubha al-tāsiʿa ... al-ġawāb (p. 94:7–14)

masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (p. 100:1–6)

al-ṣubha al-ʾāšira ... al-ġawāb (p. 94:15–18)

masʾala fa-in qāla qāʾil ... al-ġawāb (p. 100:7–13)

al-ṣubha al-hādī ʿāšara ... al-ġawāb (pp. 94:19–95:4)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**al-Murtaḍā, Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ (pp. 98:10–99:17)**

**Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ‘Iṣmat al-anbiyāʾ (p. 94:7–14)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>مسأله:</th>
<th>السبيحة التاسعة:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>فإن قلت: «إذا تعلم فداء قُلْوَة حق، وَخُزِّيْنَكَ لَهُ، يَغْرِبُ بَيْنَاهُ، وَيَسْجُدُ، وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ الْمَعَالَةَ»، فَأَنْتَ مَعَهُ. »</td>
<td>قال الله تعالى: «فَأَيْتَ، يَا تَأْوِيلُ مَذْهَبٍ أَنْ تُقِدْ إِلَيْكَ رَيْةً بِرَّةً.» قَالَ: أَنَّهُ تَأْوِيلُ مَذْهَبٍ، وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ الْمَعَالَةَ، وَلَا يَنْتَخِبُ الْمَعَالَةَ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الجواب:</td>
<td>الحول:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فإن قلت: «فَإِذَا تَأْوِيلُ يَغْرِبُ بَيْنَاهُ، وَيَسْجُدُ، وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ الْمَعَالَةَ»، فَأَنْتَ مَعَهُ.»</td>
<td>فَإِنْ قَالَتْ: فَإِذَا تَأْوِيلُ يَغْرِبُ بَيْنَاهُ، وَيَسْجُدُ، وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ الْمَعَالَةَ، فَأَنْتَ مَعَهُ. »</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pp. 89:17–92:9

- حذف طويل من رجوع الرسول إلى يوسف عليه السلام، وإخباره بأنه قد جاء في الحقيقة بالغريب. وإذا أراد أي مأخوذ يوسف عليه السلام وهو غائب في السجن ولم أقل فيها أم كلثوم عن قصصه مع إلا الحق. ومن بعد ذلك إلى كلام يوسف عليه السلام جعله مجانلاً على أي مأخوذ السجين بالغريب، وهذا الجواب كان ليس عليه بالظاهر، لأن الكلام معه لا ينقطع عن أسسه وانتمائه. | — |

- مقاعد الرجل من أمرائه.
Ayyūb

al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, pp. 100–107
Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Iṣmat al-anbiyāʾ*, p. 97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s chapter on Ayyūb is short, consisting of an abbreviated version of the first textual unit of the parallel chapter in al-Murtaḍā’s TA. The latter is juxtaposed in the following with the chapter on Ayyūb in IA:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 100:15–103:17) | (p. 97) |
|---|
| fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 103:18–104:8) | — |
| fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 104:9–105:16) | — |
| fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 105:17–106:19) | — |
| fa-in qīla ... qulnā (pp. 107:1–11) | — |

الآ نرى أن القبلة معظمة وإن كان السجود لله تعالى
نحوها.
ومنه أن السجود ليس يكون مجدداً عبادة حتى يضافه
من الأفعال ما يكون عبادة، فلا تمنع أن يكون سجداً له
على سبيل النزهة والإعظام والإكرام، ولا يكون ذلك متكراً
 لأنه لا يقع على وجه العبادة التي يختص بها القديم تعالى
وكل هذا واضح.

|---|
| مسألة: فإن قيل: فما قولكم في الأراضي والمجنن التي لحقت أبواب
عليه السلام أو ليس قد نطق القرآن بأنها كانت جزءًا على
ذنب في قوله: (إِنِّي مَسْتَرْوِئُ السَّيْطَانَ بَنْصُبٍ وَعَذَابٍ)
والعذاب لا يكون إلا جزاء كالأعمال والأذى الواقعة على
الذنكر. | حكى الله تعالى أن قال: (إِنِّي مَسْتَرْوِئُ السَّيْطَانَ بَنْصُبٍ
وَعَذَابٍ) والعذاب لا يكون إلا جزاءً كالأعمال فدل على
كونه مذلباً. وروى جمع من المفسرين أن الله تعالى إما
عاقب ذلك البلاء لكفر الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن
المذنكر. |
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Sean S. McGinley

469

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

جوابه: لا نسلم أن العذاب لا يكون إلا جزاءً، ولذا يقال للطاغية المبتدين بالظلم: إنه يعذب الناس فأما إضافة ذلك إلى الشيطان فقوله: إنه على السما ما أضاف المرشى إلى الشيطان، وأيضاً أن يكون من التعب والعذاب ودعاكه إلى التضرر، وأن يكون يسوق إلى قومه بأن يستقذه.

وأما العذاب فهو أيضاً جزء من عرض الأحزان التي لا يختص إطلاق ذكرها بهجة دون جهة. ولذا يقال للطاغية المبتدين بالظلم إنه يعذب وعذاب ودعاها قيل: معاقب على سبيل الاجاز، وليس في حالة العذاب جزء من فظة العقاب، لأن فظة العقاب لا تختص في الآخرة لأفلا إضافته ذلك إلى الشيطان، وإذام الله تعالى به كلمة مجبرة، لأن لم يضيف المرض والسقم إلى الشيطان، وإنما إضافته إياها كان يستغرق من وسوسته ويتحبه بمن تشعره له من فضله الذي لا يظهره له على التعب والعذاب، وإن كان أضافه يوسوس إلى قومه بأن يستقذه ويجليه ويفتحو ما كان عليه من التعب والعذاب، ويخرجه من بينهم.

وكل هذا جزء من جهة اللغى الميلم، وقد روي أن زوجته على السما كانت تخدم الناس في ممالكهم وتخبر بهما بتكليهم، وكان الشيطان tengة الله تعالى عليه من جده زوجته من حيث كانت تباشر فروخها ومس جسد، وهذه ما لا يرى فيها.

(pp. 102:6–103:17)

Šu‘ayb

al-Murtaḍā, Tanzih al-anbiyā’, pp. 107–111

Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ʿIṣmāt al-anbiyā’, pp. 99–100
| mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ġawāb (pp. 107:13–109:11) | al-šubha al-ūlā (p. 99:3–14) |
| mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ġawāb (pp. 109:12–110:2) | — |
| mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ġawāb (pp. 110:3–111:3) | al-šubha al-tāniya (pp. 99:15–100:8) |
| — | al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa (p. 100:9–20) |

The following juxtaposition of the third textual unit in TA with the parallel passage in IA offers an example of Fāhr al-Dīn’s usage of al-Murtaḍā’s work:

| المسألة: | السؤال الثاني: |
| فإن فلما قام شعبيب عليه السلام في رأى أن الحكمة إحدى النبيين على أن أنجب عليّ حكمة فإن أقسم تحت يمين الله إنهما إنما يجروا في الصداق التغريب، فإن أنا أنجب على الله فيهما تروحا هو لنفسه وليس يعود على من ذلك نفع؟ | ما معني قول شعبيب عليه السلام لوسي عليه السلام فإن أريد أن أنجب عليّ حكمة فإن أقسم تحت يمين الله إنهما إنما يجري في الصداق التغريب، فإن أنا أنجب على الله فيهما تروحا هو لنفسه وليس يعود على من ذلك نفع؟ |
| الجواب: | الجواب: |
| قالنا: يجوز أن تكون الحكمة كانت لشعبيب عليه السلام. وكانت الفائدة باستقرار من يرها عادة عليه، إلا أنه أراد أن يعوض بينه عن قيمة ريبه فيكون ذلك مبررا لها. وأما أنت وغيره لم يكن إلا فيما زاد عن ريبها حكمة لم يكن فيها شروط مقررا تغريب، وإنما كان فيها تجاوز وتعدا. ووجه آخر: أنه يجوز أن تكون الحكمة كانت للبنت وكان الأمر لأمرها وأقابل الصداق عليها، لأنه لا علاق بين الأهل في منحة لفظ بته البكر البالغ جرات، وأنه ليس أحد من الأهلين ذلك غيره، واجتمعا أن بنت شعبيب عليه السلام كانت يكرارا. | قالنا: يجوز أن تكون الحكمة كانت لشعبيب عليه السلام. وكانت الفائدة باستقرار من يرها عادة عليه، إلا أنه أراد أن يعوض بينه عن قيمة ريبه فيكون ذلك مبررا لها. وأما أنت وغيره لم يكن إلا فيما زاد عن ريبها حكمة لم يكن فيها شروط مقررا تغريب، وإنما كان فيها تجاوز وتعدا. ووجه آخر: أنه يجوز أن تكون الحكمة كانت للبنت وكان الأمر لأمرها وأقابل الصداق عليها، لأنه لا علاق بين الأهل في منحة لفظ بته البكر البالغ جرات، وأنه ليس أحد من الأهلين ذلك غيره، واجتمعا أن بنت شعبيب عليه السلام كانت يكرارا. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Murtaḍā, Tanzīḥ al-anbiyā’</th>
<th>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ‘Īsmat al-anbiyā’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 111:5–114:6)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ūlā (pp. 101:3–102:12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (p. 114:7–17)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāniya (p. 102:13–16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (p. 115:1–12)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 115:13–116:5)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa (pp. 102:17–103:5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 116:6–117:11)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-rābi’ā (p. 103:6–10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (p. 117:12–17)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa (p. 103:11–15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 118:1–123:1)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 123:2–129:8)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 129:9–131:16)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-sādisa (pp. 103:16–105:5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 131:17–140:14)</td>
<td>qīṣṣat Mūsā wa-l-Ḥaḍir ʿalayhumā l-salām wa-fihā baḥṭān (pp. 107–109)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To demonstrate Fāhr al-Dīn’s usage of al-Murtaḍa’s TA in this chapter, his al-ṣubha al-sādisa is juxtaposed in the following with the corresponding section in al-Murtaḍa’s TA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>الشريعة السادسة</strong></td>
<td><strong>الشريعة السادسة</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«وَأَلْقِ الْأَوَّلِيَةَ إِلَى الْأَرْضَ» فلا يخلو إما إذا يكون قد صدر النذب عن هارون عليه السلام ما استحق به ذلك التأديب أو أنه لم يصدر عنه، فإن قصد صدر النذب عن هارون عليه السلام وإن لم يصدر عن موسي عليه السلام، وأيضاً فإن هارون نهي موسي في قوله: «لا تأخذ يدحيقين» فإن كان موسي عليه السلام مصيقاً فيما فعله هارون عليه السلام على عنده فعندما يقبل السماوين، وإن كان هارون عليه السلام مصيقاً في ذلك لإنّه كان موسي عليه السلام عاماً في ذلك الفعل.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>الсуول</strong></td>
<td><strong>الصواب</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أما من جوز الخماري عليهما فقد حمل الواجب عليه وزال السائل.</td>
<td>وأما من أياما فله وحالة، أول أن موسي أقبل وهو غضبان على قومه. فإنه أخذه برأس آخر ورجع إليه كما يفعل الإنسان نفسه في مثل ذلك الغضب، فإن الحكم الثلاثي قد يضع على شفته ويقبل أصحابه ويفيض على لحيته. فأخرج موسي عليه السلام أمام موسي نفسه لأنه كان أخذه ويربيه في حالة الفكر والغضب.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>العبوان</strong></td>
<td><strong>العبوان</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فليس فيما جاك الله تعالى من فعل موسي وأخبر عليه السلام ما يقتضي قوع معينة ولا قبض من واحد منهم، وذلك أن موسي عليه السلام أقبل وهو غضبان على قومه ما أحدثوا بعده مستعدياً لتعلمه مضرة، فلم يكن منهم، فإنه فتح بابه وهرجه إليه كما يفعل الإنسان بنفسه كل ذلك عند الغضب وشدة الفكر،แล أن أن الحكم الثلاثي قد يضع على شفته ويقبل أصحابه ويفيض على لحيته. فأخرج موسي عليه السلام أمامeward الأصل نفسه لأنه كان أخذه ويربيه في حالة الفكر والغضب.</td>
<td>وَايَقُولُهُمْ إِنَّمَا أَنْ تَأْخُذُوا فِي مَالِهِمْ وَأَنْ تَأْخُذُوا مِنْ مَلَكَةِ عَبْرَةٍ وَأَنْ يَأْخُذُوا مِنْ مَالِهِمْ أُمَّةٍ وَأَنْ يَأْخُذُوا مِنْ مَلاَكَةِ عَبْرَةٍ وَأَنْ يَأْخُذُوا مِنْ مَالِهِمْ أُمَّةٍ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

472
فجعله ذلك دلالة الغضب والجزر فاتهم عنه نهي في المعنى عنها.

وقال قوم: إن موسى عليه السلام لم يرى من قومه من بعده ما جرى اشت حزنه وزوجته، ورأى من أخاه هارون عليه السلام مثل ما كان عليه من الجزر والقلق. أخذ برأسه إليه موجعاً له مسكتاً له. كما يفعل أحدنا من تناه العلماء العظماء فيجزر لها ووقت منها. وعلى هذا الجوام يكون قوله: لا تشتمل الأفكار، لا تتعلق بهذا الفعل، بل يكون كلاماً مستأناً. وأما قوله على هذا الجوام (لا تأخذ بعليتي ولا برأتي) فيحتلم أن يريد أن لا تجعل وغرضك التسكيك من فيظن القوم أنك منكراً عليه.

وقال قوم في هذه الآية: إن بني إسرائيل كانوا على نهاية سوء الطعن ب يوسه عليه السلام، حتى أن هارون عليه السلام كان غاب عنهم فيما غافلوا موسى: أن تقله، فلما وعد الله تعالى موسى عليه السلام ثلاثة ليلة وأوها له عشرة كتب له في الأوان من كل شيء وقصبه بأمور شريفة جليلة الخطط مما آره من الآية في الجبل (كذا) ومن كلام الله تعالى له وغير ذلك من شريف الأمور، ثم رجع إليه أخذ برأسه ليدني إليه ويع ومن جدته الله تعالى لمن ذلك وبيروها به. فخاف هارون عليه السلام أن يسبق إلى قومهم ما لا أصل له. فقال إشفقاً على موسى عليه السلام: (لا تأخذ بعليتي ولا برأتي) لنسر إلى ما ترىه بين أيدي حواء يقظونها يك ما لا يجوز عليك ولا بليك، والله تعالى أعلم ضرره من قالتها.

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<tr>
<td><strong>Dāwūd</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>masʿala fā-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 140–148)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ūlā (pp. 111–118:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāniya (pp. 118:18–119)</td>
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### Sulaymān

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<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 148:7–151:14)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ūlā (pp. 121:3–125:13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 151:15–155:12)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ṭāniya (pp. 125:14–126:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 155:13–157:18)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ṭālīta (pp. 126:15–128)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Yūnus

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<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 158:2–161:13)</td>
<td>tamassakū bi-qawlihi ta’ālā ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 129–130)</td>
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### ʿĪsā

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 161:15–165:17)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ūlā ... wa-l-ḵawāb (p. 136:3–14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḵawāb (pp. 166:1–167:12)</td>
<td>al-ṣubha al-ṭāniya (p. 136:15–18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Muḥammad

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<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 167:14–169:4)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa ... al-gawāb (p. 143:15–148:9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 169:5–173:13)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāniya (pp. 137:13–143:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 173:14–177:17)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-rābi‘a ... al-gawāb (pp. 148:10–150:5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 178:1–180:10)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa ... al-gawāb (p. 150:6–15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 180:11–181:12)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-sādisa ... al-gawāb (pp. 160:16–151:13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 181:13–183:1)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-sābi‘a (pp. 151:14–152:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 183:2–187:4)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāmiya (pp. 152:12–154:8)</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>al-šubha al-tāsi‘a (p. 154:9–16)</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>al-šubha al-‘āšira (pp. 154:17–155:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ḥādiya ʿašar (pp. 155:2–9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 188:8–189:18)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-rābi‘a ʿašar (pp. 156:9–157:4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 189:19–190:17)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāniya ʿašar (pp. 155:10–156:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas’ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb (pp. 190:17–192:3)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ṭāliṭa ʿašar (IA, p. 156:4–8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ǧawāb (p. 192:4–12)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa ʿašar (p. 157:5–11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ɡawāb (pp. 192:13–193:5)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-sādisa ʿašar (pp. 157:12–158:13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ɡawāb (pp. 193:6–194:11)</td>
<td>al-šubha al-sâbiʿa ʿašar (pp. 158:14–18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ɡawāb (pp. 194:12–197:12)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ɡawāb (pp. 197:13–200:10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ɡawāb (pp. 200:11–202:3) | faṣl ʿāhar fīmā tamassakū bihi fī iṯbāt al-(60,266),(856,706)
Appendix 3:
Introductory phrases to al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ḡurar*

In the case of manuscripts we were unable to consult, the following information is based on the information provided in the relevant catalogues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author’s demise (I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Istanbul, Reisülküttab 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ḡīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Iṣfahān, Dānišgāh-i Iṣfahān 769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Qum, Fayḍiyya 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136</td>
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Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miśkāt 223 |  |  |
| Ms. Tehran, Maļlis 278  
Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (ʿĀṭifi) 238 |  |  |
| Ms. Iľfahān, Ṣadr Bāzār 895  
Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881  
Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 4 |  |  |
| Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12513 |  |  |
| Ms. Tehran, Maļlis 1044 |  |  |
| Ms. Karbalāʿ, Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250 |  |  |
| Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1532 |  |  |
| Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986 |  |  |
| Ms. ʿÎransār, Kitābha-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Wali-yi ʿAṣr (no shelfmark) |  |  |

**Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author’s demise (III)**

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**Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author’s demise (IV)**

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Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7885

اعلم أن هذا الكتاب مؤلف من التفسير وحل الآيات
المعضلات والأحاديث النبوية المصطلحية يسمى غرر
القوائد ودرر القلائد ومرتب على المجلس في الوعظيات
إملاء سيد [أذن] الشريف الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى
ذي الجذابين [أذن] أبي القاسم علي بن الحسين
الموسوى قدس الله سره وروجه
Appendix 4:

Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍâ’s K. al-Ǧurar

The table, which is accessible as a digital companion file (accessible at https://albert.ias.edu/handle/20.500.12111/6508), records the internal division of the Ĝurar in three printed versions, as well as close to sixty manuscripts of the work. The Cairo print of 1325 [1907], edited by al-Na’sānī and al-Šinqīṭī, served as a point of reference for all witnesses included in the table. For each copy, the location of the beginning of the individual maǧālis are recorded. Divergences in the division into maǧālis from what is found in the 1325 [1907] edition are precisely identified (and marked in red in the table), e.g., fol. 29r (maǧālis āḥar) [= ed. al-Na’sānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 2, p. 33:7]. The labeling of the individual maǧālis is mentioned for each maǧlis in round brackets, e.g., fol. 122r (maǧlis āḥar) or p. 291 (maǧlis ḥāmis wa-ʿišrūn [sic]). Numerous witnesses record additional or divergent numberings for the maǧālis in the margin or as interlinear glosses and such information is added in square brackets, e.g. (maǧlis āḥar [нул]) or (maǧlis āḥar [al-maǧlis al-ṭāliṭ wal-ʿišrūn]). Whenever a witness is divided into several volumes or parts, the relevant information is provided in green at the appropriate location, e.g., p. 377: tamma l-ʿišrūn min Kitāb al-Ǧurar wa-l-durar wa-yatlūhu l-ʿišrūn al-ṭāni qawluhu maǧlis āḥar taʾwīl āya in saʿala sāʾil ʿan qawlihi taʿālā ḥākiyan ʿan Yūsuf . . . Several witnesses were collated with other copies of the work and divergent divisions are mentioned in the margin. This kind of information is also provided in the table, e.g., fol. 62v (margin note): hāḍā l-muǧallada mimmā iftataḥa bihi l-kitāb ʿalā mā wuḡida fi baʿd al-nuṣah, or fol. 167r (margin note): āḥir al-muǧallada al-ūla min ašl al-Ǧaʿfarī rahimahu llāh. Finally, the table records for each witness the concluding words, allowing for identification of those copies, which do not include the final phrase found in most witnesses of the work (hāḍā āḥir maǧlis amlāhu al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍâ : . . . tamma tašāġala bi-umūr al-ḥaḡ), e.g., p. 404: tamma Kitāb al-Ǧurar wa-l-durar wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn . . . The wording of the numerals, codicological divisions, and other remarks in the table reproduces what is found in the
The table allows for identification of different recensions of the Ġurar, such as that originating with Ibn Qudāma with its peculiar arrangement of mağālis one and two (in Ibn Qudāma’s version, the sequence is reversed). The considerable variations in the division of the book into mağālis, as well as the book’s codicological division into parts or volumes (as well the regular lack on any codicological division) corroborates that the Ġurar circulated in a number of different recensions, and the table should support future efforts to produce (a) critical edition(s) of the work that distinguish between those recensions.

The following witnesses are included in the table:

**Prints**

| Ed. al-Na’sānī and al-Šinqīṭī, Cairo 1325 [1907] | Column A |
| Lithograph print, Iran 1272 [1855] | Column B |
| Ed. Abū ˓ Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954 | Column C |

**Manuscripts**

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Appendix 5:

Al-Murtadā’s Diwān (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (qawāfī) in Rašid al-Ṣaffār’s edition

In cases in which al-Murtadā provides dates for his poetry, this information is included in the Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 13901 column in square brackets.

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</tr>
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<td>fols 14r–15r:13</td>
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<td>vol. 3, p. 164</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 369–370</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 298–301</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 166–168</td>
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<td>vol. 1, p. 20</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 357–358</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 84–87</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 225–228</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 168–171</td>
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<td>vol. 3, p. 315</td>
</tr>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 87–92</td>
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 65–66</td>
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<td>vol. 3, p. 92</td>
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<td>vol. 1, p. 59</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 255–256</td>
</tr>
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<td>fols 46v:10–49r:3</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 7–12</td>
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1021 This is a response to al-Murtadāʾ’s poem (fol. 44r:7–44v:14), which is introduced with wa-qāla wa-katāba bihā ilā aḥīhi adāma llāh taʾyīdahumā ʿuqayb ʿitāb awra ṯa nihāyat al-ṭaṣāfī wa-ġāyat al-tarāḍī . . . fa-katāba aḥīhu adāma llāh taʾyīdahumā ilayhi . . . Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s responding poem is omitted in ed. Ṣaffār; see ibid., vol. 1, p. 255 n. 1.
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 269–272</td>
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 117–119</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 316–317</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 42–44</td>
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<td>vol. 3, p. 301</td>
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<td>vol. 1, p. 62</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 76–77</td>
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 314–316</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 168–170</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 265–269</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 233–237</td>
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 37–41</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 177–180</td>
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 75–76</td>
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<td>vol. 1, pp. 221–225</td>
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Appendix 6:

Al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān (volumes 5 and 6) as arranged in Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminin al-ʿĀmma 412 (copied by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Raḡab 1299 [25 May 1882]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (qawāfī) in Raṣīd al-Ṣaffār’s edition

In cases in which al-Murtaḍā provides dates for his poetry, this information is included in square brackets. Occasionally, dates are provided in al-Ṣaffār’s edition, but not in the Naḡaf codex (the introductory clauses are occasionally missing throughout volume 6) and vice versa.

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<tr>
<td>pp. 1–2:11</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 176–178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 2:12–7:1</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 303–309</td>
</tr>
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<td>pp. 7:2–9:3</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 205–208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vol. 2, pp. 375–376</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 133–135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vol. 2, p. 91</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>p. 30:10–17</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 208</td>
</tr>
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<td>p. 31:7–11</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 31:12–18</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 32:1–4</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 254:2–4</td>
</tr>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 135–136</td>
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<td>pp. 32:19–33:7</td>
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<td>vol. 2, p. 104</td>
</tr>
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<td>pp. 34:11–36:9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 38:8–14</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 44:14–17</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 44:18–47:15</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 47–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 49–50:2</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 185–186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 50:3–51:5</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 25–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 54:12–16</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 54:17–55:6</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 68–69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 58:16–60:15</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 92–95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 60:15–61:2</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 72–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 61:3–7</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 298:5–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 61:8–13</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 27:3–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 64:5–11</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 233–234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 64:12–65:1</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 65:2–7</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 298:12–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 65:8–14</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 65:15–19</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 27:3–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 66:1–4</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 66:5–9</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 120–121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 70:15–71 [Sha'ban 419 AH]</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 187–189 [Sha'bān 419 AH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 74:2–75:2 [Sawwāl 419 AH]</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 16–18 [Sawwāl 419 AH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 75:3–76:11</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 331–334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 76:11–14</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 294:2–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 76:15–19</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 150:2–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 77:5–16</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 77:17–78:2</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 78:3–7</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 330–331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 78:8–13</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 78:14–17</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 78:18–79:2</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 68–69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 79:3–9</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 246:7–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 79:10–13</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 80:2–11</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 80:12–15</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 219–220</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. 81:1–7</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 81:7–20</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 149–150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 82:1–5</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 96:2–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 82:6–9</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 268–269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 83:12–15</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 83:16–19</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 84:1–6</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 84:7–12</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 84:13–18</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 84:18–20</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 246:13–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 85:8–86:9</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 53–54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 88:11–19</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 96–97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 93:6–9</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 294:6–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 93:15–19</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 97</td>
</tr>
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<td>p. 94:1–7</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. 94:7–10</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 98:2–4</td>
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<td>vol. 3, pp. 136–137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 94:16–96:13</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 139–142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. 97:5–7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vol. 1, p. 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 97:18–98:4</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 301</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[Volume 6 of al-Murtaḍā’s Diwān]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tr>
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<td>vol. 3, p. 342</td>
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<td>pp. 102:16–103:3</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 312</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. 103:4–15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 111:13–17</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 151</td>
</tr>
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<td>vol. 2, p. 169:7–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 115:7–10</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 27–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 115:11–17</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 116:6–9</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 75:7–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 116:10–17</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 120</td>
</tr>
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<td>pp. 116:18–117:4</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 207–208</td>
</tr>
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<td>p. 117:5–11</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 129</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>p. 118:9–18</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 142–143</td>
</tr>
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<td>pp. 119:19–120:4</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 120:5–10</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 120:10–14</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 120:15–19</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 251–252</td>
</tr>
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<td>p. 124:4–10</td>
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<td>p. 124:11–14</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 73–74</td>
</tr>
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<td>p. 125:1–4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 125:4–7</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 312–313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 125:8–13</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 263–264</td>
</tr>
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<td>pp. 127:2–128:15</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 130–133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 129:10–16</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 74–75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 130:12–131:9</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 73–74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 131:10–16</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 135:4–8</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 136:3–137:14</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 9–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 137:15–19</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 138:1–4</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 75</td>
</tr>
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<td>p. 138:5–18</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 50–51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 139:1–6</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 27:8–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 139:7–15</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 75–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 139:16–140:12</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 142:6–10</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 142:11–143:2</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 143:3–7</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 100:10–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 143:8–12</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 143:13–144:1</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 34–35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 144:2–10</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 247:7–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 144:12–14</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 145:3–10</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 145:11–18</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 60–61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 146:6–10</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 146:11–15</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 146:16–147:1</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 300:2–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 147:2–10</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 140–141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 147:11–18</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 260–261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 147:18–148:8</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 148:9–13</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 74–75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Al-Šarīf al-Murtadā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. 149:1–6</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 101:8–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 149:7–11</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 149:12–18</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 189–190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 149:19–150:3</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 117:7–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 150:4–8</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 150:9–13</td>
<td>vol. 3, pp. 221–222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 150:14–152</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 145–149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 154:8–14</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 155:6–10</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 155:11–15</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 156:5–9</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 300:9–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 156:10–15</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 158:12–159:14</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 264–266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 159:15–160:8</td>
<td>vol. 2, pp. 103–104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 161:8–13</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 163:12–17</td>
<td>vol. 1, p. 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 164–165:5</td>
<td>vol. 1, pp. 118–119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 165:6–9</td>
<td>vol. 3, p. 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp. 165:10–166:1</td>
<td>vol. 2, p. 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

501
Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke

Ms. Naǧaf, 0DNWDEDWDOImām Amīr
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vol. 1, p. 103 [Rabīʿ II 425 AH]

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502


Appendix 7:
Al-Murtada’s Diwan as arranged in Muhammad al-Tunghi’s commentary versus its arrangement in Rashid al-Saffar’s edition (1958–59)

[qāfiyat al-hamza]
poem 9, comm. al-Tunghi, vol. 1, p. 34 = ed. al-Saffar, vol. 1, p. 20

[qāfiyat al-bāʾ]
poem 16, comm. al-Tunghi, vol. 1, p. 54 = ed. al-Saffar, vol. 1, p. 66
poem 77, comm. al-Tūnĝī, vol. 1, pp. 177 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 120–121
poem 78, comm. al-Tūnĝī, vol. 1, p. 178 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 120

[qaṭfyat al-tā']


[qāḥfyyat al-tâ']

[qāḥfyyat al-ğīm]

[qāḥfyyat al-ḥâ']
[qāfiyat al-ḥāʾ]

[qāfiyat al-dāl]

[qāfiyat al-rā']
[qāfiyat al-zāʾ]
[qāfiyat al-sīn]
[qāfiyat al-šin]
[qāfiyat al-ṣād]
[qāfiyat al-ṭād]
[qāfiyat al-ṭāʾ]
[(fmt al-‘ayn]


[qāfiyyat al-’ayn]

[qāfiyyat al-fāʾi]
[qāfiyat al-qāf]

[qāfiyat al-kāf]


[qaṣf yat al-lām]

[qāfiyat al-mīm]

526

[qāfiyat al-nūn]
Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke


528
[qāfiyat al-hā']
[qāfiyat al-wāw]
Appendix 8:

Sequence of texts in the various eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n 140</th>
<th>Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 12923</th>
<th>Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddīṯ Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719)</th>
<th>Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645</th>
<th>Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185</th>
<th>Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al-Muʾmīnīn 571</th>
<th>Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426</th>
<th>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914</th>
<th>Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 6862</th>
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Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke
<table>
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<td>14iv</td>
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<td>Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 12923</td>
<td>Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i  İlhyā’-i Mīrāţ-i İslāmī 2719)</td>
<td>Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 2645</td>
<td>Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Baḥr al- ʿUlūm 185</td>
<td>Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al- Mu’īm inīn 571</td>
<td>Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 2426</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
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Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas’ala fi l-‘isma</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>28</th>
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<td>32</td>
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</table>

Note: The table contains information about manuscripts, their locations, and their contents. The numbers and references indicate specific pages or sections within the manuscripts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma‘nā qawl al-nabi “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>al-Rassiyyāt II</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1ii</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>٤٥</td>
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<td>٤٣</td>
<td>٤٤</td>
<td>٤٥</td>
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**Masāla fi tawārud al-adilla**

K. Ǧumal al-ʾaṭīm wa-lʿamal

K. al-ʾIrṭīsār
Appendix 9:

List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāši, and Ibn Šahrāšūb

al-Buṣrawī


Al-Murtaḍā issued an iǧāza to al-Buṣrawī in Šaṭbān 417 [September–October 1026] or Šaṭbān 419 [August–September 1028], allowing him to transmit all the works included in the list. The date is invariably given as 417 in published versions of al-Buṣrawī’s bibliography and in the secondary literature; see, e.g., Muḥyī l-Dīn, Adab al-Murtaḍā, pp. 164–167 n. 1, containing an edition of the iǧāza, and Raʾšīd al-Ṣaffār’s introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Dīwān (1407/1987), vol. 1, pp. 126–132 (both Muḥyī l-Dīn and al-Ṣaffār rely on a transcript of the iǧāza copied by Huṣayn ʿAlī Maḥfūz on the basis of an unidentified antigraph held in Mašḥad; Muḥyī l-Dīn also consulted al-Afandi’s Riḥāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, pp. 34–39); Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Riḥāl, vol. 3, p. 140 n. 1; al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 85; see also the edition by Wilfṭān ʾUḏāyṛ Muḥsin al-Kaʾbī in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā, pp. 345–364, with numerous interpolations by the editor. However, the reading is uncertain, since the grapheme ـ without diacritics allows for both readings and the earliest witnesses date only to the eleventh/seventeenth century and thus provide no certainty on the correct reading. Al-Buṣrawī evidently made later additions to the list. This may explain why one title, commonly known as Maṣʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-suṯrān, is included twice under two slightly different titles, namely, K. Ǧawāz al-wilāya min ǧihat al-ẓallāmin and Maṣʿala fi l-wilāya min qibāl al-ẓallāmin (nos 33 and 47 in the present table), unless these are two distinct texts. The text of the iǧāza, together with the list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, is regularly included in miscellaneous of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that are based on the 574 [1179] codex, and it is also quoted by al-Afandi, Riḥāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ, vol. 4, pp. 34–39; vol. 5, p. 158. Al-Afandi’s rendering of the iǧāza in his Riḥāḍ is based on Ms. Tehrān, Dāʾīṣgāḥ-i Tehrān 6914, which was in his possession (see above). The iǧāza is also available in an edition prepared by Huṣayn al-ʿUṣāwī al-Burūḡīrdī (and published twice, as “Iǧāzat al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā” and “Iǧāzatān min al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”). A critical edition of the iǧāza is included in Ansari and
Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text 1). For al-Buṣrāwī’s iǧāza, see also Ḥāfiz Buzurg, *Darifa*, vol. 1, p. 216 no. 1132; vol. 16, pp. 381 no. 1768, 392 no. 1832, 394 (*Fiḥrist mā katabahu l-Sayyid al-Murtada ʿAlam al-Hudā min taṣānifihī*). For al-Buṣrāwī, see our forthcoming *Imāmi Thought in Transition* as well as *Imāmi Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*.

1024 Al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fiḥrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, pp. 288–290 no. 432. Al-Ṭūsī probably began writing his *Fiḥrist* some time after the death of al-Mufīd (413 AH) but still during the lifetime of al-Murtada. This is suggested by the lack of a eulogy after al-Mufīd’s name in his entry on the latter, which also includes some details about al-Mufīd’s death (*Fiḥrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, pp. 444ff. no. 711), whereas the eulogy following al-Murtada’s name confirms that he was still alive (*Fiḥrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 288 no. 432: ṭawwala llāh ‘umrahu wa-ʾaḍada l-islām wa-ahlīhi bi-ʾbaqāʾihī wa-imtiḍād ayyāmihi). Noteworthy is also the way in which al-Ṭūsī refers to al-Murtada and al-Mufīd in his entry on Ibrāhīm al-Ṭaṣafi (d. 283 [896–97]), the author of the *K. al-Ǧārāt* (*Fiḥrist*, ed. Qayyūmī, pp. 36ff.: 38): adāma llāh taʿyīdahu following al-Murtada’s name, and rādiya llāh ʿanhu after al-Mufīd’s. A similar eulogy appears in al-Ṭūsī’s *Rīğāl*, written after his *Fiḥrist*. See, however, *Fiḥrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 14, where the eulogy is raḥimahumā llāh ǧamīʿan. In the *Rīğāl* (ed. al-Qayyūmī, p. 434 no. 52 [6209]), al-Ṭūsī adds after al-Murtada’s name adāma llāh taʿālā ayyāmahu ǧāmiʿ ʾl-l-ʿulām kullihā madda llāh fi ʿumrihi, again indicating that al-Murtada was still alive at the time of writing. In the oldest extant witness of al-Ṭūsī’s *Rīğāl*, *Ms. London, British Library, Or. 7965* (*figs* 527, 528), p. 214v: the eulogy reads adāma llāh taʿyīdahu followed by ǧāmiʿ ʾl-l-ʿulām kullihā raḥimahu llāh (al-Qayyūmī, who states in the introduction to his edition of al-Ṭūsī’s *Rīğāl* that he had collated his edition with the British Library witness [ibid., p. 12], does not record this variant reading in the annotation), which shows that al-Ṭūsī also updated his entry on al-Murtada after the latter’s demise. Al-Ṭūsī continuously updated his entry on al-Murtada in the *Fiḥrist* (as well as the *Rīğāl*) as time went by, and there is evidence that the final redaction occurred after al-Murtada’s death. In Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUḷūm’s edition of the work, the eulogy after al-Murtada’s name in the entry on him (p. 125) is replaced by rādiya llāh ʿanhu, and this is also the case in Ǧawād al-Qayyūmī’s edition (*Fiḥrist*, p. 164 no. 431). The latter recension of the opening lines of the entry in the *Fiḥrist* was also cited by al-Ḥillī in *Hulūṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 179 no. 533. For the dating of al-Ṭūsī’s *Fiḥrist*, see Ansari, “Tārīḥ-i taʿlīf-i Fiḥrist-i Ǧayḥ”; Adem and Ansari, “Between Survival and Scepticism”. Al-Ṭūsī’s list was reproduced by Yāqūt in his entry on al-Murtada in *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 1728–1729 no. 748, as well as by Ibn Abī Ǧayy in his Ǧaḥī, which has come down to us only partially, through quotations in later works. Ibn Abī Ǧayy made some additions to al-Ṭūsī’s list, and his expanded inventory of al-Murtada’s writings was reproduced, directly or indirectly, in al-Ǧahābī, *Mīzān al-ʾitīdāl*, vol. 3, pp. 124ff.; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 5, pp. 529ff.; and al-Šāfādī, *Wafī*, vol. 21, pp. 9–10. For Ibn Abī Ǧayy, see also ʿAṣmāwī, *Kitābī Ibn Abī Ǧayy al-Ǧalābī*. 

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Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Buṣrāwī</th>
<th>al-Ṭūsī</th>
<th>al-Naḡāṣī</th>
<th>Ibn Šahrāšūb</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-miʾa wa-ḥams wa-ʾišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-qīṭʾa min sūrat al-baqara</td>
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1025 Al-Naḡāṣī, Riǧāl, pp. 270–271 no. 708. Although al-Naḡāṣī is often assumed to have been a student of al-Murtada, there is nothing to support this supposition. Al-Naḡāṣī mentions al-Murtada on three occasions in his Riǧāl, viz. in his entry on al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (p. 398 no. 1065), where he describes al-Raḍī as aḥū l-Murtada; in his entry on al-Mufīd (pp. 402–403 no. 1067), where he refers to al-Murtada as al-Šarīf al-Murtada Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn; and in the entry devoted to al-Murtada himself (pp. 270–271 no. 708). On none of these occasions does al-Naḡāṣī identify him as his teacher. It is noteworthy, however, that the “al-Sayyid al-Šarīf” at whose request al-Naḡāṣī wrote his K. al-Riǧāl (ibid., p. 3) is most likely al-Murtada, as suggested by Āḡā Buzurg, Darīʼa, vol. 10, pp. 154–155 no. 279, and by al-Abṭāhī, Tahḏīb al-maqāl, vol. 1, p. 156. The alternative possibility that al-Naḡāṣī composed the K. al-Riǧāl at the request of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī seems unlikely since he does not label him al-Sayyid al-Šarīf in his entry on him; see al-Naḡāṣī, Riǧāl, p. 398 no. 1065; see also ibid., pp. 375–376 no. 1023 (entry on Ibn Qiba, in the course of which he mentions al-Raḍī in a similar manner). Moreover, al-Raḍī died in 406 AH, which would have been too early for al-Naḡāṣī’s Riǧāl. Further it is also unlikely that he wrote the Riǧāl for Abū Ya’lā al-Ǧaʿfarī, for the very same reason: he does not refer to him as al-Sayyid al-Šarīf; see ibid., p. 404 no. 1070, and p. 271 (in the entry on al-Murtada where al-Naḡāṣī mentions him as al-Šarīf). It should also be noted that al-Naḡāṣī does not mention the lqāb bestowed on al-Murtada by Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 397 [1007], “Ḏū l-Maḏdayn,” nor does he call him ʿAlam al-Hudā. Unlike al-Ṭūsī, who refers to al-Buṣraawi’s fihrīst of al-Murtada’s writings, al-Naḡāṣī does not mention this document, possibly suggesting that he began his own inventory before al-Buṣraawi compiled his. Al-Naḡāṣī continuously added new titles to al-Murtada’s entry over time, but he never updated his name. The independence of his list from al-Buṣraawi’s is further corroborated by the significant degree of divergence between the two lists in the sequence of the titles.


1027 According to Ibn al-Fuwatī, al-Murtada composed a K. Tafsīr al-Qurʾān. It is possible that this refers to his Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-miʾa wa-ḥams wa-ʾišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara. See Ibn al-
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<th>al-Naḡāṣī</th>
<th>Ibn Šahrāšūb</th>
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<tr>
<td>(2) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā [Q 5:93]</td>
<td>(4) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā [Q 5:93]</td>
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<td>(3) 'Alā wa-mi'a wa-ḥams wa-‘išrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara see above, n. 481.</td>
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<td>(2) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā [Q 6:151]</td>
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<td>(2) Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā [Q 6:151]</td>
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<td>(4) Masʿala 'alā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā [Q 17:70]</td>
<td>(3) Kalām 'alā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā [Q 17:70]</td>
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<td>(5) Masʿala 'alā anna l-malāʾika afḍal min al-anbiyā’</td>
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<td>(44) al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ‘alā l-anbiyā’</td>
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<td>(6) al-Masʿā’il al-Muḥammadīyyāt wa-hiyya</td>
<td>(27) al-Masʿā’il al-</td>
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FUWATI, MAQMA’ AL-ĀDĀB, VOL. 1, PP. 536–537 NO. 875. FOR POSSIBLE QUOTATIONS FROM THE TAFSĪR SŪRAT AL-ḤAMD WA-MI’A WA-ḤAMS WA-‘IŠRĪN ĀYA MIN SŪRAT AL-BAQARA SEE ABOVE, N. 481.

This work is possibly identical with the text contained in Ğurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 312–316.

The title al-Buṣrawī aduces here is strange, as it contradicts al-Murtaḍā’s position in the tract. Ibn Šahrāšūb’s title, al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ‘alā l-anbiyā’, is more appropriate. In the manuscript tradition the title appears as Masʿala fi tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alā l-malāʾika or, as al-Murtaḍā is reported to have said, kalām muḥtaṣar fi tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām ‘alā l-malāʾika; see Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, Takmila (fol. 10v [fig. 529], though the folios are in disorder in this part of the codex). According to the same copy of the Takmila, al-Murtaḍā wrote the tract at the request of one Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. This information is preserved exclusively in this early witness of the Takmila—indeed, the earliest extant witness of the book. For a detailed discussion of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, see Chapter 1.4 of the present publication. The identity of the questioner is unclear. He might perhaps be the author of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, who in the single extant copy of the work, Ms. Tehrān, Millī 863, is identified on the title page as Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī Ibn Qārūra; see Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory (Text VIII) for an edition of the tract and a discussion on its author. Alternatively, “Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī” may be a corruption of Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Buṣrawī, al-Murtaḍā’s well-known student.

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<tr>
<th>al-Buṣrawī</th>
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<th>al-Nağāšī</th>
<th>Ibn Šahrāšūb</th>
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<tr>
<td>ḥams: (i) [Q 22:26], (ii) Mā ma’nā mā yuqāl ‘inda istilām al-ḥaḡar “Amānati addaytuḥā,” (iii) Mā ruwiya ‘an al-nabi ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālīhi wa-sallam anna l-qlūb aḡnād muḡannada, (iv) [Q 2:31], (v) [Q 2:37]</td>
<td>Muḥammadiyyāt, ḥams masā’il</td>
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<td>(7) al-Masā’il al-Bādarāʾīyyāt, wa-hiya arba‘ wa-ʾišrūn maẓ‘ala, (i) [Q 16:43], (ii) al-Farq bayna l-maʿrīfā wa-l-ʿilm, (iii) Mā al-šubha wa-didduḥā, (iv) [Q 7:157], (v) Fīmā yaqīb fihi l-ḥums, (vi) [Q 70:37], (vii) [Q 13:7], (viii) [Q 2:13], (ix) Qawl al-ʿālim ʿalayhi l-salām “Man kānat lahu ḥaqīqa tābīta lam yaqūm ʿalā šubha ḥāmida,” (x) Qawl al-ʿālim ʿalayhi l-salām “Yā muḥaḍḍil man dāna llāh bi-ʿayr samā‘ min sādiq akramahu llāh al-batta,” (xi) Laylat al-qadr wa-mā ruwiya fi tanazzul al-amr, (xii) [Q 11:118–119],</td>
<td>(28) al-Masā’il al-Bādarāʾīyyāt, arba‘ wa-ʾišrūn maẓ‘ala</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Buṣra’ī</td>
<td>al-Ṭūsī</td>
<td>al-Nağāšī</td>
<td>Ibn Șahrāšūb</td>
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| (xiii) ٍَمَا ٍَمَاٍ ٍَمَاٍ ٍَمَاٍ ٍَمَاٍ ٍَمَاٍ ٍَمَاٍ ٍَمَاٍ imām fi l-luğa wa-l-šar‘, (xiv) Hal al-ta’wil yansaḥu l-tanzil am là, (xv) [Q 22:82], (xvi) Qawl al-‘ālim ‘alayhi l-salām “Alā l-Islām yatanākaḥūn wa-yatawāraṭūn wa-‘alā l-imān yuṭābūn,” (xvii) Qawl al-‘ālim ‘alayhi l-salām “Inna l-anbiyā’ ‘alayhi l-salām lam yūriṭū dirhaman wa-lā dināran wa-innamā warātī ahādīṭ min aḥādīṯīhim,” (xviii) Qawl amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām “Inna l-nās ālū ba’dā rasūl Allāh șallā șallā șallā ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam ilā țalāتا,” (xix) al-Wilāya mā hiya wa-hal hiya qawl wa-‘amal am qawl bi-lā șamal, (xx) Qawl al-nabī șallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam “Innī muḥlif fikum mā in tamassaktum bihimā lan taḍullū, Kitāb Allāh wa-‘itrati,” (xxi) [Q 15:91], (xxii) Mā ruwiya șan al-‘ālim ‘alayhi l-salām “Inna șallā ...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Buṣrawī</th>
<th>al-Ṭūsī</th>
<th>al-Naḡāṣī</th>
<th>Ibn Šahrāṣūb</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ilāh ʿazza wa-ţalla awhā ilā Ādam inni qad qaḍaytu bi-nubuwwataqa wa-stakmaltu ayyāmaka . . . ,” (xxiii) [Q 6:122], (xxiv) [Q 11:16]</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) K. al-Mulaḥḥas fi l-uṣūl, wa-lam yutimmahu</td>
<td>(3) al-Mulaḥḥas fi l-uṣūl, lam yutimmahu, ḥasan</td>
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<td>(8) K. al-Mulaḥḥas, nāqiṣ</td>
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<td>(6) K. al-Mulaḥḥas fi l-uṣūl al-dīn</td>
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<td>(9) K. al-Ḍahīra</td>
<td>(3) K. al-Ḍahīra fi l-uṣūl, tāmm</td>
<td>(7) K. al-Ḍahīra</td>
<td>(4) al-Ḍahīra fi l-uṣūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</td>
<td>(4) K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal, tāmm</td>
<td>(8) K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</td>
<td>(5) Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</td>
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<td>(29) al-Masāʾil al-Mawsiliyyāt al-awwala al-țalâţa wa-hiya al-masāʾil (i) fi l-waʿīd (ii) al-masāʾil (iii) wa-l-qiyās (iv) wa-l-iʿtimād</td>
<td>(9) al-Masāʾil al-Mawsiliyyāt al-awwala al-țalâţa wa-hiya al-masāʾil (i) fi l-waʿīd (ii) al-masāʾil (iii) wa-l-qiyās (iv) wa-l-iʿtimād</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hassan Ansari &amp; Sabine Schmidtke</td>
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<td>(9) Masāʾilulhum</td>
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<td>(12) Masʿalat al-radd ʿalā Yahyā b. ʿAdi al-naṣrānī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā</td>
<td>(10) al-Radd ʿalā Yahyā b. ʿAdi</td>
<td>(45) Naqṣ maqāla Yahyā b. ʿAdi al-naṣrānī al-mantiqi fīmā lā yatanāhā</td>
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<td>(12) al-Radd ʿalayhi fī masʿala zamānḥā taḥbīʿat al-muslimīn [sic]</td>
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<td>(17) [al-Maṣāʾil al-Miṣriyya] al-ṭāliṭa, waḥiya †...†</td>
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<td>(23) al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣirīyya fī l-fiqh</td>
<td>(23) al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣirīyya fī l-fiqh</td>
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<td>(20) K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl, ʿamalahu li-l-Aʿazz ¹⁰³⁰</td>
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<td>(33) K. Ǧawāz al-wilāya min ḣiḥat al-ẓālimīn(^{1031})</td>
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<td>(18) Masʿala fi l-wilāya min qibal al-sulṭān</td>
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\(^{1031}\) See below, n. 1040.
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<td>miṭluhu fi l-</td>
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<td>imāma 1032</td>
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<td>(20) K. al-Muqniʿ fi l-</td>
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<td>ġayba</td>
<td>(10) K. al-</td>
<td>ġayba</td>
<td>(12) al-Muqniʿ fi</td>
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<td>Muqniʿ fi l-</td>
<td>ġayba</td>
<td>ġayba, šaʿaḥu li-</td>
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<td>ġayba</td>
<td>ġayba</td>
<td>l-wazīr Ibn al-</td>
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<td>Maḡribī</td>
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<td>(38) Masʿala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb</td>
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<td>(16) al-</td>
<td>(18) al-Masʿāʾil al-</td>
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<td>Ṭarābulusiyya al-ūlā, wa-hiya sabʿ ʿašara</td>
<td>Masʿāʾil al- Ṭarābulusiyya al-arwala 1034</td>
<td>al- Ṭarābulusiyya al-arwala 1035</td>
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1032 Cf. Ibn Ḥaḡār al-ʿAsqalānī, Lisān al-mīzān, vol. 5, p. 530, where al-Ṭūsī is quoted as stating that the K. al-Ṣāḥīf consisted of five volumes (al-Ṣāḥīf fi l-imāma ḥams muqalladāt).

1033 It is possible that the responsum included in al-Šarīf al-Murtada, Ṣurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl ʿIbrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 309–314 is intended here. Alternatively, Masʿala awdaḥtu fiḥā anna l-taʿkid la budda fiḥī min al-fāʾida, to which al-Murtada refers in his Takmīla (see ibid., vol. 2, p. 312), may be intended here. Another possibility is the responsum found in ibid., vol. 2, pp. 374–378, which revolves around the same topic.

1034 See below, n. 1037.

1035 See below, n. 1037.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Buṣrawī</th>
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<td>(40) al-Masāʾīl al-ṭāniyya al-Ṭarāḥulusiyya, wa-hiya ʿašar</td>
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<td>(41) al-Masāʾīl al-ṭāliṭa al-Ṭarāḥulusiyya, wa-hiya ūams wa-ʾišrūn</td>
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<td>(43) al-Masāʾīl al-Ḥalabiyya al-ūlā, wa-hiya ṭalāṭ</td>
<td>(18) al-Masāʾīl al-Ḥalabiyya al-awwala</td>
<td>(20) al-Masāʾīl al-Ḥalabiyya al-awwala</td>
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<tr>
<td>(44) [al-Masāʾīl al-Ḥalabiyya] al-ṭāniyya, wa-hiya ṭalāṭ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1036 It is noteworthy that, according to al-Buṣrawī, the work consisted of ten masāʾīl only, whereas the complete text as we have it today consists of twelve masāʾīl. It is possible that the divergence in the number of masāʾīl reflects different divisions of the work.

1037 Al-awwala in al-Ṭūsī (16) and Ibn Šahrāšūb (18) refers to al-Buṣrawī (39), whereas al-ahīra in al-Ṭūsī (17) and Ibn Šahrāšūb (19) refers to al-Buṣrawī (40), (41), and (42), which were written much later than al-Ṭarbālusiyyāt I.

1038 See above, n. 1037.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Buṣrawī</th>
<th>al-Ṭūsī</th>
<th>al-Nağāšī</th>
<th>Ibn Șahrāşūb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(46) al-Masāʾil al-Dimašqiyya, wa-hiya al-Nāṣiriyya</td>
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<tr>
<td>(47) Masʿala fi l-wilāya min qībal al-zālimīn</td>
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<tr>
<td>(48) Masʿala fi l-imāma</td>
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<tr>
<td>(49) Masʿala fi dalīl al-ṣīfāt</td>
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<tr>
<td>(50) Ğawāb al-Karāğikī fi fāsād al-ʿadād</td>
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<tr>
<td>(51) al-Masāʾil al-Wāṣitiyya, wa-hiya mī’a masʿala</td>
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</table>

1039 Note that in one of the witnesses of al-Ṭūsī’s Fihrīst consulted by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī for his edition, the work titled Masʿāʾil al-Ḥalabīyyāt is adduced again towards the end of the list; see al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, Fihrīst, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 290. It is noteworthy that al-Murtadā himself invariably refers in his Maṣʿala fi ihtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-ḥād, al-Rassīyyāt I, and al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt II to “al-Ḥalabīyyāt”, without specifying which collection he means, which suggests that he means al-Ḥalabīyyāt I. See Appendix 12 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtadā’s writings”), and n. 647 above.

1040 Since the title touches upon a topic that is similar to al-Buṣrawī (33) above, it is uncertain whether the two entries refer to the same tract or to two distinct writings. The description “kitāb” in al-Buṣrawī (33) as against “masʿala” in (47) may suggest that al-Buṣrawī (33) is a more comprehensive work than (47).

1041 Since only al-Buṣrawī adduces this title, the possibility should not be excluded that this is a repetition of al-Buṣrawī (38), al-ṣīfāt being a misreading for al-ḥītāb.

1042 The possibility that this title is identical with al-Ṭūsī (34) and Ibn Șahrāşūb (37) can be excluded; see above, n. 1011.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Büşrāwî</th>
<th>al-Ţūsî</th>
<th>al-Nağâšî</th>
<th>Ibn Şahrâşûb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(54) Mas‘ala fî nikâḥ al-mut‘a</td>
<td>(26) Mas‘ala fî l-mut‘a</td>
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<tr>
<td>(55) K. al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb</td>
<td>(29) K. al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb</td>
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<td>(32) al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb</td>
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<td>(56) K. Ţayf al-ḥayâl</td>
<td>(28) K. al-Ţayf wa-l-ḥayâl</td>
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<td>(30) Awṣâf Ţayf al-ḥayâl</td>
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<td>(57) K. al-Barq</td>
<td>(27) K. al-Barq</td>
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<td>(31) al-Marmûq fî awṣâf al-Burâq</td>
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<td>(59) K. al-Ġurar wa-l-fawâ‘id</td>
<td>(5) K. al-Ġurar wa-l-durar</td>
<td>(35) K. al-Ġurar</td>
<td>(6) al-Ġurar wa-l-durar, ḥasan</td>
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<td>(60) Tafsîruhu al-Qaṣîda al-mîmiyya, min šīrîhi</td>
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<td>(38) Tafsîr Qaṣîdatîhi</td>
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<td>al-Ṭūsī</td>
<td>al-Naḡāšī</td>
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<td>(37) Tafsīr Qaṣīdat al-Sayyid al-bāʾiyya</td>
<td>(35) Tafsīr al-Qaṣīda al-muṣlahhaba ʿan al-Ḥimyarī</td>
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<td>(62) Tafsīr Qaṣīdat al-Sayyid al-bāʾiyya</td>
<td>(26) Diwān al-šīr&lt;sup&gt;1043&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(1) Diwān šīr, yazīd ʿalā ʿišrīn alf bayt aḥtārahū min šīrīhi</td>
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<td>(30) K. Tatabbuʿ al-abyāt allatī takallama ʿalayhā Ibn Ğinnī fi abyāt al-maʿānī l- Ḥutanabbī</td>
<td>(33) Tatabbuʿ al-abyāt allatī takallama ʿalayhā Ibn Ğinnī fi abyāt al-maʿānī l- Ḥutanabbī</td>
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<td>(31) K. al-Naqḍ ʿalā Ibn Ğinnī fi l-hikāya wa-l-maḥkī</td>
<td>(34) al-Naqḍ ʿalā Ibn Ğinnī fi l-hikāya wa-l-maḥkī</td>
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<td>(34) Masʿala kabīra fi nuṣrat al-</td>
<td>(37) al-Farāʿiḍ [sic] fi naṣr al-ruʿya wa-ibṭāl</td>
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<sup>1043</sup> Al-Ṭūsī further specifies that “lahu diwān šīr, yazīd ʿalā ʿišrīn alf bayt”; see al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, Fihrīst, ed. al-Ṭabāṭābāʾī, p. 288.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Buṣrawī</th>
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<td>ruʿya wa-ibṭāl al-qawl bi-l-ʿadad(^{1044})</td>
<td>(37) K. al-Ḍarīʿa</td>
<td>(37) K. al-Ḍarīʿa ila uṣūl al-ṣarīʿa, ḥasan</td>
<td>al-qawl bi-l-ʿadad(^{1045})</td>
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<td>(36) K. al-Waʿīd</td>
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\(^{1044}\) See above, n. 1042.
\(^{1045}\) See above, n. 1042.
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<td>(47) Fi aqwāl al-munaqūṣīmin [most likely referring to responsuum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt]</td>
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<td>(40) Masāʿil āyāt</td>
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<td>(42) al-Masāʿil al-Rāziyya, waḥiyya arbaʿ ʿaṣara masʿala</td>
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<td>(33) Masāʿil mufradāt nahwa min miʿati masʿala fī funūn šattā</td>
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<td>(43) Masāʿil mufradāt nahwa min miʿa fī funūn šattā nahwa 44 through 49</td>
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<td>(49) Tatimmat anwāʾ al-aʿrāḍ</td>
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558
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<td>min ǧamʿ Abī Raṣīd al-Nīsābūrī</td>
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<td>(51) al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq</td>
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<td>(52) Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-qāḍāʾ wa-l-qadar</td>
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</table>
Appendix 10:
Editions, manuscripts, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā’s extant works in secondary sources mentioned in this study, works erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, and manuscripts of selected works by others

To the extent possible, the work titles given in this table (and throughout the present publication) agree with those coined by al-Murtaḍā himself and/or those provided in the 574 [1179] codex. In cases in which no title is given, the titles provided by al-Buṣrawī (or by al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāṣī, or Ibn Ṣahrāšūb) have generally been used. For the sake of consistency in the identification of the many quœstiones that have no title designated by either the author or any of the four bibliographers, the titles given by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿIškawarī have been used, except when these were misleading. In such cases, we have come up with titles ourselves. It is noteworthy that a fair number of tracts circulate(d) under different titles; these indicate how the respective scholars and editors understood the text in question. Wifqān Ḫuḍayr Muḥsin al-Kaʿbī, for example, often gave titles to the individual tracts included in his Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā that differ from those used by Mahdī Raḡāʾī and Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿIškawarī in their Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.
For works that are included in the bibliographical lists of al-Buṣrawī, al-Naḡāṣī, al-Ṭūsī, and/or Ibn Ṣahrāšūb, the placement of the work in the relevant bibliographies is indicated after the work’s title. Editions are listed in <angle> brackets, manuscript copies in [square] bracket, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā’s extant works in secondary sources in {braces}. In addition, references to al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā” (which contains comprehensive lists of manuscripts in Iranian libraries) as well as the relevant entries in al-Dirāyatī’s Muʿūqam al-maḥṣūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya (with comprehensive lists of manuscripts in the libraries of Iraq) and Fihristīgān or Fihristwāra (with comprehensive lists of manuscripts in the libraries of Iran) are provided for each title in “half brackets”.

560
al-Murtaḍā (authentic works, including works for which there is no reason to doubt their authenticity, while there is also no clear internal or external evidence that al-Murtaḍā indeed is their author):

Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid
‘al-Bayʿāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 177 no. 124/7
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥ al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Īmām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Čalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Awwal al-wāqibāt al-nāzar
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥ al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Īmām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Čalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī
Hassan Ansari & Sabine Schmidtke

Dafšubha li-Barahima fi baṭ al-anbiyā’


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

K. al-Ḍaḥra


<ed. Ahmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawari, 1411 [1990–91]>

[Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635; Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6738; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāǧǧī Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (current whereabouts uncertain); Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (NLR), Arab. 111; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 3344 [= Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635]; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 3295; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10073]

{Maǧmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-aḡall al-Murtadā fi funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl}

al-Dalīl alā anna l-ḥawāhir mudraka

‘al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtadā,” p. 185 no. 149/32


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf,
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tiharān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muhaddīt Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ihyāʿ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

K. al-Ḍarfa ʿilā ʿashūl al-Ṣarfa (al-Ṭūsī [36]; al-Naǧāšī [37]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [28])
[Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 164; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891; Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 296; Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1661; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 776; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 943; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 35; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūʾī 593; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, New Series 1165; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tiharān 1303; Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 3185; Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 7334]

al-Dimaṣqiyya: Masʿala fi l-raʿğfa (al- Buṣrawī [46])
[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

al-Dīwān (al-Ṭūsī [26]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [1])

**al-Faṛq bayna naḡas (or naḡīs) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm**

ʿal-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 188 no. 159/42


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmawī (Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Fāṣfelī l-ğayba**


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 26149; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Fāṣfelī istadalla ǧumhūr al-muslimīn ʿalā anna l-samāwāt sabʿa wa-anna l-araḍīn sabʿa**


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tārbiyat Mudarris 427]

564
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

**Faṣl: wa-su‘īla raḍiyya Ilāh ‘anhu ‘an al-ḥāl ba‘da imām al-zamān ‘alayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . .**

“al-Bayāṭi, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,”” p. 199 no. 185/68


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Fuṣūl al-muḥṭāra Ṱin al-ʿUyūn wa-l-Maḥāsin**


[Ms. Baghdad, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt 541; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9882; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 71; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāṣim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 91; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 13940; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 4186; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 119 ǧīm; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1308 [“al-Ḥikāyāt”]; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 3864 [“al-Ḥikāyāt”]; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5392; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9738]

**Ǧawāz al-tażkīya Ṱin al-māl al-āḥar**


[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615]

**al-Ġawhar lâ yakān muḥḍatān bi-ma‘nā**

“al-Bayāṭi, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,”” p. 185 no. 150/33


565
and Legal Theory, Text VI.7>
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭehrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāṭem 2645; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Muʾassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡīrdī 18; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭehrān Miškāt 920; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187] {Hibat Allāh al-Mūsawi, al-Maḏmūʿ al-rāʾīq, vol. 1, pp. 143–224}  

Gūmar al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal (al-Buṣrāwī [10]; al-Ṭūsī [4]; al-Naḡāṣī [8]; Ibn Ṣahrāṣūb [5])  
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21060; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭehrān Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 401; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 436; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡīrdī 18; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭehrān Miškāt 920; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187] {Hibat Allāh al-Mūsawi, al-Maḏmūʿ al-rāʾīq, vol. 1, pp. 143–224}  

Gūmar al-fawwād (al-Buṣrāwī [59]; al-Ṭūsī [5]; al-Naḡāṣī [35]; Ibn Ṣahrāṣūb [6])  
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 250; Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 258; Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169; Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 adab Taymūr; Ms. Ḥāʾīnsār, Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Wāli-yi ʿAṣr (no shelfmark); Ms. Isfahān, Dānišgāh-i Isfahān 769; Ms. Isfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Șadr-i Bāzār 895; Ms. Istanbul, Köprülū, Hafız Ahmed Paşa 39; Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296; Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711; Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kīlīc Alī Paşa 787; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987; Ms. Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 437; Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 594; Ms. Istanbul, Reisülkūttab 53; Ms. Karbalāʾ, Maktabat al-ʿAbbaṣ al-Ḥusaynīyya al-Muqaddasa 5250; Ms. Karbalāʾ, Maktabat al-ʿAbbaṣ al-Ḥusaynīyya al-Muqaddasa 9106 ʿayn; Ms. Kāshān, Madrasa-yi Ǧaʿfarī (no shelfmark); Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 665; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1532; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9519; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15382; Ms. Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Nawwāb 373; Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 43 ar.; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Īmām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 2130; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Īmām al-Ḥakīm 4; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380; Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿat wa Taḥqiqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablíqāt-i Islāmī) 174; Ms. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿat wa Taḥqiqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablíqāt-i Islāmī) 359; Ms. Qum, Madrasa-yi Fayḍiyā 88; Ms. Qum, Masǰīd-i Aʿẓam 325; Ms. Qum, Masǰīd-i Aʿẓam 757; Ms. Qum, Masǰīd-i Aʿẓam 1798; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 794; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 817; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 12373; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 12513; Ms. Riyāḍ, Čāmīʿat al-Riyāḍ, adab 810 [319]; Ms. San Lorenzo, El
Escorial 1485; Ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Aqwāf 2010; Ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Aqwāf, maǧāmīʾ 71; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ḥikmat 235; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ḡīm; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt), Imām Ǧumʿa 42; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miḵkāt 223; Ms. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Muzīḥ-i Īrān-i Bāstān 3720; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 1044; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 1089; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5829; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 7885; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 90; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9314; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 16626; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 1614; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 1601; Ms. Tehran, Millī 681; Ms. Tehran, Millī 1601; Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510; Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136

Guurar al-fawāʾid—fi aqsām al-manāfīʾ

<Masāʾīl al-Murtaḍā, pp. 118–121; Guurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 72–74>
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raiḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raiḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḏā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḏā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hādīm Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīḍ Urwawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḥiyāt-i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Guurar al-fawāʾid—fi ibtāl muddaʾī l-ruʿya

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raiḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raiḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḏā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḏā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hādīm Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton,
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmāwī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

Gurār al-fawāʾīd—fi l-ruʿya

<Ḡurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 49–51>
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Maḥād, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Maḥād, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ġā Ṣuzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Ḵāḏa Ṣuzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāṣim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dāniṣgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmāwī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Gurār al-fawāʾīd—Masʿala fi taʿwil āyat “Ṣahr Ramaḍān allaḏī anzala fihī l-Qurʾān”

[Q 2:185]
[Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79]

Gurār al-fawāʾīd—Masʿala fi taʿwil āyat “Wa-ʾid aḥḥaqa rabbuka min bani ādām min zuḥūrīhīm ḏurriyyatuhum” [Q 7:172]
<Ḡurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 54–56>
[Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79]

Gurār al-fawāʾīd—Masʿala fi taʿwil āyat “Wa-la-qad hammat bihi wa-hamma bihā” [Q 12:24]
<Ḡurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 452–456>
[Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79]
Gurar al-fawā'id—Mas'ala fi ta'wil āyat “Wa-mā kāna li-bašar an yukallimahu lāhu illā wahyān” [Q 42:51]
‘al-Dirāyatī, Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqiyya, vol. 3, p. 625 no. 11504
<Gurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 177–179>
[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79]

Gurar al-fawā'id—Mas'ala fi ta’wil qawl al-nabi šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālīhi wa-sallam
“Kull mawlūd yūlad ʿalā l-fīṭra”
‘al-Dirāyatī, Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqiyya, vol. 3, p. 627 no. 11517
<Gurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 73–76>
[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79]

Ḥawlā ḥabar “Nahnu maʿāshir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa”
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāḥ-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Ḥawlā kalām Ibn Ǧinnī fī ḥaḍf ʿalāmat al-taʿnīt
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāḥ-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Ḥukm anwāl al-sulṭān (al-Buṣrawī [47])
[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāḥ-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615]
\(\text{حکم \textit{يفادت والاد الزناء}}\)\(^{1046}\)

Ibțāl al-qawl inna ʿl-šayʾ ʿayʾ li-nafsīhī


<Masāʾīl al-Murtaḍā, p. 201; Rasāʾīl al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raģāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 343; Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text VI.8>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāsim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-ī Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Idāfatawlād al-bint ilā ʾl-ğadd idāfsa ḥaqqiyya


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ġāga Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Ḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāsim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-ī Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Ilm al-waṣī bi-sāfat ṭaw fattihī aw qatīlihī


1047 For this tract, and its topic more generally, see Modarressi, Tārīḥyāt, pp. 75–149 (“Siyādat az sūy-i mādar: Zamīna-hā-yi īghtimāʾī-yi paydāyiš-yi yik nazar-i fiqhi”).
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]
{Ibn Šahrāšūb, Mutašābih al-Qurʾān [58]; al-Ṭūsī [12]; al-Naḡāšī [39]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [15])

K. al- İntīṣār li-mā iğtama‘at ʿalayhi al-Imāmiyya (al-Buṣrawī [58]; al-Ṭūsī [12]; al-Naḡāšī [39]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [15])
<ed. lithograph print in al-Ǧawāmiʿ al-ʿirāqiyya (Tehran, 1276 [1860]); ed. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Mūsawi al-ṣādiqī (1391/1971); ed. Muʿassasat al-Našr al-Ḥalāma al-Ṭabiʿa li-Ǧamāʿat al-mudarrisīn bi-4XP>@HGDO Šayḫ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿĀmma 2859 = Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 9501; Ms. Šīrāz, Faculty of Medicine (Allāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library) 269; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Adabīyyāt Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77D; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 4326; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 7256; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 7308]

Istihqaq madh al-bāri‘ ʿalā l-awsāf
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Kawn al-ṣifā bi-l-fāʿil


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i
Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḥiyāʾ-ī Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maģlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

Mā al-dalīl ʿalā anna ḥaʾima ʾiṯnā ʿašar ... (see n. 759 for a discussion of the tract’s authenticity; see now also Ansari, Ataei Nazari, and Schmidtke, “A responsum”)

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 204 no. 210/937
[Ms. Tehran, Maģlis 7539]

Mā maʿnā l-qawwāl ḥaʾima ʾiṯnā ʿašar ḥaʾima ʾaṣhadu annaka tasmaʿ kalāmi wa-taruddu ḡawābī
[Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792; Ms. Naḡaf, al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7]

al-Manʿ min taṣṭīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ (al-Buṣrawī [5]; Ibn Ŧahrāsūb [44])
[Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ğaḡa Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Ḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 255; Ms. Tehran, Maģlis Ḥūʾī 8]
{ŷurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū l-Fadl Ḫibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 280–285

Maʿnā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-ʿaql fi l-nisāṭ
[Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]
Ma'nā qawlī al-nabi “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāsim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

{Ǧurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibāḥīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 330}

Ma'nā qawlī ʿalayhi ʿalayhī l-salām “Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-ʿahīr al-ḥaḡar”


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ǧurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibāḥīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300}

Ma'nā qawlī ʿalā “Qul taʿālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum” [Q 6:151] (al-Buṣrāwī [3]; al-Naḡāšī [2])


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ǧurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibāḥīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300}

Ma'sala ʿalā man ta'allaq bi-qawlī ʿalā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bani ʿAdam” [Q 17:70] (al-Buṣrāwī [4]; al-Ṭūsī [3])

ʿal-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 133–134 no. 48, 163 no. 82


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162);
Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 255; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis Ḫūṭī 8]

**Masʿala ʿan wağh al-munāsaba bayna l-afāl fi l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fiḥā min al-ṣarīʿiyāt**


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Maṣhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Maṣhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāsim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḫiyāʾ-i Mizān-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Masʿala fi ʿadam taḥṭiʿat al-ʿāmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid**


[Ms. Maṣhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Maṣhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tārbiyat Mudarrisī 247]

{Ibn Idrīs, Sarāʾir = Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥilli, vol. 11, pp. 373–376}

**Masʿala fi ʿadam wuḏūb ǧasīl al-riʿṣlayn fi l-taḥāra**[^1048]


[^1048]: This is a refutation of a statement (kalām) by the renowned grammarian and adīb Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿIsā b. al-Faraq b. Śāliḥ al-Rabaʿī al-Zuhayrī al-Nahwī (b. 328 [939], d. 420 [1029]). On him, see al-Ṣafādī, Ṭāfī, vol. 21, p. 374. See also the editor’s introduction to al-Rabaʿī’s *K. al-ʿArūd*. ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Rabaʿī was an admirer of al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Ṣarīf al-Raḍī, as is evident from an autograph statement he had added to the title page of a holograph of the latter’s *K. Talḥīṣ al-
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣaṣa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Masālā fi l-alam wa-wuḏāh al-ḥusn fihī


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣiṣi 6862; Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣiṣi 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammadī Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i ʿIḥyāʿ-ī Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Masālā fi l-amāl maʿa l-sulṭān (al-Buṣrawī [33]; al-Naḡāṣi [18])

Written during the vizierate of al-Wazīr al-Maḏrībī, who was appointed in 414 [1023–24] and served for ten months and four days.


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ġaḏa Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Ḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Naḡaf,

bayān fi maʿāṣet al-Qurʾān (fig. 270). See Schmidtke, “For Sale to the Highest Bidder”. For al-Rabaʾī, see also n. 431.
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

Masʿala fi aṣālat al-barāʾa wa-naṣṣ al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi

"al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 200 no. 194/77


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Masʿala fi ṣayyān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30659; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 32; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 432; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library,
Mas’ala fi bayān qawlīhī șallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-âlîhi wa-sallam “Anâ wa-antâ yâ ‘Alî ka-
ḥātayn”
134–135>
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23972; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i
Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Naḡaf, al-Imām
al-Ḥakim 433/7; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat
Mudarris 427]

Mas’ala fi l-dalîl ʿalā an-nâ l-ğīṣm lam yakun kārīnan bi-l-fā‘îl
</\ Rasā’îl al-Murtaḍā, pp. 128–129; Rasā’îl al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā‘î and al-
Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 337–338; Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on
Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text VI.3>
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i
Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf,
Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrān, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-
i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bāhr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms.
Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amir al-Mu’mīnin al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton,
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum,
Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat
Ǧalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḫiyā‘î-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī
2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī
(uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Mas’āla fi ḍari al-ḥīṭāb (al-Buṣrawī [38]; al-Naḡāši [23])

Mas’āla fi ḍikr anwāʿ al-ʿaʾrād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā (Ibn ʿAmīr al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿArāfī [49])
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡāf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṣ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-ī Mirāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Mas’āla fi Fadak
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas’āla fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-ʾaḥbār al-ʿaḥād
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡa Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms.

581
Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i ʿIhyāʾ-ī Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

*Masʿala fi l-ẓawāb ʿan al-ṣubḥāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Qādir*


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān ʿUrmatā 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān ʿUrmatā 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

*Masʿala fi ḡawāzīk al-mutʿa* (al-Buṣrawī [54]; al-Nağāšī [26])


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Ġāgh Buzurg al-Tihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāḥ-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Ḥāšim Bah̄r al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāḥ-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i ʿIhyāʾ-ī Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

1049 Cf. Ḥulāṣat al-ʾiğāz fi l-mutʿa, which contains excerpts from one of al-Muḥīd’s writings on the mutʿa. Another text by al-Muḥīd on the topic (reconstructed on the basis of quotations in al-Maǧlisī’s Bihār) is published as Risālat al-Muṭʿa in Silsilat muʿāllafāt al-Šayḫ al-Muḥīd (Beirut 1993), volume 6 (separate pagination). On the topic, see Cilardo, “A Dispute between Ḥanafis and Twelvers”.

582
**Mas‘ala fi l-ğins wa-l-nasab**

‘al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 197 no. 181/64


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 26147; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas‘ala fi ḫukm al-bā‘ fi qawilhi ta‘ālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ru‘ūšikum”** [Q 5:6]


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 2645; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 2426; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30664; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿAmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Mas‘ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqli**


[Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 26147; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas‘ala fi ḫtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād**


[Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 26147; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]
Mas‘ala fi l-iğmāʾ

'al-Bayāṭi, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 164 no. 86


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23972; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]  

Mas‘ala fi ‘illat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt

'al-Bayāṭi, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 200 no. 189/72


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23972; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Naḡaf, al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas‘ala fi ‘illat imtināʾ ‘Alī al-l-salām ʿan muḥārābat al-ḡāsibīn li-ḥaqqī baʿda l-

Rasūl ʿallā ʿalayhi wa-ʿalīhi wa-sallām


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30739; Ms. Qum, Maʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{al-Afandī, Fawā’īd, pp. 705–710}

Mas‘ala fi ‘illat mubāyaʿat aḥmār al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar’aṣī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas’ala fi l-ʾilm al-ṭarūrī li-l-aḥwāl al-mūḏaba ʿan al-ʾafāl
“Ansari and Schmidtke, Imamī Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text VII.3”
{Gurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 278–280}

Mas’ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar (Ibn ʿSahrāṣūb [48])
<published with al-Šayḥ al-Mufid (attrib.), Tazwīǧ ʿAlī (1371/1413 [1992]), pp. 23–31 on the basis of Mss Tehran, Malik 1099/10 and 1838/5>
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8110; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad ʾṢādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 72/15; Ms. Naḡaf, Madrasat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Būrūḡirdī 172; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 497; Ms. Naḡaf, Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 451; Ms. Naḡaf, Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1531; Ms. Naḡaf, Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 7715; Ms. Qum, Mar’aṣī 3694/9; Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 7539; Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 10183; Ms. Tehran, Malik 1099/10; Tehran, Malik 1838/5; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2919/27]

Mas’ala fi ʾirt al-awlād
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i
Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar’āshi 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427

Mas’ala fi l-istīṭnā

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Barbara al-‘Ullum 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minin al-’Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar’āshi 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar’āshi 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maqlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Milli (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533
{Gurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 309–310

Mas’ala fi l-iṭrāḍ ‘alā man istadallā bi-dalīl al-saḥḥāra ‘alā anna al-‘ālam mala’ wa-mā ubṭila bihi dālika

<Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text VII.1>

Mas’ala fi kayfīyyat naḡāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar’āshi 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427

Mas’ala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i
Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 255; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bāḥr al-ʿUllum 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Tehran, Muʿassasa yi Āyat Allāh i Burūǧirdī 8719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

Masʿala fi maʾnā “aʿlamukum bi-nafsīthi aʿlamukum bi-rabbīthi”

<Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text VII.2>

Masʿala fi l-mashʿ al-l-ḥuffayn


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bāḥr al-ʿUllum 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūǧirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Tehran, Maḏḥī 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḏḥī 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

Masʿala fi mirāḥ al-anbiyāʾ (see n. 759 for a discussion of the tract’s authenticity)


[Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-ʿĀmma 903]

Mas'ala fi qawī al-nabī šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālīhi wa-sallam “Nīyyat al-mu’min ḥayr min ‘amalihi”
‘al-Dirāyatī, Muʿṣām al-maḥṭūtāt al-‘irāqīyya, vol. 9, p. 405 no. 37322
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]  
{Čurār [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 315–318}
Mas’ala fiṣḥāt al-bay‘
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amir al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ḡalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-ʾi Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]
Mas’ala fi taṣfīl Fāṭima ʿalayhā l-salām
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]
Mas’ala fi taṣfīr āyat “Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwālūn min al-muhāǧīrūn…” [Q 9:100]
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Masʿala fi taʿwil Q 20:114
{Guar (Takmila), ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 300–303}

Masʿala fi taʿwil Q 75:22–23
{Guar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 36–37}

Masʿala fi tazwīj ʿUmm Kūltūm
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Masʿala fi waʿgh Ḵūsn al-nawāfīl
ʿal-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 185–186 no. 151/34
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Īlāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Masʿala fi waʿgh al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-wādi bi-l-ḥulūd kāṣfat al-kuffār
<Rasāʿīl al-Murtaḍā, pp. 218–219; Rasāʿīl al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağaʾī and al-
Mas'ala fi wağh istiqfār ʿIbrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām il-abihi [Q 14:41]
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān L4XGVL5D ḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān L4XGVL5D ḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh i Tabriyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187]

Masʿala fi wağh al-takrār fi l-āyātayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58]
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tabriyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]
{Ḡurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū ʿl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 258}

Masʿala fi walad al-bint
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āḡā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms.
Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Čalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīţ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mirāţ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Masʿala: al-iškāl al-wārid fi āyat “Wa-la-qad ḥalaqānākum”** [Q 7:11]

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 175–176 no. 121/4


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi ʿĀyat Allāh-i Burūḡīrdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mūdarris 427]

**Masʿala: al-murād mīn al-šāʿīqa wa-l-rağfa fi l-āyatayn** [Q 41:13 and 29:37]


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi ʿĀyat Allāh-i Burūḡīrdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mūdarris 427]

**Masʿala: qaṭluhu taʿālā “Annā yakānū li ʿulām wa-qad balaqānā al-kibaru wa-mraʾti ʿaqrūn”** [Q 3:40]


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mūdarris 427]

{Gūr [Takmilat], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 316}

**Masʿala: qaṭluhu taʿālā “Fa-in kunṭa fi šakk mimmā anzalnā ilaykā”** [Q 10:94]


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿaši 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mūdarris 427]
Mudarris 427]

Mas‘ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Qul li-l-muḥallafin min al-a’rāb sa-tud‘awna ilā qawm”
[Q 48:16]
‘al-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtada,” p. 133 no. 46
[Ms. Mašhad, ʿĀstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, ʿĀstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas‘ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Ţumma awraţnā l-kitāb alladiha šṭafaynā min ‘ibādinā”
[Q 35:32]
[Ms. Mašhad, ʿĀstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, ʿĀstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas‘ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Wa-iḍ naqāyinā min ʿal Fir‘awn yasūmūnakum sū’a l-aḍāb”
[Q 2:49]
[Ms. Mašhad, ʿĀstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, ʿĀstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]
{Gur [Takmilah], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 380}

Mas‘ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Wa-ka-ḏalika nuwalti ba‘da l-ʿalimīn ba‘dan”[Q 6:129]
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas’ala: qawlu hu ta‘ālā “Wa-mā adri mā yufalu bī wa-lā bikum” [Q 46:9]


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Gurar [Takmil], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ḥabrā’im (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317}

al-Mawsiliyyāt—in kalām fi l-qiyyās (al-Buṣrāwī [11]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [7]; al-Nağāšī [29]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [9])


al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I (al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [9]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [11])


[Ms. al-Kāẓimiyya, Ġāmi‘at Madinat al-‘Ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30651; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Āqā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qā’in, Madrasa-yi Ġafarīyya 140; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Ġay Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II (al-Buṣrāwī [24]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [8]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [10])


[Ms. al-Każimiyya, Čami'at Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 33183; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 21590; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 30650; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qā'īn, Madrasa-yi Ğa'fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar'aši 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Ğayat Allāh-i Burūqirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5933]

*al-Mayyafariqiyya* (al-Buṣrawī [25]; Ibn Șahrāšūb [41])


[Ms. al-Każimiyya, Čami'at Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 21590; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 30652; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rađawī 33183; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qā'īn, Madrasa-yi Ğa'fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar'aši 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Ğayat Allāh-i Burūqirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 17380; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]
<ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī, 1424/1382 [2003]>
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 12409]

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

al-Muḥammadiyāt—responsum 2: Mas’ala fi istilām al-ḥaḡar (al-Buṣrawī [6ii]; al-Naḡāšī [27])
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

al-Muḥammadiyāt—responsum 4: Mas’ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Anbiʿūnī bi-asmā’ ḥā’ulā in kun tum šādīqīn” [Q 2:31, 33] (al-Buṣrawī [6iv]; al-Naḡāšī [27])
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i
Rađawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat
Mudarris 427]

al-Muḥammadīyyāt—responsem 5: Ma’s’ala: qawluhu ta’ālā “Fa-talaqqā Ādam min
rabbīhi kalimāt fa-tāba ‘alayhi” [Q 2:37] (al-Buṣrawī [6v]; al-Naḡāšī [27])
144/27

<Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 10073
Ms. Mašhad, Āstān
Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat
Mudarris 427]

K. al-Mulāḥḥaṣ (al-Buṣrawī [8]; al-Ṭūsī [2]; al-Naḡāšī [6]; Ibn Šahrāʾūb [3])
<ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummi, 1381/2002>
[Ms. Tehran, Maḏlis 10073]

Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlā’ al-Maʿarri ma’a l-Murtaḍā1050
Ḥal-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 171 no. 112

1050 A ḥikāya on another encounter between Abū l-ʿAlā’ al-Maʿarri (b. 363 [973], d. 449 [1058]) and
al-Murtaḍā is mentioned in Yāqūṭ, Muʿjam al-ʿudābāʾ, vol. 1, pp. 302–303. Yet another ḥikāya is
Maʿarri and al-Murtaḍā is related by Yūsuf al-Badī’ī (d. 1073 [1662–63]) in his al-Šubḥ al-munbī
ʿan ḥayṭīyyat al-Mutanabbī; see al-Badī’ī, al-Šubḥ al-munbī, vol. 2, pp. 61–62. See also al-Suyūṭī,
(1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 90–96, editor’s introduction. For a critical discussion of this material, see
elegy when the father of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī died, and in it he also praises the deceased’s
two sons; al-Maʿarri, Siqāt al-zand, pp. 516–554, especially p. 540 where he explicitly mentioned
al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī; see also Šuṛūḥ Siqāt al-zand, vol. 3, pp. 1264–1320. Of the commentators
on al-Maʿarri’s Siqāt al-zand, the Andalusī Abū Muḥammad Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baṭalyawsī (b. 444 [1052], d. 521 [1127]) and the Transoxianian Ḥanafī scholar and grammarian
Abū l-Raḍī Čāsim b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Turāzāmī “Ṣadr al-Afāḍīl” (b. 555 [1160], d. 617
[1220]) were familiar with al-Murtaḍā; see ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1297–1298, 1301ff. It is further

596
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

<al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, Ḥayāt al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, pp. 38–41>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āğa Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Qā’īn, Madrasa-yi Ğafariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrīyat Mudarris 427]


Munāżarat al-ḥusūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āğa Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʾĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrīyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

K. al-Muqniʿ fi l-ġayba (al- MouseEvent [35]; al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī [10]; al-Naḡāšī [20]; Ibn Ṣahrūṣūb [12])

Written during the vizirate of al-Wazīr al-Mağribī, who was appointed in 414/1023–24 and served for ten months and four days.


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15677; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Aḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Aḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḏirdī 503/4; Ms. Šanʿāʾ, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt maḡmūʿa 3189/1; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5392; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 13174; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 13732]

**Muṣāḥadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi al-salām qabla mawthiḥi**


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Naḵš kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamāl bi-l-ʿadad fi l-ṣuhūr**


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ğāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Aḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Aḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Qāʾīn, Madrasa-yi Ğaʿfariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8461; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

**al-Nāṣirīyyāt** (al-Buṣrawī [19]; al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī [23]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [23])


<ed. lithograph print in al-Ǧawāmiʿ al-ʿilāmiyya, 1417/1997>

598
[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 20313 bā; Ms. Kāšān, Kitābhāna-yi Sulṭānī (‘Āṭifi) (no shelfmark); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 32; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 4364; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Ḥuqūq 216 ǧīm; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4326; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8929; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 18061; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Nīliyyāt (responsa 6 through 27)


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡa Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 432; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminin al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Čalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i ʿIhyaʿ-ı Mīrāt-i İslāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Ramlīyyāt—responsum 1: Masʿala fi l-ṣanʿa wa-l-ṣāni (al-Buṣrawī [18i]; al-Naḡāšī [32]; Ibn ʿAbūl-Faṣād [46])


al-Ramlīyyāt—responsum 2: Masʿala fi ḥaqiqat al-ḡawhar (= Masʿala fi l-ḡawhar watanṣiyatihi ḡawharan fi l-ʿadam) (al-Buṣrawī [18ii]; al-Naḡāšī [32])

<Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawari, vol. 3, pp. 150–151; Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text III.2> [Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-ī Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]


<Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text III.3> [Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡa Buzurg al-Tihrānī, “Āḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-ī Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʻUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amir al-Muʿminīn al-ʻĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 6862; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 11340; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-ī Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat ʻAlāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmwī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʿ-ī Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlīs 1587; Ms. Tehran, Mağlīs 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]


<Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā, pp. 37–39; Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġāʾī and al- Ḫusaynī al-Iṣkawari, vol. 4, pp. 48–50> [Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡa Buzurg al-Tihrānī, “Āḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-ī Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʻUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amir al-Muʿminīn al-ʻĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 6862; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 11340; Ms. Qum, Maʿaši 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-ī Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat ʻAlāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīt Urmwī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʿ-ī Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlīs 1587; Ms. Tehran, Mağlīs 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḑawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḑawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāşim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amir al-Muʿminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Čalalī al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**al-Rassīyyāt I**


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Čāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḑawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḑawī 30655; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 190; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 438; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāşim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]


**al-Rassīyyāt I—responsum 17**


[Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḡiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1517]

**al-Rassīyyāt II**


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḵwā 30655; Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat Hāšim Baḵr al-ʿUlmāʾ 185; Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat Aḡa Buzurg al-Ťihrānī, “Aḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maḏʿābī 7615; Ms. Qum, Maḏʿābī 11340; Ms. Qum, Maḏʿābī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Rāzīyyāt (Ibn Šahrāšūb [42])


[Ms. Ifṣalhān, Kitābḏāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 914; Ms. al-Kāzimīyya, Ģāmiʿat Madinat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḵwā 30654; Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat Aḡa Buzurg al-Ťihrānī, “Aḡa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Naḵfa, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qum, Maḏʿābī 3694; Ms. Qum, Maḏʿābī 7615; Ms. Qum, Maḏʿābī 17254; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 9728; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 15359; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 18404]

al-Risāla al-bāḥira fi l-ʿitra al-ṭāhirā (Ibn Šahrāšūb [38])


K. al-Ṣāfi fi l-imāma (al-Buṣrawī [34]; al-Šayḥ al-Ťūsī [1]; al-Naḡāṣī [19]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [2])
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context


[Ms. Karbalâ’, Dâr al-Maḥṭūṭât, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbâsiyya al-Muqaddasa 242; Ms. Kâšân, Madrasa-yi Ġa’farî (no shelfmark); Ms. Mašhad, Āstân-i Quds-i Raḍawî 676; Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân 1468; Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân 6701; Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân 6783; Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân 8630; Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân Miškât 518; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdâ’î Žâbâṭabâ’î 1364; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 16029]

al-Sallârîyât (Ibn Šahrâšûb [39])

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169; Ms. Mašhad, Āstân-i Quds-i Raḍawî 1448; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imâm al-Ḥakîm 432; Ms. Qâ’în, Madrasa-yi Ġa’fariyya 140; Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân Miškât 1080; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 593]

al-Sallârîyât—responsum 5: Mas’ala fimâ yuḥbir bihi l-munaqîĪmân (Ibn Šahrâšûb [47])

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al-Kâzimiyya, Ġâmi’at Madînat al-‘Ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstân-i Quds-i Raḍawî 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstân-i Quds-i Raḍawî 30657; Ms. Mašhad, Āstân-i Quds-i Raḍawî 33183; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ġâga Buzurg al-Ṭihrânî, “Āgâ Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dânišgâh-i Tihrân, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hâšim Baḥr al-‘Ulûm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maṛ’aşî 7615; Ms. Qum, Maṛ’ašî 11340; Ms. Qum, Maṛ’aşî 12923; Ms.
Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğırdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mašlī 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued)


al-Sallāriyyāt—responsum 6: Mas’ala fi l-manāmāt

“al-Dirāyatī, Muṣṭam al-maḥtūṭāt al-‘irāqiyya, vol. 15, pp. 558–559 no. 66982”


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 21912; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 30665; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktābat Hāšim Bahr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktābat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktābat Muḥammad Šādiq Bahr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğırdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mašlī 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]


al-Sallāriyyāt—responsum 7: Mas’ala fi tawārud al-adillā


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktābat Āğa Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğa Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktābat Hāšim Bahr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mašlī 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued)]
šāʾr ʿumāl al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal
<ed. Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaʿdī fī marāqī al-Maktabat, 1414 [1993–94]>[Ms. ʿIsfahān, Kitābštāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzīr 620; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 653; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 6530; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 2933; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1692/2]

šāʾr al-ḥuṭba al-ṣiḥṣahyya [= al-Ḥuṭba al-muqammaṣa] (al-Buṣrawī [61]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [50])
al-Kaydūrī, Ḥadāʾiq al-Ḥaqāʾiq (no shelfmark), vol. 1, pp. 159–165; Ḥeṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Minhāǧ al-Barāʿa (no shelfmark), vol. 1, pp. 121–132; although Ḥeṭb al-Dīn refrains from mentioning al-Murtaḍā as his source and occasionally comments on the text, the entire passage is clearly a recension of al-Murtaḍā’s commentary)

Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis iḥdā-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī 84; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 2745; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 13165

al-šīhāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb (al-Buṣrawī [55]; al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī [29]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [32])


[Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3957; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 877]

Ṣīḥat ḥaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām


[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

al-Tāʾ fī kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-taʿnīf


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḩiyāʾ-i Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī

606
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millî (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533

al-Ṭabarīyyāt [= Čawāb al-masā’il al-wārīda min Ṭabaristān]
[Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 26149; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30653; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

al-Tabbāniyyāt (al-Buṣrawī [27]; al-Nağāšī [33]; Ibn Şahrāşūb [27])

Tafsīr qawlihi ta’ālā “Wa-law lā kalīma sabagat min rabbīka” [Q 20:129]
[Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 26147; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mi’a wa-ḥams wa-ʾišrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara (al-Buṣrawī [1]; al-Nağāšī [1])

607
285–305; for additional portions of this *tafsīr* scattered through al-Murtaḍā’s writings, primarily his *Gurar*, see nn. 481, 972–
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

*Takmilat Gurar al-fawāʾid* [= *Takmilat al-Amāli*] (Ibn Šahrāšūb [7])


<ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 250; Ms. Isfahān, Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 895; Ms. Istanbul, Millēt, Feyzullah Efendi 1678; Ms. Istanbul, Sūleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296; Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712; Ms. Istanbul, Sūleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840; Ms. Istanbul, Sūleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9519; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15382; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 4; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library University Library, Yahuda 2380; Ms. Qum, Madrasa-yi Faydiyya 88; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 278; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9314; Ms. Tehran, Malik 164; Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 750; Ms. Tehran, Millī 681; Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510; Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136]

*K. Tanzīl al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʿīma* (al-Buṣrawī [32]; al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī [6]; al-Naḡāšī [16]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [8])


[Ms. Ankara, Millī Küttüphane Başkanlıği Ö6 Mil Yz B 101; Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3811; Ms. Istanbul, Sūleymaniye, Ayasofya 3165; Ms. Istanbul, Laletalı
al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

2168; Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 943; Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection (no shelfmark); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 393; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 13610; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 32852; Ms. Naḡaf, Madrasat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Burūġirdī 172; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 37; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 1129; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 1422; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 1555; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2683; Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 170; Ms. Qum, Markāz-i İlyās-i Mīrāt-i İslāmī 4430; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 2380; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 7031; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 689; Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Āstāna-yi ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Ḥasanī (Šahr-ī Rayy) 681; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 2756; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4261; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8791; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9212; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 15303; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 1782

al-Ṭarābulusiyāt I (al-Buṣrawī [39]; al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī [16]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [18])


<Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text II>

[Ms. al-Kāẓimiyya, Ğāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 18499; Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Ğaʿfariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūģirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

{Takmilat Čūrar al-fawāʾid (responsa 4, 6, 9, 11); al-Ṭabrisī, Maḡmaʿ al-bayān, vol. 1, p. 43 (responsum 10)}

al-Ṭarābulusiyāt I—responsum 4: al-Radd ʿalā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā ašl li-l-ʾālam


on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text II>
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāsim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 255; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḥiyāʾ-ī Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Ṭarābūlusīyyāt I—responsum 6: Masʿala fi l-ʿišma
al-Dirāyatī, Muʿḡam al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya, vol. 11, p. 123 no. 45448
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30740; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāsim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ḥiyāʾ-ī Mīrāṭ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]
{al-Σaḡlisī, Bihār, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 17, pp. 94ff.}

al-Ṭarābūlusīyyāt I—responsum 9
<Ḡurar [Takmilā], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ġibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 293–297;
al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt I—responsorium 11


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al- Kāẓimiyya, Ġāmī’at Madīnāt al- ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 21912; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 30663; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al- Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al- Ḫimām 190; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al- Ḫimām al- Ḫakim 438; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāṣim Bāḥr al- Ḥulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al- Ḫimām Amir al- Muʾminīn al- ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣṣī 7615; Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣṣī 11340; Ms. Qum, Maʿāṣṣī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Moodarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt II—responsorium 11: fi l- musūḥ
[Ms. Tehran, Maḡlīs 4471]


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al- Kāẓimiyya, Ġāmī’at Madīnāt al- ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 21912; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183; Ms. Maṣḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍāwī 33183]
Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Ağā Buzurg al-Ţihrānī, “ Ağā Buzurg codex ” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Milli (uncatalogued)]

ʻAYF AL-ḤAYL (al-Buṣrawī [56]; al-Šayḥ al-Ţūsī [28]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [30])

[Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348]

WAJH NAYH AL-NABI SHAĻLĀ ḴALĀYHI WA-ĂLĪHI WA-SALLAM ‘AN AKL AL-ŢUM

ʻal-Bayāṭi, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 204 no. 211/94
[Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

AL-WĀṢĪTIYYAT—RESPONSA 5 THROUGH 12 (al-Buṣrawī [51])

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašḥad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ağā Buzurg al-Ţihrānī, “ Ağā Buzurg codex ” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hâsim Bahr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿaşī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i

612
Ihya'-i Mirāt-i Islāmi 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maqālī 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Maqālī 10005; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Murtada (spurious works):

Čawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fi sahw al-nabī ‘alayhi l-salām fi l-ṣalāt


Mas’ala fi bayăn ḥaqiqat al-ḥayy al-fa‘āl wa-ḏikr al-ḥilāf fihī wa-l-dalāla ‘alā l-ṣaḥīḥ fi ḍālīka
<Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text XI>
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 25855; Ms. Šīrāz, Kitābḫāna-i Ṭabāṭabā’ī 867/4; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10188]

Mas’ala fi ḥalq al-afāl
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu‘assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas’ala fi nafy al-ṣīha wa-l-ru’ya
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar’ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Mas’ala wağiya fi l-ṣayya
Occultation”>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30658; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Īmām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Īmām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Īmām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddīṯ Urmāwī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i lḥyāʾ-i Mīrāṯ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl


[Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābḵāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 914; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 81/10; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 14673; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 17254; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10006; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 15359]

ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār al-Hamaḍānī:

Masʿala min kalām qādi l-quṭāṭ ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār b. ʿAḥmad fī anna l-muḥbūra wa-l-muṣḥabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istīdāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa

ʿal-Bayāṭī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murṭaḍā,” pp. 209–210 no. 224/12; al-
Dirāyatī, Muţām al-maţtūţāt al-‘irāqiyya, vol. 15, pp. 557–558 no. 66979


[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naţaf, Maktabat Hāşim Bahr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naţaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Naţaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakim 182; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Maţ’aşī 6862; Ms. Qum, Maţ’aşī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddit Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ilyāz-i Mirāţ-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maţlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maţlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

al-Muţtaṣar fi ʿusūl al-dīn
[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdi 374]

Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī:

al-Istīgāta fi bidʿ al-ṭalāţa
<published repeatedly>
[Ms. Tehran, Maţlis 8940]

al-Buṣrawi:

Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aţall al-Murtaḍā
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533] 
{al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamā’,* vol. 4, pp. 34–39}

al-Ḥākim al-Ḡiṣumī:

*Tanbih al-ḡāfīlīn*

<published repeatedly>
[Ms. Naḡaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ḡiṭāʾ al-ʿāmma 7771; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 12109]

al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb:

*ʿUyūn al-μuʿzīzāt*

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15015; Ms. Tehran, Millī 2542/ʿāyn]

al-Karāǧikī:

*al-Taʿaǧğub min aġlāt al-ʿāmma fi masʿalat al-imāma*

[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8971]
al-Šayḫ al-Mufid (all writings listed in the following were published in the series of al-Mu’tamar al-ʿĀlamī li-Alfiyyat al-Šayḫ al-Mufid, Qum, 1413/1992):

**Aǧwibat al-masāʾil al-ʿaṣr**
[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615]

**al-Kalām fi ǧabāʾih ahl al-kitāb**
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminin al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Kitāb fiḥi ḍikr al-dalīl ʿalā ḥaqīqat ʿimān Abī Ṭalīb b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāšim b. ʿAbd al-Manāf**
[Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374]

**al-Masāʾil al-Ṣāgāntīyya**
[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Masāʾil al-Ṣarawīyya**
[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Masāʾil al-Ukbarīyya**
[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Abū Ḥasān al-Warrāq, K. al-Maqālāt** [quoted by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḥtī in his Kitāb al-Ārāʿ wa-l-diyyānāt]:

**Faṣl fi aqāwil al-ʿarab fi l-ḡāhīlyyya**
[Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Abū Maʿṣar al-Balḥī, K. Buyūṭ al-ʿibādāt** [quoted by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḥtī in his Kitāb al-Ārāʿ wa-l-diyyānāt]:

**Faṣl fi ḍikr maḍāḥib ahl al-aṣnām wa-ḍikr buyūṭ al-nīrān al-muʿazzama**
229–231>
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Anonymous:

Maḏmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ʿAlām al-Hudā fī funūn min ʿilm al-ūṣūl
<ed. Āl Yāsīn, Nafāʾis al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-maḏmūʿa al-ḥāmisa, pp. 57–90; ed. Āl Yāsīn, Min rasāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, pp. 31–75; Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text X>
[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33181; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣadīq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdi 374; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 3758]

Min kalām Ḥal ʿalā ʾl-ṣalām yatabarra min al-ẓulum amlāhu ʿAlām al-Hudā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿāšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

Taḥṣīr sūrat “Ḥal atā ʿalā l-ʾinsān”
[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 349 taḥṣīr Taymūr]
**Appendix 11:**

Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings

This table lists all of al-Murtaḍā’s autoreferences to his other works in his writings. Lost titles are indicated by [square brackets]. To facilitate use of the table, a second index table below indicates the works in which references to a given title may be found. References to Rasā‘il throughout this table are to Raǧā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition of Rasā‘il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td><em>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</em></td>
<td>→ <em>K. ġūrai al-fawā‘id</em> (p. 245)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ <em>K. al-Mulaḥḥas</em> (pp. 149, 607)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ <em>K. al-Muqni‘</em> (pp. 419 [fī šay‘ min kalāminā fī l-ḥayba], 423 [fī kitābinā al-Muqni‘ fī l-ḥayba])</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ <em>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</em> (pp. 282 [lanā fī anna dālika šart wa-laysa bi-waḥj kalām qad bayyannāhu fī ġawāb Ahl al-Mawṣil al-awwal fa-inna l-kalām fī hāḏihi l-mas‘ala wa-fī kull mā yata‘allaqu bi-l-wa‘id hunāka mustaqṣā mustawfā], 285 [wa-qad istaqaṣaynā l-kalām fī hāḏā l-istidlāl fī ġawāb masā‘il al-Mawṣil allatī āşarnā īlayhā], 303 [wa-qad ḡakarnā fī kalāminā ‘alā l-wa‘id min ġumlat ġawābāt Ahl al-Mawṣil dalilayn āḥarayn fī nafy al-īḥbāṭ kāna yastadillu bihihmā al-Ḥālidī lam nāḏkurhumā hāhzunā])</td>
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<td>→ <em>Tanzih al-anbiyā‘ wa-l-ā‘īma</em> (pp. 338, 341)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ <em>al-Ṭarābulusiyāt</em> I* (pp. 361 [al-Masā‘il al-Ṭarābulusiyāt], 363)</td>
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<td>→ [Masāʿil uṣūl al-ḥiṣb] (ed. Gurği, vol. 1, p. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ K. al-Muḥāṣḥas (ed. Gurği, vol. 2, pp. 566 [fīmā ḥaraqā min Kitāb al-Muḥāṣḥas], 569)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Dimašqīyyāt</td>
<td>→ K. al-Ḍaḥīra (Rasāʾil, vol. 3, p. 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>K. ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</td>
<td>→ K. al-Ḍaḥīra (Rasāʾil, vol. 3, p. 81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>→ [K. al-Miṣbāḥ] (Rasāʾil, vol. 3, p. 81)</td>
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<td>→ K. al-Mulāḥḥas (Rasāʾil, vol. 3, p. 81)</td>
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<td>ʿIlm al-waṣi bi-sāḥaʿat waṣṭīḥi aw qatlīhi</td>
<td>→ [Masʿala amlaynāḥa munfaradā mā yağīb an yaʿlamahu l-imām wa-mā yağīb an lā yaʿlamahu]1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Rasāʾil, vol. 3, p. 131)</td>
</tr>
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1051 Referring most likely to the same lost tract that is also mentioned in al-Rāziyyāt and al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt III; see below.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lāhu</td>
<td>← [kuntu amlaytu qadīman masʿala nasārnā fīhā (our emendation) anna man ʿazama fī nahār šahr Ramadān ṭalā ahl wa-ṣurb aw ǧamāʿ yafsud bi-ḥāḏā l-ʿazm ṣawmuḥu] (Rasāʾil, vol. 4, pp. 322, 326 [tilka l-masʿala amlaynāhā wa-naṣārnā fīhā anna l-ʿazm muṣṭīr], 327 [tilka l-masʿala])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>← [kitāb al-ṣawm min (K.) al-Miṣbāḥ] (Rasāʾil, vol. 4, pp. 322, 323)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| al-Manʿ min tafšīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ | ← Masʿala ʿalā man taʾallqa bi-qawlihi taʾalā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bānī Ādām” [Q 17:70] (Rasāʾil, vol. 2, p.)

1052 The fact that al-Murtaḍā does not qualify which of the Ṭarābulusiyyāt collections he means suggests that he is referring to a portion of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I that is not extant. This would have been different at a later stage when several responsa collections under this name circulated.
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Mas’ala fi ‘adam wuǧūb ġasl al-riġlayn fi l-ṭahāra</td>
<td>→ [Masā’il al-ḥilāf] (Rasā’il, vol. 3, pp. 162 [kalāmūnā fimā kunnā amlaynāhu min Masā’il al-ḥilāf], 163 [wa-qad bayyannā fi Masā’il al-ḥilāf], 167 [wa-qad bayyannā fi Masā’il al-ḥilāf])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas’ala fi l-alam wa-wuǧūh al-ḥusn fihi</td>
<td>→ K. al-Ḏāḥira (Rasā’il, vol. 4, p. 352)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas’ala fi ḥukm al-bā’ fi qawlīhi ta’ālā “Wa-maṣaḥū bi-ru’ūṣikum” [Q 5:6]</td>
<td>→ Ma’nā qawlīhi ta’ālā “Qul ta’ālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ‘alaykum” [Q 6:151] (Rasā’il, vol. 2, p. 70 [wa-ṣunnu anni qad amlaytī fi ḥadda kalāmī waḡhan ḡarīban fi (our reading, the edition has: yunāfī) ziyādat “lā” fi qawlīhi ta’ālā “Wa-mā manaṣa’akā allā tasgūda”) (Q 7:12)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas’ala fi ibṭāl al-ṣamal bi-ṭalār al-ughād</td>
<td>→ [al-Ḥalabīyyāt] (Rasā’il, vol. 3, p. 312 [চawāb al-masā’il al-Ḥalabīyyāt])</td>
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<td></td>
<td>→ K. al- İntiṣār (Rasā’il, vol. 3, p. 313 [K. Nuṣrat mā infaradat bihi l-Imāmiyya fi l-masā’il al-Ṣiḥāyya])</td>
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<td>→ al-Ṭabbaṇīyyāt (Rasā’il, vol. 3, p. 309, 312 [চawāb al-masā’il al-Ṭabbaṇīyyāt])</td>
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<td>Mas’ala fi l-ṭīmā‘</td>
<td>→ al-Ṭabbaṇīyyāt (Rasā’il, vol. 3, p. 202 [চawāb masā’il Ibn al-Ṭabbaṇī])</td>
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<td></td>
<td>→ K. al-Šāfi [fi l-imāma] (Rasā’il, vol. 3, p. 244)</td>
</tr>
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<td>&lt;before Rabī‘ I 420 AH&gt;</td>
<td>ašarna ilayhi], 173:4 [Masā‘il al-hilāf], 173:8–9 [Masā‘il al-hilāf])</td>
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<td></td>
<td>→ Munāzarat al-ḥuşūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim (Rasā‘il, vol. 1, p. 212)</td>
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<td>→ [al-Mawṣiliyyāt] (Rasā‘il, vol. 1, p. 204 [Ǧawāb Masā‘il waradat min ahl al-Mawṣil mutaqaddima azumnahā fi sanat nayif 380])</td>
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<tr>
<td>K. al-Muḥāṣḥaṣ</td>
<td>→ [Mas‘ala ft anna l-nafy innamā fāraqa l-ṯbāṭ ft l-iftiqār ilā l-ṣar‡] (p. 249 [wa-qad istaqaṣaynā hāḍā l-kalām fi mas‘ala amlaynāhā mutaqaddiman wa-basaṭnā l-kalām)</td>
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<td>Work title</td>
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<td>fīhā wa-bayyannā anna l-nafy innamā fāraqa l-iṭbât fī l-iftiqār ilā l-ṣaṭr min ḥayṭ kāna l-nafy a’amm min al-iṭbât)</td>
<td>→ [Masʿalat al-radd ʿalā Yahyā b. ʿAdi al-naṣrānī fimā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā] (p. 62 [wa-qad istaṣaynā l-kalām fī hāḏā l-maʿnā wa-ḍakarnā fihi wuǧūhan ḥaṭira wa-ziyādāt yaqtaḏiḥā l-kalām fī maqāla lī-Yahyā b. ʿAdi al-Naṣrānī al-Maṭṭaiqī wa-sammaynāhā bi-l-Kalām fimā yatanāhī wa-lā yatanāhī])</td>
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<tr>
<td>→ Masʿala fi taʿwīl Q 75:22–23 (p. 259 [wa-qad istaṣaynā hāḏā l-kalām fī masʿala amlaynāhā qadīman naqaḏnā bīhā kalām baʿḍa man naṣara (our reading; the edition has naẓara) ṭariqat al-Aʿṣari fī hāḏihi l-maṣʿala)]1053</td>
<td>→ [Naqaḍ ʿalā Yahyā b. ʿAdi al-Naṣrānī maqālatahu al-mawsūma bi-“l-kalām fī ṭahārat al-mumkin”] (pp. 128–129)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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1053 The responsum is included in the Ğurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl l-Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 36–37. It is noteworthy that the responsum in turn has a cross-reference to earlier writings of al-Murtaḍā on the topic; see p. 36:14–15: wa-ḥāḏā kalām maṣrūḥ fī mawāḍīʾihī wa-qad bayyannā mā yūraḍ ʿalayhī wa-mā yuǧāb bihi ʿan al-ṣubhā al-muʿtarada fī mawāḍīʾī ḥaṭira.

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626
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work title</th>
<th>contains references to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Nīliyyāt</td>
<td>→ K. al-Daḥīra (Rasāʾil, vol. 4, p. 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ramlīyyāt (masʿala 1)</td>
<td>→ K. al-Mulāḥhas (Volume Tree, Text III, p. 76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ K. al-Daḥīra (Rasāʾil, vol. 2, p. 317)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ K. al-Ḍarʿa (?) (Rasāʾil, vol. 2, p. 318 [Masāʾil usūl al-fiqh])</td>
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1054 Āgā Buzurg misread the crossreference as pointing to Ğawābāt al-masāʾil al-muṭallabiyyāt instead of al-Ḥalabiyyāt. See Āgā Buzurg, Ḍarʿa, vol. 5, p. 234 no. 1128.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Work title</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→ <strong>al-Tabbāniyyāt</strong> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, pp. 333 [Ǧawāb Masā’il al-Tabbāniyyāt], 368 [Ǧawāb al-Masā’il al-Tabbāniyyāt])</td>
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<td>al-Rassiyāt II</td>
<td>→ <strong>al-Rassīyat I</strong> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, p. 385:2 [Ǧawāb hāḍīhi l-masā’il], 385:9 [Ǧawāb hāḍīhi l-masā’il], 391 [wa-qad ǧakarnā fi Ǧawāb al-mas’ala al-rābi’a min hāḍīhi l-masā’il])</td>
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<td>al-Rāziyyāt</td>
<td>→ <strong>K. al-Ḍāḥira</strong> (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 128, 131)</td>
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<td>→ [Mas’ala mufrada amlaynāhā Ǧawāban ii-su‘āl ba’d al-ru’asā ʿanhu] [= ammā mā ʿadā ǧālika min al-ṣinā‘āt wa-l-hiraf fa-lā yaǧib an ya’lām nabi aw imām šay’an min ǧālika . . .] (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106 [tilka l-mas’ala allatī ašarnā ilayhā])</td>
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<td>→ [<strong>al-Mawsīliyyāt</strong>] (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 131 [Ǧawāb ahl al-Mawsīl])</td>
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<td>→ <strong>al-Manḍ min tafḍīl al-malā‘ika ʿalā l-anbiyā’</strong> (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 110 [Mas’ala mufrada fi tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ʿalā l-malā‘ika])</td>
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<td>→ <strong>K. Tanṣīḥ al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a‘īma</strong> (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 122, 123)</td>
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<td>→ <strong>al-Tabbāniyyāt</strong> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, p. 252 [Ǧawāb al-Tabbāniyyāt])</td>
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→ [Mas’ala mufrada ‘an šubha fi ḥadīt al-manzala] (vol. 3, p. 29 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā fi l-ġawāb ‘an hādithi l-šubha allati ṣtamala ‘alayhā l-faṣl min kalāmihi mas’ala mufrada istaṣaynā l-kalām fihā wa-fimā awradnāhu hāhunā kifāya]) |
| Ṣarḥ Ǧumal al-‘īlm wa-l-ʿamal | → K. al-Ḍaḥīra (pp. 51, 78, 192, 210, 218 [al-mawdī’ī allati taqaddama ḍikruhā], 235)  
→ K. Gūr al-fawā’īd (p. 234)  
→ K. al-Mūḍīh ‘an ǧihat t’īḏāz al-Qurʾān (p. 180 [Kitāb al-Ṣarfā])  
→ K. al-Mulahḥaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn (pp. 51, 78)  
→ K. al-Muṣrī’ī fī l-ġayba (p. 231)  
→ [al-Mawsīliyyāt] (pp. 144 [Masā’il ahl al-Mawsīl], 155 [al-Masā’il al-Mawsīliyya fi l-ʿawīd], 158 [al-Masā’il al-Mawsīliyya])  
→ K. al-Šāfi’ī fī l-imāma (pp. 192, 210, 214 [al-mawdī’ī allādī awma’nā ilayhī], 218 [al-mawdī’ī allati taqaddama ḍikruhā], 235) |
| Ṣarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba | → K. al-Šāfi’ī fī l-imāma (Rasā’il, vol. 4, pp. 71:6, 71:17 [fī ḍalīkā l-kitāb], 74, 77, 86, 131 [wa-qad bayyannā fi l-Kitāb al-Šāfi’ī ḥāṣsatan wa-fi ṣayrī hi min kutubīnā ʿāmmatan]) |
| al-Šīḥāb fī l-šayb wa-l-ṣabāb <Ḍū l-Ḥiǧga 419 AH–Ḍū l-Ḥiǧga 421 AH> | → Dīwān (Rasā’il, vol. 4, pp. 144 [wa-anā adhumm ilā ḍalīka wa-ḥṣimuhū bihi mā aḥraḡuḥu min Dīwān šī’rī fī hādā l-ma’nā fa-ḥṣnu yānif ʿalā l-ṭalāṭa mi’ā ṣayb ilā waqṭinā hādā wa-huwa Ḍū l-Ḥiǧga min sanat 419], 212ff.)  
→ K. Gūr al-fawā’īd (Rasā’il, vol. 4, pp. 154, 157, 161, 168) |
<table>
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<td>→ [al-Mawṣiliyyāt] (Rasāʿīl, vol. 1, pp. 148 [Ǧawāb masʾālī alḥ al-Mawṣīl], 156 [Ǧawāb aḥl al-Mawṣīl])</td>
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<td>&lt;before or in 419 AH&gt;</td>
<td>→ [al-Mawṣiliyyāt] (Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text IV [qad aḏābūnā 'an hāḏā l-suʿāl bi-ʿaynihi fī Ǧawāb masʾala waradat min al-Mawṣīl]1055)</td>
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<td>→ [K. al-Šāfiʿ fī l-imāma] (Rasāʿīl, vol. 1, p. 84 / Ansari and Schmidtke, Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory, Text IV, p. 139)</td>
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<td>contains references to:</td>
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| al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I | “Fīmā amlaynāhu min al-kalām fī ʿusūl al-fiqh” (Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text II, p. 64)<sup>1056</sup>  
| al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II | K. al-Ḍāḥira (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, pp. 311, 336)  
→ [al-Ḥalabiyyāt] (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, p. 318 [Ǧawāb ḫaṣṣ al-Ḥalabiyyāt])  
→ K. al-Muqniʿ ᵇ l-ġayba (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, pp. 310 [kitābunā al-Muqniʿ ᵇ l-ġayba], 311 ["kitābunā ᵇ l-ġayba"])  
→ [al-Mawṣılıyyāt] or, less likely, K. al-Wafīd (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, p. 336 [kalāmūnā al-mufrad ᵇ l-wafīd])  
→ K. al-Šāfī fī l-imāma (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, pp. 310, 311, 315, 330, 338)  
→ al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, pp. 331 [Ǧawāb al-masʾala ᵇ l-tāsiʿa min al-masʾāl al-wārida ᵇ l-sanātina ᵇ hāḏiḥi], 355 [Ǧawāb al-masʾāl al-wārida ᵇ ʿaminā hāḏāl]) |
| al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III<sup>1057</sup> | K. al-Ḍāḥira (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, pp. 363, 365, 371, 379, 390, 408, 419)  
→ Ġurar al-fawāʿid (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, p. 439) |

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<sup>1056</sup> It is uncertain which works he is referring to here specifically.

<sup>1057</sup> Although it is not cited explicitly, al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III is replete with allusions to and quotations from al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work title</th>
<th>contains references to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>→ حكمة عبادة وراثة الزناء (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 400 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā fi ba’d al-masā’il min kalāminā al-ğawāb ‘an su’ul al-muḥālif lanā fi hādā l-mawdi‘])</td>
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<td>→ [&quot;Mas’ala fi ta’wil Q 3:169&quot;] (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 408 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā qadīman mas’ala mufrada fi ta’wil qawlihi ta’ālā [Q 3:169] istawfaynā l-kalām fihā])</td>
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<td>→ Mas’ala fi ta’wil Q 20:114 (included in Čurar (Takmila), ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 300–303) (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 405 [wa-qad kunnā su’ilnā ilmā’ ta’wil hādīhi l-āya qadīman fa-amlaynā fihā mas’ala mustawfāt wa-ğakarnā ‘an ahl al-tafsīr fihā wağhāyn wa-ğamamnā ilayhīmī wağhān tālīfan tafarradnā bihi])</td>
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<td>→ Mas’ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimān (= responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt) (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 417 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā munḏu sanawāt fi ğawāb masā’il su’ilnā ‘anhā (our emendation) mas’ala istawfaynā fihā l-kalām ‘alā l-munağğimān wa-bayyānnā min ṭuruq qarībā wādīha buṭlān ṭariqīhim allāḏī yadull ‘alā ṣiḥḥat mā ğakarnāhā])</td>
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<td>→ [Mas’ala mufarida (or mufrada) amlaynāhā qadīman wa-staṣṣaynāhā annahu ġayar waḏiḥ fi l-imām an yakūna ‘alimān bi-l-sarā’ir wa-l-ɔamā’ir wa-kull al-ma’tūmāt ‘alā mā ɡahaba ilayhī ba’d așḥābinā] (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 395)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ K. al-Muḥāfaṣ (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 363, 365, 371, 376, 379 (? [kitābinā], 390</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ al-Manṣ min taḍīl al-maṭā’ika ‘alā l-anbiyā’ (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 435 [Mas’ala mufarada fi taḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alā l-maṭā’ika])</td>
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<td>→ K. Tanẓīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 411, 412, 413 [al-kitāb al-muṣār ilayhī])</td>
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### Work title contains references to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work title</th>
<th>references</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Index:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work title</th>
<th>is referred to in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Barmakiyyāt</td>
<td>← al-Rassicīyyāt I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥira</td>
<td>← al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-ṣarīʿa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← al-Dimaṣqīyyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← Ġumal al-ʿīlm wa-l-ʿamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← Masʿala fī l-alam wa-wuqūḥ al-ḥusn fiḥi</td>
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<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← Masʿala fī ‘illat muḥāyaʿat amīr al-muʾminīn ‘alayhi l-salām Abā Bakr</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← Masʿala fī man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← al-Niliyyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← al-Rassicīyyāt I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← al-Rāziyyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← Ṣarḥ Ġumal al-ʿīlm wa-l-ʿamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

633
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work title</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-ṣarīʿa</td>
<td>← al-Intisār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-ṣarīʿa</td>
<td>← al-Rassiyyāt I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwān</td>
<td>← al-Šīhāb fi l-ṣayb wa-l-ṣabāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwān</td>
<td>← Ṭayf al-ḥayāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Fīmā amlaynū min al-kalām fī uṣūl al-fīqān&quot;</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğurar</td>
<td>← K. al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğurar</td>
<td>← Ğurar (Ṭakmila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğurar</td>
<td>← Masʿala fi ḥukm al-bāʾ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wamsahū bi-ruʿūsikum” [Q 5:6]</td>
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<td>Ğurar</td>
<td>← Ṣarḥ Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğurar</td>
<td>← al-Šīhāb fi l-ṣayb wa-l-ṣabāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğurar</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[al-Ḥalabiyyāt]</td>
<td>← al-Rassiyyāt I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[al-Ḥalabiyyāt]</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥukm ʿibādat waṭad al-zinā</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Intiṣār</td>
<td>← Masʿala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamāl bi-aḥbār al-ʾāḥād</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Intiṣār</td>
<td>← Risāla al-bāḥīra fī l-ʾiṭrā al-ṭāḥīra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Manʿ min tafaḍīl al-malāʾiḥa ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ</td>
<td>← al-Rāziyyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Manʿ min tafaḍīl al-malāʾiḥa ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Masāʾil al-ḥilāf]</td>
<td>← al-Intiṣār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Masāʾil al-ḥilāf]</td>
<td>← Masʿala fi ʿadam wuğūb ǧasal al-riğlayn fī l-ṭahāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work title</td>
<td>is referred to in:</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Masāʾil al-ḥilāf]</td>
<td>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Masāʾil al-ḥilāf]</td>
<td>al-Nāṣirīyyāt</td>
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<td>[Masāʾil al-ḥilāf]</td>
<td>al-Tabbāniyyāt</td>
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<tr>
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<td>← al-Dāriʾa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masʿala ʿalā man taʾallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bani Ādam” [Q 17:70]</td>
<td>← ‘Ilm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafāṭihī aw qatlihi</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Masʾala amlaynāhā munfarada mā yaḡib an yaʿlamahu l-imām wa-mā yaḡib an lā yaʿlamahu]</td>
<td>← al-Dāriʾa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masʾala fi aşālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl</td>
<td>← Masʾala fi tazwīḡ Umm Kulṭūm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masʾala fi inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminin ʿalayhi l-salām inbatahu min ʿUmar</td>
<td>← Ğurar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masʾala fi qawli al-nabi ʿallāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḥayr min ṣamalihī”</td>
<td>← Ğurar (Takmila)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[Masʾala fi l-taʿkid]</td>
<td>← Ğurar (Takmila)</td>
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<td>[&quot;Masʾala fi taʾwil Q 3:169&quot;]</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarāбуulusiyyāt III</td>
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<td>Masʾala fi taʾwil Q 20:114</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarāбуulusiyyāt III</td>
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<td>Masʾala fi taʾwil Q 75:22–23</td>
<td>← al-Mulaḥḥas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masʾala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaǧǧīmūn = responsum 5 of al-Sallārīyyāt</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</td>
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<td>[Masʾala mufrada amlaynāhā ġawāban li-suʿāl baʿd al-ruʿasāʾ ʿanhu]</td>
<td>← al-Rāziyyāt</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Masʾala munfarida (or mufrada) amlaynāhā qadīman wa-staṣaynāhā annahu ġayr wāǧib fi l-imām an yakūna ʿāliman bi-l-sarāʾīr wa-l-ḍamāʾīr wa-kull al-ṣaḥīḥāt ʿalā mā ẓahaba ilayhi baʿd aṣḥābinā]</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</td>
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<td>[Masʾala naṣarnā fīhā anna man ʿazama fi nahār šahr Ramaḍān ʿalā ʿālā wa-šurb aw ḡamāʾ yafsud bi-hādā lʿazm šawmahu]</td>
<td>← Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu</td>
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<td>[Masʾalat al-radd ʿalā Yahyā b. ʿAdī al-naṣrānī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā]</td>
<td>← al-Mulaḥḥaṣ</td>
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<td>← al-Ḍaḥīra</td>
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<tr>
<td>[al-Mawṣīliyyāt]</td>
<td>← al-Ḍarīʿa ilā usūl al-ṣarīʿa</td>
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<td>[al-Mawṣīliyyāt]</td>
<td>← al-Mawṣīliyyāt al-fiṣḥiyya II</td>
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<td>← al-Rāziyyāt</td>
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<td>← al-Ṣaḥīḥ fi l-imāma</td>
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<td>← Šarḥ ʾumal al-ʿilm wa-lʿamal</td>
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<td>← al-Ṭabariyyāt</td>
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<td>← al-Ṭabbāniyyāt</td>
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<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</td>
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<td>← al-İntiṣār</td>
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<td>← al-Mawsiliyyat al-fiqliyya II</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Mawsiliyyat al-fiqliyya II</td>
<td>← al-Intishar</td>
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<td>← Naq'd kalam ba'd man nasara l'-amal bi-l-‘adad fil-šuhur</td>
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<td>[al-Misbah]</td>
<td>← Čumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal</td>
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<tr>
<td>[al-Misbah]</td>
<td>← Istimrar al-šawm ma'a qasd al-munafi lahu</td>
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<td>← al-Dahira</td>
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<td>← Čumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal</td>
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<td>← al-Dahira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mulahhas fi usul al-din</td>
<td>← al-Dari'a ila usul al-shari'a</td>
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<td>← al-Ramllyat (mas'ala 1)</td>
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<td>al-Mulahhas fi usul al-din</td>
<td>← Šarh Čumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal</td>
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<td>← al-Tabariyyat</td>
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<td>← al-Tarabulusiyat I</td>
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<td>al-Mulahhas fi usul al-din</td>
<td>← al-Tarabulusiyat III</td>
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<td>← al-Mawsiliyyat al-fiqliyya II</td>
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<td>al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba</td>
<td>← al-Dahira</td>
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<td>al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba</td>
<td>← Šarh Čumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal</td>
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<td>al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba</td>
<td>← al-Tarabulusiyat II</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba</td>
<td>← al-Ziyada al-mukammad bihã Kitãb al-Muqni'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mawsūma bi-“l-kalām fi ṭabī‘at al-munkin”</td>
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<td>← al-Ḍaḥira</td>
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<td>← al-Ḍarī‘a ilā uṣūl al-ṣarī‘a</td>
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<td>← Mas‘ala fi l-ḡawāb ‘an al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ǧadīr</td>
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<td>al-Šāfī fi l-imāma</td>
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<td>al-Šāfī fi l-imāma</td>
<td>← Mas‘ala fi taḥṣīr āyat “Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāǧirin . . .” [Q 9:100]</td>
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<td>← Mas‘ala fi ta‘ālā “Qul li-l-muḥallafin min al-a‘rāb sa-tud‘awna ilā qawm” [Q 48:16]</td>
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<td>al-Šāfī fi l-imāma</td>
<td>← Šarḥ al-Qašīda al-muḏahhaba</td>
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<td>← al-Tabbāniyyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Šāfī fi l-imāma</td>
<td>← Tanzīh al-anbiyā‘ wa-l-a‘imma</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Šāfī fi l-imāma</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyāyat I</td>
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<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyāyat II</td>
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<td>← Tayf al-ḥayāl</td>
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<td>← al-Ḍarī‘a ilā uṣūl al-ṣarī‘a</td>
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<td>← al-İntiṣār</td>
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<td>← Mas‘ala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād</td>
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<td>← Mas’ala fi l-iǧmā’</td>
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<td>← al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Tabbāniyyāt</td>
<td>← Naqṣ kalām ba’d man naṣara l-ʾamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr</td>
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<td>← al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira</td>
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<td>← al-Ḍaḥira</td>
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<td>Tanzih al-anbiyā’ wa-l-ʾaʾima</td>
<td>← Ġurar [Taknīla]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tanzih al-anbiyā’ wa-l-ʾaʾima</td>
<td>← Mas’ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbīhi kalimāt fa-tāba ʿalayhi” [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tanzih al-anbiyā’ wa-l-ʾaʾima</td>
<td>← al-Muqniʿ fi l-ʾgayba</td>
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<td>← al-Rāziyyāt</td>
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<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</td>
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<td>Tanzih al-anbiyā’ wa-l-ʾaʾima</td>
<td>← Wağh istiğfār Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām li-abihi</td>
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<td>← al-Ḍaḥira</td>
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<td>← al-İntiṣār</td>
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<tr>
<td>[al-Waʿīd or al-Mawṣiliyyāt]</td>
<td>← al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 12:

An epitome of al-Murtaḍā’s *Munāẓarat al-ḫuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim* (with an interpolation [§19] gleaned from *Masʾala fi asālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy l-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalîl ʿalayhi*), as preserved in Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471, p. 254

The text of the epitome in the left column is juxtaposed with the corresponding passages of al-Murtaḍā’s two *quaestiones* in the right column as found in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, an eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the 574 [1179] codex, and collated with Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition of the text in *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. Variants in the edition are mentioned in round brackets. Whenever the reading provided in the edition was preferred, the alternative reading in Ms. Dānišgāh-i Tihrān is given in square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>قال السيد المرتضى رضي الله عنه في رسالة أملها في طريق الاستدلال على فروع الإمامية المنشول منها طريق الاستدلال على فروع الإمامية إملاء السيد الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذي المجدين علم الهدى أبي القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسي قدس تعال روحه</td>
<td>❯uko [fol. 185r:11–15] هذا ما وجد على ظهر النسخة المنقول منها طريق الاستدلال على فروع الإمامية إملاء السيد الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذي المجدين علم الهدى أبي القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسي قدس تعال روحه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❯ ما علم أن الطريق إلى صحة ما يذهب إليه الشيعة الإمامية في فروع الشريعة (الشيعة في الأصل) فيما أجمعوا عليه هو إجماعهم لأنه الطريق الموصل إلى العلم وقد بنا مبايعي في موضوع كثيرة أن إجماع هذه الطائفة حجة</td>
<td>❯ ما علم أن الطريق إلى صحة ما يذهب إليه الشيعة الإمامية في فروع الشريعة فيما أجمعوا عليه هو إجماعهم لأنه الطريق الموصل إلى العلم فذلك هو المقدد لإجماع هذه الطائفة حجة . . .</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§2 ليس يتبع أن يكون في بعض ما أجمعوا عليه من الأحكام ظاهر كتاب يتناوله أو طريقة تقتضي العلم مثل أن يكون ما ذهبوا إليه هو الأصل في العقل فيفع التمسك به أو طريقة قسمة مثل أن يكون الأقوال محصرة فإذا بطل ما عدا قسمًا منها ثبت ذلك القسم واليس يتبع مع [fol. 185v:7–11; p. 117:9–13] [من] أن يكون في بعض ما أجمعوا عليه من الأحكام ظاهر كتاب يتناوله أو طريقة تقتضي العلم مثل أن يكون ما ذهبوا إليه هو الأصل في العقل فيفع التمسك به أو طريقة قسمة مثل أن يكون الأقوال محصرة فإذا بطل ما عدا قسمًا منها ثبت ذلك القسم</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§3 فإذا اتفق شيء من ذلك جاز الاعتماد عليه حيث كان تطبيقًا إلى العلم وصار نظرًا للإجماع [fol. 185v:12–13; p. 118:2–3] ذلك في بعض المسائل جاز الاعتماد عليه من حيث كان تطبيقًا إلى العلم وصار نظرًا للإجماع</td>
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</tr>
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<td>§4 وأما ما اختلفوا فيه فلا يخلو من أن يصح دخوله تحت بعض ظواهر القرآن ومعرفة حكمه منه فيعتمد على ذلك فيه أو يكون مما يرجع إلى حكم العقل فيرجع فيه إليه أو يقع فيه طريقه القسمة وإبطال بعضها وتصحيح ما يثني أو تكون جميع التي ذكرناها في متعذرة فحيتنذ يكون مخبرًا بين تلك الأقوال التي وقع الاختلاف فيها ولك أن تذهب وتفتي بأي شيء شئت منها لأن الحق لا يبعدها لإجماع الطائفة عليها مع فقد دليل التمييز فلم يبق إلا التخمير. [fol. 186r:1–8; p. 118:4–13] فماذا ما اختلفوا فيه فالجال بعضهم في الحادثة شيء وقال آخرون بخلافه، فلا يخلو من أن يصح دخوله تحت بعض ظواهر القرآن ومعرفة حكمه منه فيعتمد على ذلك فيه أو (أن) يكون مما يرجع إلى حكم المصلحة فيادلة الشرع أو إذا [أو] وإلى إبطال بعضها وتصحيح ما يثني فحيتنذته فحيتنذ يكون مخبرًا بين تلك الأقوال التي ذكرناها فيه متعذرة فحيتنذ يكون مخبرًا بين تلك الأقوال التي وقع له الاختلاف فيها ولك أن تذهب وتفتي بأي شيء شئت منها لأن الحق لا يبعدها لإجماع الطائفة عليها مع فقد دليل التمييز فلم يبق إلا التخمير.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
55 وآمما ما لا يوجد للإمامیة فیه نص کان لک ان تعرّضی به حادث علی الأدلة الکتین ذکرناها

642

56 فإن لا يوجد عرض علی أصل العقل وعمل مقضیها وإن کان (کذا) طریقة القسمة فیه متبینة (کذا) عمل بها فإن قدربنا فقد بك بالخیار فيما عمله علی ما ذکرناه وکذا طریقة معرفة الحق فی جميع أحكام الشرع ومیبی انک فی كيف نظر فی هذا المسائل

57 فاعلم أن كل مذهب لنا عليه دلیل من ظاهر کتاب أو حكم الأصل فی العقل ونحو ذلك یمكن مناظرة الخصوم فیه

58 وما لا دلیل لنا علی إجماع طائفة فیهن یدفعون حجة فیحتاج أن نیب ذلك أن الإمام المعصوم فی جملتهم وننقل الكلام إلی الإمامة ونخرج عن الحد الکه لیش بالفقهاء.
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وَهَذَا الَّذِي أُحَوجَنا إِلَى عَمْل مَسَاءَلِ الْخَلافَةُ [..].</td>
<td>وهذا الذي أحوجنا إلى عمْل مسائل الخلافة [..]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>۹٠ وَلَنَا طَرِيقٌ أَخَرٌ وَهُوَ أَن نُقْصِدُ إِلَى الْمَسَاءَلَةِ الْأَثَرِيَةُ</td>
<td>وَلَنَا طَرِيقٌ أَخَرٌ وَهُوَ أَن نُقْصِدُ إِلَى الْمَسَاءَلَةِ الْأَثَرِيَةُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وَهُوَ أَن يَقُولَ بِكَذَا وَكَذَا لَيْدَعُ الدِّلِيلِ عَلَى صَحتِهَا.</td>
<td>وَهُوَ أَن يَقُولَ بِكَذَا وَكَذَا لَيْدَعُ الدِّلِيلِ عَلَى صَحتِهَا.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>۹۱ فَنَفَّلَ قَدْ ثَبَتَ وَجْوَبَ كَذَا لِقِيَامِ الدِّلِيلِ الْمُجْبِرِ.</td>
<td>فَنَفَّلَ قَدْ ثَبَتَ وَجْوَبَ كَذَا لِقِيَامِ الدِّلِيلِ الْمُجْبِرِ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>۹۲ وَلَكَ أَن تَسْلِكَ هَذِهِ الْطِّرِيقَةُ إِلَى مَسَاءَلَةَ الْخَلافَةِ الَّتِي وَافِقْنَا فِيهَا بِعَضُوِيَّنِمَا وَخَالِفُنَا بَعْضُ مِنْهُمْ.</td>
<td>وَلَكَ أَن تَسْلِكَ هَذِهِ الْطِّرِيقَةُ إِلَى مَسَاءَلَةَ الْخَلافَةِ الَّتِي وَافِقْنَا فِيهَا بِعَضُوِيَّنِمَا وَخَالِفُنَا بَعْضُ مِنْهُمْ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>مثال الأول أن نقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرأس والرجلين على التعين وكل من قال بوجوب المسح على الرأس والرجلين قال بوجوب مسح الرأس والرجل بحلة اليد من غير ماء جديد.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>مثال الثاني أن نقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرجل مضيقاً وكل من أوجب ذلك أوجب الترتيب فيه أو النية أو الموالاة.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| مثال ذلك أن نقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرجل مضيقاً وكل من أوجب ذلك أوجب الترتيب في الوضوء أو النية أو الموالاة. 
+ فيه أو الموالاة. ... |
| مثال القسمة أن نقول: من قال لزوجته: أنت على حرام، فقد اختلف الأقوال فيه فمن قال (كذا) أنه طلاق بائن أو رجعي أو ظهار أو يمين ومن قائل أنه لغو لا تأثير له وهذه أقوال (كذا) الإمامية وإذا أبطلنا ما عداه صحيح. |
| قلنا: مثال هذه الطريقة أن من قال لزوجته: أنت على حرام، فقد اختلف أقوال الأمة فيه فمن قال أن طلاق بائن أو رجعي ومن قائل أن الطلاق قوم هو يمين، وقال قوم وهو الحق أنه لغو لا تأثير له، وإذا أبطلنا ما عداه صحيح. 
وإذا أبطلنا ما عدا قول الإمامية صحيح مذهبهم (وقد قال به مسروق ... صح مذهبهم: وصح مذهبهم لأنه ليس بعد إبطال تلك المذاهب). |
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)

645


16% وطريق إبطال تلك الأقوال أن الحكم الشرعي لا يجوز إثباته إلا بدليل شرعي ولا دليل على ذلك فإن الذي سلكه القوم من القياس ليس صحيح إذ لم يثبت التعبد به فإذا بطل ذلك صح مذهبنا.

أبطال ما عدا مذهب الإمامية الواضح أن نقول كونه طلائقاً بائناً أو رجعياً أو ظهاراً أو يميناً أحكام شرعية والحكم الشرعي لا يجوز إثباته إلا بدليل شرعي ولا دليل على ذلك فإن الذي سلكه القوم في ذلك من القياس ليس صحيح لأنه مبني على التعبد بالقياس ولم يثبت ذلك فإذا بطلت تلك الأقسام صح ما عداها.

17% وها أوضعنا قد وسعنا الكلام لمن أراد مناظرة الخصوم في جميع مسائل الخلاف غاية التوسعة وقد كان يظن أن ذلك تضيق على من نفى القياس وم يعمل بخبر الواحد فلا مسألة إلا ومكن أصحابنا بالطرق التي ذكرناها أن يناظروا خصومهم فيها.

واعلم أنه لا نهجناه خلافا على أحد أئنا (أئنا) أن (أن) نجناه ونجهناه [نجهناه] قد وسعنا الكلام لمن أراد أن يناظر الخصوم في جميع مسائل الخلاف التي بنيتا ونبنها غاية التوسعة وقد كان يظن أن ذلك يضيق على من نفى القياس وم يعمل بخبر الواحد فلا مسألة إلا ومكن أصحابنا [أصحابنا] على الطرق التي ذكرناها أن يناظروا خصومهم فيها.
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>لأني مسألة الخلاف لا يخلو من أن يكون [تكون] خصومنا القائلين فيها (فيهما) بالحظر ونحن بالإباحة أو نحن نذهب إلى الحظر (فيهما) وهم إلى (على) الإباحة أو يكون خصومنا هم الذاهبين فيها إلى ما هو عبادة (عبارة) وحكم شرعي ونحن نفني ذلك أو يكون [تكون] نحن المثبتين للحكم الشرعى وهم ينفون ذلك فدللنا (فدللنا) على بطلان قولهم وصحة مذهبيا (مذهبيهم) في (له) المسألة التي نقول فيها بالإباحة وهم بالحظر أن الأصل في العقل الإباحة، فمن ادعى حظرا فقد ادعى (حظرا فقد ادعى: -) حكما زائدا على ما في العقل فعليه الدليل الوحيد للعلم وإذا أوردوا قياسا أو خيرا واحدا (خير واحد) أعلموا أن ذلك ليس بجهة للعلم ولا موجب للعمل.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

(!§18) وكذا إذا حكموا بتحريم شيء وحكمتنا بإباحته قلنا: الاحتجاج عليهم بإصالة الإباحة وتبني أدلتهم وإذا حكموا بوجوب شيء وحكمتنا بعدم وجوبه قلنا: مناظرتهم بإصالة براعه الذاهبة وضعف أدالتهم من قياس وخير واحد ونحوهما. |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19% أعلم أنه لا بد لكل مثبت أو ناف حكماً عقلياً أو شرعياً من دليل غير أن دليل النفي قد يكون فقد دليل الإثبات إذا علم أنه لو كان ثابتاً لكان لا بد من دليل عليه فيقطع على نفيه لفقر الدليل على إثباته ولم ننفه إلا بدليل ولدنا نفي نبوة كل من لم يظهر عَلَم معجزه على يده ويقطع على انطفاء نبوته لانطفاء دليلها من المعجز وكذلك نستدل على أنه لا صلاة واجبة زائدة على 짯اء ولا صوم يجب يزيد على صوم شهر رمضان وما أشبه ذلك ولا نقطع على انتفاء كون زيد في الدار من حيث لا دليل عليه لأنه ليس مما لا بد من نصب دليل له ولهذه الطريقة أصل في الضروريات.</td>
<td>أعلم أنه لا بد لكل مثبت أو ناف حكماً عقلياً أو شرعياً من دليل النفي قد يكون فقد دليل الإثبات إذا علم أنه لو كان ثابتاً لكان لا بد من دليل عليه فيقطع على نفيه لفقر الدليل على إثباته لم ننفه إلا بدليل ولدنا نفي نبوة كل من لم يظهر عَلَم معجزه على يده ويقطع على انطفاء نبوته لانطفاء دليلها من المعجز وكذلك نستدل على أنه لا صلاة واجبة زائدة على 짯اء ولا صوم يجب يزيد على صوم شهر رمضان وما أشبه ذلك ولا نقطع على انتفاء كون زيد في الدار من حيث لا دليل عليه لأنه ليس مما لا بد من نصب دليل له ولهذه الطريقة أصل في الضروريات.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>انتهى من نقله ملخصاً مختصراً من الرسالة المذكورة.</td>
<td>انتهى من نقله ملخصاً مختصراً من الرسالة المذكورة.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 13:

Tentative transcription of Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88, containing an epitome of several sections of Inqāḏ al-baṣar

Individual portions of Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88 with identifiable parallels in the Inqāḏ al-baṣar are marked in the following with ‘half brackets’, and the relevant passages from Inqāḏ are quoted in the annotation (on the basis of Mahdī Raḡāʾī and Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī’s edition in Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 2, pp. 177–247). The fragment suggests that the text begins on fol. 1v:6, where it opens with the word masʿala. None of the text preceding it has any parallel in the Inqāḏ, indicating that it reflects a different text. Since the Inqāḏ is divided into chapters (fuṣūl, sg. ḥāṣl), the use of masʿala as the title of the portion of the text in the Genizah fragment (or, more likely, of the entire text preserved in the Genizah fragment) suggests that the Genizah text is a heavily abbreviated recension of the Inqāḏ and probably of only parts of the work. Reconstructions of otherwise lost passages that are placed in [square brackets] are generally based on the published version of the Inqāḏ and are thus only tentative. If the Inqāḏ is in fact not a single-authored text but rather an amalgam of texts by different authors (see Chapter Four above for a more detailed discussion), the Genizah fragment may possibly reflect an earlier layer of the first segment that was later made part of the Inqāḏ.1058

(B)

[..........................................................] [١] 1

[..........................................................] [٢] 2

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ال(Mock: الأذكى المخلوق للإنزلاق الغفائر) [1059].......

[الله ما يخلق أعمال العباد قبل له قوله ﴿لا الذي أصَلَّى فَكَانَ كَلَّ كَلْبَةٍ﴾] 1060
فلما لم يكن الكفر

من أهل التفسير والعلوم بالقرآن: 7 مسألة (ما الدليل على) أن

الله ما يخلق أعمال العباد قبل له قوله ﴿لا الذي أصَلَّى فَكَانَ كَلَّ كَلْبَةٍ﴾ 1060
فلما لم يكن الكفر

أحاسيس علمية أنه ليس من خلقه 1061
وقوله ﴿قُلْ لَهُمْ مَا ترَىٰ فِي خَلْقِ الرَّحْمَنِ مِنَ الْكُفَّارِ﴾ 1062
فلما كان الكفر متفاوتًا متناضفا علمنا

أنه ليس من خلقه 1063
وقوله ﴿وَمَا جَعَلُ اللَّهُ مِنْ حُجَّةٍ﴾ 1064
فلما لم يكون خلق وفعل (الله ﷺ) وافعًا.

وقد علمنا أن الكتاب والمحقق هو من الكتاب وقولون هو من

روفون الخمسه بالكتاب
(المحفوظ من الكتاب وما هو من الكتاب وقولون هو من

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عند الله وما هو من عند الله ويقولون على الله الكذب وهم يعلمون۶۶۶۹ فعلمنا [...

[.....] الكتاب وكرههم بالله ليس من الكتاب ولا من عند الله وما [لا يكون]

من عند الله فليس هو خلقه ولا من فعله۶۶۷۰ والالذة على مثل [.....]

۶۶۶۹ فأن قال فما الدليل من جهة العقل على أن الله [لم يخلق أفعال العباد]

قيل له لانا وجدنا من أفعال العباد ما [هو ظلم وعبث وفساد وفاعل]

[الظلم ظلم وفاعل العبث عابث وفاعل السقاد مقضي فلا م يجز [ان]

یكون الله تعالى ظالما [علما أنه لم يفعل الظلم]

[ولا [العبث ولا السقاد۶۶۷۱][.....]

[وإياها (۴) هو عدل وحكمة (۴) ][.....]

[أعه ولا ... ولا محترک (۴) ][.....]

۶۶۷۱ (F)

[خلقا وابيا [.....]

[وتدل وفاعل الظلم ظالم ][.....]

[تدل فلا يجز إن يكون [الله ][.....]

۶۶۷۲ [أعه ولا ... ولا محترک (۴) ][.....]

۶۶۷۳ (تا)

۶۶۷۴ (ت)
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought in Context

[Page 6]...

[Page 7]... 

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

[Page 10]... لفسقا النعمة نعمة لله تعالى...

[Page 11]... فلما أن يكون كلام للعبد...

[Page 12]... بلما أن يكون كلام للعبد...

[Page 13]... لفسقا النعمة نعمة لله تعالى...

[Page 14]... فلما أن يكون كلام للعبد...

[Page 15]... وفلا أن يكون كلام للعبد...

[Page 16]... فالعبيد...

[Page 17]... فالعبيد...

[Page 18]... فالعبيد...

[Page 19]... فالعبيد...

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[Note 1074]... في النعمة نعمة لله تعالى...

[Note 1075]... في النعمة نعمة لله تعالى...

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651
ما، وپیشانه متحرک قد یکان
عليها ولا جوز ان یکون
متحرکا فيکون ما
الظلم

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Appendix 14:

*Mas’ala waǧīza fī l-ġayba, a summary of al-Murtaḍā’s al-Muqni and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni*  

In the following, parallels between the *Mas’ala waǧīza* and al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Muqni* and *al-Ziyāda* are juxtaposed. The rendering of *Mas’ala waǧīza* is based on the edition of Raǧāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, which has been collated with one of the eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses that are based on the 574 [1179] codex, namely, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40. Any variations of the manuscript from the published text are indicated in parentheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(fol. 23r:15–16) مسألة وجيزة في اللفظ لا أعلم من كلام من هي فكيتها على وجهها وهوي</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 293:1–4 (fol. 23r:16–18) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم المحمدا للهحمد (مجدها) مرتبط للتعم مستتطف (ويمتدف) للتعم وصلى الله على خير العرب والجمال المبعوث إلى سائر الأمام محمد وعلى آله الطاهري (ظاهري) النسم الطاهري (ظاهري) الفضل والكرم</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 293:5–8 (fol. 23r:18–20) وبعد إن المخالفين لنا في الافتراض يتوجهون صعوبة الكلام علينا في المغبة وسهوته عليهم وليس بأول (نكل) الافتراض جهيل اقتضده وعند التأمل بين (ذين) عكس ما توجهوه</td>
<td>ظاهراً لأرى من اعتقاد مخالفنا صعوبة الكلام في المغبة وسهوته عليه، ووقته في جهتنا، وضعفه من جهتنا، عجبناً، والامر بالضد من ذلك وععنة عند التأمل الصحيح</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 293:9–11 (fol. 23r:20–23v:1) بيان ذلك أن المغبة فرع لآصول متقدمة، فإن صحت هذه الأصول، فإنها نجمة في المغبة أسهل شيء وأوجدها إذ هي متوافقة (منية) عليها، وإن كانت غير صحيحة فالكلام في المغبة (+ لعمري) صعب غير ممكن.</td>
<td>pp. 33:11–34:3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


وأوضح لأنها تأتي على تلك الأصول وتترتب عليها، فيلزم الإشكال.
وإن كانت تلك الأصول غير صحيحة ولا ثابتة، فلا معنى لكلام في اللغة قبل إحكام أصولها. فالكلام فيها من غير فهم تلك الأصول عبث وسفقة.

p. 294:1–5 (fol. 23v:1–5)

بيان هذه الجملة إن الحق قد دل على وجب الإمامة، وإن كل إمام لم يكن من كونه مصوصاً متأوناً منه (أبو بكر) كل فعل قبيح.
 وإذا ثبت هذا الأصل فإن يبقى إلا إمام من تشير إلى إمامه لأن الصفة التي اقتضها (العقل) ودل على وجودها لا توجد إلا فيه وتنساب (ويستقر النسب) الفئة بهذا (هذا) سوقاً ضرورياً لا يقرب منه شبهة فيحتاج أن ندل على صحة الأصول المذكورين.

p. pp. 34:12–35:13

ووبين هذه الجملة إن الحق قد دل على وجب الإمامة، وإن كل إمام لم يكن من كونه مصوصاً متأوناً منه (أبو بكر) كل فعل قبيح وليس بعد توقيت هذه الأصول إلا إمام من تشير الإمامة إلى إمامه، فإن الصفة التي دل الحق على وجودها لا توجد إلا فيه، ويتبع منها كل من يدل على الإمامة سواء، وتنساب الفئة بهذا سوقاً حتى لا تبقى فيها.

وهذه الطرق، أوضح ما اعتمد عليه في توقيت إمام صاحب الإمام وأعد من الشبهة، فإن القول بذلك وإن كان في الشهوة فاشاً، وإنزافاً، وإن توقفاً، فإنه فقه بإمامة كل طرق معلوماً، فكل ذلك يكده دفع وإدخال الشهوة (فيه)، التي يحتاج في حلاه إلى ضروب من التكفيف.

ووبين أن ندل على صحة الأصول الذين ذكرناهم.

p. 294:6–13 (fol. 23v:5–10)

فقال: أما الذي يدل على وجب الإمامة في كل زمان، فهو أن نعلم (+ علم) لا طريق للشك عليه أن وجود الرئيس المطاعن المذهب المسئل اليد ادعى إلى فعل الحسن وأورد عن فعل القبيح وأن المطاعن (الظالم) بين الناس إما أن يترقب عند وجود من وصفة أو يقل وأن الناس عند الإعمال وفقد الروساء يقالون (يتباهون) في القبيح وقين (وبقين) أحوالهم ويختل فقورهم.


أما الذي يدل على وجب الإمامة في كل زمان فهو مبني على الضرورة، ومركز في الأصول الصحيحة، فإن العلم على لا طريق للشك عليه ولا مجال أن وجود الرئيس المطاعن مهدراً ومتصرف أردت القبيح وأردت إلى الحسن، وإن النجاح بين الناس والشريعة إما أن يترقب عند وجود من هذه صفته من الزوايا، أو يقل، أو يقل وأن الناس عند الإعمال وفقد الروساء
Al-Šarif al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context


وعدد الكبيرة بيتتابعون في القبيح وتفتد أحوالهم ويعلو نظمتهم.

وأما أظهر وأشهر من يدل عليه، والإشارة فيه كافية.

وما يسال عن هذا الدليل من الأسئلة قد استقصاه واحكمته.

في الكتاب الخيار فترجع فيه عند الحاجة.


وأما الذي يدل على وجوب عصة الإمام (فهو أن علة الحاجة (+) فأن يكون لطفاً لرعية في الامتناع من فعل القبيح أو في اعتماد فعل الحسن، فإن كانت علة الحاجة (+) فيه) موجودة وجوب أن يحتاج إلى ربي وإمام كما احتيج إليه، في قيد الحاجة إمام، فيه وهذا يبتغي (+) إما القول بأيمة لا نهاية لها (بهم)، وهو محال أو القول بوجود إمام فارقت (يبرق) عنه علة الحاجة.

وإذا لبت ذلك لم يبقى إلا القول إمام معموم لا يجوز عليه القبيح وهو ما (الذي) قد صناده وشرح ذلك وstoffه مذكور في أماكنه.

وإذا لبت هذان الأصلان فلا بد من القول بأنه صاحب الزمان بعينه، ثم لا ينط من (مك) فقد تصرف وظهر من القول يغيثه.

**pp. 36:9–37:11**

(وأما الذي يدل على وجوب عصة الإمام (فهو أن علة الحاجة إلى الإمام هي أن يكون لطفاً لرعية في الامتناع من فعل القبيح وفقط الواجب على ما اعتمداه ونبهنا عليه، فلا يخلو من أن تكون علة الحاجة إليه تابعة فيه أو تكون منفردة عنه.)

فإن كانت موجودة فيه يبتغي أن يحتاج إلى الإمام كما احتيج إليه لأن علة الحاجة لا يوجد أن تقيثها في موضع دون آخر، لأن ذلك ينتم كونها علة، والقول في إمام كالقول فيه في القناعة التي ذكرناها.

وإذا يبتغي إما الوقوف على إمام ترتقع عنه علة الحاجة أو وجود أئمة لا نهاية لها وهو محال لم يقع بعد هذا إلا أن علة الحاجة إليه مقودة فيه، ولكن يكون ذلك إلا وهو معموم ولا يجوز عليه فعل القبيح والمسلم أن يجب على هذا الدليل مستخصص جواباً بحيث قد تقدم الإشارة إليه.

وإذا لبت هذان الأصلان فلا بد من إمامة صاحب الزمان بعينه.

ثم لا ينط من (مك) فقد تصرف وظهر من القول يغيثه.


لأنه إذا ذكرت إماماً من أثبت له الإمام بالإخطار لقتل الناقة التي دار العقل عليها.

وفي قول من خلاف من شذاب الشيعة من أصحابنا (من أصحابنا) – وهم صاحبنا، كالكيسان والناووسية والواقفية، للاقتراض وشذابهم وعودة (ولقو) الضرور إلى فساد قولهم، فالمندوحة عن مذهباً ولا بد من صحها وإلا خرج الحق عن الإمام (الأمة).

**p. 41:2–5**

وإذا بطلت إماماً من أثبت له الإمام بالإخطار والدعاء في هذا الوقت لأجل قد الصفة التي دار العقل عليها (وطل قول من راعي هذه الصفة في مذهباً لذلك) واقتراض فلا مندوحة عن مذهب ولا بد من صحها وإلا خرج الحق عن جميع أقوال الأمة.

p. 295:6–12 (fol. 24r:1–6)

فَأَنَّ الكَلَامَ في عَظَمَةِ الْأَورُوجْيَةِ وَسِبَابَةَ الْوَجْهِ الَّذِي يَحْسَبُهَا فَوْاضًةً
٨٦٥٥

وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ السَّبَبُ الَّذي تَقَدَّمَ مِنَ الأُخْوَى أَنَّهُ إذَا عَلَمْتَ السَّبَبُ الَّذي
٨٦٧٤

كَلَامَ أَنَّ الحَسَنَ عَلَى الْسَلامَ دَوَنَ غَيْرَ اللَّبَدَاءِ غَلَابَةً عَنِ الْأَمَامِ
٨٦٧٥

وَهُوَ أَنَّهُ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَ عَزْمُهَا وَقَدْ أَكَثَرَهَا عَلِيِّهِ فَهَلَيْنَاءَ إِنَّهُ
٨٦٧٧

وَرَأَيْنَا غَلَابَهَا عَنِ الأَمَامِ عَلِيُّهَا أَنَّهُ مِثْلَ عَزْمُهَا وَقَدْ أَكَثَرَهَا عَلِيِّه
٨٦٧٨

تَقَدَّمَ مِنَ الأُخْوَى أَنَّهُ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَ عَزْمُهَا وَقَدْ أَكَثَرَهَا عَلِيِّه
٨٦٧٩

وَلَمْ يَقْبَلَنَا الْبَيْنَةَ عَلَى الْغَيْبَةِ الْمَادِيَةِ وَهَلَيْنَاءَ إِنَّهُ مِثْلَ عَزْمُهَا وَقَدْ أَكَثَرَهَا عَلِيِّه
٨٦٨٠

سِيَّاهَةُ الْجَلَابِيلَةِ الْمَسْؤُولَةُ عَلِيُّهَا فِي الْجَلَابِيلُ
٨٦٨١


p. 417–13

اِنْ تَقَدَّمْتُ أَنَّ الْمَلَكَ فِي عَلَى الْفَتْحِ وَسِبَابَةَ الْوَجْهِ الَّذِي يَحْسَبُهَا فَوْاضًةً
٩٦٧٣

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٩٦٧٦

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٩٦٨١
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Mas'ala wağīza fi l-ğayba (Rasâ’il al-Šarif al-Murtaḍā, ed. Ra’ghūrī and al-‘Usaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Petermann I 40, part one, fol. 23r–25r)


والآن الأمر على ما زعمتم من تكامل الأداء قبل الانتصار:

ما كان ذلك رافعاً للحاجة إلى تدبيره، وسياسته، وأمره، ونفسه.

ومنّ هذا الذي يقول: إن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله بعد أداء الصرع غير محتاج إليه، وأذا جاّز الانتصار النبي عليه السلام مع تعلق الحاجة إليه، لخوف الفعل، وكانت البينة (+) في ذلك لازمة.

لأن أخلاقي وأوجه إلى الانتصار واقتض عليه الجانب الثالث (أثمة): فالمشقة بطول الجبهة، وقصورها فلا سنة لألا فرق بين القصر والمخلد وذلك موقع في عنا وسبب فطول بطول السيب وقصة بقصيرة (بقصيرة) وتزول (وبوزول) بزواله.

فإن قبل إن الخوف أوجده إلى الانتصار، فقد كان آباء عندكم في تقبيل وخوف من أعمالهم، كيف لم يستروا قالن: ما كان على آباء السلام خوف من إهدائهم، مع رؤومتهم الطيبة، والعمل دون الأثام بالإمامة، ونشرها عن نحوهم، وإمام الزمان كان الخوف عليه لأنه يظهر بالسيف ويدعو إلى نفسه ويجاهد من خالف عليه.

فإن قبل أي فرق بين وجوده غالبًا لا يصل إليه أحد ولا يتفاعله به شيء وهم، ولا جاّز إعدامه إلى حين علم الله سببه، يمكن الرعبه له كما جاّز أن يبيح الاستعار حتى يعلم منه التمكن له فيظهره؟

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p. 54:12–55:11

pp. 74:5–15

وخطر بالناس الآن ما لا بد من ذكره ليعرف، فهو قوي سليم من الدين والطاعة، وجعله أن أولاية إمام الزمان عليه السلام وشيعته ومنعتهم إمامه فينتفعون به في حال غيبيه النفع الذي

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<table>
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<td>تقول لا بد في التكييف منه أنهم مع علمهم يوجدده بعضهم (؟) وفطيمهم على وجوه طاعته عليهم ولوهمهم لهم لا بد من أن يضحوه ويضاووه في اركاب القنانح ويخصوا تأديبه ومؤذنهتهم فيقتلهم فعل البنيه ويكرب فعل الحسن أو يكون ذلك أقرب، وهذه جهت الحاجة العقلية إلى الإمام في أول ما يظهر لأعداده لحكمتهم منهم وسهمهم (أو) أنفسهم طرق الاختلاف، فقد بينا في هذا الكلام الاختلاف لأولئك على الوجهين المذكورين.</td>
<td>الذي نقول إنه لا بد في التكييف منه لأنهم مع علمهم يوجدده بعضهم (؟) وفطيمهم على وجوه طاعته عليهم ولوهمهم لهم لا بد من أن يضحوه ويضاووه في اركاب القنانح، ويخصوا تأديبه ومؤذنهتهم وسهمهم (أو) أنفسهم طرق الاختلاف، فقد بينا في هذا الكلام الاختلاف لأولئك على الوجهين المذكورين.</td>
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<td>والمفرع بعد هذا بين وجوده غاية من أجل التقية، وخوف الضرر من أعدادهم وهو في أوان ذلك متوقع أن يضحوه ويضروا له، ولكن الذي في هذه الحالة يكون فيهم يقوم به جي جي واضح، لأنه إذا كان مصدره معنى، كان ما يقوت الباب من مصالحهم ويجدون منهم من مرافقهم ومجرمون من لطفهم مسناً إلى الله سبحانه والتعالى، لا حجة فيه على العباد ولا لوم. وإذا كان موجوداً مستأراً بإضافتهم إليه، كان ما يصلون من المصالح ويبرون عنهم من المفتعل مسناً إلى الله، وهم الملزمون (الملزمون) عليه المؤذنون به. على أن هذا يعكس عليه في استناد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقل الله عليه وآله وسلم في قالهم: أي فريق بين وجوده مستأراً بين عدمه؟ فأعلى شيء قالوا في ذلك أوجبهم مثله</td>
<td>والمفرع بعد هذا بين وجوده غاية من أجل التقية، وخوف الضرر من أعدادهم وهو في أوان ذلك متوقع أن يضحوه ويضروا له، ولكن الذي في هذه الحالة يكون فيهم يقوم به جي جي واضح، لأنه إذا كان مصدره معنى، كان ما يقوت الباب من مصالحهم ويجدون منهم من مرافقهم ومجرمون من لطفهم مسناً إلى الله سبحانه والتعالى، لا حجة فيه على العباد ولا لوم. وإذا كان موجوداً مستأراً بإضافتهم إليه، كان ما يصلون من المصالح ويبرون عنهم من المفتعل مسناً إلى الله، وهم الملزمون (الملزمون) عليه المؤذنون به. على أن هذا يعكس عليه في استناد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقل الله عليه وآله وسلم في قالهم: أي فريق بين وجوده مستأراً بين عدمه؟ فأعلى شيء قالوا في ذلك أوجبهم مثله</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والقول بالحدود (في الحدود) في حال الغيبة ظاهر وهو أنها في حياة حوبه، فإن في وَجَهِهَا، فإن فطر الإمام المستحق للحدود بائق، وهي ثابته عليه بالبينة (+ أو) الإقرار، استوفاهما منه. وإن قل ذلك هوت كان الأم على من أفْخِرِ الْإِمَامَ وَأَلْجَأَ إِلَيْهِ الغَيْبَ وَلَسْنَ بِنَسْحٍ (بتوجه؟) الشريعة في إقامة الحدود لأنه إذا + كان) يكون نسحاً أو سقط فريق اقترنتا مع التمكن وزوال</td>
<td>فالقول بالحدود في حال الغيبة ما حكماً؟ فإن سقط عن فائدة ما وجوبه، فإن هذا اعتبر بنَسْحَ الشريعة وإن كانت ثابته فَمَّ يَقِيمُهَا مع الغيبة؟ فِنَّاء الحدود المستحقَةِ ثابتةً في جُوابِ الجِنَّةِ فإِن يوجبهما من الأفعال. فإن فطر الإمام المستحقِّ لهذه الحدود يقَدَّم أقاؤها عليه بالبينة أو الإقرار، وإن قل ذلك هوت كان الإمام في</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>الأسابيع المئوية من إقامتها وأما مع عده (مع عده: -)، والحال ما ذكرنا، فلا.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السبب إقامتها على من أخف الإمام وأوجاه إلى القيمة وليس</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هذا بنسخ لإقامة الحدود لأن الحد إذا نجب إقامته مع</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>التمكن وزوال الوانع، يسقط مع الحلولة. وإذا يكون ذلك</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نسخاً لو سقط فرض إقامة الحد مع التمكن وزوال الأسابيع</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المئوية من إقامتها.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. 298:12 (fol. 25r:5-6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وهذة جملة مفيدة (+ في الكلام) في هذه المسألة، والله المستعين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المستعان) ويه التوفيق.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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728


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Ṭāplotlib, ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn, “ оригиналный текст Али и Аль-Муртада в контексте” 
Maǧalla-yi muṭālaʿāt-I millī-yi kitāb-dārī wa sāzmāndihī-yi iṭṭilāʿāt 60 (1383/2004), 

Ṭāplotlib, Maryam, “Kuhantarīn nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Intiṣār-yi Sayyid-i Murtadā,” 

Maǧalla-yi muṭālaʿāt-I millī-yi kitāb-dārī wa sāzmāndihī-yi iṭṭilāʿāt 60 (1383/2004), 

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Indices
Index of personal names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-‘azz (son of the Buyid Faḥr al-Mulk)</td>
<td>195, 550n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abān b. Taqlib</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abbās b. al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ḥirṣān</td>
<td>316n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-‘Abbās b. Ṣarwīn, Abū l-Faḍl</td>
<td>211n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-A‘īmma b. Ḥājjī al-Karbalāḥ</td>
<td>288n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Īsfahānī, Abū l-Qāsim</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Ġa‘far b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Dūryāstī, Naǧm al-Dīn 112n, 140n, 141n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Hamza al-Ṭūsī al-Šārīḥī, Naṣīr al-Dīn</td>
<td>133n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Īsā al-Afandī</td>
<td>110, 111n, 120n, 122n, 126n, 127n, 129n, 130n, 137n, 138n, 141n, 143, 144n, 146, 159n, 214n, 243n, 282n–283n, 311, 312n, 315, 316, 318, 320, 321, 322, 323n, 337n, 357, 374n, 375n, 379n, 382n, 541n, 584, 585, 617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd al-Baldaḏī</td>
<td>111n, 112n, 113n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Tustārī</td>
<td>282n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāḥyawlī, Abū Muḥammad</td>
<td>595n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Riḍā Ṣubbar al-Ḥusaynī al-Naḡafī al-Kāẓīmī</td>
<td>266n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Sa‘īd Ḥājjī Ṣubbar</td>
<td>324n, 362n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī</td>
<td>52n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Anṣī</td>
<td>211n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh al-Māṭī</td>
<td>187n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Ḡazā’irī al-Tustārī</td>
<td>217n, 374n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-Fayyāḍ b. Abī l-Baqā’</td>
<td>74n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-Ḡabbār b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥājjī al-Farāḥānī al-Ḥuwaŋānī</td>
<td>139n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-Ḡabbār al-Hamdaḏānī</td>
<td>62n, 73, 79, 80, 81, 82n, 98n, 121n,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī l-Fatḥ Masʿūd b. Ḥisā al-mutakallim al-Rāzī, Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd 114n
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad Muqīm Ḥaṭīb ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīmī 361n
ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ašrafī al-Astarābādī al-Ǧurǧānī 107n
ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaṭīfī 192
ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Amīnī al-Tabrīzī al-Naḏafī 93n, 318n
ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī “Ṣayḥ al-ʿIrāqayn” 93n, 125
ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfīʿī 201n
ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī 121n, 122n, 144n
ʿAbd al-Maḏīd b. Muḥammad Ġawād 245n
ʿAbd al-Maḏīd b. Muḥammad Mahdī 367n
ʿAbd al-Mahdī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rāḥīd al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baḥrānī 94
ʿAbd al-Nabī b. Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Asadī al-Ǧazāʾirī 77
ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Bağdādī 118, 119
ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Abī ʿAlī al-Qummī al-Ṭabʿī, Faḫr al-Dīn 156
ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbāsī 118
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, Naḡīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 223n, 233n, 254n, 427n
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣāḥbaq al-Zaḡḡaḡī, Abū l-Qāsim 167n
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAtāʾiqī al-Ḥillī 115
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Talḥūd al-Ǧuzūlī al-Ḥasanī 147n
ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī 164n
ʿAbd al-Ridā b. Ḥalīl b. Ḳibrāhīm b. Šāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭanīn al-Kāzīmī 266, 268, 331, 360
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Ṭābit al-Ǧarbāzqānī 166n
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Abṭāhī (son of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 263n, 436n
Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī 266, 268, 331, 360
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī al-Bahramī 190–191
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Malīḥī al-Būsanḡī, Abū ʿUmar 131n
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sukkarī 133n
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zanḡānī 227n, 379n
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd (vizier) 187n
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Ruḥḥaḡī (Būyid vizier) 259n
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Ṣīda al-Sukkarī, Abū l-Muẓaffar 131n
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Šīda al-Sukkarī, Abū l-Muẓaffar 131n
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Šīda al-Sukkarī, Abū l-Muẓaffar 131n
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Šīda al-Sukkarī, Abū l-Muẓaffar 131n
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Šīda al-Sukkarī, Abū l-Muẓaffar 131n
Abu ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī 108n, 109n, 407
ʿAbū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī 543n
Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī 543n
Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī 241n
Abū Aḥmad ʿʿAdnān (son of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 263n, 436n
Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī 111n
Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī 79n, 275, 284, 286, 325, 360n, 361n, 364, 368n, 390, 595
ʿAbū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī 113n, 129, 136, 139, 159, 170
ʿAbū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī 70n
ʿAbū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī 70n
ʿAbū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī 70n
ʿAbū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī 241n
Abu ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī 241n
ʿAbū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī 241n
ʿAbū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī 241n
ʿAbū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī 241n
144n, 146n, 160n, 165n, 174n, 176, 177, 178n, 180, 190, 195n, 197n, 216n, 226n, 240n, 251n, 258n, 266n, 267, 271n, 275–277, 277, 279n, 284n, 287, 337n, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 365, 373n, 377, 389, 390, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 404, 405, 412, 417n, 423n, 424n, 543n, 627n

Ahlwardt, Wilhelm 112n, 124n

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī al-ʿĀmilī 244, 245

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Balkū b. Abī Ṭalib al-Ābī, Abū l-Futūḥ 132n

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Afandī 375n

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Baḥrānī 279n

Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Muʿammar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 140n

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ḥjadīmī 316n

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib al-Ṭabarsī 241n, 400n, 444, 596, 602

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn ʿInaba, Ḟamāl al-Dīn 118, 173n

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Maʿqīl al-Azdi al-Muḥallabī 194n

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Qudāma, Abū l-Maʿālī 120, 121n, 122n, 123n, 124, 135, 136n, 140, 142n, 159, 162, 170, 171, 172, 482

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Kūfī, Abū l-Ḥusayn 58n

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī al-Ṣirāzī 156, 157

Aḥmad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Muʿaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin 242n

Aḥmad Ibn Fāris 112n

Aḥmad b. Ḟamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Ḥafīrī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn 105n

Aḥmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿraǧī al-Rammāḥī al-Naḡafī 261n, 316n

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal 140n, 320n

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayrūn al-Bāqillānī al-Muʿaddal, Abū l-Faḍl 357n

Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥtabā b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī 230

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Šūštārī al-Naḡafī 385n

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ǧišumī al-Ḥumr, Abū l-ʿAbbās 240n

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ruḫḫaǧī, Abū l-Ḥasan 259n

Aḥmad b. al-Muʾayyad b. ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad al-Ǧazāʾirī 318n

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī 54
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Ǧazāʾirī 193
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ġālib al-ʿUṭāridī, Abū l-Saʿādāt 121n
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ḫafāǧī al-Miṣrī, Šihāb al-Dīn 119
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḫwānsārī 366, 368n, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Qummī 392
Aḥmad b. Šaraf al-Dīn al-ʿAwdī 272
Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ṭaʿlab, Abū l-ʿAbbās 167n
Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿUrayḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī 121n
Aḥmad al-Qarāfī, Šihāb al-Dīn 200
Aḥmad al-Saryāqūsī, Šihāb al-Dīn 136
Āl al-Aʿraḡi 363n
Āl Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī 275n
Āl Bahr al-ʿUlūm 302n
Āl Ḫirsān 316n
Āl Kawṭar, ʿAli 134n
Āl Ṭuʿma, Salmān Hādī 126n
Āl Yāsīn al-Kāẓimī, Muḥammad Ḥasan 267, 357n, 363n, 395
ʿAli b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAli al-Karzakānī al-Baḥrānī 244
ʿAli b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Simsimī, Abū l-Ḥasan 259n
ʿAli b. Abī Ṭalḫa 134n
ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib (Imām) 51, 75n, 77n, 109, 133n, 400n, 417n
ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib al-Hamadānī, al-Sayyid 271n
ʿAli b. Aḥmad b. ʿAmmār 105n
ʿAli b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥumayr al-Umawī al-Sabtī, Abū l-Ḥasan 110n-111n
ʿAli b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī al-ʿAlṣāʾī 201
ʿAli b. ʿAlī al-Mūsawī al-ʿĀmilī, Nūr al-Dīn 289n
ʿAli b. Bassām al-Šantarīnī, Abū l-Ḥasan 188
ʿAlī b. Mīṭam 53n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Husaynī, Abū l-Ḥasan 104-105
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Qāšānī, al-Šayḥ al-Rašīd Abū l-Ḥusayn 127n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Šafāʿa (?) al-ʿAṭṭār, Muwaffaq al-Dīn 149
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ǧāsbī al-Wārānī 158n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Šaʿīrī, Rašīd al-Dīn 126n, 127n, 129
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī 427
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ǧazāʾirī “Ibn Raǧab” 84n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ 188
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muʿṭahhar al-Ḥillī 198, 240n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ǧaʿfar Kāšif al-Ǧiṭārī 147n, 180n, 382n, 387
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Riḍā (Imām) 130n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ţāhir b. Abī Ḥamīd Abū l-Ḥasan 149
ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Aʿazz al-Ḥusaynī al-Baṣrī 149
ʿAlī b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭrāq 129n
ʿAlī b. al-Rakīn al-Mārūnī al-ʿĀmilī 160
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafī al-Kātib, Abū l-Ḥasan 190, 191
ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī 112n
ʿAlī b. Šams 76n, 77n
ʿAlī [ʿElī] b. Sulaymān al-Maqdisī, Abū l-Ḥasan 234
ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥayyāt [al-Ḥannāt], Abū l-Ḥasan 136n, 141n
ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, Ġamāl al-Ḥāǧg wa-l-Ḥaramayn ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn 126n
ʿAlī b. Zīrak 265n
ʿAlī b. al-Hāḏī (Imām) 219n
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muḥtaḥar al-Qātib, Muḥyī l-Dīn 380n
ʿAlī b. al-Sulastānī, Šaraf al-Dīn 322, 362n
al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī → Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī
al-ʿAllūsī, Abū l-Māʿālī Maḥmūd Šukrī 84n
al-ʿAlūsī, Muḥyī l-Dīn 380n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought in Context

ʿAmūd al-Dawla Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Baġdādī al-wazīr 91n

ʿAmūd al-Ruʿasāʾ Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr Abū l-Faḍl Ayyūb b. Sulaymān al-Baģdādī al-Marātibī al-Madāʾīnī 91n, 92n

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr Abū l-Faḍl Ayyūb al-Marātibī al-Madāʾīnī 91n, 92n

ʿAnbar al-Malikī al-ḫādim (al-amīr) 258n, 426

Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Tustarī [al-Šuṣṭarī] al-Dizfūlī al-Kāẓimī “ṣāḥib al-Maqābis” 213n, 256n, 275, 276n, 277, 323n, 360

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Muʿmin Ibn Ḥāṭūn 100n, 273

Asad Allāh Maḏg al-Qazwīnī 202

Asʿad b. Abū l-Faḍāʾil al-ʿIġlī, Abū l-Futūh 131n

Asʿad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Rawḥ al-Ṭarābulusī, Abū l-Faḍl 418, 419

al-Šarīf Tāǧ al-ʿUlā Abū Hāšim 189n

ʿAṭāʾī Naẓarī, Ḥamīd 231n, 233n, 406n

Avicenna → Ibn Sīnā

Ayyūb (Prophet) 468–469

ʿAzīz b. Ḥabīb 74n

Bahāʾ al-Dawla b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla (Būyid ruler) 71, 258n, 259n, 426, 435, 543n, 550n

Bahādurī, Ibrāhīm 399n

Bā Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Abū Muḥammad ʿInāyat Allāh 108

Badawī, Maḥmūd Mahdī 158n

Badawī al-Maḥṭūn, Muḥammad 133n

Bahāʾ al-Dawla (Būyid rulers) 71, 258n, 259n, 426, 435, 543n, 550n

Bahādurī, Ibrāhīm 399n

Bahār al-ʿUlūm, Ġaʿfar 302n

Bahār al-ʿUlūm, Hāšim 243n, 302n

Aristotle 418

Arjomand, Kamran 97n

Arberry, Arthur J. 96n, 149n

Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Tustarī [al-Šuṣṭarī] al-Dizfūlī al-Kāẓimī “ṣāḥib al-Maqābis” 213n, 256n, 275, 276n, 277, 323n, 360

Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī 381n, 382n

ʿAmīd al-Dawla Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥayyā [Ḥabāʾ] 122n

Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʿmin Ibn Ḥāṭūn 100n, 273

Asad Allāh Maḏg al-Qazwīnī 202

Ayyūb (Prophet) 468–469
Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Ḥusayn 78n
Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Muḥammad ʿAlī 80n, 180
Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Muḥammad Mahdī 277n, 278n, 287n, 356, 424n, 519n
Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Muḥammad Śādiq 372n, 389, 390, 391, 392, 542n
al-Baḥrānī, al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid ʿAdnān 174
Baḥtiyārī Kūh-Surḥī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn 275n
Bakr b. Ṭamr al-Zaʿīmī al-Baġdādī, Abū Saʿd 174
Baktāš al-Baġdādī al-ʿUmayrī 342
Bānāḡa, Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar 131n
Banū Ḥanīfa 120n
Banū Maššāṭ 113
Banū Nawbaḥt 218n
Banū al-Šabīh 253n
Banū al-Šaḥḥāmī 268n
Banū [Āl] Ṭawūs 220n
Banū Zīrak 265n
Banū Zuhra 120n, 121n, 133n, 134n
al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr 92n, 209, 219
al-Barqī → Ahmād b. Muḥammad al-Barqī
al-Bayāḍī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus 261n, 317n, 587
al-Bayāṭī, Ḥaydar 70n, 225n, 246n, 316n, 317n, 339n, 420n, 560
al-Bayḍāwī 119
Bernand, Marie 210n, 212n
Bīdār, Abū Ḏarr 226n
al-Birūnī 158n
Blair, Ann 73n
Brockelmann, Carl 263n
Brown, Jonathan 55n
Brunschvig, Robert 217n
al-Buḥrānī 134n
al-Buḥṭurī 157n, 166n
Bundār b. Muḥammad b. Bundār al-Warāmīnī al-Rammāl 137n
Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī 103n
Calder, Norman 205n, 217n, 218n
Corbin, Henri 55, 56
Crow, Karim Douglas 56n
al-Ḍabbī al-Hārūnī → al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥārūn b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥārūnī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
al-Ḍahābī 103n, 357n
Daiber, Hans 373n, 413
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

al-Dāli, Muḥammad Aḥmad 154n
Dānīšpažūh, Muḥammad Taqī 107n, 153n, 245n, 374n, 396
Dāwūd (Prophet) 473
Déroche, François 187n
Dīʿbil al-Ḥuzāʿī 193n
al-Dirāyatī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn 408n
Dirāyatī, Muṣṭafā 70n, 90n, 108n, 174n, 196n, 287n, 376n, 383n, 396n, 560
Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī al-Naǧafī “Āģā Ḍiyāʾ-i ʿIrāqī” 378
Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Maqdisī → Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn
Ḍiyāʾī, Muḥammad Ṣādiq 226n
Ḏū l-Faqār b. Maʿbad al-Ḥasanī, Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Ṣamṣām 121n, 122n
Ḏū l-Faqār Iṣfahānī, Mullā 179n, 323n
Ḏū l-Rumma Ġaylān b. ʿUqba 118n
al-Duǧaylī, ʿAbd al-Karīm 194n
al-Duwayš, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Aḥmad 209n
al-Fāḍil al-Ābī, Zayn al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan 425, 427n, 428
al-Fāḍil al-Ǧawād → Ǧawād b. Saʿd b. Ǧawād al-Kāẓimī “al-Fāḍil al-Ǧawād”
al-Fāḍil al-Mašhadī 179n
al-Fāḍili, ʿAli 163n
Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanĝānī, Šayḥ al-Islām Mirzā 226, 227n, 357n, 380n, 381n, 384, 392n
Faḍl Allāh Nūrī, Šayḥ 385n, 386n
Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī 113n, 121n, 123n, 124, 125n, 127n, 128n, 129n, 130, 131n, 132n, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138n, 139, 140, 141n, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 165, 166n, 171, 172, 230n, 242, 243n, 246, 338n
al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī 73, 87, 88n, 111n, 115, 133n, 134n, 220, 238, 239n, 427, 609
Faḥār b. Maʿadd b. Faḥār al-Mūsawī 121n, 137n
Faḥr al-Dīn Našīrī 95n, 133n, 162, 178n
Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī 82n, 84n, 102n, 110, 111n, 199–200, 201n, 239, 263n, 388n, 455–476
Faḥr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥī 276n
Faḥr al-Muḥaqqqiqīn (son of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 132n, 294, 297, 336n
Faḫr al-Mulk Abū Ġālib Muhammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī al-Baġdādī 195n, 550n
al-Fārābī 337, 387n
Faraq Allāh al-Naḡaḡī, Muḥammad Riḍā 145, 372n, 373n
Farḥād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-Dawla 164
Faṭḥ ʿAlī Bīk 322
Faṭḥ Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Čawād al-Namāzī al-Širāzī al-Īsfahānī, Šayḫ al-šarīʿa 357n, 382n, 383, 383n–384n, 392
Fāṭima 88n
Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥasan al-Nāṣir b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr 96n, 424n
Fāyḍ Allāh b. Čaʾfar al-Baġdādī 107n
al-Fāyḍ al-Kāšānī 337
al-Ǧaḥbūrī, ʿAbd Allāh 186n
al-Ǧaḥbūrī, Kāmil Salmān 372n
Čaʾfar b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Šaʾra al-Ǧāmiʿānī, al-Šayḫ al-Faqqīh Abū Muḥammad 270n
Čaʾfar b. Āḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qummī “Ibn al-Rāzī” 384
Čaʾfar b. Āḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qumrawayh [Qamrawayh] al-Ḥāʾirī 120n
Čaʾfar b. ʿAlī b. Čaʾfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥabašī [Habaši or Ḥabaš], Abū l-Ḥusayn 243
Čaʾfar b. Ḥadīr b. Yaḥyā al-Ǧaḥāṇī al-Ḥillī al-Naḡaḡī “Kāšīf al-Ǧiṭā” 94, 277n, 396n
Čaʾfar b. Mubaššīr 110n
Čaʾfar b. Muḥammad 51
Čaʾfar b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Čaʾfar al-Dūryasti 140n
Čaʾfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Kāšānī 346n
Čaʾfar b. Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī 381n
Čaʾfar Kašfī 320n
Čaʾfar al-Ṣādiq (Imām) 51n, 52
al-Čaʾfārī al-Marāḡī, Yaʿqūb 98n, 99n, 321n, 407
Čaʾfāriyān, Rasūl 234n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Ghaﬀārī, ‘Alī Akbar 103n, 455n
al-Ǧāḥiz 118n, 250
Ǧalāl al-Dawla b. Bahāʾ al-Dawla Šīrzkil (Būyid amir) 91n
Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī 95n, 337
Ǧamāl b. Šāh Muḥammad al-Fasawī 393n
al-Ǧānimī, Saʿīd 382n
Ǧarāb, Saʿd 241n
Garrett, Robert 388n
Ǧawād, Muḥammad al-Fasawī 71n, 185
Ǧawād b. Muḥammad b. Šabib 183
Ǧawād b. Saʿd b. Ġawād al-Kāẓimī “al-Fāḍil al-Ǧawād” 199
Ǧawād b. Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī 289n
al-Ǧawāhirī, Muḥammad Ḥasan 117n, 174n, 181
Ǧawnpūrī Fārūqī 374n
Ǧazāʾiри, Bašir 189, 191
al-Ǧazālī, Abū Ḥamīd 211, 541n
Ǧāzī, Ǧaצʾal 408
Ǧazīnī Durčih, Rasūl 128n
Ghaemmaghimi, Omid 58n, 62n, 63n, 85n, 88n, 106n, 412n, 415n
Ǧīnābī Gilānī, Ğīraq 322n
Ǧīyāḏ, Muḥsin 194n
Gleave, Robert 218n, 260n
Gründler, Beatrice 214n
Ǧulām Muḥammad b. Muḫyī l-Dīn ǦUmar al-Aslāmī 83n, 84n
Ǧurği, Abū l-Qāsim 201
Gutas, Dimitri 56n
Haddaw, Ḥumayd Maqīd 336n
Ǧaḍdur, Ḥusām 114n
Hādī b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Ţihrānī al-ший Ḥādī al-Ţihrānī”, Šayḫ 382n
Hādī b. al-Šayḫ ʿAbbās Kāŝīf al-Ǧiṭāʾ, al-Šayḫ 362
al-Ĥādī b. Šayḥ Muḥammad Ġulām ʿAlī al-Ŝahr-Mīr-Zādī 152
Hādīzāda, Maqīd 431n
al-Ĥafāği, Ḥaydar Muḥammad ʿUbayd 373n
Ĥāgī Ğāqī Riḍā b. Muḥammad Ḥādī Hamadānī 382n
al-Ĥāqī al-Ĥāqī al-Ĥāqī al-Ĥāqī 215
al-Ĥākim, ʿAlī 124n
al-Ĥākim, Muḥammad ʿAli 89n, 90, 407
Ĥākim, Muḥammad Ḥusayn 62n, 104n, 145n, 178n, 192n, 280n, 337n, 338n
al-Ĥākim al-Ǧišumī, al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Kirāma al-Bayhaqī 69n, 81n, 82n, 85, 102n, 109–110, 117, 118n, 143n, 166n, 415n, 417, 418n, 617
Ĥalīfa al-Ĥṣāʾi al-잋ǐ 96n
Ĥalīfāt, Saḥbān 381n
Ĥalīl b. Ġāzī al-Qazwīnī, Mawlā [Mullā] 196n, 283, 367

771
Ḫālīṣ, Šalāh 187
Ḫallūf, ʿUmar 133n
al-Hamadānī, al-Sayyid Ḫusayn 271n
Ḥamīd Allāh, Muḥammad 209n
Ḥāminiʾī, Muḥammad 417n
Ḫamza b. Abī l-ʾAḡarr al-Ḥusaynī → Naḡm al-Dīn Naqīb Maḥshad al-Ḥusayn
Ḫamza b. ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʾAlawī al-ʿUmarī al-Ḥalabī, Abū Ṭālib 120, 124
Ḫamza b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī al-Barzahī, Abū l-Qāsim 240n
Ḫamza b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥillī al-Ṭurayḥī al-Naḡafī 317n
Ḫānǧī, Muḥammad Amīn 164n
Ḫāqānī, ʿAlī 387n, 395
Ḫānīn, Muḥammad 58n
Ḫārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī, Abū Muḥammad 83n
Ḫārūn al-Rašīd 83n
Ḫāṣan, Sayyid Kisrawī 186n, 187
Ḫāṣan b. ʾAbd al-Ḥādī b. Mūsā al-Mūṣawī al-Ḥīrsān 316n, 420n
Ḫāṣan b. Abī Ġāmiʿ al-ʾĀmilī 288n
Ḫāṣan b. Aḥmad b. ʾAbd al-Ǧaffār al-ʿArīsī, Abū ʿAlī 214n
Ḫāṣan b. Aḥmad b. Naṣīr al-ʾAlawī al-muʿrūf Ḥāḏūḥu bi-Ṣāḥib al-Ḥāṭam 100
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Muʿaddib 215
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAli b. Ẓirak al-Wāʿīz al-Qummī, Abū Muḥammad 265
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAli b. Darbī, Taḡ al-Dīn 150
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAli b. Fattāl al-ʿArīsī 136n
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥammūd al-Ḥillī 392
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAlī al-Muʿaddib 215
Ḫāṣan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, ʿImād al-Dīn 248
Ḫāṣan b. Bišr al-ʾĀmidī 167n
Ḫāṣan b. Ǧumʿa b. ʿAlī Āl Ṭāṭṭāf al-Zabīdī al-Naḡafī 146n
Ḫāṣan b. Ḥāqī Hilāl Ǧarb 288n
Ḫāṣan b. al-Ḥusayn (scribe) 128n
al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Dūryastī, Abū Muḥammad 131n, 159

al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābūya 159n

Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baḥrānī al-Tublī al-Tūnkābunī 103n

al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābāḏī, al-Fāḍil 136n


al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Astarābāḏī, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 135

al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Čaʿfar b. al-Ţarrāḥ al-Šaybānī 149, 150

al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Sağānī, Ṭadi al-Dīn 149n

al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ţūsī, Abū ʿAlī 105, 111n, 121n, 123n

al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿraǧī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn 268n

Ḥasan b. Muẓaffar b. Ḥasan al-Šarīf 418n

al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, Ġamāl al-Dīn “ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim” 108n, 121n, 127n, 129n, 135n, 138n, 140n, 141n, 276n, 282, 283n, 322

al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī al-ʿĀmili, Ṭiẓ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 225n, 324

Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī 70n, 72n, 77, 89n, 94n, 95n, 96n, 102, 104n, 120n, 121n, 132n, 133n, 134n, 138n, 150n, 163n, 197n, 198n, 220, 222n, 256n, 274n, 287n, 323n, 336n, 357, 379n, 381n, 382n, 383n, 384n, 395, 428, 542n

Ḥasan Zāda, Ṣādiq 240n

al-Ḥasanī, ʿAbd al-Sattār 71n

al-Hāšim, Ṣāliḥ Mahdī 380n

Ḥāšim al-Baḥrānī al-Tublī al-Katkānī, al-Sayyid 417n

Ḥāšim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḫusaynī 165n

al-Ḥassān b. Mufarriǧ b. Daḡfal b. al-Ǧarrāḥ al-Ṭāʾī 80n

al-Ḥassūn, Muḥammad 204n

al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḥasan 378, 379n, 380n, 381n, 382, 383, 384, 392n, 393n
al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥasan 378n
al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī, Muḥammad Ḥasan 378n
al-Ḥašāwī, Wisām 408, 409n
al-Ḥaṭīb, Muḥammad 189, 190–191
al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī 70n, 102n
Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī al-Āmulī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn 133n
Ḥaydar b. Bahṭiyār b. al-Ḥasan al-Šinšatī, Muʿaffaq al-Dīn 155, 156
Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī, Abū l-Ḥasan 163n
Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawsīlī, Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ 111n, 112n, 140n, 147n, 148, 149
Hibat Allāh b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī 100, 101n, 321, 566
Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. ʿAlawi al-Ṣāghi, al-Sayyid al-Aʿizz al-Naqqīb Abū l-Saʿādāt 123n, 134n, 141–142, 156n, 159, 167n, 170
Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan “Ibn al-Ḥāǧib”, Abū l-Ḥusayn 259n
Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī, al-Šayḫ al-Raʿīs Abū l-Baqāʿ 124n
Hibat al-Dīn al-Šahristānī, Muḥammad ʿAlī 384, 385
Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāḥīm al-Ṣābī 72n, 80n, 258n
al-Ḥimyarī, Abū Hāšim Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad 78n, 189, 193, 605
Hippocrates, 418
Hišām b. al-Ḥakam 51, 53n, 60
Hišām b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṭaqafi 129n
Hišām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʿīb al-Kalbī “Ibn al-Kalbī” 86n
Hišām b. Sālim al-Ǧawālīqī 53n
al-Ḥūʾi, Ṣadr al-Islām Muḥammad Amīn al-Imāmī 276n, 363n, 386, 387n
al-Ḥulw, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad 194n
Ḥumaynī, Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh 177
al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī 80n, 97n, 116n, 155, 177–178, 179, 180n, 245n, 256n, 260n, 320, 416n, 419n, 488, 543n
Ḥusayn ʿĀl Zuwayn 183
al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥallāl 131n
Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Šamad al-Ḥārīṭī 282n
al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 416, 617
Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Bahrānī 197n
al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli (Imām) 76n
al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummi 58n
al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (son of al-Murtaḍā) 263n
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥaḍir b. Muḥammad al-Buḥārī al-Ḥanafī al-Fašīdayzaḡī, Abū ʿAlī 317n
al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī al-Hārūnī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 70n
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zurrī 158, 162
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muǧtahid b. al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī al-ʿAynāṯī 116n
Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Mašḡarī al-ʿĀmilī 244
Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Mašḡarī al-ʿĀmilī 244
Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-μuţāhīd al-Karākī al-ʿĀmilī, al-Sayyid 282n, 418n
Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar b. Qamar al-Karākī 108n, 279n, 282n
al-Ḥusayn b. Hībat Allāh b. Raṭba al-Sūrāwī 121n
al-Ḥusayn b. Mansūr b. Muḥammad b. Riḍwān 93n
al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Arawī, Abū ʿAli 127n
al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥaḍirī “al-Bāriʿ al-Harawī al-Baġdādī”, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 143n, 156n
al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Naṣr al-Ḥuwlwānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 122n
al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʿ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 173
Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mūsawī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad 69n, 81n, 423n, 595n
Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Dalīzī al-Ḥāmīdī al-Naḡāfī 335n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Dalīzī al-Ḥāmīdī al-Naḡāfī 335n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Dalīzī al-Ḥāmīdī al-Naḡāfī 335n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
Ḥusayn b. ʿUqba al-Ḍarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍarīr 233
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya 262n
_articlePageHeader_
113n, 125n, 125–126, 127n, 128n, 129, 130, 131n, 133, 134n, 136, 139, 143, 153n, 159, 170, 171

Ibn al-‘Imād al-Ḥanbalī 103n
Ibn Isfandiyār 133n
Ibn Kammūna 273n
Ibn Kaṭīr 71n, 103n, 144n
Ibn al-Malāḥīmī, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad 230, 233n, 237n, 414
Ibn al-Manṭiqī 146n
Ibn Mattawayh 62n, 203n, 205n, 210n
Ibn al-Muḍakkir 280
Ibn Muḡāhid, Abū Bakr 134n
Ibn al-Muṣṭawfī al-Irbilī 149n
Ibn al-Naḍīm 110n, 194n
Ibn al-Naḡḡār al-Bağdādī 71n, 102n
Ibn Nubāta 118
Ibn Qiba, Abū Ǧaʿfar 110n, 543n
Ibn al-Qifṭī 70n, 102n
Ibn Qudāma → Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Qudāma, Abū l-Maʿālī
Ibn Qutayba 157n
Ibn al-Rāwandi 85
Ibn Ǧāhrīn → ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Ǧāhrīn, Abū Ḥafṣ
Ibn Ǧāhrīšūb al-Māzandarānī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī 70n,
85n, 98n, 99n, 111n, 112n, 119, 120n, 121n, 122n, 136n, 148, 196n, 198n, 224, 247, 253n, 257n, 268, 269, 270n, 289n, 316n, 320n, 375n, 382n, 400n, 411, 416, 418n, 424n, 426, 444, 541–559, 560, 573
Ibn al-Sarrāḡ, Abū Bakr 214n
Ibn al-Ṣayrafi 188
Ibn al-Sikkīt 139n, 268n
Ibn Sīnā 56, 61n, 337, 387n, 455n
Ibn Sinān al-Ḫafāḡī 223n, 238n
Ibn al-Ṭabbān, Abū l-Qāsim 251n
Ibn Ǧāwūs, Ġamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūṣā 73n, 84n, 121n, 220, 282n, 379n
Ibn Ǧāwūs, Ġiyāṯ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm 113n
Ibn Ǧāwūs, Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūṣā 73n, 111n, 150n, 250, 259n, 271, 279n, 369, 604
Ibn uḥt al-Šarīf al-Murtada 129n, 253n
Ibrāhīm (Prophet) 463
Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Naṣībī [al-Naṣībīnī], Abū Ishāq 82n
Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Abānī al- Ṭarābulusī, Abū l-Faḍl 254n, 255n, 256n
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarfūšī al-ʿĀmilī 90
Ibrāhīm b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Māzandarānī 162
Ibrāhīm al-Murtada al-aṣḡar 69n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibrāhīm al-Ṭaqafi</td>
<td>542n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿImāra, Muḥammad</td>
<td>266n, 267, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imruʿ al-Qays</td>
<td>86n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿĪsā (Prophet)</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laḥsāʾī</td>
<td>161n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Bakrān al-ʿAqrāʾī al-Tammār, Abū l-Ḥusayn</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishāq b. Maʿtūq al-Ḥuwayzī</td>
<td>196n, 197n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šābūnī, Abū ʿUṭmān</td>
<td>131n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šābūnī, Abū ʿUṭmān</td>
<td>131n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ǧawharī, Abū Naṣr</td>
<td>127n, 128n, 129n, 130n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Ǧurǧânī</td>
<td>280n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim al-Qâlī, Abū ʿAlī</td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl b. Sālim (scribe)</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivanow, Wladimir</td>
<td>114n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazini, Rasul</td>
<td>104n, 154n, 374n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kaʿbī, Wifqān Ḫuḍayr Muḥsin</td>
<td>306, 405, 413, 541, 560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kaʿfāmī, Ġamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAṣḥāb al-Ǧubāʿī</td>
<td>223n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kaʿfāmī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan</td>
<td>145n, 192, 223n, 337n, 415n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammūna, Ṣādiq</td>
<td>372n, 373n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kantūrī al-Nisābūrī, Iʿgāz Ḫusayn b. Muḥammad</td>
<td>168, 240n, 248n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karabulut, Ali Riza</td>
<td>109n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Karāḡikī → Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karāḡikī, Abū l-Fath</td>
<td>240n, 248n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karim, Fāris Ḥassān</td>
<td>103n, 407, 417n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karimī Niyā, Murtaḍā</td>
<td>133n, 258n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kātib al-Ḥusayn</td>
<td>266n, 338n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kātibī, Naḡm al-Dīn</td>
<td>388n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīlānī, Muḥammad Sayyid</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kulaynī → Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī</td>
<td>133n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Küšānpūr, Muḥammad Ḫusayn</td>
<td>133n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love, Paul M.</td>
<td>61n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lūṭ (Prophet)</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madadī, ʿAlī Ṭādā</td>
<td>199n, 202n, 408n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madelung, Wilferd</td>
<td>57, 63n, 208n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maḡd al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf al-wazīr bi-Ḥūzistān</td>
<td>145n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Maḡlisī, Muḥammad Bāqīr</td>
<td>88n, 112n, 179n, 225, 256n, 305, 306n, 311, 317n, 322, 323n, 400n, 417n, 419n, 582n, 602, 604, 610, 611, 613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Maḡlisī, Muḥammad Taqī</td>
<td>322n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahdawī, Aṣḡar</td>
<td>158n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahdi, Muḥsin</td>
<td>61n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahdī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nayrāmī al-Ǧurğānī</td>
<td>271, 376, 416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maḥfūz, Ḫusayn ʿAlī</td>
<td>107n, 146n, 153n, 162n, 541n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

778
Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī Aṣġar Raštī Langarūdī 193
Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāżī, Sadīd al-Dīn 200n, 201n, 203n-204n, 213n, 220, 229, 230, 231n, 232n, 233n, 238n, 260, 283n, 597
Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimṣī al-Rāżī, Tāġ al-Rāżī 238n
Maḥmūd b. Fayyāḍ al-Ḥusaynī 361n
Maḥmūdī, Muḥammad Bāqīr 134n
al-Māhzūmī, Śādiq 189, 191–192, 213n
Makdisi, George 204n
Makkī b. Aḥmad al-Muḫallaṭī 113n
al-Malik al-Asrāf 147n
Maknṣī b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallaṭī 113n
al-Maḫzūmī, Ṣādiq 194n
Maknṣī, Muḥammad Muḥammad 361n
al-Malik Šaraf al-Dīn b. Bahāʾ al-Dawla 71n
Mānḵdīm Šašdīw, Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī 85n, 210n
Mansūr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūṣī 93n
Mansūr b. Muḥammad Širāzī 342n
al-Marʿašī al-Naḡaffī, Maḥmūd 145n
al-Marʿašī al-Naḡaffī, Šihāb al-Dīn 115n, 132n, 366n
al-Marwāzī al-Azwarqānī 262n
al-Masʿūdī, Šaraf al-Dīn 455n
al-Māwardī, Abū l-Ḥasan 270n
al-Mawla al-Karbalāʾī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm 359
Mawlānā al-Imām Ġamāl al-Dīn Šaraf al-Īslām Sulṭān al-ʿUlamāʾ Diyāʾ al-Šarīʿa 242n
Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭabrisī 78
al-Mazīdī, Aḥmad Farid 131n
McDermott, Martin 62n, 82n
Melchert, Christopher 55n
Mihrīzī, Mahdī 409n
Mihyār al-Daylamlī 91n
al-Milānī al-Ḥusaynī, ʿAlī 83n
Minasian, Caro Owen 197n, 198n
Mīr Dāmād 276n
Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Qulī Ḥān al-Mūsawī al-Hindi al-Laknawī 83n, 168n
Mīr Māḥdūm al-Šarīfī, Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Mīrzā ʿAlī al-Miškīnī al-Ardabīlī 280n
Mīr Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī 385
Mīr Mīrzā Muḥammad Maʿṣūm al-Ḫāṭūnābādī 74n
Mīrzā Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭihrānī 176–177
Mīrzā ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Faṭḥānī 95n
al-Mīrzā ʿAlī al-Miškīnī al-Ardabīlī 280n
Mīrzā Ġulām Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī 359
Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī 385
Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Αḏbārī 387
Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Akbar 344
Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Tunkabunī 245n, 271n
Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭaqaﬁ 177
Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭihrānī 277n, 393n
Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥisā al-Afandī 312, 374n, 375n
al-Miškāt, al-Sayyid Muḥammad 284
Miškāt al-Dīnī, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin 99n
Moddarressi, Hossein 56–57, 58, 59n, 217n, 220n, 385n, 430
Mousavi Khalkhali, Ehsan 69n, 209n
al-Muʿallim, Muḥammad Ḥusayn 138n
al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza 240
Mudarrisī, Muḥammad Kāẓim 138n
Muḥaddiṯ Urmawī, Ḥalāl al-Dīn 113n, 126n, 130n, 132n, 133n, 135n, 177n, 279n, 297n, 392n
Muḥammad (Prophet) 53, 57n, 60, 88n, 109, 237, 301, 419, 420, 455, 475–476
Muḥammad al-Afandī 160
Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Malik al-Naṭanżī 152
Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Lārīgānī al-Ṣāḥabādī 240n
Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Qādi Aḥsan al-Makkī 161n
Muḥammad ʿAlī Dāʾi al-Islām, al-Sayyid 178n
Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ǧarawī al-Urdūbādī 197n
Muḥammad al-Amīn b. al-Sayyid ʿAlī 117n
Muḥammad al-Baqir (Imām) 51n
Muḥammad Bāqir b. Ǧahār al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mūsawī al-Astarābādī 279n
Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Mūsawī Ḥuǧǧat al-Islām al-Šaftī al-İşfahānī 240n
Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥwānsārī 245n, 339n
Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 167n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Awālī [al-Uwālī] 151
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhra, Muḥyī l-Dīn 123n, 150n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasān al-Ḥusaynī 321n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhra al-Ḫalabī 379n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūfī al-Muḍarī 112n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Raštī 160n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Šahrastānī 414n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tabbān, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 251, 435, 443, 626
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rašīd, Ṣadr al-Dīn 279n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn 129n
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Zāhid, Abū ʿUmar 134n
Muḥammad b. Abī Ḏarr al-Ṭālaqānī 106n
Muḥammad b. Abī Rašīd al-Rāzī, Abū Naṣr 77n
Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī, Abū l-Faḍl 134n
Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Aqsāsī al-ʿAlawī, Abū l-Ḥasan 437
Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuwīnǧānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 139n
Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 134n
Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī, ʿImād al-Dīn 122n, 198n
Muḥammad b. Abī Rašīd al-Rāzī, Abū Naṣr 77n
Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Mūsawī al-Astarābādī 280n
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aqsāsī al-ʿAlawī, Abū l-Ḥasan 149
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh 134n
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mahdī al-Ḥasanī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 134n
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḫafrī, Kamāl al-Dīn 283
Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥārūn b. Muḥammad al-[illegible] 225, 235

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥārūn al-Maẓāhirī (?) 105n

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqriʾ al-Nīsābūrī, Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Ḥaʃ[alī 130n, 230, 231

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ḥaʃ[alī (son of al-Murtaḍā) 263n


Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, Sadīd al-Dīn 126n


Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Şahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī 101

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. Ūṣuf b. al-Zanḡānī al-Mawsili 263n, 338n

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ǧabbān al-Iṣfahānī al-Rāzī, Abū Manṣūr 84n, 98n, 99n, 106, 114, 115n, 204, 241n, 253n, 261, 279n, 288n, 312n, 324n, 356, 417, 420n, 435, 443n, 599, 617

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Mazdak [Mardak], Abū Ḥaʃ[alī 203n

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥulwānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 121n, 122n

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Karāǧikī, Abū l-Fatḥ 134n

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šalmaġānī, Abū Ḥaʃ[alī 101

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šawkānī 201n

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šawāṭ 181n


Muḥammad b. Aydamir al-Musta’šamī 188

Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāfāt al-Zarkaʃ[s, Badr al-Dīn 118, 200

Muḥammad b. Bahr al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Muslim 407n

Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl, Šams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh 186n

Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, Abū ‘Alī 111n
Muḥammad b. Faraḡ al-Ḥimyarī al-Nağāfī 199n, 200n 215n
Muḥammad b. Ḥaḍrāt, Naǧīb al-Dīn 129n, 136n, 140n, 141n
Muḥammad b. Ḥaḍrāt al-Maḥṣudāt 140n
Muḥammad b. Hammām al-Iskāfī 280–281
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Fattāl al-Fārisī 136n, 418
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī al-Faqīh, Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥāriṯ 123n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ḡaḍfarī, Abū Yaʿlā 123n, 134, 141, 142n, 170, 219n, 263n, 543n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm (?) b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Farāhānī al-Qarmīsīnī 155, 156
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās Nāzawayh al-Qummi, Fatḥ al-Dīn Zayn al-Islām Šaraf al-ʿUlamāʾ Abū Ḥaḍrāt 127n, 153n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿaddib 265
Muḥammad b. Ḥaḍrāt al-Muḥammad b. Niʿmat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Abū l-Ṭarābulūsī al-Warrāq 123n, 124n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barmakī al-Faqīh, Abū l-Ḥasan 173, 174n, 257n
Muḥammad b. Ḥaḍrāt al-Qazwīnī, Raḏī al-Dīn “Āqā Raḏī Qazwīnī” 289n, 379n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummi 58, 138n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan “šāriḥ al-Iṣṭībṣār” 279n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, Waģīḥ al-Dīn 113n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zūzanī al-ʿĀrīḍ, Abū Ṭāhir 372n
Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawṣiʿlī 148n
Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭarābulusī al-Warrāq 123n, 124n
Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī 72n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ǧamāl al-Dīn 240
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥaḍrāt al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Raḥqī 132n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Šabīh, al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥusayn 252n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḫwānsārī, Ǧamāl al-Dīn 240n
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā al-Awālī [al-Uwālī] al-Baḥrānī 89
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī al-Kātib “Ibn Abī Zaynab”, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 86n
Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh 82n, 123n
Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṭaqaṣfī, Abū l-ʿAbbās 149n, 150n
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṯaqafī, Abū l-ʿAbbās 121n, 138n
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh 82n, 123n
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Abī Zaynab, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 86n
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Abī Zaynab, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh 86n
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh 86n
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Muʿaddal, Abū Manṣūr 144, 145n, 170, 171
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamānī al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, Burhān al-Dīn 121n, 138n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAynāṯī al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī 279, 280n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Muʿaḍḍīn al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī 260n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaʿīrī 132n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Yahyā al-ʿĀmilī, Abū l-Ḥariṯ 80n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ǧaʿfar al-Dūrāstī 140n, 140n–141n, 150
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamānī al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, Burhān al-Dīn 121n, 138n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAynāṯī al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī 279, 280n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Muʿaḍḍīn al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī 260n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaʿīrī 132n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Yahyā al-ʿĀmilī, Abū l-Ḥariṯ 80n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ǧaʿfar al-Dūrāstī 140n, 140n–141n, 150
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Awālī [al-Uwālī] al-Baḥrānī 89
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamānī al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, Burhān al-Dīn 121n, 138n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAynāṯī al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī 279, 280n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Muʿaḍḍīn al-ʿĀmilī al-Ǧizzīnī 260n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaʿīrī 132n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Yahyā al-ʿĀmilī, Abū l-Ḥariṯ 80n
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ǧaʿfar al-Dūrāstī 140n, 140n–141n, 150
Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī 103n
Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Salāmī al-Bağdādī, Abū l-Faḍl 131n, 214n
Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥāfīz 357n
Muḥammad b. Ġādir al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaği 322n, 338
Muḥammad b. Șāfī b. Čāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAḥmad b. al-Sayyид ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mūsawī al-Naḡafī 117
Muḥammad b. Salāma “al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʾī” 117, 133n, 166n
Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Maʿālī 87
Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāṣirī al-Qāḍī 96n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḫāriṯī (dāʿī) 114n
Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥanafī Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Qazwīnī 285n
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Qāsim al-Kāšānī 346
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Dast Ġayb al-Ḥusaynī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn 103
Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Ḫāǧūʾī al-Māzandarānī, Mullā 116

Muḥammad b. Ẓāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Maʿālī 87
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Dast Ġayb al-Ḥusaynī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn 103
Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Ḫāǧūʾī al-Māzandarānī, Mullā 116

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Muḥammad b. Ẓāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Maʿālī 87
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī 287n
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṭili, Abū l-Faḍl 126n, 127n, 129n
Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī 54, 57n, 58n, 86n, 152n, 223n, 278n, 279n, 421
Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Dast Ġayb al-Ḥusaynī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn 103
Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Ḫāǧūʾī al-Māzandarānī, Mullā 116
Mūlāy Zīdān (Saʿdian ruler) 187n
Mullā Muḥammad Amīn 215
Mullā Muḥammad Amīn al-MAstarābādī 279n, 323n
Mullā Muḥammad al-Lārī 285
Mullā Ṣadrā 56
Mullā Šamsā 337
Muʿmin (scribe) 106n
Muʿmin al-Tāq 53n
Muntaḡab al-Dīn 122n, 132n, 156n
Munzawī, ʿAlī Naqī 358n
al-Murtaḍā b. al-Dāʾī b. al-Qāsim al-Ḫaṣanī al-Rāzī 140, 153n
al-Murtaḍā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Māzandarānī 321n
al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāḥang b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Marʿāṣī 86n
Mūsā (Prophet) 471–473
Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Mullā Sulaymān al-Biḥištī 106n
Mūsā b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm Naṣr Allāh al-Māzandarānī 105n
al-Musafīr b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aʿrābī 125n
al-Mūsāwī, Muṯṭabā Aḥmad 408
al-Mūsāwī al-Burūġīrdī, Ḥasan 94, 127n, 387n
al-Mūsāwī al-Burūġīrdī, Ḥusayn 408n, 541n
al-Mūsāwī al-Ḥīrsān, Muḥammad Mahdī 185n
al-Mūsāwī al-Mayāmuwī, Kāẓim 280n
Muslim 134n
Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtada al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī 177, 494
Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḵwānsārī, al-Sayyid 366n, 367, 398
al-Muṣṭafawī, Ḥasan 399n
al-Mutanabbī 194, 195
al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ǧurǧānī 210n, 236
Nabhā, Ḫaḍir Muḥammad 109n, 407n
Naḡaf, Muḥammad Mahdī 70n, 91n, 97n, 283n
Naḡfī Asad Allāhī, Saʿīd 275n
al-Naḡāšī, Abū l-ʿAbbās 95, 134n, 142n, 193n, 205n, 217, 222n, 224n, 247, 252n, 258n, 260, 263, 313, 316n, 411, 421, 426, 427n, 437, 439, 541–559, 560
Naḡm al-Dīn Naẓīb Mašhad al-Ḥusayn 140
al-Naṣīrī Dīn n.a. Usāma Naṣīr 373n
al-Naʿsānī, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn 164, 481
Nāṣir b. Ḥāǧǧī Ḥusayn b. Ḥāǧǧī Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Naǧafī 301, 302n
Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aʿrābī 125n
Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣīr [Naṣr], Hibat al-Dīn 123n, 124n
Nāṣir b. al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Hindī 302n
Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-maʿrūf bi-Ḫwāǧa Naṣr Allāh al-Hindī al-Makkī 84n
Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī 60n, 63, 113n, 138, 198n, 199n, 238n, 288n, 361n
al-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq al-Uṭrūš 96n, 97, 251n
al-Nāṣirī, Riyāḍ Muḥammad Ḥabīb 201n
al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī 86, 208, 209n, 449–454
al-Nawbaḵtī, al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā 381n, 382n, 414, 618
al-Nawbahṭī, al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā 381n, 382n, 414, 618
al-Naẓẓām 118n, 237
Neggaz, Nassima 263n
Niʿma b. al-Šayḥ ʿAṭiyya al-Asadi 381n
Niʿmat Allāh al-Ǧazāʾirī 160n, 312n, 374, 375
Niẓām al-Mulk 144n
Nūḥ (Prophet) 461–463
Nūr al-Dīn ʿAli al-Šīʿī 199n
Plato 418
Qāḍī Šuʿār, Fāṭima 103n, 455n
al-Qādir bi-llāh (caliph) 258n, 259n, 435
al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh (caliph) 259n
Qāsim b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāraẓmī “Ṣadr al-Afāḍil”, Abū l-Faḍl 279n, 595n
al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī 252n
Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ b. Mullā Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mullā ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, Mullā 106n
Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmza al-Dalīzī al-Ḥamdawī al-Naḡāfī 335, 336
Qāsim b. Sallām al-Ǧaḏādirī, Abū ʿUbayd 137n
al-Qaysī, Muṣṭafā 387n
al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī, Ǧawād 198n, 542n
al-Qawāʾim, ʿAbd al-Nabi 78
al-Qazzāz, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār Ǧaʿfar 143n
Qubād b. Ǧaḥbār Ǧaʿfar al-Mihrānī 280, 281
al-Qurrāʾi, Ǧaʿfar-i Sulṭān 152

788
Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī 117n, 238n, 346, 605
Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Abū l-Ḥusayn Saʿīd b. Hībat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan 94, 112n, 122n, 123n, 126n, 133n, 137n, 144n, 198n, 220n, 231n, 239, 605
al-Raḍī b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muntahā 141n
al-Rāfiʿī, ʿAbd al-Karim b. Muḥammad 131n
Raǧāʾ b. Yahyā b. Sāmān al-ʿAbartāʾī al-Kātib 219n
Raḡab, Riḍā 194n
Raǧāʾī, Mahdī 101, 397, 398, 407, 413, 560, 620, 640, 648, 653
al-Rāḡib al-İsfahānī 148n, 164n
Rahimi Riseh, Ahmad Reza 249n
Rāšid b. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Bahṛānī, Nāṣir al-Dīn 431n
Rāšid b. Muḥammad b. Šāh Walī 293
Rawḍātī, Muḥammad ʿAli 245n
Rayḥān Allāh b. Ǧaʿfar Müsavī Dārābī Kašfī 320n
Reisman, David C. 61n
Riḍā al-Mūsawī al-Zanjānī, al-Sayyid 392n
Ritter, Hellmut 165n
Rizvi, Sajjad 324n
al-Rubayʿī, ʿAqīl ʿAbd al-Ḥasan 133n
al-Šabībī, Muḥammad Riḍā 183, 185
Şābīrī, Ḥusayn 165, 269n
Sabzawārī, Muḥammad Bāqir 90n
Sachedina, Abdulaziz Abdulhussein 81n, 89n, 217n
Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Maṣṣāṭ al-Rāzī, Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾīl 113
Saʿd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ćazāʾīrī al-Asadī 164n
Šāḏān b. Ğibraʾil b. Ismāʿīl al-Qummī 121n, 150
al-Šādiq al-Ṭabṭabāʾī al-Sangalaḡī al-Ṭihrānī 337, 338
al-Ṣadr, al-Sayyid Ḥasan 276, 336n
al-Ṣafadī 103n, 126n, 262n
al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī → Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī
Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī 120n, 144n, 321
Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī 239n
Šāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ġulām Ḥakīm b. Wali Allāh Aḥmad al-Dihlawī 83n, 84n
Šahābī, ʿAlī Akbar 83n
al-Šāḥīb b. ʿAbbād 79n, 124n, 181n, 250, 324n, 356, 357n, 359, 362n, 373n
al-Šāḥīd al-Awwal, Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad 91n, 259n, 261n, 274n, 288, 323n, 338n, 428, 428n–429n
Saḥl b. Muḥammad al-Siḡistānī, Abū Ḥātim 167n
šā’id b. Muḥammad b. Šā’id al-Barīdī al-ʿAbī 153
Ṣā’idī Za’dū, Raṣūl 280n
al-Sakkākī 112n
Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ḥasan al-Karzakānī al-Baḥrānī 103, 104
Ṣāliḥ b. Ğār Allāh al-Ṣaymarī 107n
Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭāmin b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāmin al-Baḥrānī 164n
Ṣāliḥ al-Ǧaʿfarī 372n
Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī, Abū Yaʿlā 84n, 98, 124, 149n, 235, 252–253, 257n, 263n, 265, 291n
Salmānī Raḥīmī, Amīr 103n
Šaltūt, Maḥmūd 92
al-Samāwī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb 373n, 413n
al-Samāwī, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb 146n, 178n, 180, 181, 183, 190, 191, 192, 193, 271n, 282n, 371–378, 379n, 380n, 381n, 382n, 389, 396
Šams b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādī 271n
Šaraf al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī 359, 362n
Šarafšāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Zabārā al-Aftāsī 136n
al-Sarāqibī, Walīd b. Muḥammad 188n
Šarīf b. MuḥammadŠādiq 201
al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī 57, 58n, 61, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82n, 83n, 84, 85, 86, 87n, 88n, 89n, 90, 91, 92, 94n, 95, 96n, 97n, 98, 99, 100n, 101, 102, 103n, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112n, 113n, 114, 115n, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121n, 122n, 123n, 124, 125, 126n, 129, 130n, 133n, 134, 135, 136, 137n, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144n, 145n, 146, 147, 148, 150, 153, 154, 156n, 157, 158, 159, 161n, 162n, 163n, 164n, 165n, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187n, 188, 189, 190, 192n, 193, 194, 195, 196n, 198n, 199, 200n, 201n, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218n, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225n, 226n, 227n, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238n, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243n, 244n, 246n, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252n,
al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context


al-Šarīf al-Raḍī   69n, 72n, 80, 81, 82n, 83n, 91n, 112n, 120n, 121n, 122n, 126n, 127n, 129n, 130n, 132n, 133n, 137n, 139n, 144n, 148, 153, 165n, 166, 168, 171, 173n, 174, 189, 194, 195n, 200n, 219n, 242, 244n, 258n, 261n, 263n, 372n, 379n, 388, 417n, 423, 424n, 436n, 489n, 543n, 577n, 595n

Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī   110, 201n
Šayḫ Aḥmad   125
Šayḫ Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī   56
al-Šayḫ al-Bahāʾī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Husayn al-ʿĀmilī   104n, 159, 199, 317n, 337n, 338n
al-Šayḫ Ḫumayd al-Naḡār “ʿAbū Ṭayy al-Naḡār”   320n

al-Šayḥ al-Ṣadūq → Ibn Bābawayh

al-Šarīf al-Raḍī
Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydali 173
Šayḥ Tāhā, Hādī 201n
Šayfān al-Ṭaq → Muʿmin al-Ṭaq
Sayyid, Ayman Fuʿād 149n–150n
Sayyid, Fuʿād 82n
Sayyid ʿAlī-Ḥān al-Madani 189
Sayyid Masih al-Ḩusaynī 336
Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mūsawī al-Ǧazāʾiri 279n, 398
Schmidtke, Sabine 209n, 234n
Schoeler, Gregor 214n
Schwarb, Gregor 114n, 272n
Sibawayh 157n, 162n
Sibṭ Ibn al-Ǧawzī 91n, 102n, 437
Šihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī 56
al-Šinḵīṭī, Aḥmad b. al-Amīn 164, 481
Šir ʿAlī b. Šihāb al-Dīn (scribe) 418n
Šir Muḥammad b. Šafar ʿAlī b. Šir Muḥammad al-Ǧūrakānī al-Ḥamadānī al-Naḡafī 386
Šīrzād b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Asadī al-Ǧāstī 127n, 158n
Socrates 418
Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney 194n
Stewart, Devin 81n, 91n, 212n, 217n, 219n, 435n, 438n
Šuʿayb (Prophet) 469–471
al-Sulamī, Ǧamʿān b. Nāǧī 149n
Sulaym b. Ayūb al-Rāzī, Abū l-Fatḥ 99n
Sulaymān (Prophet) 474
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ṣahraštī, Abū l-Ḥasan 94–95, 214n, 275
Sultān Ḥusayn (Ṣafavid Šāh) 78
al-Suyūṭī, Ǧalāl al-Dīn 103n, 118
Ṭabāḡa, Yūsuf 289n
al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 89n, 105n, 106n, 140n, 153n, 177n, 196n, 245n, 246n, 306n, 379n, 385n, 393, 420n, 554n
al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Burūḡirdī, Āyat Allāh Ḫusayn 133n, 267n
Ṭābit b. Qurra 80n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Tāhir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Šahhāmī al-Nisābūrī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 268n
al-Tanūḥī 102n
Taymūr, Aḥmad 379n
Tuğril Beg 72
al-Tūnǧī, Muḥammad 185, 503–529
ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābūya 159n
ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karḫī, Abū l-Ḥasan 212n
ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Šāhīn, Abū Ḥafṣ 70n
ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, Nağm al-Dīn 80n, 437n
ʿUmar b. Tābit al-Ṭamānīnī 195
Usāma b. Munṣīd b. Munqiḏ 188
Ustādī, Riḍā 249n
ʿUṯmān b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī 144n
ʿUṯmān, Muḥammad al-Sayyid 209n
al-ʿUṯmānī al-Ṣaḥḥāmī 155
Vilozny, Roy 166n
von Mehren, August Ferdinand 56n
Wāʿiẓ Čarandābī, ʿAbbās Qulī 107n, 226n, 384n
al-Wazīr al-Mağribī, Abū l-Qāsim 85, 86n, 149n, 194n, 258n, 435, 441, 578, 596
Wisnovsky, Robert 249n
Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī 248–250, 268, 440
Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Huḍali al-Hillī, Nağib al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī 122n, 123n, 425n
Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Ḥaṭīb al-Tabrizī, Abū Zakariyyā 158n
Yaḥyā b. ʿIsā b. ʿAli Ibn Ǧazla 158n
Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Faraḡ al-Sūrāwī 121n
Yahuda, Abraham Shalom 388n
Yaʿqūb (Prophet) 464–465
Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, Abū l-Faraḡ 177, 178, 181
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī 102n, 147, 155n, 157n, 542n, 595n
Yazdi Muṭlaq, Maḥmūd 231n
Yūnisī, Ǧalāl al-Dīn 145n
Yūnus (Prophet) 474
Yūsuf (Prophet) 465–468
Yūsuf al-Badīʿī 595n
Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī 338n, 431n
Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Sadīd al-Dīn 121n, 138n
Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr al-Ṣanʿānī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn 78
al-Zabībī, Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl 111n
Ẓahīr b. al-Maʿṣūm 162
Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Šaḥhāmī al-Nīsābūrī, Abū l-Qāsim 131n
Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad, Abū l-Faḍl (son of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī) 126n
Zakariyya (Prophet) 456
al-Zamaḫšarī, Ğār Allāh 107n, 135, 323n
Zaydān, Ğurġī 358
al-Zaydī, Kāẓim 87n
Zayn al-ʿ Ābidīn b. Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥusayn al-Ḫwānsārī al-Iṣfahānī 339n
Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Māzandarānī 125, 126n
Zysow, Aaron 210
### Index of book titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdāl (Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr)</td>
<td></td>
<td>154n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādāb al-nafs (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḫusaynī al-ʿAynī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>280n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. al-Ağānī</td>
<td>Abū l-Farağ al-Ḥisfānī</td>
<td>134n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-ʾAḵwib al-muskita</td>
<td>Ibn Abī ʿAwn</td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḵwibat al-masaʾil al-ašr (al-Mufīd)</td>
<td></td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahāsin al-mahāsin</td>
<td>Abū ʿAlī al-Ruḫḫaḡī</td>
<td>259n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahkām al-nisāʾ (al-Mufīd)</td>
<td></td>
<td>372n, 424n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Aʾlām al-taʾrāʿiq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq</td>
<td>Ibn Ẓahrāšūb</td>
<td>269n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. al-ʾAftypeh</td>
<td>ʿAlīma al-Ḥilli</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amal al-āmil</td>
<td>al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmil</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazidi)</td>
<td></td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (Abū ʿAli Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim al-Qāli)</td>
<td></td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (Abū Maḥṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar Ibn al-Ǧabbān)</td>
<td>al-Īsfahānī al-Rāzī</td>
<td>143n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿIsḥāq al-Zaqāqī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (Ibn Bābawayh)</td>
<td></td>
<td>130n, 166n, 179n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (Ibn Durayd)</td>
<td></td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (al-Mufīd)</td>
<td></td>
<td>166n, 241n, 372n, 386n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (al-Murṭadā) → Ǧurar al-fawāʾid</td>
<td>(al-Murṭadā)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī (al-Ṭūsī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>112n, 166n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Amālī al-šaǧariyya</td>
<td>Ibn al-Šaǧarī</td>
<td>142n, 167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwār al-badrayn fī tarāǧim ʿulamāʾ al-Qatīf wa-l-Aḥṣāʾ wa-l-Bahrāyn</td>
<td>Abī l-Ḥasan al-Bilādī al-Bahrānī</td>
<td>382n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwār al-hudā fī tahārīr kalām al-Muṭṭadā</td>
<td>Bā Yazīd al-Bīstāmī</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwār al-malakūt fī šarḥ al-Yāqūt (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>381n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwār al-rabī fī anwāʾ al-badī (ʿAlī Ṣādr al-Dīn b. Maʿṣūm al-Madānī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ārāʾ wa-l-dīyānāt (al-Nawbāḥī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>414, 618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯ (al-Šayḥ al-Bahāʾī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>104n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīṭan (al-Šahīd al-Awwal) 259n
al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīṭan fi ḥuqūq al-ihwān (Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Mahāsīn Zuhra) 123n, 321n, 379n
al-ʿArf al-wardī (Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūqīrī) 127n
K. al-ʿAšarāt fī ġarīb al-luġa (Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Zāhid) 134n
K. al-ʿAšnām (Hišām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī) 86n
al-Asrār al-ḫafiyya fī ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 379n–380n
al-Awāʾil al-maqālāt (al-Mufīd) 226n, 244, 245, 246, 318n, 334n, 372n, 383n, 423, 424n
Ayyān al-Šīʿa (Muḥsin al-Amīn) 117
ʿAyn al-ʿabara fi ǧabn al-ʿitra (Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Tāwūṣ) 379n
al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿašar fīmā yaǧibu ʿalā ʿāmmat al-mukallafīn min maʿrifat uṣūl al-dīn (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 102
al-Bağdādiyya (al-Muḥaqiq al-Ḥillī) 96n
al-Barq (al-Murtadā) 193, 269, 555
Baṣāʾir al-daraḡāt (al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī) 58, 138n
al-Bayān (al-Šahīd al-Awwal) 323n
Bayān al-adyān (Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī) 87
al-Bayān ʿan ḥaqīqat al-insān (Asʿad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Rawḥ al-Ṭabarī) 419
Bihār al-anwār (al-Maḡlisī) 88n, 112n, 305n, 400n, 417n, 419n, 602, 604, 610, 611, 613
Bināʾ al-maqāla al-fāṭimiyya (Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Tāwūṣ) 73n, 84n
Bišārat al-muṣṭafā li-šīʿat al-murtaḍā (ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī) 122n, 198n
Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān (Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Šāfīʿī al-Zarkašī) 118
K. Buyūt al-ʿibādāt (Abū Maʿṣar al-Balḫī) 414, 618
Dafʿ al-munāwāt ʿan al-tafḍīl wa-l-musāwāt (al-Karakī) 282n, 418n
Dafʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fī baʿṣ al-anbiyāʾ (al-Murtaḍā) 81n–82n, 292, 296, 299, 301, 305, 308, 311, 313, 320, 343, 346, 347, 405, 536, 562
K. al-Ḏaḫīra fī ʿilm al-kalām (al-Murtaḍā) 62n, 63n, 75, 76n, 82n, 98, 100n, 185n, 203, 206, 207, 210n, 218n, 222, 224–237, 254n, 262, 267, 270n, 282n, 321, 329, 339n, 377, 385n,
al-Ḍaḥīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Ǧazīra (Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bassām al-Šantarīnī) 188
al-Dalīl ʿalā ḥaqīqat īmān Abī Ṭālib (al-Mufīd) 266, 267
al-Ḍarīʿa ilā makārim al-Šīʿa (al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī) 164n
al-Ḍarīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Šīʿa (Āġā Buzurg) 358, 359, 360, 362n, 373n
Ḍawʾ al-šihāb fī šarḥ al-Šihāb (Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī) 133n
Ḍīkr šuyūḥ al-šarīf Abī l-Faḍl (Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. ʿAbbās al-Ḥāsimī) 173
Ḍīkrā al-Šīʿa fī aḥkām al-šarīʿa (al-Šahīd al-Awwal) 261n, 428
al-Dīwān (Abū l-Faḍl Naṣr Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥāʾirī) 374n
al-Dīwān (Abū l-Muṣaffar Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Abiwardi) 130n
al-Dīwān (Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī) 130n, 133n, 134n
al-Dīwān (Imruʾ al-Qays) 86n
al-Dīwān (Mihyār al-Daylami) 91n
al-Dīwān (Muḥammad Riḍā Šabībī) 183n
al-Dīwān (al-Mutanabbī) 194
Dīwān (al-Šāhib b. ʿAbbād) 181n
Dīwān (al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 83n, 194n
Dīwān al-nasab 263n
Dīwān al-Šayḥ Ġawād al-Šabībī 183n
Ḍiyāʾ al-šihāb (Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī) 133n, 231n
Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bāḥarzī) 174
al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-qaṣīd (Muḥammad b. Aydamir al-Mustaʿṣamī) 188

al-Durr al-manṭūr min al-ḥabar al-maʿṭūr wa-ĝayr al-maʿṭūr (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) 278n, 363, 419, 613


al-Durūs al-šarʿīyya (al-Šahīd al-Awwal) 429n

Faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal) 320n

Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba (Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal) 140n

Fahrasat al-kutub wa-l-rasāʾil (Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl "al-Maǧdūʿ") 114n

al-Faḫriyya fi maʿrifat al-niyya (Faḫr al-Muḥaqqiqīn) 297, 336n

al-Fāʾiq (Ibn al-Malāḥimī) 233n, 237n

Faraǧ al-mahmūm (Ibn Ṭāwūs) 604

al-Farāʾid fī šarḥ al-Fawāʾid (Ǧawnpūrī Fārūqī) 374n

al-Farāʾid al-ġawālī fī šarḥ šawāhid al-Amālī (Muḥsin b. Šarīf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧawāhirī al-Nağafî) 117

al-Farq bayna naqās (or naqīs) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm (al-Murtaḍā) 291, 295, 298, 300, 304, 307, 310, 312, 319, 341, 342, 345, 346, 365, 389, 404, 532, 564

Faṣl fī aqāwil al-ʿarab fī l-ĝāhiliyya (Abū ʿIsā al-Warrāq) 328, 352, 370, 403, 414, 618

Faṣl fī ḍikr maḏāhib ahl al-aṣnām wa-ḡikr buyūṭ al-nīrān al-muʿazzama (Abū Maʿṣar al-Balḥi) 328, 352, 370, 403, 618

Faṣl fī l-ĝayba (al-Murtaḍā?) 63n, 329, 333, 352, 371, 402, 415n, 564

Faṣl: istadalla ġumhūr al-muslimūn al-ʿānna l-samāwāt sabʿa wa-anna l-araḍīn sabʿa (al-Murtaḍā) 328, 352, 370, 402, 564


al-Fasr al-kabīr (Ibn Ğinnī) 194

al-Fasr al-ṣaġīr tafsīr abyāt al-maʿānī fī šiʿr al-Mutanabbī (Ibn Ğinnī) 194

Fatāwā al-Murtaḍā 426, 429n

Fath al-ʿazīz (ʿAbd al-Karīm Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī) 201n

Fath al-bārī bi-ʃarḥ al-Buḫārī (Ibn Ḥaḏgar al-ʿAsqalānī) 118

al-Fawāʾid (Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Karīm Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī) 201n


al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyya (Mullā Muḥammad Amin al-Astarābādī) 323n
al-Fawāʾid al-riǧāliyya (Muḥammad Mahdī Bahr al-ʿUlūm) 287n
al-Fawāʾid al-ṭarīfa (al-Afandī) 315, 357, 584, 585
Fiṭḥat ṭabīḥat al-mumkin wa-naqḍ ḥuǧaǧ al-muḫālifīn li-ḏālika wa-l-tanbīḥ ‘alā fasādihā (Yahyā b. ʿAdī) 249, 440
Fihrist (Muntaǧab al-Dīn) 132n
Fihrist (al-Ṭūsī) 215n, 232, 263, 283n, 428n, 541–559
Fihrist Kitāb Taṣfīl wasāʾil al-Šīʿa ilā taḥṣīl masāʾil al-šarīʿa 289n
al-Fiṣq al-Malikī (al-Murtaḍā) 258n, 268, 270n, 426, 558
Fiṣq al-Qurʾān (Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī) 94, 198n
Fiṣq al-Riḍā 101
Fiṭaq al-Šīʿa (al-Nawbaḫtī) 381n, 382n
Fiṣal (Ibn Ḥazm) 253n
Funūn (Ibn ʿAqīl) 251n, 338n
K. al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma fī usūl al-aʾimma (al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī) 97n
Futyā faqīh al-ʿarab (Aḥmad Ibn Fāris) 112n
al-Ǧadīr fī l-kitāb wa-l-sunna wa-l-adab (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbbād al-Aminī al-Tabrīzī al-Naḡafī) 93n, 318n
K. al-Ǧaʿfariyyāt 133n
al-Ǧamʿ bayna l-Šaḥīḥayn (Abū ʿAbbād Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī) 134n
K. al-Ǧamāḥirī ha ṭarīqat al-ǧawāhīr 82n
Ǧāmīʿ al-ahādīḥ (Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAbbād al-Qummī “Ibn al-Rāzī”) 384n
al-Ǧāmīʿ fī taṣfīr al-Qurʾān (ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī) 134n
Ǧāmīʿ al-ḫilāf wa-l-wifāq bayna l-Imāmiyya wa-bayna aʾimmat al-Ḥiǧāz wa-l-ʿIrāq (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī) 427
Ǧāmīʿ al-ḫilaʿf wa-l-wifāq bayna l-Muṭʿawīyya wa-bayna aʾimmat al-Ḥiǧāz wa-l-ʿIrāq (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī) 427
Ǧāmīʿ al-ḫilāfa wa-l-ʿarab fī al-Qurʾān wa-l-ḥadīṯ (ʿAlī b. ʿAbbād al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī) 123n
K. al-Ǧārāt (Ibrāhīm al-Ṭaqāfī) 542n
Ǧarīb al-ḥadīt (Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Baḡdādī) 137n
K. al-Ǧarībayn fī l-Qurʾān wa-l-hadīt (Abū ʿUbayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawi) 130n, 131n, 137n
Гаваб аhl al-Ḥāʾir fī sahw al-nabi ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt (anonymous) 276n, 320n, 358n, 372n, 393n, 419–421, 613

Гаваб al-Dārimī wa-Abī l-Ḥasan al-Mutakallim ʿan al-maṣʿala fī ibṭāl al-mumkin (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n

Гаваб al-Karāǧikī fī fasād al-ʿadad (al-Murtaḍā) 554

Гаваб masʿala fī ḡaybat al-imām (al-Murtaḍā) 375

K. Ġawābahāt al-faylusūf fī l-ittiḥād (al-Mufīd) 250n

Ğawāhir al-fiqḥ (Ibn al-Barrāǧ) 100n, 396n, 399n, 593

K. Ġawāhir al-kalām fī šarḥ šarāʾiʿ al-Islām (Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Naḡafī) 181n

Ĉawāmiʿ al-adilla (al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Buṭḥānī) 208, 449–454

Ğawāmiʿ al-fiqhiyya 95, 96n, 97n, 102n

Ğawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḫar (al-Murtaḍā) 327, 350, 355, 370, 402, 565

K. Ġawāz al-wilāya min ḡiḥat al-zālīmīn → Masʿala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān (al-Murtaḍā)

Ğawāzhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-maʿnā (al-Murtaḍā) 292, 296, 298, 301, 305, 308, 310, 313, 319, 343, 347, 405, 535, 565–566

K. Ġayat al-insāf fī masāʾîl al-ḥilāf (al-Karāǧikī) 99n

K. Ġayba (al-Ṭūsī) 76n, 88, 89n, 213n


K. Ġunyat al-nuzūʿ ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ (Ḥamza b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī) 95n, 102, 337, 427

K. Ġurar al-durar (Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣīlī) 112n

576, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 604, 609, 620, 621, 624, 626n, 629, 631, 632, 634, 635, 639


Ǧurar al-fawāʾid—Masʿala fi taʾwīl āyat “šahr Ramadān allaḏī anzala fīhi l-Qurʾān” [Q 2:185] (al-Murtaḍā) 391, 569

Ǧurar al-fawāʾid—Masʿala fi taʾwīl āyat “Wa-iḏ aḫaḏa rabbuka min bani ʿĀdam min zuhūrihim ġurrīyyatahum” [Q 7:172] (al-Murtaḍā) 391, 569


Ǧurar al-fawāʾid—Masʿala fi taʾwil qawl al-nabi šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Kull mawlūd yūlad ʿalā l-fiṭra” (al-Murtaḍā) 391, 570

Ǧurar al-Ǧurar wa-durar al-durar fi talḥiṣ ġurar al-fawāʾid wa-durar al-qalāʾid (Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī) 115

Ḥadāʾiq al-Ḥurar (al-Kaydurī) 117n, 605

Ḥadīqat al-nufūs wa-hiǧlat al-ʿarūs (Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kafʿamī) 337n

Ḥadīṯ al-Sarrāǧ (Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṭaqafī) 128n

al-Ḥāʾiriyyāt (al-Ṭūsī) 100n

al-Ḥalabiyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 253n, 276n, 283, 367, 444, 445, 623, 627, 634

al-Ḥalabiyyāt I (al-Murtaḍā) 253n, 445, 553

al-Ḥalabiyyāt II (al-Murtaḍā) 253n, 444, 445, 553

al-Ḥalabiyyāt III (al-Murtaḍā) 253n, 444, 445, 553

al-Ḥalwā ḫulāṣat al-tafāsīr (Ibn Mihrizad) 134n, 156

K. al-Ḥamāsa (Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭāʾi) 130n, 133n

al-Ḥamāsa ḏāt al-ḥawāšī (Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī) 130n, 133n, 143n, 153

al-Ḥamāsa al-šaǧariyya (Ibn al-Šaǧarī) 142n

Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl fī mutašābih al-tanzīl (al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 166, 372n, 379n
al-Ḥarāʾiǧ wa-l-ǧarāʾiḥ (Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī) 239
Ḥarīdat al-qaṣr (al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī) 265n, 338n
Ḥaṣāʾiṣ al-aʾimma (al-Šarīf al-Raḏī) 139n, 261n, 423n
al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿalawiyya ʿalā sāʾir al-barriya (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāfīz al-Naṭanzī) 134n
Ḥaṣāʾiṣ Amīr al-Muʾminīn (Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sukkārī) 133n
Ḥaṣāʾiṣ Amīr al-Muʾminīn (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī) 134n
Hāšiyat al-Šafī (Muḥammad Rafīʿ b. Faraḡ Allāh al-Gīlānī) 77n
Hāšiyat al-Šafī (Muḥammad Šafīʿ b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Astarābādī) 339n
Hāšiyat al-ʿUdda (Ḫalīl al-Qazwīnī) 283, 367
Hāšiyat al-Ḥaḏīḥ (Ibn Abī Ṭayy) 234n, 320n, 542n
Ḥawla ḫabar “Naḥnu maʿāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nūraṯ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa” (al-Murtaḍā) 317n, 329, 333, 352, 371, 402, 570
Ḥawla kalām Ibn ġinnī fi ḫaḍf al-ʾalāmāt at-taʾnīṯ (al-Murtaḏā) 195, 327, 350, 355, 370, 402, 570
Ḥayāt al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā (Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawārī) 396n
Ḥayāt al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Šāliḥ al-Ḥilli) 180n
K. al-Hidāya (Ibn Bābawayh) 101
Hidāyat al-abrār ilā ẓarīq aʾimmāt al-ʾaṭhār (Ḥusayn b. Šihāb al-Dīn al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī) 289n, 336
“al-Ḥikāyāt” 240–248, 302n, 334n
Ḥikmat al-išrāq (Šihab al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī) 56
K. al-Ḥilāf (al-Tūsī) 159n, 426, 427, 430, 431
Ḥizānat al-adab wa-l-lubāb (ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Baḍādī) 119
al-Ḥudūd (Abū ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqrī al-Nisābūrī) 230n
al-Ḥudūd (Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Baridī al-Ābī) 153n
al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq (anonymous) 268, 271, 376, 396, 400, 415, 416, 544n, 559, 613
al-Ḥuḍaḡ al-qawīyya fi itbāṭ al-waṣiyya 382n
Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān (al-Murtaḏā) 327, 350, 355, 370, 402, 570
Ḥukm ʿibādat walad al-zinā (al-Murtaḏā) 327, 330, 350, 355, 370, 402, 571, 632, 634
Ḥukm ʿibādat walad al-zinā (al-Murtaḏā) 327, 330, 350, 355, 370, 402, 571, 632, 634
Al-Šarif al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

- Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām (al-Murtaḍā) 327, 350, 355, 370, 402, 571
- Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 70n, 72n, 77n, 542n
- Ḥulāṣat al-istidāl ʿalā man manaʿa min šīḥḥat al-muḍāyaqa bi-l-ʾitīdāl (Ibn Idrīs) 220n, 252n
- Ḥulāṣat al-naẓar (anonymous) 238n
- al-Ḥuṣūn al-manīʿa fī ṭabaqāt al-Šīʿa (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ǧaʿfar Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ) 387
- al-Ibāna ʿan kutub al-ḥizāna (Ḥasan al-Ṣadr) 276n
- al-Ibāna ʿan maḏhab ahl al-ʿadl bi-ḥuǧaǧ al-Qurʾān wa-l-ʿaql (al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād) 357n, 359, 362n
- al-Iḥkām (Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī) 201n
- Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʾ šayʾ li-nafsihi (al-Murtaḍā) 292, 296, 298, 301, 305, 308, 310, 313, 319, 343, 345, 347, 405, 533, 572
- al-ʾĪḏāh (Faḍl b. Ǧaḥdān) 379n
- al-Ifsāḥ fī l-imāma (al-Mufīd) 372n, 386n
- al-Igāza al-kabīra (ʿAbd Allāh al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Tustarī) 217n, 374n
- al-Iḥtiǧāǧ ʿalā ahl al-laǧāǧ (al-Ṭabarsī) 241n, 400n, 444, 596, 602
- K. al-Iḥtiyār li-taʿlīl al-Muḫtār (al-Baldaǧī) 111
- K. al-Iḥtiyār li-taʿlīl al-Muḫtār (al-Baldaǧī) 111
- Iʿlām fīmā ittafaqat ʿalayhi al-Imāmiyya min al-aḥkām mimmā aǧmaʿat al-ʾāmma ʿalā ḥilāfih (al-Mufid) 358n, 372n, 423
- Iʿlām al-warā (al-Ṭabrisī) 63n, 70n, 87, 88n, 115, 239n
- al-Iʿlām fīmā ittafaqat ʿalayhi al-Imāmiyya min al-aḥkām mimmā aǧmaʿat al-ʾāmma ʿalā ḥilāfih (al-Mufid) 358n, 372n, 423
- K. al-Imāma (al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī) 110n
- Īmān Abī Ṭālib (al-Mufid) 372n

803

al-Infirādāt bi-l-futwā (Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ṣahraštī) 95

Inqāḏ al-bašar min al-ḏabr wa-l-qadar (Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī) 381n


K. al-Inṣāf (al-Murtaḍā) 248, 250

K. al-Inṣāf fī maʿrifat al-aslāf (Bā Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī) 108n


K. Iqrār al-ṣaḥāba bi-ฟาฏ imām al- hudā wa-l-qarāba (Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar al-Maḥādī) 140n

K. al-Iqtiṣād (al-Ṭūsī) 102, 218n, 238n, 379n, 392, 430n

K. al-Irsād (al-Mufīd) 112n, 122n, 123n, 130n, 159n, 242, 243n

K. al-Irsād fī l-qirāʾāt (Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ǧazālī) 134n

Irsād al-fuḥūl (al-Šawkānī) 201n

Irtišāf al-ṣāfī min sulāf al-Šāfī (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥusaynī al-Muṣṭārī al-Sabzawārī al-Nāʿīnī al-Īṣfahānī) 77n

al-Iṣārāt (Ibn Sinā) 455n, 456n


Iṣbāḥ al-Šīʿa bi-miṣbāḥ al-šarīʿa (Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī) 346

Iṣlāḥ al-iġfāl (al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ṭarrāḥ al-Šaybānī) 149n

Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq (Ibn al-Sikkīt) 139n, 268n

K. ‘Iṣmat al-anbiyāʾ (Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 110, 111n, 455–476

K. al-Istībšār (al-Ṭūsī) 127n, 179n, 279n, 316n

al-Istifā → Talḥīṣ al-Šāfi‘ī

al-Iṣtigāṭa fī bidaʿ al-ṯalāṯa (Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī) 315n, 416, 616


Iṣtiḥsān al-ḥawd fī ʿilm al-kalām (al-Āṣ‘ārī) 126n, 128n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfī lahu

Istiqaṣā’ al-iʿtibār fi šarḥ al-Istibṣār
(Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) 279n

Istiqaṣā’ al-naẓar fi l-bahṭ ‘an al-qadāʾ wa-l-qadar
(al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 357n, 383n, 384n, 395

Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā
(ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Ibn Fahd) 80n, 81n, 437n

al-Iʿtibār ʿalā l-Ḏarīʿa fī uṣūl al-šarīʿa
(Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd) 199

K. al-Iṯnā ʿašariyya fī l-mawāʾiẓ al-ʿadadiyya
(Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAynāṭī) 280n

K. al-Iṯqān fī ulūm al-Qurʾān
(Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī) 118

K. al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān (Ǧāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Naḥwī al-Bāqūlī al-Iṣfahānī) 154n

Kašf al-astār ʿan waǧh al-kutub wa-l-asfār
(Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḥafsī) 366, 368n

al-Kašf fi nukat al-maʿānī wa-l-ʿrāb wa-ʿīlal

Kašf al-ʿgumma fī maʿrifat al-aʿīma (ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbīlī) 88n, 104n, 148, 149n, 163n, 192

Kašf al-ḥuǧub wa-l-astār ʿan anasmāʾ al-kutub
wa-l-ASFāʾ (Iʿǧāz Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kantūrī al-Nīsābūrī) 168, 240n, 248n

Kašf al-maʿāqid (al-Ḥimmāṣī al-Rāzī) 238n

Kašf al-qināʾ ʿan waqūt ḥuǧǧīyyat al-iǧmāʿ
(Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī) 213n, 275n, 276n

Kašf al-rumūz fī šarḥ al-Muḫtaṣar al-nāfiʿ
(Ibn Ridda al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī) 425, 427n, 428

Kawkab al-durrī fī tafsīr al-āyāt al-muntaḵhaba min Ġurar al-fawāʾid
(al-Fāḍil al-Hindi) 116n, 330
Kawn al-ṣifā bi-l-fāʿil (al-Murtaḍā) 292, 296, 298, 301, 305, 308, 310, 313, 319, 343, 345, 347, 349, 355, 574–575

Kitāb (Sībawayh) 143n, 157n, 162n

Kitāb fī l-Maʿdūm (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Tabbān) 251n

Kitāb fī Taklīf man ʿalima Allāh annahu yakfūr (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Tabbān) 251n

Kitāb fī ḏikr al-dalīl ʿalā ʿalā al-ḥaqīqat Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāšim b. ʿAbd al-Manāf (al-Mufīd) 618

Lisān al-ḥawāss fī ḏikr maʿānī al-alfāẓ al-iṣṭilāḥiyya li-l-ʿulamāʾ (Āqā Raḍī Qazwīnī) 289n, 379n

Lubāb al-ādāb (Usāma b. Munqiḏ) 188

al-Lumaʿ fī l-ʿarabiyya (Ibn Ǧinnī) 195

Luzūmiyyāt (Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī) 79n

Mā al-dalīl ʿalā anna l-aʿimma iṯnā ʿašar . . . (Abū Yaʿlā al-Ǧaʿfarī) 316n, 575

Mā ittafaqa lafẓuhu wa-ḫtalafa maʿnāhu (Ibn al-Šaḏarī) 142n

Mā maʿnā l-qawil ʿinda l-laẓ-iyāra li-maṣāḥīḥ al-aʿimma ʿašhadu annaka tasmaʾ kalāmi wa-taruddu ḥawābiʿ (al-Murtaḍā) 281n, 378, 575

Mā nazala min al-Qurʾān fī Amīr al-Muʾminin (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī) 134n


Maʾāhid al-tanbih fī ṣarḥ Man lā yaḥḍuruhu l-fāqiḥ (Muḥammad b. al-Hasan) 279n

Maʾāhid al-taʾansūs ʿalā šudd ad-dalīl al-talḥīsh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-ʿAbbāsī) 118

Maʾālim (Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 84n

Maʾālim al-dīn wa-malāḏḏ al-muṭtahidīn Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan) 282

Maʾālim al-ʿulamāʾ (Ibn Bābawayh) 179n

Maʿāriḡ al-fāhm fī šarḥ al-naẓm (al-ʿAllāma al-Ǧīīlī) 104n, 381n

Maʿāriḡ Nahā ṣ al-balāḡa (Ibn Funduq) 117

al-Mabsūṭ fī l-ṣiqā (al-Ṭūsī) 159, 160n, 429, 430

al-Mabsūṭ fī l-imāma (ʿAbd al-Nabī b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Asadī al-Ǧazāʾirī) 77

Maḍārik Nahā ṣ al-balāḡa wa-dafʿ al-šubahāt ʿanhu (al-Šayḫ Hādī Kāšif al-Ǧīī) 362n

Mafātīḥ al-ġayb (Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 456n

Maḏālis (Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā Ṭaʿlāb) 167n

Maḏālis al-muʾminin (al-Tustari) 82n
Mağzāt al-ʿaṭār al-nabawiyya (al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 166

Maḡmaʿ al-Baḥrayn (Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣağānī) 149n

Maḡmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān (al-Ṭabrisī) 88n, 134n, 238, 239n, 609

al-Maḡmūʿ fī l-Muḥiṭ (Ibn Mattawayh) 62n, 203n, 210n

Maḡmūʿ al-ṭarbiya (dāʿī Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāriṭī) 114n

Maḡmūʿa riǧāliyya wa-tārīḫiyya (Āġā Buzurg) 359n

Maḵṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl (al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan al-Aʿraǧī) 201n

al-Manāzil wa-l-diyār (Usāma b. Munqiḏ) 188

Maqābis al-anwār (Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī) 275n, 276n

Maqāla fī annahu laysa šayʾ mawǧūd ġayr mutanāhin lā ʿadadan wa-
lā ʿitzaman (Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī) 249n
Maqāla fī l-radd ʿalā man qāla bi-anna l-ağsām muḥdaṭa ʿalā ʿarīq al-ġadal (Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī) 248–249
Maqāla fī tabyīn anna kull muttaṣil inna-mā yanqaṣimu ilā munfaṣil wa-gayr mumkin an yanqaṣima ilā mā lā yanqaṣimu (Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī) 249n
Maqāla fī tazyīf qawl al-qāʾilīn bi-tarkīb al-ağsām min ağzā ʾl yataqaza (Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī) 249n
K. al-Maqālāt (Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq) 414, 618
Maqāmāt (al-Ḥarīrī) 138n
K. al-Marāsim al-ʿalawiyya fī l-aḥkām al-nabawiyya (Abū Yaʿlā Sallār al-Daylami) 98n, 149n
K. al-Marātib (Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī) 85n, 236n
K. al-Maṣādir fī usūl al-fiqh (Ṣadiq al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī ar-Rāzi) 200n, 201n
Maṣāʾil al-nawaṣib (Nūr Allāh al-Tustāri) 108n
Maṣāʾil ahl al-ḥilāf (al-Mufīd) 426
al-Masāʾil al-ṣāhar fī l-ġayba (al-Mufīd) 386n
al-Masāʾil al-Bādariyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 545–547
al-Masāʾil al-Baġdādiyya (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 336n
al-Masāʾil al-Barmakiyyya (al-Murtaḍā) 257n, 550, 627, 633
al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyyya (al-Murtaḍā) 257n, 557
al-Masāʾil al-Ǧurǧāniyya (al-Murtaḍā) 557
al-Masāʾil al-ḥams ʿašara (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 425n
Masāʾil al-ḥilāf fī usūl al-fiqh (al-Murtaḍā) 195n, 203, 552
al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyya (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 336n, 427n
al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyya al-ṯāniya (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 222n, 428n
al-Masāʾil al-Maqdisīyyāt 280, 324, 330, 354, 415
al-Masāʾil al-Miṣriyya (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 426n, 427n, 428n
Masāʾil al-mufradāt fī l-fiqh (al-Murtaḍā) 203n, 321n, 557
al-Masāʾil al-ṣaḥābiyya (al-Mufīd) 326, 349, 372n, 383n, 618
al-Masāʾil al-Sarawiyya (al-Mufīd) 96n, 315n, 326, 349, 618
al-Masāʾil al-Ṭabariyya (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 425n, 427n, 428n
al-Masāʾil al-Ṭūsiyya (al-Murtaḍā) 257n, 557
al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariyya (al-Mufīd) 96n, 245n, 301, 306n, 318n, 326, 349, 362n, 372n, 383n, 386n, 618

Masāʾil uṣūl al-fiqh (al-Murtaḍā) 621, 635

Masʿala ʿalā anna l-malāʾika afḍal min al-anbiyāʾ → al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ (al-Murtaḍā)

Masʿala ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-la-qad karramnā bānī Ādam” [Q 17:70] (al-Murtaḍā) 268, 361n, 364, 396n, 400, 544, 576–577, 622, 635

Masʿala ʿalā Yahyā fi taḥfat al-mumkin (al-Murtaḍā) 248–249, 548, 625, 637–638

Masʿala amlaynāhā munfarada mā yaḡib an yaʿlamu l-imām wa-mā yaḡib an lā yaʿlamu (al-Murtaḍā) 621, 635

Masʿala amraynāhā qadīman fī l-ḫabar allaḏī yurwā bi-anna walad al-zinā lā yadḫul al-ǧanna wa-basaṭnā al-qawl fīhā (al-Murtaḍā) 571n, 622

Masʿala ʿan waḡh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna l-muḥawwad bi-anna walad al-zinā lā yadḫul al-ǧanna wa-basaṭnā al-qawl fīhā (al-Murtaḍā) 571n, 622

Masʿala fi ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalayhi wa-sallam “Anā wa-anta yā ʿAlī ka-hātayn” (al-Murtaḍā) 281n, 327, 350, 355, 370, 403, 577–578, 623, 634


Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān (al-Murtaḍā) 221n, 329, 333, 353, 371, 403, 577


Masʿala fi bayān ḥaqīqat al-ḥayy al-faʿʿāl wa-ḏikr al-ḫilāf fīhi wa-l-dalāla ʿalā l-ṣaḥīḥ fī ḏālika (anonymous) 418, 614


Mas’ala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb (al-Murtaḍā) 205, 212, 218n, 261, 552, 581

Mas’ala fi dalīl al-ṣifāt (al-Murtaḍā) 554

Mas’ala fi ġiṭr anwā’ al-a’rād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā (al-Murtaḍā) 268, 292, 296, 299, 301, 305, 308, 311, 314, 320, 341, 343, 346, 347, 361n, 404, 536, 558–559, 581

Mas’ala fi Fadak (al-Murtaḍā) 332, 352, 371, 402, 581


Maqāla fi ġayr al-mutanāhī wa-l-mutanāhī wa-l-ġuz’ allaḏī lā yataqazza’ (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 248, 440

Mas’ala fi l-ĝins wa-l-nasab (al-Murtaḍā) 327, 350, 355, 370, 402, 583

Mas’ala fi ḥabar Māriyya al-Qibṭiyya (al-Mufīd) 372n

Mas’ala fi ḥaq al-afāl (anonymous) 328, 332, 351, 355, 370, 403, 415, 614


Mas’ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqlī (al-Murtaḍā) 328, 330, 332, 351, 355, 370, 403, 415, 583


Mas’ala fi l-iǧmāʿ (al-Murtaḍā) 328, 352, 356, 370, 403, 443, 584, 623, 639

Mas’ala fi ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt (al-Murtaḍā) 281n, 328, 352, 356, 370, 378, 403, 584


Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Masʾala fī l-ʿilm al-ḍarūrī li-l-ahwāl al-mūḏaba ʿan al-afʿāl (al-Murtaḍā) 585

Masʾala fī l-imāma (al-Murtaḍā) 554

Masʾala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminin ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar (al-Murtaḍā) 92n, 258n, 268, 288n, 315, 316n, 317n, 318n, 357, 359, 386, 391, 558, 585, 624, 635

Masʾala fī l-ʿirāda (al-Murtaḍā) 550


Masʾala fī l-istiṯnāʾ (al-Murtaḍā) 288, 293, 301, 303, 308, 311, 315, 327, 340, 343, 344, 347, 349, 369, 400, 538, 586

Masʾala fī l-ʾitirāḍ ʿalā man istadalla bi-dalīl al-saḥḥāra ʿalā anna al-ʿālam malaʾ wa-mā ubṭila bihi ḏālika (al-Murtaḍā) 586

Masʾala fī kawniḥi ʿāliman (al-Murtaḍā) 550

Masʾala fī kayfiyyat naǧāt Hūḍ ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik (al-Murtaḍā) 328, 351, 355, 370, 401, 586


Masʾala fī maʾnā “aʿlamukum bi-nafsihi aʿlamukum bi-rabbihi” (al-Murtaḍā) 587


Masʾala fī mīrāṯ al-anbiyāʾ (al-Murtaḍā?) 317n, 587

Masʾala fī nafy al-ǧiha wa-l-ruʾya (anonymous) 330, 334, 353, 371, 403, 415, 614

Masʾala fī nikāḥ al-mutʿa (al-Murtaḍā) 555

Masʾala fī qawl Allāh ʿalā [Q 4:48] (al-Murtaḍā) 551

Masʾala fī qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḫayr min ʿamalihi” (al-Murtaḍā) 258n, 329, 332, 352, 371, 390, 403, 588, 624, 635

Masʾala fī l-ruʾya (Abū Manṣūr Ibn al-Ǧabbān) 415n


Masʾala fī l-taḏakkur (al-Murtaḍā) 551

Masʾala fī tafḍīl Fāṭima ʿalayhā l-salām (al-Murtaḍā) 329, 333, 352, 371, 402, 588

Masʾala fī taḥqīq al-farq bayna l-fiʿl al-ḥāl wa-l-māḍī wa-l-mustaqbal (al-Murtaḍā) 630, 635
Masʾala fī l-taʾkid (al-Murtaḍā) 552, 630, 635
Masʾala fī l-tawba (al-Murtaḍā) 553
Masʾala fī taʾwil Q 3:169 (al-Murtaḍā) 632, 635
Masʾala fī taʾwil Q 20:114 (al-Murtaḍā) 589, 632, 635
Masʾala fī taʾwil Q 75:22–23 (al-Murtaḍā) 440, 589, 625, 626, 635
Masʾala fī waḏḥ ḥusn al-nawāfil (al-Murtaḍā) 292, 296, 299, 301, 305, 308, 310, 313, 319, 343, 346, 347, 405, 535, 589

Masʾala fī l-wilāya min qibal al-ẓālimīn (al-Murtaḍā) 554
Masʾala kabīra fī nuṣrat al-ruʿya wāḥṭal al-qawl bi-l-ʿaḍād (al-Murtaḍā) 556–557
Masʾala min kalām qāḍī 1-qūḍāt ʿAbd al-Gabbār b. Ḥumayd fi anna l-muṣajjira wa-l-muṣabbihā lā yuṁkinuhum al-istiḍāl “alā l-nubuwwa” (ʿAbd al-Gabbār al-Hamadānī) 292, 296, 298, 300, 304, 308, 310, 313, 319, 342, 345, 347, 373n, 388, 404, 413, 534, 615–616
al-Masʾala al-mūḍiḥa ʿan asbāb nikāḥ Amīr al-Muʾminīn (al-Mufīd) 315n
Masʾala mufraḍa amlaynāhā ḏawāban li-suʾāl baʿḍ al-ruʾasāʾ ʿanhu (al-Murtaḍā) 258n, 628, 636
Masʾala mufraḍa ʿan šubha fī ḥadīṯ al-manzala (al-Murtaḍā) 629
Masʾala munfarida (or mufraḍa) amlaynāhā ṣāḥīman wa-staṣṣaynāhā annahu ḍāyir waḏīb fī l-imām an yakūna ʿalīman bi-l-sarāʾir wa-l-ḍamāʾir wa-kull al-maʿlūmāt ʿalā mā ḏahaba ilayhi baʿḍ aṣḥābīnā (al-Murtaḍā) 632, 636
Masʾala: al-murād min al-ṣāʿiqa wa-l-raḡfa fī l-āyatayn [Q 41:13 and
Mas‘ala nasrānī fīhā anna man ‘azama fī nahār šahr Ramaḍān ‘alā akl wa-šurb aw ḍamā‘ yafṣud bi-hādā l-ʿazm šawmuhu (al-Murtaḍā) 622, 636


Mas‘ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Ṯumma awraṯnā l-kitāb allaḏīna ṣṭafaynā min ʿibādinā” [Q 35:32] (al-Murtaḍā) 239n, 328, 351, 356, 370, 401, 592

Mas‘ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Wa-iḏ naǧǧaynā min āl Firʿawn yasūmūnakum sūʾa l-ʿaḏāb” [Q 2:49] (al-Murtaḍā) 328, 351, 356, 370, 401, 592


Mas‘ala radda bihā ‘alā Yahyā b. ‘Adi fi ḏāli l-muwaḥḥidin fi ḥudūṭ al-ağsām (al-Murtaḍā) 248–249, 548


Masārr al-Šīʿa (al-Mufīd) 89n, 294, 297, 318n

al-Maṭālib al-muẓaffariyya fī šarḥ al-Risāla al-Ǧaʿfariyya (Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Mūsawī al-Astarābādī) 280n

Maṭālib al-nawāṣib (Ibn Šahrāšūb) 269n, 270n

Mawlid Amīr al-Muʾminīn (Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamaḏānī) 111n

al-Mawṣiliyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 79, 202, 203, 205, 212, 218n, 248n, 257n, 258n, 260, 262, 274n, 428n, 429n, 433, 439, 440, 441n, 547, 593, 620, 621, 626, 628, 629, 630, 631, 636, 639

al-Mawṣiliyyāt—al-kalām fī l-qiyās (al-Murtaḍā) 260, 360n, 547–548, 593, 630n

Minhāğ al-bayān fimā yasta‘miluhu l-insān (Yaḥyā b. ‘Isā b. ‘Alī Ibn Ğazla) 158n

Minhāğ al-ṣalāh fi iḥtiṣār al-misbāḥ (al-‘Allāma al-Ḥilli) 102

Miṣbāḥ al-faqīh fiṣḥāraṣṣāri‘al-Islām (Ḫāğg Aqā Riḍā b. Muḥammad Hādī Hamadānī) 382n

al-Miṣbāḥ fī aḥkām al-ṣarī‘a (al-Murtaḍā) 221n, 424–426, 427n, 428n, 431, 442, 541n, 555, 621, 622, 637

Miṣbāḥ al-mutahağġid (al-Ţūsī) 102, 111n, 159n

al-Miṣriyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 257, 274, 428n, 548–549, 599

al-Miṣriyyāt I (al-Murtaḍā) 222n, 548–549

al-Miṣriyyāt II (al-Murtaḍā) 549

al-Miṣriyyāt III (al-Murtaḍā) 428n, 549

Mubāḥaṯāt (Ibn Sīnā) 61n

Muḏakkirāt (Muḥammad Riḍā Šabībī) 183n

al-Mufaṣṣal fī šarḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal (Naǧm al-Dīn al-Kātibī) 388n

Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ (Yāqūt) 147, 542n

K. al-Muʿammarīn (Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Siǧistānī) 167n

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Mufāḥarat al-šayb wa-l-šabāb (Ibn Abī Ṭayy) 186n
al-Mufših fī l-imāma (al-Ṭūsī) 76n, 212n
al-Mūǧaz al-kāfī fī ‘ilm al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-qawāfī (Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwendī) 132n, 133n
K. al-Muġnī (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī) 73, 79, 80, 81n, 82n, 210n, 211n, 237, 414, 441, 551
Muḥāḍarāt al-ʿudabāʾ wa-muḥāḍarāt al-šuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaġāʾ (al-Rāǧib al-Iṣfahānī) 148n, 164n, 288n
Muḫtaṣar Nasīm al-saḥr wa-mā ulḥiqa bihi (Muḥammad Makkī) 289n
al-Muhannāʾiyya (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 96n
K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma (Šāh Sarbiḡān) 85n
al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih (anonymous) 305n, 407, 416
Muḥtaḍar (ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī al-ʿAmili) 324n
al-Muḫtaṣar fi uṣūl al-dīn (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī) 266, 267, 616

Muḫtaṣar Maqūlāt fī l-manṭiq (Ibn Muqaffaʿ) 392n

al-Muḫtaṣar al-nāfiʿ (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 102n


Munāǧāt mawlānā amīr al-muʾminīn 133n

K. al-Munaḫḫal (al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī) 149n

Munāẓarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā (al-Murtaḍā) 275, 284, 286, 325, 360n, 361n, 364, 390, 368n, 596–597


K. al-Muqniʿ (Ibn Bābawayh) 101


K. al-Muqniʿa (al-Mufīd) 102, 219n

R. al-Muqniʿa fī abwāb al-šarīʿa (Raḡā b. Yahyā b. Sāmān al-ʿAbartāʾī al-Kātīb) 219n

Musāḥadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi al-salām qabla mawtihi (al-
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Mustadrak Bihār al-anwār (Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ţhirānī) 393n
al-Mustaṣfā fī šarḥ al-Ḍarī‘a (Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ｒawaiḍī) 198n
al-Mustaṣfā (al-Čazālī) 211
Mustawfī fī l-naḥw (Ǧamāl al-Dīn Abū Sa‘d ‘Ali b. Mas‘ūd b. al-Ḥakīm Ibn al-Fīrḥān [or Farruḥān]) 133n
K. al-Mu‘tabar fī šarḥ al-Muḫtaṣar (al-Ḥillī) 427
K. al-Mu‘tamad (Ibn al-Malāḥīmī) 414
K. al-Mu‘tamad fī usūl al-fiqh (Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī) 209, 210n, 211, 212n, 449–454
Mutašābih al-Qurʾān (Ibn Šahrāšūb) 270n, 573
al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa-l-Buḥturi (al-Hasan b. Biṣr al-Ămiddī) 167n
Nafaḥāt al-azhār fī ḡulāṣat ‘Abaqāt al-anwār (‘Ali al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī) 83n
Nafā’is al-maḫṭūṭāt (Āl Yāsīn al-Kāẓīmī) 395
al-Naḏdiyāt (Abūl-Μuzaffar Muḥammad b. ᴴḥmód al-Kūfānī al-Abīwardī) 130n, 131n
Nahǧ al-balāqa (al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 82n, 83n, 84n, 112n, 113n, 115n, 121n, 122n, 126n, 127n, 128n, 129n, 130n, 132n, 133n, 137n, 138n, 139n, 144n, 148, 153, 163n, 171
Nahǧ al-ḥaqiq wa-kašf al-ṣidq (al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī) 77n, 163n
K. al-Naqḍ ʿalā Bišr al-Marīsī (‘Uṯmān b. Sa‘id al-Dārimī) 144n
K. al-Naqḍ ʿalā Ibn Ǧinnī fī l-hikāya wa-l-maḥkī (al-Murtaḍā) 194, 556
Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḏ man nasara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadād fil-šuhūr (al-Murtaḍā) 275, 276n, 284, 286, 287, 325, 336, 337, 339n, 354, 360n, 364, 368, 384, 387n, 399, 443, 598, 626, 627, 637, 638, 639
Naqḍ Ṭaṣaffuḥ al-adilla (Raṣīd al-Dīn Abū Sa‘id ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī l-Fath Mas‘ūd b. ʿĪsā al-mutakallim al-Rāzī) 114n
K. Naṭr al-laʾālī 133n
Naẓm al-ʾarūd li-l-qalb al-marūd (Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī) 154n
al-Nihāya (al-Ṭūsī) 93n, 105n, 431
Nihāyat al-dirāya (Ḥasan al-Ṣadr) 276n
Nihāyat al-marām (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 323n
Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl (Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 82n, 239
al-Niẓām fī šarḥ šiʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-Abī Tammām (Ibn al-Muṣṭawfī al-Irbilī) 149n
al-Niẓāmiyya fī maḏhab al-Imāmiyya (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥwāǧagī Šīrāzī) 239n
al-Nubda al-ūlā (Imām ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Saǧǧād) 112n
al-Nukat al-badīʿa fī taḥrīr al-Ḏarīʿa fī uṣūl al-fiqh (al-ʿAllama al-Ḥillī) 198n
al-Nukat al-iʿtiqādiyya (al-Mufīd) 372n
al-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt (Ibn Abī l-Ḥadid) 163n
al-Qaṣr al-Fasr (Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zūzanī al-ʿĀriḍ) 194
Qawāʿid al-ʿaqāʾid (Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī) 238n
Qayd al-awābiḍ (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī) 393n
K. Radʿ al-ǧāhil wa-tanbīh al-ġāfil (al-Karāḡiki) 99n
Nuzhat al-ḥarām al-abbās (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀṣimī) 466n
ʿAlam al-Hudā (anonymous) 94
al-Nuṣra li-aḥl al-ruʿya fī ṭubūt al-ḥilla (al-Murtaḍā) 366n
Nuzhat al-albāb (Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī) 118
al-Qawl fī l-ʾızār (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 248n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiʿtibār (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī ʿadīd al-ḥarīm (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiṭtiḥād (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiṭṭat (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiṭṭat (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiṭṭat (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiṭṭat (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Qawl fī l-ʾiṭṭat (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
Qayd al-awābiḍ (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī) 393n
K. Radʿ al-ǧāhil wa-tanbīh al-ğāfil (al-Karāḡiki) 99n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context


al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Ǧinnī fī šiʿr al-Mutanabbī (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī) 194


al-Ramliyyāt—responsum 1: Masʾala fī l-ṣanʿa wa-l-ṣāniʿ (al-Murtaḍā) 261, 268, 549, 599, 627, 637


Rasāʾil (Iḫwān al-Safāʾ) 62n

al-Rassiyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 221n, 251n, 252n, 275n, 367n, 428n, 429n


al-Rassiyāt I—responsum 17 (al-Murtaḍā) 261n, 601


Rawān-i ġāwīd dar tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i maǧīd (Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭaqaḍī) 177

Rawḍ al-ġinān (Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī) 231n, 270n

Rawḍ al-ġinān fī ṣarḥ Iršād al-aḏhān (al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī) 289n

al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fī ṣarḥ al-Lumʿa al-dimašqiyya (al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī) 278n

Rawḍāt al-ġannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-sādāt (Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḫwānsārī) 245n, 339n

Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn wa-tabṣirat al-mutaʿiẓẓīn (Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī) 418n
Rayḥān al-muḡālis (or al-maḡālis) wa-tuhlīf al-muʿānis (Abū ʿAlī al-Ruḥḥaṣṭī) 259n
al-Rāziyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 96n, 239n, 253n, 258n, 269n, 270n, 277, 288n, 324, 326, 336, 349, 356, 357, 360, 362n, 364, 367n, 369, 375, 384, 399, 558, 602, 621n, 628, 632, 634, 636, 639
al-Riḍā min ʿiʾr al-Murtaḍā (al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid ʿAdnān al-Bahrānī) 174
Riḡāl (al-Naḡāṣī) 134n, 217, 263, 541–559
Riḡāl (al-Ṭūsī) 542n
al-Risāla al-ʿAlawīyya fī faḍl Amīr al-Muʿāmin ʿalā sāʾir al-bariyya (al-Karāǧikī) 279n, 435n
al-Risāla al-bāhira fī l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira (al-Murtaḍā) 400, 443, 444, 558, 602, 628, 634, 639
Risāla dar tankīl wa tamṯīl (al-Afandī) 374n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-Ǧumʿa (Āmīr Murtaḍā al-Māzandarānī) 420n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-ʿumāma (Muḥammad Taqi al-Tustarī) 420n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-ʾiṣlām (Abū Murtaḍā al-Māzandarānī) 321n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-musāfīr wa-muddat al-iqāma fī ayy balad (anonymous) 336n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-Riḍā min ʿiʾr al-Murtaḍā (al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid ʿAdnān al-Bahrānī) 174
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-musāfīr wa-muddat al-iqāma fī ayy balad (Muḥammad Makkī) 289n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-Riḍā min ʿiʾr al-Murtaḍā (al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid ʿAdnān al-Bahrānī) 174
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-Ǧumʿa (Āmīr Murtaḍā al-Māzandarānī) 420n
Risāla fi ṣalāt al-Muʾāmin ʿalā sāʾir al-bariyya (al-Karāǧikī) 279n, 435n
Šarḥ Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal (Ibn al-Barrāğ) 100, 392, 393n, 396n, 431
Šarḥ Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal (al-Murtaḍā) 98, 99, 222n, 229n, 321, 376n, 407, 408n, 605, 629, 633, 634, 636, 637, 638
Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiyya [= al-Ḥuṭba al-muqammaṣa] (al-Murtaḍā) 268, 393, 400, 556, 605
Šarḥ I’tiqādāt al-Ṣadūq (al-Mufīd) 383n
Šarḥ al-Išārāt (Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 456n
Šarḥ al-Išārāt (al-Masʿūdī) 455n
Šarḥ al-Kāfiya al-badīʿiyya (Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī) 239n
Šarḥ al-Lumaʿ li-bn Ǧinnī (al-Bāqūlī al-Iṣfahānī) 154n
Šarḥ masāʾil al-Ḏarīʿa (ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī) 198n
Šarḥ masāʾil al-ḫilāf (Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-fiqh) (al-Murtaḍā) 85, 173n, 199, 219n
Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḏahhaba (al-Murtaḍā) 78n, 164n, 173, 189–193, 198n, 262, 305n, 320, 376, 399, 400, 404, 408n, 439, 440, 556, 605–606, 629, 639
Šarḥ Qawārīd al-ahkām (Gaʿfar b. Ḥaḍīr Kāṣīf al-Ǧiṭā) 396n
Šarḥ al-Risāla (al-Murtaḍā) 427, 428
Šarḥ-i Ṣaḥīfa-yi saǧğādiyya 334n
Šarḥ Šihāb al-aḥbār (Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī) 270n
Šarḥ al-Taḏkira (Abū Gaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Mazdak/Mardak) 203n
Šarḥ al-Talwihāt (Ibn Kammūna) 273n
Šarḥ al-ʿUmād (Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī) 209
Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī) 81n
Šarḥ al-ʿUyūn fī šarḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn (Ibn Nubātā) 118
Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil (al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī) 69n, 85, 118
K. al-Šawāhid al-makkiyya (Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Mūsawī al-ʿĀmilī) 289n
al-Šawāʾiq al-muḥriqa fī l-radd ʿalā ahl al-zayġ wa-l-zandaqa (Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytami) 78n
K. al-Ṣawārim al-muhraqa fī ǧawāb al-Ṣawāʾiq al-muḥriqa (Nūr Allāh al-Tustarī) 78, 108
al-Šaydāwiyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 257n, 425n, 429n, 557
K. Šihāb al-aḥbār (al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿi) 117, 133n
al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb (al-Murtaḍā) 173, 175, 183, 186, 187n, 188, 189, 254n, 399, 404,
408n, 435, 555, 606, 629, 633, 634, 638

K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fi l-ṣuqā (Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ǧawhari) 127n, 128n, 129n, 130n, 158n

Ṣiḥḥat ḥaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām (al-Murtaḍā) 115n, 269n, 327, 350, 355, 370, 402, 606

al-Šiqšiqiya (ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) 400n

Siṣṣ al-zand (al-Maʿarrī) 595n

al-Širāt al-mustaqīm (al-Bayāḍī) 261n, 317n, 587

Siṣṣ al-μuṣāṣa (Ibn Sinān al-Ḫabāfī) 629n

Šuʿarāʾ al-Ǧarī (ʿAlī al-Ḫaqqānī al-Naǧafī) 395

al-Šubḥ al-munbī ʿan ḥayṭiyyat al-Mutanabbī (Yūsuf al-Badīʿī) 595n

K. al-Šubha fī ibṭāl al-mumkin (Yahyā b. Ḍi) 249n

Šuḏūr al-ʿiqyān fī tarāǧim al-aʿyān (Iʿǧāz Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kantūrī al-Nisābūrī) 168n

al-Suyūf al-mušriqa muḫtaṣar al-Ṣawāqiʿ al-muḥriqa (al-Alūsī) 84n

al-Taḏkira bi-uṣūl al-fiqh (al-Karāǧikī) 204

al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ḏawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ (Ibn Mattawayh) 62n, 203n, 205n

al-Taḏkira fī l-usūl al-ḫamsa (al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād) 357n, 359, 362n

Taḏkirat al-muǧtahīdīn (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAšīra al-Bahrānī) 541

Taḏkirat al-fuqahāʾ (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī) 428

Taḏkirat al-muṣṭahdatīn (Yahyā b. al-Husayn b. ʿAṣ̄īra al-Bahrānī) 541

Tafḍīl al-aʾimma (al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥilli al-ʿĀmilī) 225n

Tafṣīl al-našʿatayn wa-taḥṣīl al-saʿādatayn (al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī) 164n
Tafsīr (Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Sammān) 134n
Tafsīr (Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾi) 108n–109n
Tafsīr (Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāżī) 136n
Tafsīr (ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī) 280
Tafsīr (al-Baydāwī) 119
Tafsīr (Ibn ʿAbbās) 134n
Tafsīr (Ibn Mihrīzād) 134n, 156
Tafsīr (Ibn al-Muḏakkir) 280
Tafsīr ġarīb al-Qurʾān (Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī) 287n
Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā [Q 5:93] (al-Murtaḍā) 544
Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā 408
Tafsīr al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā al-musammā bi-Nafāʾis al-taʾwil 408
Tafsīr sūrat “Hal atāʾ alā l-insān” (anonymous) 418, 619
Tafsīruhu al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya (al-Murtaḍā) 193, 439, 555
al-Taǧannī ʿalā Ibn Ǧinnī and al-Fatḥ ʿalā Abī l-Fath (Ibn Fūrṛaġa al-Burūġirdī) 194
Tahḏīb al-ansāb (Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydāli) 173
Tahḏīb al-luġa (Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. ʿAḥmad al-Azhari) 149n
K. Taḥrīr al-tahbīr fi ṣināʿat al-šīr wa-l-naṭr wa-bayān iǧāż al-Qurʾān (Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ al-Miṣrī) 239
K. al-Taḥrīr wa-l-tanwir (Muḥammad b. Ẓahir Ibn ʿAšūr al-Ṭūnisī) 119
al-Taklīf (Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Šalmāḡānī) 101
Takmilat Amal al-āmil (Ḥasan al-Ṣadr) 276n
Ţalāṭ masāʾil suʾila ʿanhā al-sulṭān (al-Murtaḍā) 258n, 557
Talḥīṣ al-bayān fi maǧāzāt al-Qurʾān (al-Šarīf al-Rāḍī) 81n, 132n, 166, 577n–578n
Talḥīṣ masāʾil min al-Ḏarīʿa (Ibn Funduq) 198
Talḥīṣ al-muṣannifīn (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī) 428n
Talḥīṣ al-Šāfī [al-Istīfā] (al-Ṭūsī) 74–76, 77n, 78, 88n, 212, 213n, 217n, 218n, 276n, 385n
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Ta‘līq āḫar fī l-baḥṯ ʿan ġayr al-mutanāhī (Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī) 249n
al-Ta‘līq fī ʿīl l-kalām (Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqri) al-Nīsābūrī 230
Ta‘līq ǧīlāf al-fuqahā’ (al-Šarīf al-Raḍī) 195n
Ta‘līq al-Iḥāṭa (anonymous) 236n
Ta‘līq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa (Mānkdīm Šašdīw) 85n, 210n
Ta‘līqāt Amal al-āmil (al-Afandī) 320n
al-Tamḥīd (al-Mufīd) 218n
K. Tamḥīd al-uṣūl fī ʿilm al-kalām (al-Ṭūsī) 99, 100n, 213n, 215n, 218n, 230, 231n, 232, 233n, 236, 238n
al-Tamḥīṣ (Muḥammad b. Hammām al-Iskāfī) 280
al-Tanbīh ʿalā l-alfāẓ allatī waqaʿa’ fī naqlihā wa-ḏabṭiḥa tašḥif wa-ḥaṭa’ fī tafṣirihā wa-maʿānīhā wa-tahrīf fī Kitāb al-Ǧarībayn (Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Salāmī) 131n, 214n, 357n
al-Tanbīh ʿalā ʿl-ṭašḥif wa-ḥaṭa’ Ibn Ġinnī (ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Raḥaʿī) 194
al-Tanbīh bi-l-maʿlūm min al-burḥān ʿalā tanzih al-maʾṣūm ʿan al-sahw wa-l-nisyān (al-Ǧurr al-ʿĀmilī) 419n
Tanbih al-gāfilinʿan faḍāʾil al-tālībiyyīn (al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī) 417, 617
al-Tanbihāt ʿalā maʿānī al-sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt (Ibn Abī l-Ridā l-ʿAlawī al-Ǧarīb) 163n
al-Tanwīr fī maʿānī al-tafsīr (Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī) 418
Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ (Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĀfīd Ibn Ǧinnī al-Rabaʿī) 194
Tanzīh al-Qummiyyīn (Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ǧaʿfar al-Ǧasībī al-Ǧurfānī) 278n
Taqrīb al-Tahḏīb (Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī) 95n
Taqrīb al-uṣūl (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī) 81n
Taqrīb al-uṣūl (al-Murtaḍā) 195n, 550
al-Taqrīb wa-l-iršād (Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī) 209, 219
al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt (al-Murtaḍā) 254n, 255n, 335, 367n, 622, 639
al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I—responsum 9 (al-Murtaḍā) 264, 610–611
al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I—responsum 11 (al-Murtaḍā) 264, 611
al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II (al-Murtaḍā) 76n, 89n, 107n, 214, 218n, 253n, 254n, 255n, 256n, 275n, 277n, 287, 290n, 293, 296, 303, 305, 309, 315, 326, 335, 336, 340, 343, 344, 347, 348, 349, 361n, 364, 369, 375, 399, 408n, 411, 434, 444, 539, 554n, 611, 632, 633, 634, 636, 637, 638, 639
al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II—responsum 11: fī l-musūḥ (al-Murtaḍā) 257n, 335, 611
al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV (al-Murtaḍā) 254n, 255n, 256n, 260, 553
Tārīḫ (Hilāl al-Ṣābī) 80n
Tārīḫ ḥādaʾ al-luğa al-ʿarabiyya (Ǧurǧī Zaydān) 358
Tārīḫ al-ʿaqīda al-šīʿiyya (Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanḡānī) 226n, 227n
Tārīḫ al-Kūfa (Hassūn al-Burāqi) 241n
Tārīḫ-i Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār) 133n
Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla (Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī) 114n
Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya (al-Mufīd) 244n, 318n, 384n, 420
Al-Šarif al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Taslīk al-nafs ilā ḥaẓīrat al-quds (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥilli) 381n

Tašrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf (ʿAli Ibn Ṭāwūs) 279n

K. Tatabbuʿ al-abyāt allatī takallama ʿalayhā Ibn Ǧinnī fī abyāt al-maʿrānī li-l-Mutanabbī (al-Murtaḍā) 194, 195, 556

Tatmīm al-Mulaḫḫaṣ (Abū Yaʿlā Sallār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī) 235

Ḏawāb al-aʿmāl wa-ʿiqāb al-aʿmāl (Ibn Bābawayh) 179n

t-Tawḥīd (Ibn Bābawayh) 223, 280

Ṭayf al-ḥayāl (al-Murtaḍā) 121n, 142n, 173, 174, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 193n, 269, 376n, 407, 408n, 438n, 555, 612, 633, 634, 638

Tazkiyat al-arwāḥ ʿan mawāniʿ al-aflāḥ (ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī) 164n

Ṭibb-i Manṣūrī (Manṣūr b. Muḥammad Šīrāzī) 342n

al-Tibyān (al-Ṭūsī) 272n, 273n, 429n, 430n

al-Tibyān li-Yāqūṭat al-imān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān (al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ) 211n

Tuḥfa-yi Iṯnay ʿAšariyya (Šah ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ġulām Ḥakīm b. Walī Allāh Aḥmad al-Dihlawī) 83n, 84n

Tuḥfat al-dahr fī l-munāẓara bayna l-ṣīrār wa-l-ṣīnār (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) 279n

al-ʿUdda fī uṣūl al-fiqh (al-Ṭūsī) 199n, 200n, 201n, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210n, 211n, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218n, 236, 238n, 250, 261, 283, 367, 449–454, 581, 597

ʿUddat al-Qāʾiṣāl (Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan al-Aʿrağī) 201n

ʿUǧālat al-marʿifa fī uṣūl al-dīn (Zahir al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad) 126n

al-ʿUmad (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī) 79n, 81n, 203, 205, 209, 210, 211, 212n

ʿUmdat al-qāʾiṣāl fī šarh ʿAḥūr al-Buḥārī (Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī) 118

ʿUmdat al-ṭalīḥ (Ibn ʿInaba) 118, 173n

al-Uṣūl (Ibn Ḥallād) 85n, 210n, 237

Uṣūl al-fiqh (al-Mufid) 204n

ʿUyūn aḥbār al-Riḍā (Ibn Bābawayh) 112n

ʿUyūn al-muʿṣīzāt (al-Husayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) 416, 417n, 617

ʿUyūn al-munāẓarat (Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī) 241n

al-ʿUyūn wa-l-maḥāsin (al-Mufid) 240, 241, 247

Wadāʾīl al-nubuwwa (Šayḥ Hādī al-Ţihrānī) 382n

K. al-Wāḍiḥ (Abū Yusuf al-Qazwīnī) 209, 449–454

al-Wāḍiḥ fī muškilāt šīr al-Mutanabbī (Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ǧannān al-Isfahānī) 194
Wafayāt al-aʿyān (Ibn Ḥallikān)  78n
al-Wāfi (al-Fayḍ al-Kāšānī)  337
al-Wāfi (al-Ṣafadī)  126n, 262n
al-Wāfi fī l-qawāfī (Ǧamāl al-Dīn Abū Saʿd ʿAlī b. Masʿūd b. al-Hakim Ibn al-Firḥān [or Farruḫān])  132n, 133n
Waǧh ġarīb fī ziyādat “lā” fī qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-mā manaʿaka allā tasǧuda” (Q 7:12) (al-Murtaḍā)  623
Waǧh nahy al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ʿan akl al-ṯūm (al-Murtaḍā)  327, 330, 350, 355, 369, 402, 612
al-Waʿīd (al-Murtaḍā)  218n, 222n, 439, 557, 631, 636, 639
al-Waṣīṭ fī tarāǧim udabāʾ Šinqīṭ (Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Šinqīṭī)  164n
al-Wuzarāʾ (Ibn Šahrāšūb)  270n
al-Yaqīn fī iḫtiṣāṣ mawlānā ʿAlī bi-imrat al-muʿminīn (Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭawwūs)  111n, 250
Yāqūtat al-imān (Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn)  211n
Yatīmat al-dahr (Abū Manṣūr al-Ṭhālābī)  173
Zahrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-riyāḍ (Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭawwūs)  282n
al-Zahrāt al-zawiyya fī l-Rawḍa al-bahiyya (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)  278n
Zallat al-anbiyāʾ (Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Maššāṭ al-Rāzī)  113, 114n
al-Zubda (Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Ǧurğānī)  280n
## Index of places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleppo (Halab)</td>
<td>123n, 144n, 187, 253, 223n, 233n, 254n, 427n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>147n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbār</td>
<td>120n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Andalus</td>
<td>110n, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārān (Kāšān)</td>
<td>159n, 426n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardabil</td>
<td>120n, 144n, 152, 243n, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astarābād</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurangabad</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāb al-Šarāt</td>
<td>71n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bādarāyā</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>56, 71, 72, 79, 80, 81, 82n, 85, 86n, 89n, 99, 120, 124, 135, 147n, 149, 153n, 170, 196n, 206n, 217n, 235n, 252n, 259n, 262n, 263n, 266n, 271n, 317n, 322n, 373n, 396n, 435, 437, 442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrayn</td>
<td>74n, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayhaq</td>
<td>117n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beirut</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>124n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birkat Zulzul</td>
<td>122n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>189, 216n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buḫārā</td>
<td>282n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>61n, 92, 101, 136, 147n, 150n, 164, 165, 180n, 189, 190, 263n, 272n, 338n, 379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cologne</td>
<td>97n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>129n, 145n, 146, 151, 165, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daylam</td>
<td>235, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubai</td>
<td>177n, 180n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>125n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūryast</td>
<td>141n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>61n, 155, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuṣṭāt</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğabal ʾĀmil</td>
<td>145n, 273n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğamiʿayn</td>
<td>270n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğāst (Ḡāsb)</td>
<td>158n, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğawṣaqān (Rāwand)</td>
<td>139n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golconda</td>
<td>94n, 105n, 156, 157n, 283, 284n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğubaʿ (Ḡabal ʾĀmil)</td>
<td>145n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğurğān</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥalab → Aleppo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harāzkān (also Harāzgān or Harāzgān), a village of Ġāsb (or Ġāst)</td>
<td>242n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḥilla</td>
<td>125n, 220, 257, 270n, 272, 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫurāsān</td>
<td>86, 206-207n, 230, 248, 258, 297, 299, 303, 307, 309, 312, 318, 341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫuwinḡān (Isfahān)</td>
<td>139n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫūzistān</td>
<td>145n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫwānsār</td>
<td>89n, 161n, 359n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>94n, 105n, 156, 178n, 183, 283, 317n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>61n, 168n, 183, 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>55, 73n, 91n, 97n-98n, 103n, 114n, 144n, 154n, 155, 162n, 164, 174n, 181, 216n, 226n, 363n, 417n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>55, 91n, 120n, 144n, 226n, 257n, 363n, 371, 372n, 373n, 378, 388n, 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iṣfahān</td>
<td>126n, 131n, 133n, 139n, 144n, 152, 178, 193, 197n, 245n, 289n, 321n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic West</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>146n, 147n, 160, 273n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbalā’</td>
<td>93n, 107n, 108n, 125, 126n, 263n, 279n, 420n, 484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karḫ</td>
<td>71, 89n, 122n, 251n, 372n, 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāšān</td>
<td>92n, 95n, 128n, 129, 131n, 132n, 143, 159n, 162n, 242, 426n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kāẓimiyya</td>
<td>107n, 243n, 275, 276n, 336, 360, 364, 375, 384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufa</td>
<td>56, 259n, 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>193, 197n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>168n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maghreb</td>
<td>61n, 147n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māmaṭīr</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mašhad</td>
<td>100n, 103n, 105n, 107n, 124n, 163n, 165n, 240, 290, 292, 325, 334, 356, 360n, 365, 366, 375, 377, 383, 398n, 417n, 484, 541n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawṣil</td>
<td>79, 111, 112n, 140n, 203, 257, 268n, 274, 320n, 433n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayyāfāriqīn</td>
<td>144n, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māzandarān</td>
<td>158, 321n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca</td>
<td>82, 103, 105, 114n, 116, 131n, 168, 215, 244, 279n, 358n, 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medina</td>
<td>196n, 316, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miṣr</td>
<td>257, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>187n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nağaf</td>
<td>74n, 77n, 89n, 92n, 96n, 97, 99, 103n, 105n, 106n, 114n, 115n, 145, 147n, 160n, 165, 174n, 183, 190n, 192n, 196n, 197n, 199, 200n, 215, 217n, 241n, 243, 246, 261n, 271n, 272, 279n, 288, 293, 316n, 357, 358, 359n, 360n, 362n, 371, 372n, 373n, 377, 378, 379n, 380n, 385n, 386n, 387n, 388n, 389, 395, 396, 408, 413, 420n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>133n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nīl</td>
<td>257, 260, 292, 296, 298, 300, 304, 307, 310, 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīsābūr</td>
<td>207n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman Empire</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qtāf</td>
<td>74n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qazwīn</td>
<td>74n, 77n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qum</td>
<td>56, 96n, 97, 98, 103, 128n, 132n, 138n, 143n, 146n, 154n, 165, 177n, 178n, 285, 320n, 366, 379n, 385n, 386, 393n, 398, 406, 408, 417n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qusanṭīna</td>
<td>147n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

830
al-Qusṭanṭiniyya 147n, 188
Ramla 253, 260, 420n, 435
Rāwand 130n, 139n, 157
Rayy 56, 79, 86, 117, 135n, 141n, 155n, 200n, 237, 248, 253, 425
Riyadh 147n
Russia 321n
Sābzwār 271, 416
Sāmarrāʾ 277n
Samāwa 371
Ṣanʿāʾ 115n, 117
Sārī (Māzandarān) 158, 321n
Saudi Arabia 61n, 147n
Ṣaydā 257
Ṣīrāz 103, 126n, 280
St. Petersburg 99n, 235, 236n
Ṭabāristān 97, 257, 297, 329
Tabriz 97n, 103n, 107n, 151, 157n, 245n
Ṭarābulus 100n, 254, 255n
Tārīm 208
Tehran 78, 90n, 96n, 97n, 98n, 133n, 158n, 162n, 176, 226, 249n, 266n, 279, 322n, 385n
Ṭūs 257
Tustar 140n
Wārān (Tabrīz) 157n, 158n
Wāṣīṭ 257, 260
Western Sahara 164n
Yemen 61n, 86, 145n, 208, 417n
Index of institutions

Āḡā Buzurg Library (Nağaf) 358
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library 88n, 99n, 104, 107n, 163n, 201n, 216n, 240, 273n, 286n, 318n, 358n, 366, 367n, 398n, 417n
al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa (Karbalāʾ) 93n, 125n
al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAlawiyya al-Muqaddasa (Naḡaf) 115n
al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa (Karbalāʾ) 93n, 107n, 126n
al-Azhar (Cairo) 92
Bunyād-i Muḥaqqiq-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Qum) 393n
Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī) 64, 78n, 165n, 185n, 236n, 408
Cairo Genizah 272n
Central Library of Tehran University 96n, 358
Chester Beatty Library (Dublin) 125n
Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris (Tehran) 322n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 201
Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt wa Maʿārif-i Islāmī (Tehran) 90n
Dār al-ʿilm (-founded by al-Murtaḍā) 72n
Dār al-ʿilm (-founded by Šāpūr b. Ardašīr in Karḫ) 71, 72n, 252n, 253n
Dār al-ʿilm (-founded by al-Raḍī) 72n
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Cairo) 101, 147n, 148n, 150n, 180n, 455n
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt (al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa) (Karbalāʾ) 93n, 125n, 126n
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt (Ṣanʿāʾ) 115n
Dār Ṣaddām li-l-Maḥṭūṭāt (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya) 373n
El Escorial (San Lorenzo) 187n
Ǧāmiʿ Kāšān 143
Ǧāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm (al-Kāẓimiyya) 275n
Great Mosque (Ṣanʿāʾ) 117
Gulpāygānī Library 279n
al-Ḥaḍra al-Ḡarawiyya 136
al-Ḥayḍariyya al-Ṣafawiyya (Kāšān) 242
al-Ḥaydariyya al-Ṣafawiyya (Kāšān) 242
al-Ḥjānaqāh al-Ṣayḥūniyya (Cairo) 136
al-Ḥizāna al-Ḡarawiyya (al-Ḥadra al-Ḡarawiyya / al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya) (Naḡaf) 115n, 373n, 272, 273n, 290, 309, 314, 379n, 380n, 381n
Ḫizānat Kutub Šafi al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī 120n, 144n, 321
Ḫizānat Muḥammad Rāḡib Pāšā 146n
al-Ḫusayniyya al-Ṣūṣṭariyya (Naḡaf) 385n
Institute of Ismaili Studies (London) 61n
Khedival Library (Cairo) 165n
King Saud University Library (Riyadh) 147n
Kitābḫāna-yi Āyat Allāh Fāḍil Ḩwānsārī (Ḥwānsār) 389n
Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Wali-yi ʿAṣr (Ḥwānsār) 161n
Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥudāy Ḥāna-yi Masjid-i Ġāmī ʿAtīq-i Šīrāz 112n
Kitābḫāna-yi Imāmzāda Muḥammad Hilāl (Ārān) 159n, 426n
Kitābḫāna-yi Muḥammad ʿĀlī Qāḍī Ṭabāṭabāʾī Tabrīzī 93n
Kitābḫāna-yi Muḥammad ʿĀlī Rawḍātī (Īsfahān) 245n
Kitābḫāna-yi Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān (Tehran) 120n
Kitābḫāna-yi Wāʾiẓ-i Čarandābī (Tabrīz) 107n
Kufa University, Maktabat Kulliyat al-Fiqh 74n
Kungirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā 408, 409n
Madrasa-yi ʿAlawī (Ḥwānsār) 89n
al-Madrasa al-Ḍiyāʾiyya (Damascus) 129n
Madrasa-yi Čaʿfarī (Kāšān) 162n
Madrasa-yi Marwī (Tehran) 161n, 249n
Madrasa-yi Nāṣirī 312n
al-Madrasa al-Nūriyya (Mawṣīl) 112n
Madrasa-yi Ṣafawīyya (Kāšān) 242
al-Madrasa al-Samīʿiyya (Maḥshad) 105n
al-Madrasa al-ʿUmāriyya (Damascus) 129n
Maḡlis Library (Tehran) 93n, 98n, 151, 226, 227n, 243, 320n, 338, 379n, 385n
Maġmaʿ-ī Daḥāʾir-i Islāmī (Qum) 146n
al-Maḡmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī (Baghdad) 196n
Maktabat Āl Asad Allāh al-Kāẓimī 275n
Maktabat al-Aḥqāf (Tarīm) 208
Maktabat al-Amīnī al-Tabrīzī (Naḡaf) 92n
Maktabat al-Awqāf (Ṣanʿāʾ) 117
Maktabat al-Ḡaʿfari (al-Madrasa al-Hindiyya) 93n
Maktabat al-Ḥāngī (Cairo) 164n
Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Naḡaf) 243
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma (Naḡaf) 92n–93n, 306n
Maktabat Imām al-Ḥakīm al-ʿĀmma (Naḡaf) 160n, 373n, 372n, 376, 380n, 382, 396
Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūʾī (Naḡaf) 362n
Maktabat al-Imāmayn al-Ǧawādayn (al-Kāzimiyya) 384
Maktabat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ (Nağaf) 147n, 180, 197n, 199n, 241n, 387n, 388n
Maktabat al-Madrasa al-Hindiyya (Karbalāʾ) 93n, 125n, 126n
Maktabat al-Šayḫ Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Garawī al-Urdūbādī 197n
Maktabat al-Sayyid Ḥalifa al-Aḥsāʾī al-Qaṭfī (Nağaf) 96n
Maktabat al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Āl Zuwayn (Nağaf) 183
Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Bahr al-ʿUlūm 180
Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Dāʾī al-ʾIslām (Hyderabad) 178n
Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Amin b. al-Sayyid ʿAlī 117n
Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Yaʿqūbī (Nağaf) 181n, 190n, 372n, 373n
Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad Sādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm (Nağaf) 372n, 389n
Maktabat Sulṭān al-Mutakallimīn (library of Șayḫ Muḥammad al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kuǧūrī) (Tehran) 266n
al-Maktaba al-Taymūriyya, Ǧāmiʿ al-Mahšūṭāt al-Islāmiyya 266n
Maktabat Tiqat al-ʾIslām (Tabrīz) 245n
Marʿašī Library (Qum) 96n, 98n, 132n, 177n, 320n, 379n, 386, 396n
Markaz Ğumʿat al-Māḏig (Dubai) 177n, 180n
Markaz-i Iḥyāʿ-ī Mīrāṯ-i İslāmī (Qum) 285, 297n, 417n
Markaz Iḥyā al-Turāṭ al-Tābiʿi li-Dār Maḥšūṭāt al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa (Karbalāʾ) 108n
al-Markaz al-ʾIslāmī li-l-Dirāsāt al-Istrāṭīğiyya (Nağaf) 408
Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Kāmpyüterī-yi ʿUlūm-i İslāmī (Qum) 406
al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAbbāsiyya (Cairo) 189n
al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥaydariyya 395
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) 133n
Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī Library 226n
Muʿassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāṭ 289n
Muʿassasat Āyat Allāh al-Buḫūrī 267n, 385n, 386n
Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ǧiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma (Nağaf) 192n, 196n, 271n, 316n, 362n, 372n, 373n, 374n, 376n, 388n, 420n
Muʿassasat al-Naṣr al-ʾIslāmī al-Tābiʿa li-Ǧamāʿat al-Mudarrisīn bi-Qum 406
Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context

Muʿassasat al-Sibṭayn ʿalayhimā l-salām al-ʿĀlamiyya (Qum) 408
Muʿassasat al-Tārīḥ al-ʿArabī (Beirut) 406
Muʿtamar Alfiyyat al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd 407
al-Mutḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (Baghdad) 153n, 181n, 373n
Nāṣiriyya Library (Lucknow) 168n
National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg) 99n, 234n
National Museum → al-Mutḥaf al-ʿIrāqī (Baghdad)
Princeton University Library 387n, 388n
Rampur Raza Library 139
Ṣafāʾī library 366n, 367n
Shiʿite Collection (Cologne) 97n
Sipahsālār Library 96n, 105n, 312n
Sotheby’s (London) 176
UCLA Library 197n, 198n
Ẓāhiriyya Library (Damascus) 129n
# Index of manuscripts

### Austria

**Vienna**

- Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 205 208n

### Egypt

**Cairo**

- Dār al-Kutub, 10 ḥuǧa 150n
- Dār al-Kutub, 169 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr 266, 613, 616, 619
- Dār al-Kutub, 183 adab Taymūr 112n, 148, 165n, 567
- Dār al-Kutub, 188 ʿiṣr Taymūr 190, 605
- Dār al-Kutub, 349 ʿaṣūr Taymūr 417–418, 619
- Dār al-Kutub, 398 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr 109n
- Dār al-Kutub, 485 ʿiṣr Taymūr 190, 605
- Dār al-Kutub, 545 ʿaṣūr Taymūr 379n
- Dār al-Kutub, 20313 ʾbāʾ 273, 599

### France

**Paris**

- Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 4239 128n
- Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 6543 239n
- Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 6992 112n

### Germany

**Berlin**

- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 74 69n, 110n
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 80 112n
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 1393 128n
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 250 482, 567, 608
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 258 482, 567
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169 124, 145n, 265, 479, 482, 567, 603

### Munich

- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab 1273 211n

### India

**Hyderabad**

- Maktaba ʿAṣafiyya 8735 168n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rampur</th>
<th>Raza Library 1190 139n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raza Library 4395 190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamadān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635 (Kitābḫāna-yi Ġarb 603) 225, 235, 562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫwānsār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Wali-yi ‘Aṣr (no shelfmark) 161n, 478, 483, 567</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Īṣfahān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dānišgāh-i Īṣfahān 769 477, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Ganǧīna-yi Īṣfahān 1382 416n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Ganǧīna-yi Īṣfahān 5442 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108 120n, 122n, 136n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Şadr-i Bāzār 620 98n, 605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Şadr-i Bāzār 895 162, 478, 483, 567, 608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitābḫāna-yi Madrasa-yi Şadr-i Bāzār 914 356, 362n–363n, 602, 615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī (no shelfmark) 111n–112n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kāšān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madrasa-yi Ġaʿfarī (no shelfmark) 74n, 162n, 567, 603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (ʿĀṭifi) 147 93n, 573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (ʿĀṭifi) 238 478 |
| Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (ʿĀṭifi) (no shelfmark) 95n-96n, 599 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mašḥad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 54 99n-100n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 393 103n, 163n, 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 396 105n-106n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 572 107n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 653 98n, 605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 676 74n, 603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 950 163n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527 162, 171, 484, 567, 608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528 142n, 163n, 171–172, 478, 484, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1532 478, 484, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1916 179n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2124 163n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2150 179n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2182 163n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2234 93n, 97n, 573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426 309–311, 530–540, 561, 562, 564, 597, 599</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 366n, 368, 598
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21590 366n, 593, 598
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912 290n, 590, 604, 611
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792 378, 575
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971 281, 377n, 619
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23972 281, 580, 584
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 25855 614
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149 332–334, 564, 565, 570, 577, 581, 582, 585, 588, 589, 592, 594, 595, 596, 607, 608, 614
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30650 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 368, 598
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30651 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 368, 593, 597
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30652 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 368, 593
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30653 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 370, 607
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30654 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 602
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30655 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 601, 602
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30656 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 611–612
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30657 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 603
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30658 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 615
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30659 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 579
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30663 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 611
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 579, 583, 586, 598
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 369, 578, 590, 604
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 370–371, 565, 570, 577, 581, 582, 585, 586, 588, 589, 592, 594, 595, 607, 614, 615
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738 (portion of the Ṣafāʾī codex) 371, 600, 608
Āstān-i Quds-i Radawī 30739 (portion of the Šafāʾī codex) 371, 584
Āstān-i Quds-i Radawī 30740 (portion of the Šafāʾī codex) 371, 610
Āstān-i Quds-i Radawī 32852 106n, 609
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059 193, 605, 613
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33061 193, 605, 613
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33180 282n, 613
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33181 282n, 619
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183 282n, 361n, 575, 576, 593, 596, 597, 598, 603, 607, 611
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 34424 230–231
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 34425 230n
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 44139A 138n
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī (“al-Šafāʾī codex”) 366–371, 398, 399–405
Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 22 Fayyāḍ 382n
Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 937 282n
Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054 225–226, 235, 562
Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 7426 382n
Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 7427 382n
Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 23732 335n
Kitābhāna-yi Nawwāb 373 172n, 567

Qārīn
Madrasa-yi Ġaʿfariyya 140 285–286, 323, 593, 596, 597, 598, 603, 607, 609

Qum
Bunyād-i Muḥaqiq-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī (no shelfmark) 393n
Faydiyya 88 161n, 477, 484, 567, 608
Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 127/29 (former shelfmark: 1751) 279n, 584
Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 170 105n, 609
Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 3665 112n
Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʾāt wa Tahqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīġāt-i Islāmī) 174 152, 485, 567
Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʾāt wa Tahqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīġāt-i Islāmī) 359 151, 485, 567
Kitābhāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 325 479, 485, 567
Kitābhāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 757 172, 479, 485, 567
Kitābhāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375 75n, 77n, 385n
Kitābhāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1798 172, 479, 485, 567
Maktabat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (no shelfmark) 393n
Marʿašī 83 273n
Marʿašī 113 320n
Marʿašī 243 419, 613
Marʿašī 245 103n
Marʿašī 255 361n, 575, 577, 587, 610
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 273</td>
<td>132n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 282</td>
<td>115n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 794</td>
<td>196n, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 817</td>
<td>116n, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 1144</td>
<td>242, 243n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 1574</td>
<td>138n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 2933</td>
<td>98n, 605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3210</td>
<td>196n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3562</td>
<td>128n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3598</td>
<td>92n, 97n, 573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3649</td>
<td>97n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3694</td>
<td>324n, 357, 585, 602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3804</td>
<td>379n, 382n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 3805</td>
<td>382n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 4186</td>
<td>243, 565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 4320</td>
<td>278n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 4364</td>
<td>96n, 599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 5690</td>
<td>122n, 126n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 6036</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 6738</td>
<td>225, 226, 562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 7036/5</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 8821</td>
<td>278n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 9501</td>
<td>93n, 573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 11340</td>
<td>254n, 340–341, 561, 564, 571, 572, 574, 576, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 586, 587, 588, 590, 591, 596, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 606, 610, 611, 612, 618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 12373</td>
<td>119–124, 170n, 171, 171n, 478, 484, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 12513</td>
<td>145n, 478, 485, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 12772</td>
<td>159n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13096/30</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13301</td>
<td>137n, 153n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13678</td>
<td>127n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13679</td>
<td>127n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13732</td>
<td>89, 90n, 597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13901</td>
<td>80n, 169n, 179, 180n, 185n, 488–493, 564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 13940</td>
<td>243, 565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 14254</td>
<td>339n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marʿašī 14523</td>
<td>215, 216n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marʿašī 14673 324n, 362n, 615
Marʿašī 15803 244
Marʿašī 15821 162n
Marʿašī 16104 179n
Marʿašī 17254 356–357, 602, 615
Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāšt-i Islāmī 1818 138n
Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāšt-i Islāmī 3139 131n
Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāšt-i Islāmī 4430 104n, 609
Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūgirdī 18 392, 566
Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūgirdī 374 266–267, 331–332, 578, 579, 583, 587, 589, 591, 593, 597, 598, 604, 609, 614, 616, 618, 619
Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūgirdī 503 90n, 597

Šīrāz
Faculty of Medicine at the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾi Library) 269 94n, 573
Faculty of Medicine at the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾi Library) 867/4 614

Tehran
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1303 201, 563
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1468 74n, 603
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1795 338n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1796 338n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 3357 375n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 5244 131n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 142n, 164n, 193, 477, 485, 568, 606
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688 164n, 193, 477, 485, 568, 606, 608
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6710 603
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6710/5 116n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6783 603
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 7031 105n, 609
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 7044/2 130n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272  89, 89n, 597
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8630  74n, 603
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8971  417n, 617
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt), Imām Ǧumʿa 42  172, 485, 568
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 53B  311n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 119  247, 565
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt 211  182–183, 184, 564
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Ḥuqūq 216  599
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77D  93n, 573
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 92  374n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 313D  131n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1256  299
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1550  158n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 3295  226n, 562
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 3344  226n, 562
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 5046  139n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ḥikmat 235  150n, 170, 479, 486, 568
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52  142n, 155, 477, 486, 568
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 167  179n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 223  124–125, 171, 478, 486, 568
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 518  74n, 603
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519  75n, 76n, 77n
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 689  104, 609
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 920  393n, 566
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080  283–285, 323, 593, 597, 598, 600, 603, 607, 609
Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 5470  132n, 154n
Kitābḫāna-yi Āstāna-yi ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm Ḥasanī (Šahr-i Rayy)  681  104, 609

843
Kitābḫāna-yi Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān 3720
Maḏlīs 278 86n, 134n, 155, 156, 166n, 478, 486, 544n, 568, 608
Maḏlīs 292 115n
Maḏlīs 757 105n
Maḏlīs 896/3 131n
Maḏlīs 1044 152, 322n, 478, 486, 568
Maḏlīs 1089 152, 478, 486, 568
Maḏlīs 1225 379n
Maḏlīs 1235 112n
Maḏlīs 1284 420n, 613
Maḏlīs 1308 565
Maḏlīs 1692 98n, 108n, 605
Maḏlīs 1805 116
Maḏlīs 2744 104n
Maḏlīs 2745 191, 606
Maḏlīs 2750 323n
Maḏlīs 2756 105n, 609
Maḏlīs 2819 286n, 593, 597, 598
Maḏlīs 2833 244
Maḏlīs 2904 387, 584
Maḏlīs 3093 426n
Maḏlīs 3185 198, 563
Maḏlīs 3758 338–339, 614, 619
Maḏlīs 3794 199–200
Maḏlīs 3864 245, 565
Maḏlīs 3944 392n
Maḏlīs 3971 76n
Maḏlīs 4129 133n
Maḏlīs 4261 106n, 609
Maḏlīs 4326 95n, 573, 599
Maḏlīs 4339 89n
Maḏlīs 4471 244n, 334–335, 596, 640–647
Maḏlīs 4900 116
Maḏlīs 5138 317n
Maḏlīs 5392 90n, 161n, 248, 565, 597
Maḏlīs 5541 113n
Maḏlīs 5829 152, 568
Maḏlīs 6713 379n
Maḏlīs 7256 95n, 573
Maḏlīs 7308 95n, 573
Maḏlīs 7334 196n, 563
Maḏlīs 7539 316n, 575, 585
Maḏlīs 7885 151, 480, 486, 568
Maḏlīs 8187 174n
Maḏlīs 8344 153n
Maḏlīs 8347 128n
Maḏlīs 8461 335–336, 598
Maḏlīs 8508 173n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mağlis</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8791</td>
<td>106n, 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8867</td>
<td>153n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8929</td>
<td>95n, 599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8932</td>
<td>338n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8940</td>
<td>416n, 616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9067</td>
<td>150–151, 477, 486, 568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9212</td>
<td>103n, 106n, 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9314</td>
<td>161n, 172, 479, 488, 568, 608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9579</td>
<td>323n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9718</td>
<td>379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9728</td>
<td>384, 602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9738</td>
<td>241, 242, 246, 565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9740</td>
<td>379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9796</td>
<td>382n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10005</td>
<td>388–389, 561, 562, 568, 569, 571, 572, 574, 580, 582, 587, 588, 591, 599, 600, 601, 613, 616, 617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10006</td>
<td>357n, 365n, 384n, 615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10007</td>
<td>378–384, 584, 593, 598, 603, 607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10010</td>
<td>271n, 613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10029</td>
<td>89n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10073</td>
<td>226–229, 235, 562, 595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10143</td>
<td>379n, 380n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10144</td>
<td>379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10170</td>
<td>381n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10183</td>
<td>315n–316n, 585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10188</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10192</td>
<td>323n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10204</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10237</td>
<td>381n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10365</td>
<td>381n, 382n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10366</td>
<td>381n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10449</td>
<td>381n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10452</td>
<td>379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10544</td>
<td>379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11579</td>
<td>379n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12109</td>
<td>418n, 617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12392</td>
<td>145n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12706</td>
<td>382n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13122</td>
<td>242n–243n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13165</td>
<td>193, 606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13174</td>
<td>90n, 597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13732</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13832</td>
<td>374n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14128</td>
<td>289n, 336–337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14505</td>
<td>320n, 613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14728</td>
<td>158n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15303</td>
<td>103, 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15359</td>
<td>357, 602, 615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15684</td>
<td>375n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15816</td>
<td>358n, 359n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15825</td>
<td>280–283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16029</td>
<td>225n, 603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16626</td>
<td>124, 171–172, 478, 486, 568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17380</td>
<td>337, 593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18061</td>
<td>95n, 599</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maktabat al-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqi (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya) 3784 127n
Maktabat al-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqi (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqiyya) 10826/3 280n

Karbalaʾ
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa (no shelfmark) 92n–93n
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 129 178n, 180n, 183, 564
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 242 275n, 603
Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 249 93n
Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250 125–130, 478, 484, 567
Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 9106 ʿayn 126n, 567

al-Kāẓimiyya
Ǧāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/21 361n
Ǧāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26 336, 593, 597, 598, 601, 602, 603, 607, 609, 611, 613
Maktabat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq al-ʿĀmma 63 93n, 94n, 573

Kufa
Kufa University, Maktabat Kulliyat al-Fiqh (no shelfmark) 74n

Nağaf
Madrasat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Burūǧirdī 172 288n, 585, 609
Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 91 302n, 565
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 36 106n
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 37 116n, 609
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 411 180n, 388n, 564
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 412 176–177, 494–502, 564
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 497 196n, 563
Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 776 196n, 563
Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-ʿĀmma
2876 361n, 575, 577, 581, 587
Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūṭi 593 197n, 563
Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 35 392n, 563
Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 71 391n, 565
Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 72/15 392n, 585
Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 79 389–391, 569, 570, 579, 588, 596, 597, 604, 615, 619
Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 81/10 392n, 615
Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-ʿUlūm 87/19 392n, 584
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 296 199, 563
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 451 316n, 585
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1037 376n
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1082 94n, 277n
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1517 261n, 601
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1531 316n, 585
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1661 196n, 563
Muʿassasat Kāḥif al-Ǧīṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma 1967 215–216

Irland

Dublin
Chester Beatty 3188 96n
Chester Beatty 3811 109, 608
Chester Beatty 3853 128n
Chester Beatty 3878 149n
Chester Beatty 3957 188, 606
Chester Beatty 5268 173n
Chester Beatty 5451 138n

Italy

Milan
Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo, B 49 208n
Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo, H 43 114n–115n, 567

The Netherlands

Leiden
Leiden University Library, Or. 2584A 69n, 85n
Leiden University Library, Or. 2584B 69n
Leiden University Library, Or. 8409 236n–237n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Libraries/Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>St. Petersburg</td>
<td>National Library of Russia, Arab. 111 234–236, 562 National Library of Russia, YA I 3034 227n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>San Lorenzo</td>
<td>El Escorial 348 186, 187n, 612 El Escorial 1485 128n, 137–143, 147n, 157, 165n, 166n, 170n, 477, 485, 567–568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya, mağāmiʿ al-ʿUmariyya 3823 (mağmūʿ 87) 129n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Ankara</td>
<td>Millî Kütüphane Başkanlığı Ö6 Mil Yz B 101 109n, 608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi 18944 209n Beyazit, Veliyüddin 437 152, 479, 483, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Köprüli 1371 163n–164n Köprüli, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 850 144n Köprüli, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1208 139n Köprüli, Hafız Ahmed Paşa 39 146n, 479, 483, 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 221 107n Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678 157–160, 165n, 477, 483, 567, 608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuruosmaniye 594 146n–147n, 483, 567 Nuruosmaniye 4105 132n–133n Nuruosmaniye 4769 127n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Süleymaniye, Atif Efendi 593 133n Süleymaniye, Atif Efendi 1338 218n, 223n, 233n, 254n, 427n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2158 109n Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3165 109, 608 Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4250 263n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840 146n, 479, 567, 608 Süleymaniye, Hacı Beşir Ağa 633 128n Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1097 82n–83n Süleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131 147n, 479, 483, 567, 608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Süleymaniye, Kılıç Ali Paşa 787 146n, 478, 483, 567 Süleymaniye, Laleli 2168 109, 608–609 Süleymaniye, Laleli 3425 154n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 302 154n
Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296 160, 477, 483, 567, 608
Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1777 128n
Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1806 149n
Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1808 149n
Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 711 142n, 146–147, 170n, 479, 483, 567
Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 712 146n, 477, 567, 608
Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53 118, 130–136, 166n, 170n, 477, 483, 567
Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 877 188, 606
Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 897 337n
Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 131 131n
Süleymaniye, Selim Aqa 1218 268n
Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 766 273n
Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 879 140n
Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986 119, 148n, 478, 483, 567
Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987 147n, 148–149, 166n, 484, 567
Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 1015 149n

**London**
British Library, ADD 23296 124n
British Library, Or. 19 130n
British Library, Or. 7965 542n
British Library, Or. 8512 416n

**Oxford**
Bodleian, Arab. F. 64 272, 614

**United States of America**

**Ann Arbor**
University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 1015 289n

**Los Angeles**
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 164 197–198, 563
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 443 193, 198n, 605
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 665 198n, 567
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 943 198n, 609
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 1195 198n, 609
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection (no shelfmark) 198n, 610
UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection (no shelfmark) 105n

**New Haven**
Beinecke Library, Landberg 550 110n

**New York**
Metropolitan Museum of Art (no shelfmark) 133n

---

United Kingdom

**Cambridge**
Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88 272n, 614, 648–652
Princeton
Princeton University Library, Garrett 393B 138n, 381n
Princeton University Library, Garrett 642H 272n
Princeton University Library, Garrett 970H 83n–84n
Princeton University Library, New Series 1165 197n, 563
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 308 387n
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577 149–150, 170, 484, 567
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 1408 289n
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380 160–161, 478, 484, 567
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3748 387n–388n

Yemen
Ṣanʿāʾ
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt 449 115n
Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, maǧmūʿa 3189/1 86, 597
Maktabat al-Awqāf 491 117n
Maktabat al-Awqāf 706 69n
Maktabat al-Awqāf 707 69n
Maktabat al-Awqāf 2010 114n, 568
Maktabat al-Awqāf 2317 236n
Maktabat al-Awqāf, maǧāmiʿ 71 114n, 568