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The Ismaili Society Series A No. 9

Ibn Al-Qaddah

(The Alleged Founder of Ismailism)

SECOND REVISED EDITION

of The Ismaili Society Series A No. 1

BY

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NOTICE

The aim of the "Ismaili Society", founded in Bombay on the 16th February 1946, is the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Ismailism, that is to say, of all branches of the Ismaili movement in Islam, their literature, history, philosophy, and so forth. The Society entirely excludes from its programme any religious or political propaganda or controversy, and does not intend to vindicate the viewpoint of any particular school in Ismailism. The "Ismaili Society" propose to publish monographs on subjects connected with such studies, critical editions of the original texts of early Ismaili works, their translations, and also collections of shorter papers and notes. Works by various authors are accepted for publication on their merits, i. e. the value of their contribution to the knowledge of Ismailism. It is a consistent policy of the "Ismaili Society" to encourage free exchange of opinions and ideas so long as they are based on serious study of the subject. It may be noted that the fact of publication of any work by the "Ismaili Society" does not by itself imply their concurrence with, or endorsement of, the views and ideas advanced therein.

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PREFACE

A lie, however ridiculously absurd it may be, by constant repetition becomes the most unassailable truth. This basic principle of modern propaganda work was already discovered centuries ago, and was much applied in anti-Ismaili literature. The Ismailis, mostly living as a persecuted minority, had to be reticent about their beliefs and affairs of their community. This opened unlimited opportunities to their enemies who could invent any lie about them without fear of documented refutation, and repeat it until it becomes a part of "universal knowledge". Only since a portion of genuine Ismaili literature had "leaked out" from unrelenting secrecy in which it was always kept, can we, to our great astonishment, see for ourselves how enormous amount of fiction, misunderstanding, misconceptions, and especially deliberate lie formed our supposed to be reliable and generally accepted knowledge of the history of Ismailism still two-three decades ago.

Those who work over genuine Ismaili sources have to revise almost every point, at every step, often rejecting even such information which remained beyond suspicion till now.

One of the most extraordinary products of anti-Ismaili propaganda is what may be called the myth of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh. He flourished in Mekka in the first half of the eighth c. A. D., apparently presenting nothing extraordinary by himself. Anti-Ismaili propaganda, evidently seizing a misunderstanding, turned him into a veritable monster of impiety, a super-human demoniacal being who lived more than two hundred years, intending to "blow up Islam from within", founded Ismailism, was the progenitor of the Fatimid caliphs, and so forth.

This book, devoted to an analysis of the myth, was originally published in 1946 (600 copies), and has become out of print by now, while there is still much demand for it. The Ismaili Society have decided to reprint it, and this offered an opportunity to introduce some abbreviations, especially with regard to pp. 132-151 of the first edition. An Appendix has also been added.

Once again the author's profound gratitude is submitted to the Ismaili Society for their most generous support to research in the history of the Ismaili movement. Cordial thanks also go to all those friends who in any way offered their kind and most valuable help and co-operation.

W. Ivanow.

Bombay, Nov. 1957.

1

THE MYTH OF 'ABDU'L-LĀH IBN AL-QADDĀH

While searching for some information in that great compendium of Shi'ite tradition, *al-Kāfi fī 'ilmī'd-dīn* (completed probably not later than the second decade of the fourth/tenth c.), by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulīnī ar-Rāzī (d. ca. 329/941), I was surprised to notice that a number of traditions were related on the authority of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh as the initial *rāwī*. As is well known, references to this worthy, the supposed founder of Ismailism and progenitor of the Fatimid caliphs, are exceptionally rare in the mediaeval Muslim literature which is not in some way or other devoted to the refutation and condemnation of the Fatimid dynasty, their claims, and their doctrine. In this particular case such references appeared to be of special interest in view of the antiquity of the work in which they were incorporated. Being contemporary with the period of the rise of the Fatimid empire, *al-Kāfi* is undoubtedly based on much earlier sources. I therefore unhesitatingly took up the task of searching through this voluminous work,¹ and my labours were rewarded with a collection of no less than 119 traditions related by 'Abdu'l-lāh, including a few related by his father, Maymūn al-Qaddāh. To these may be added one found in Kāshī's *Rijāl*, two more in the *Kitābu't-Tawḥīd* and nine in the *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu'l-faqīh* by Ibn Bābūya, and 33 in the *Tahdhībū'l-aḥkām* by Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī aṭ-Ṭūsī (partly repeating those in *al-Kāfi*), as described further on. In addition, these works contained some interesting references to 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn and his father.

A collection of almost 150 traditions, however small it may really be, nevertheless, presents the *first* material which can most probably be regarded as *authentic*. For the first time we have material from which to derive our own first-hand impressions as to the general mentality or tendencies of the supposed heresiarch, without being influenced by the sentiments of mediaeval sources. I feel sure that every serious student will be interested to acquaint himself with what this mysterious person taught or discussed with his associates.

I have, in my own belief, sufficiently demonstrated elsewhere² that the story of Ibn al-Qaddāh, in its innumerable versions varying with the force of the individual imagination of their respective authors, is nothing but an ætiological myth. Incidentally invented, it was later on gradually developed and polished in the course of long oral or written transmission, in the service of anti-Fātimid propaganda. It is obviously a hopeless proposition to trace its inventor, but as far as it is possible to see in the present state of our knowledge, it probably appears for the first time in the early work, *Kitāb fī raddī'l-Ismā'īliyya*, by a certain Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Razzām (or Rizām) aṭ-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī, who flourished in the first half of the fourth/tenth c.³ It is not impossible that he himself was the inventor. The work itself is lost, and only quotations from it are preserved by later authors. The most important *literal* quotation is found in the well-known *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm, composed in the closing years of the same fourth/tenth c.⁴ Similar stories about Ibn al-Qaddāh are narrated in other early works, such as those by Akhū Muḥsin (*i.e.* Abū'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-'Abid ash-Sharīf ad-Dimashqī, who died ca. 375/985); Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥānī (born 333/944, d. 411/1020)⁵; 'Abdu'l-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1038); Amīr 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 509/1115), quoted by Ibn al-Athīr under year 296, etc. It seems that Ibn Razzām's work was the earliest source of the fiction.

Its extraordinary success undoubtedly was in no way due to its historical reliability, an aspect to which Ibn Razzām's contemporaries most probably attached no value. In accordance with the Italian proverb "*se non è vero, è ben trovato*", it appealed to imagination, to the sense of the romantic, to the primitive reasoning based on "heredity prejudice" which explains personal virtues or vices of any one by his belonging either to a "good family", or, conversely, by his despicable parentage. The son of a saint was expected to be a saint, and heretical opinions reflected on the piety of one's ancestors. When the rapid successes of the Fatimids revealed a mortal danger to the effete and steadily declining Baghdad caliphate, they were proclaimed the vilest possible enemies of Islam, and their doctrine, which had so much success among wide circles of Shi'ite-minded people was treated as a most pernicious heresy, a system of belief lying outside the

fold of Muhammadanism. It followed that such objectionable people could not be descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fātima. A dynasty which professed such impious doctrine must certainly be the descendants of a most malicious heretic who had conceived the diabolical plan of "blowing up Islam from the inside, and replacing it with the religion of the Magians (*i.e.* Zoroastrians)".⁶

The identification of this diabolical founder of Ismailism with 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh was probably a genuine "brain wave" on somebody's part.

Shi'ite Tradition and Heretics.

Early Shi'ite collections of tradition by no means ignore heretics or suspects, always passing them over in silence. They warn students about the unreliability of traditions related by them, although under certain circumstances they may accept these. Amongst early *rāwīs* there are many ex-Wāqifites, ex-Faḥites, etc., and even ex-Khaṭṭābites (as in the case of al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar, Abū Khadija, etc.). Even Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb himself (*cf.* *al-Kāfi*, II, 371) is sometimes cited as an authority "before he went wrong" (*qabl an yaḥsud*).

Even at an early date experts in Shi'ite tradition carefully collected all available information about every *rāwī*, especially every associate of the Imams who related anything from them, and were certainly very sensitive to any allegations of impiety against them. Moreover, early Shi'ite bibliography reveals an interesting fact: from the time that the Ismaili movement made its appearance, many Shi'ite authors had amongst their compositions pamphlets devoted to the refutation of the doctrine of the "Qarmatians" (an abusive term, implying the Ismailis and Fatimids). Such pamphlets on *radd 'alā'l-Qarāmiṭa* or *alā'l-Ismā'īliyya* begin to appear in the second half of the third/ninth c., and continue for a century or more. Many eminent Shi'ites, such as Kulīnī, Ibn Bābūya, and others, are credited with such works.⁷ This practice was most probably introduced from a desire to insure oneself by such an anti-Ismaili act against possible suspicions and accusations of sympathy with or complicity in that dangerous movement.⁸ In any case it indicates an interest in the new movement, its origin, founders, etc., and it is unbelievable that these authors had never heard about the allegations against 'Abdu'l-lāh ibn al-Qaddāh and his father.

With all this (as is fully discussed further), not only Shi'ite but even—a really remarkable fact—Sunnite tradition preserves a memory of the worthy as a recognized *rāwī* of Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, although somewhat unimportant and unreliable. It preserves not a single suspicion or accusation of heresy against him, his memory is perfectly clean. It is only to authors of anti-Fatimid propaganda works that it fell to unearth plentiful, convincing and decisive information about the heretical beliefs and the details of the diabolic plot of Ibn al-Qaddāh.

By the end of the fourth/tenth c., when Ibn Nadīm compiled his valuable *Fihrist*, there were in existence, as we have seen just above, many pamphlets on the refutation of Ismailism. The reason why he selected Ibn Razzām's work for quotation in his book is not explained. We can only suggest that it was the allegedly "historical" element which it contained. Most probably other works of this kind were chiefly devoted to dogmatic discussions and proofs derived from the Coran and *ḥadīth*.

The story quoted in the *Fihrist*, just as a similar version of a later origin, quoted by Ibn al-Athīr, are usually credited to the authors of these valuable works, Ibn Nadīm and Ibn al-Athīr, and an important circumstance is invariably overlooked that both of them emphatically decline all responsibility for the veracity of the statements of their authorities. It goes without saying that if Ibn Nadīm had been quoting a statement which he and every one would regard as absolutely true, there would be no need for such an exonerating stipulation. It is obvious that Ibn Nadīm, a man of known Shi'ite sympathies or even possibly connected with Ismailism (because, as we may see, he discriminates between the Ismailis and the Qarmatians in his book), simply regarded the story as untrue, or at least as very doubtful. As a possible suspect he could not offer the Ismaili original version, but had to insert an anti-Fatimid account. His conscientious and religious objections however, urged him to exonerate himself from responsibility for such falsehoods. Ibn al-Athīr, another suspected Shi'ite, acted exactly in the same way in similar circumstances:

Fatimid Genealogy not Published.

It is strange that while statesmen so clever as the first Fatimid caliphs clearly realized the harm which was bound to be caused by the cumulative effect of this propaganda aimed at sowing

distrust and suspicion amongst their followers, they never counteracted it with publishing an official version of their genealogy, whether true or false. Such inaction on their part is usually taken (as by de Goeje)⁹ as a proof of the falsity of their claims. I have already sufficiently discussed this matter,¹⁰ suggesting, as one of several probable explanations, the existence of some kind of religious prejudice against the "unveiling those whom God has veiled". It appears now that this suggestion is most probably correct. In his *al-Kāfi*, Kulīnī, obviously quite an independent author, devotes a whole chapter to the traditions from various Imams, describing as a very grave sin the calling by his real name of the XIIth Imam (who most probably was never born). The Imams to whom these traditions are attributed are made thus to anticipate a situation which only arose long after their deaths. Thus it is quite possible that such a general prejudice did really exist in wide Shi'ite circles, and was not specially invented by the Fatimids themselves to suit their ends. It may perhaps even have constituted a serious obstacle to their own policy; but as champions of Shi'ite ideals they had to comply with it.¹¹ It is not impossible that the same prejudice lies at the bottom of the custom of giving the Imams special surnames under which they were known.

It is quite possible that apart from such religious prejudice the Fatimids were influenced by quite genuine and reasonable fears as to revealing too much about their connections in the countries whence they had sprung but which remained under the control of their bitter enemies. In these circumstances it was obviously wise to keep secret the subject of their early history and of their family. The consequent lack of definite information on a subject which naturally evoked general interest left the field open to falsifications which were either malicious, or, perhaps, merely, so-to-speak, artistic, based on emulation in ingenuity and imagination.

The Scope of this Work.

Some one with a knowledge of Shi'ite history,—it may be Ibn Razzām himself,—was struck with the idea of identifying the mysterious ancestor of the Fatimids and the founder of their doctrine with the apparently harmless and unobtrusive person of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn. Why was this particular early Shi'ite

chosen to fill this odious role? An answer to this question would obviously require the complete solution of this millennial enigma in all its implications. For this we have at our disposal only the most meagre means. The importance of *al-Kāfi* lies in the fact that it furnishes certain clues, however insignificant, which seem to point in the right direction.

Even if we could trace the birth and the evolution of the myth of Ibn al-Qaddāh with the help of the most reliable and indisputable materials, we should still be far from possessing a complete account of the circumstances which led to and accompanied the rise of the Ismaili movement. This work does not attempt to solve the problem. It is devoted only to the myth itself, and treats of questions concerning the origin of Ismailism only so far as this is unavoidable.

Our first task, therefore, is to collect whatever reliable information it may be possible to unearth concerning the genuine (as opposed to the mythical) personalities of al-Qaddāh and his son, as they belong to history, not to legend.

Secondly, it is necessary to investigate one of the most obscure elements of the myth, that is to say the connection of Maymūn with the Christian gnostic sect of Bardesanes (born *ca.* 154, *d.* *ca.* 222 A.D.), a connection which in course of time became crudely intensified in the form of an allegation that Maymūn was a son or descendant of the ancient philosopher. This is particularly strange because there is no doubt that in the propaganda against the Fatimids and their doctrine full use was made of the Shu'ūbiyya bogey. In view of that, one would expect that the heresiarch would have been made into a Zoroastrian, or at least a Manichee, and not into a follower of an extinct *Christian* sect.

Thirdly, another important element of the myth which we have to clarify is the alleged connection of Maymūn and his son with Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb and his sect. There are many indications that this connection is of paramount importance in the myth. I mean precisely in the myth itself, and not either in the beliefs of the alleged heresiarchs themselves, or in Ismailism as a doctrine.

Lastly, there is the question of the descent of the Fatimids from Ibn al-Qaddāh. The scarcity of biographical information about him does not permit us to come any nearer to the solution of this problem, but *al-Kāfi*, and early Shi'ite tradition in general, contain certain indications which to some extent are useful for

the introduction of necessary corrections into various theories, mediæval as well as modern.

It is quite possible that early Shi'ite works such as *al-Kāfi* may yield much more information, useful for our purposes, when we possess properly edited and properly indexed texts of these important works. Unfortunately for Islamology, this field still remains unexplored, indeed untouched by research.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1 The work has been repeatedly lithographed in Persia, Najaf and Lucknow. The editions to which references are made are indicated further on. It is remarkable how difficult it is to obtain a copy of this work in India, and I must acknowledge my sincere thanks to Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, without whose help I should have been unable to obtain the loan of it.

2 See my "Rise of the Fatimids", pp. 127-156.

3 So his name is given in L. Massignon's "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate", p. 334. So far I could not trace his name either in Shi'ite or Sunnite *rijāl* works accessible to me. It is not impossible, however, that he was a son of 'Alī b. Sa'īd b. Razzam al-Qāsānī (Kāshānī?), from a village in the district (*sawād*) of Qāsān, apparently flourishing in third/ninth c., mentioned by Najāshī (183) and in the supplement to Ṭūsī's "List" (p. 222), Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar do not mention him.

4 All references to the *Fihrist* in this work are to the Cairo edition, 1348 A.H.

5 Quoted and refuted by the Ismaili *dā'i* Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī in his *al-Kāfiya fī'r-radd 'alā'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī* (cf. Guide, no. 135). Cf. Brockelmann, G.A.L., I, 186, and Suppl. I, 318. Sayyid-nā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn does not mention the title of the work which he is refuting, but it was most probably the *Ṣiyāsatu'l-murtaddīn* (Ambros. C., 186, xxi; Vat. V, 1162-4, referred to by Brockelmann).

6 As in the case of many phenomena in the evolution of early Islam, and especially of its sects, accusations such as this do not present anything novel. Charges of a similar kind were levelled several centuries previously by orthodox Christian authors against gnostic sects. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus (b. *ca.* 386, *d.* *ca.* 458 A.D.), who wrote soon after 451 A.D., in his work entitled "Compendium of Heretical Fables", says that the gnostic movement was "a monstrous delusion, engineered by the devil, with the intention of undermining not only the integrity, but the very existence of the Christian Church" (Cf. E. Buonainti, "Gnostic Fragments", transl. by E. Cowell, London, 1924, p. 4).

7 In addition to the pamphlets of these two authors, Najāshī mentions two works with the title *ar-Radd 'alā'l-Qarāmiya*, by 'Alī b. Abī Sahl al-Qazwīnī (186) and the famous Shi'ite scholar of Khōrašan (d. 260/874), al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (217). Three works have the title *ar-Radd 'alā'l-Ismā'īliyya*: by Fāris b. Ḥātim b. Māhūya al-Qazwīnī (219); Mḥd b. Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Kātib an-Nu'mānī (271), and Mḥd b. Mūsā al-Kātib al-Qazwīnī (end iv/x c.) (283). There is also *K. fasād aqāwīl'l-Ismā'īliyya* and *ar-Radd 'alā'l-Ismā'īliyya fī'l-ma'ād*, both by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d. 352/963) (189), etc.

8 In the great majority of cases in early Shi'ite bibliography it is not clear whether these productions were independent pamphlets or were chapters inserted in larger works for the same purpose of averting possible suspicions. A tradition in *al-Kāfi* (I, 277) shows that cases did actually occur in the second half of the third/ninth c. of either conversion to Ismailism or of Ismailis posing as Ithna-'asharis for self-protection. The fact that the practice does not evoke any special comment implies that it was probably not uncommon. "Said al-Ḥusayn b. al-Fādl b. Zayd al-Yamānī: once my father himself wrote a letter (to one of the latest Ithna-'ashari Imams), and received an answer to it. I myself also wrote a letter, and also received an answer. Then a certain learned *faqīh* also wrote (a letter to the Imam), but received no answer. We made inquiries, and found that the cause of this was the fact that the man had turned Qarmatian (*tahawwal Qarmatiyyan*)."⁹ If the tradition is true, the event would have taken place before 260/874.

9 "Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein," Leiden, 1886, pp. 6-9.

10 See "Rise of the Fatimids", pp. 27-45.

11 Cf. *al-Kāfi*, I (k. *ḥujja*), 84: *lā yusammī-hi bi'smi-hi illā kāfir* (as Imam Ja'far says in a tradition)—"only unbelievers call him by his personal name". It may probably be the case that the taboo on the personal name of a saint is not only connected with the survivals of ancient magic beliefs, common among mankind everywhere, but also more particularly with specifically Semitic notions of this kind (cf. the Jewish taboo on the name of Yahveh). According to an early tradition, the Prophet himself objected to certain rough people addressing him simply by the name "Muḥammad". Perhaps the same idea underlies the surnames, or regnal names, of the caliphs. The fact that both Ibn Ḥawqal and the anonymous author of the *Das'ūru'l-munajjimīn* (extracts in de Goeje's "Mémoire", 103-106), both apparently Ismailis themselves, avoid naming the Imam, may perhaps be explained by the same prejudice or religious restriction.

II

AL-KĀFĪ AND ITS AUTHOR

The great store of Shi'ite tradition, *al-Kāfi fī 'ilmī'd-dīn*, by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulīnī ar-Rāzī, contains (according to the *'Aynu'l-ghazāl*, referred to below) over 16,000 *ḥadīths*. It is a standard work which occupies in Shi'ism a position not unlike that of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī in Sunnism. It is regarded as the final and decisive authority in its sphere. For the Islamic student it appears to be one of the most interesting and valuable documents of early mediæval life in Islam, replete with precious information both concerning Shi'ism and generally the life, folklore, legal customs and ideas, and cultural evolution of those times. Beyond any doubt it merits the most careful edition, and especially the compilation of a thorough index. The chief difficulty in its handling is its great bulk, although in fairness it may be said that its arrangement is surprisingly systematic and sensible, to a degree much beyond what one might expect in the case of so early a work.

It has been repeatedly translated into Persian, commented upon, and so forth. It seems that extremely valuable help can be derived from an apparently recent work, the *'Aynu'l-ghazāl fī fihris asmā'ir-rijāl*, by Faḍlu'l-lāh b. Shamsī'd-dīn al-Ilāhī, lithographed at the end of the Tehran edition of *al-Kāfi* of 1315/1897.¹ This contains notes on the biography of Kulīnī, the miracles which occurred on his grave, the general arrangement of *al-Kāfi*, the biographies of 35 immediate *rāwīs* of the author, and two alphabetic indices, one of the original *rāwīs*, and the other of the intermediary links. The names are arranged in strictly alphabetical order, a rare thing in works of the kind. One can only regret that the author did not go a step further in his work by inserting references to the pages on which each name is referred to.

Copies of *al-Kāfi*, usually incomplete, are quite common in Persia and other Shi'ite localities, although there are not so many of them in Western libraries, as may be seen from Brockelmann, G.A.L., I, 187, and Supp. I, 320. It was repeatedly lithographed in Tehran, Tabriz, Najaf, Lucknow, Bombay, etc., although apparently always in parts only. It is a pity that the excellent

Tehran edition, referred to above, does not contain the first seven *kitābs*.

Descriptions of the work may be found in various catalogues, and it should suffice to mention here briefly that it is divided into 31 *kitābs*, each subdivided into numerous *bābs*, under which *ḥadīths* on each separate subject are grouped. Residual *ḥadīths* are systematically added at the end of each section, forming a *bābu'n-nawādir*.

In addition to the original division, the whole work is also divided, for practical purposes, into two unequal parts: the *uṣūl*, comprising the first seven *kitābs*, which deal with questions of theoretic theology, religious ethics, etc., and the *furū'* comprising the rest of the work. The latter portion, in its turn, is subdivided into two, namely, a portion dealing with duties to God (*kitābs* 8-15, on ablutions, prayer, fast, etc.), and a legal code (*kitābs* 16-31), comprising the usual *fiqh* matters, such as marriage, divorce, wills, etc. These divisions seem not to have been observed at an earlier period, and it is not impossible that originally each chapter (*kitāb*) was treated as an independent work, as sometimes appears from early bibliographical treatises.

Kulīnī's Biography.

Next to nothing is known as to the biography of the author of *al-Kāfī*. He was apparently born even before the beginning of the "smaller *ghayba*", i.e., 260/874, and died in Baghdad probably in Sha'bān 329/May 941. Nūru'l-lāh Shustarī, in his *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*,² gives the date as 328/940. It is said that he died in the same year as the incidence of the *tanāthuru'n-nujūm*, probably a particularly grand display of shooting stars (Leonidæ?), or a year before the death of the last *safir* or *wakīl* of the concealed Imam, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mḥd as-Samirī. If a reference to these events can be traced, it would be perhaps possible to ascertain the date of Kulīnī's death more precisely.³

It is quite possible that Kulīnī led an uneventful life, devoted to his religious and scholarly preoccupations, in his native village Kulīn,⁴ or perhaps in the capital of the province, Ray and in Qum, further south, at that time an important centre of Shi'ite learning, whence the majority of his *rāwīs* are drawn. When and why he came to Baghdad, where he died, cannot be ascertained.⁵

As is usually mentioned, it took him twenty years to compile *al-Kāfī*, which was apparently his life work, and which he completed only towards the end of his days. In addition to it he compiled a work on *Rijāl*, a treatise on refutation of the Qarmatian doctrine (*k. fī radd 'alā'l-Qarāmiṭa*), a collection of epistles of the Imams (*k. rasā'ilil-'A'imma*), a book on interpretation of dreams (*fī ta'bīri'r-ru'yā'*), and an anthology of poetry in praise of the Imams (Najāshī, p. 267).

Kulīnī's main work undoubtedly was a product of the same movement, also at work in Sunnite circles and initiated by Bukhārī, towards the sifting, systematising and arranging of the tradition, which was of cardinal importance for the progress of Islamic theology. But a different situation prevailed in the Sunnite world from Shi'ite circles. Not only was Sunnism everywhere protected and encouraged as the state religion of almost all the Muslim principalities, and therefore had at its disposal means and possibilities denied to Shi'ism, but also it had to a greater extent to adjust itself to requirements of ever-changing life. Shi'ism, on the contrary, possessed predominantly theoretical interest, by reason of the fact that it was compelled to lead a semi-underground existence, emerging in times of relative safety and concealing itself when the harsh rule of fanaticism was unleashed. It is very difficult to assess the real effect on the Ithna-'ashari sect of the advent of the *ghayba*, i.e., the discontinuance of the Imam which forms the central point in every Shi'ite ideology. It is, however, possible that the great wave of enthusiasm in the Shi'ite world, which had probably culminated about the beginning of the third/ninth c. in the crowning moment of al-Ma'mūn's proposed abdication in favour of 'Alī ar-Riḍā, began to sink with increasing speed after 260/874. Only the rise of the Buyid dynasty, which patronised Shi'ism, gave it a new lease of life in Western Persia for about 120 years (320-447/932-1055). Kulīnī has epitomized and systematized all that was of importance in Shi'ite tradition, chiefly as taught by the Qum school, by the end of the third/ninth c. After him there begins a new phase in the development of Shi'ism, namely, the building up of its theological system.

Qum and Eastern Schools.

That important centre of Shi'ite learning in Western Persia,

Qum, did not possess a monopoly of Shi'ite thought. Arab geographers regarded it as a new town which came into existence after the Arab conquest, when the *jazīra*,⁶ or province, with several important villages, was occupied in 23/644 by the troops of Abū Mūsā 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Qays al-Ash'arī.⁷ Thenceforward Qum remained under the domination of Southern Arab clans, such as Ash'arī, Madhij, etc. It is noteworthy that Qum probably was always in close touch with Kūfa and, possibly through the latter, with Madīna: several Qumis are mentioned in the entourage of Imam Ja'far.⁸ Later on when the Imams lived mostly as prisoners of state in Baghdad and Samarra, close contact was established with those two places.

In the Eastern provinces of the Iranian world, which became emancipated from the Abbasid caliphate at an earlier date but always remained under the authority of Sunnite rulers, Shi'ism was widespread at an earlier period. Important Shi'ite centres of learning were Nishāpūr, with the school of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān,⁹ and Samarqand, with the school of 'Ayyāshī and others. But it seems that there were smaller centres in many other towns. Kashī and Ibn Bābūya amongst their *rāwīs* mention an amazing profusion of the natives of almost all corners of Khorasan and Mawara'an-nāhr, including such remote localities as Khuttalān. All these Shi'ite colonies were soon swept away by the accelerated infiltration of the Turks and the final consolidation of the Turkish rule there. It appears that the Khorasani school was fairly independent of Qum. Kashī includes only seven Qumis and a single Rāzī in the list of his direct *rāwīs*, of whom he has twice as many as Kulīnī, while the latter apparently had not much contact with the East, and does not even refer often to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān himself.

Scarcity of Shi'ite Works.

A most interesting and somewhat strange fact to be observed with regard to Shi'ite works, both in Western libraries and also in various private collections in Persia and elsewhere, is the scarcity of remains of the older literature. Modern theological collections consist for the most part of quite modern works of the Safawid period and later, or of the numberless commentaries on a few of the ancient "classical" works. This is strange in the light of the lists of the early period which contain hundreds and

thousands of different compositions. It seems, however, that this disparity is not a new development. Ibn Nadīm, an author with obviously strong Shi'ite sympathies, mentions in his *Fihrist* only an insignificant proportion of the books which existed and were in use in his time.¹⁰ This cannot be entirely attributed to the fact that the Shi'ites even in normal times were viewed with suspicion, and were forced to hide their religious literature. The explanation, most probably, lies in the nature of Shi'ite literary activities at that time. Theoretic theology as yet did not exist, and tradition was everything. In the study of this, the early method of oral instruction was long out of date. Apparently every student not only made notes of the traditions which he learned with his instructor, but also probably copied much from works which were either in general use, or were lent to him by his friends. Such note-books were also treated as "books", provided they reached a certain degree of completeness and systematisation. It seems, however, doubtful whether many of these were really intended as books for the use of students or to be put on the market: they probably circulated only within a very limited circle of friends of the compiler, in an insignificant number of copies, or were perhaps confined to unique original copies in his own possession. This plainly follows from the established practice of the authors of *rijāl* works who quote the *isnāds* certifying the existence of this or that book. Similarly, this may also be seen from the treatment of larger compilations not as units but merely incidental collections of individual books—chapters. Thus *al-Kāfi* itself appears as a collection of 30 or 31 titles.¹¹ There are indications at every step that the same method of treatment was applied to every work consisting of several chapters.

It appears that in Kulīnī's time the practice of perusing such earlier collection of traditions was already well established, and personal contact with the author was not always implied in the *isnāds*. With regard to his own *rāwīs* we shall touch on these matters presently. Thus the task of an epitomiser such as Kulīnī would for the most part consist of searching for such earlier collections and criticising their reliability, probably by the old method of the establishing of the fact that each two links of the *isnād* were contemporaries of each other. This method led to an extensive search for biographical data concerning the teachers of tradition, and this is why so many of these specialists, as a

by-product of their labours, also compiled works on *rijāl*, which were most probably perused over and over again, being incorporated in later works of the same kind.

Kulīnī's Sources.

Thus it is not easy to differentiate between the oral and written sources of *al-Kāfi*, especially as Kulīnī very rarely acknowledges the perusal of other authors' books. In this respect he differs very much from Kashī who on the contrary very often refers specifically to written sources, with the usual formula: *wajadtu fī kitāb fulān bi-khatti-hi* or *wajadtu bi-khatti fulān*. Kulīnī adheres to the traditional phrase "said so-and-so", regardless of whether he had really heard the speaker himself, or, more probably (in view of certain indications) had copied from his book or his notes.

The author of the *'Aynu'l-ghazāl* mentions the names of the immediate *rāwīs* of Kulīnī, and collects biographical information about them from all sources at his disposal. Their number, for such a large work, is remarkably small, being only 35 (Kashī's, with his incomparably smaller book, are about twice as numerous). So limited a number of *rāwīs* must obviously be attributed to Kulīnī's having worked in a small centre and to his having not undertaken extensive journeys as Ibn Bābūya did. A high proportion of his *rāwīs* cannot be traced in any *rijāl* works and were thus most probably people of purely local importance. Out of 35 *rāwīs* ten have no *nisba*, two are 'Alawīs (Sayyids), only one is a Kulīnī, and two are Rāzīs. Of the remaining twenty, Qumīs, mostly Ash'arīs by descent, number ten, and the other ten are natives of various places in Persia or Arabia (Kūfī, Yamānī, etc), most probably settled in Qum or Ray. Amongst them only one is a Khorasani, from Nishāpūr.¹²

Such a grouping is of real interest, showing partly the self-sufficiency of the Qum centre, and partly Kulīnī's lack of contact with other centres. From the work of Kashī (who includes amongst his *rāwīs* seven Qumīs and one Rāzī) it appears as if the Khorasanis preserved more touch with the outer world.

Kulīnī's Rāwīs.

Here is a list of those of Kulīnī's *rāwīs* concerning whom some

information is available, particularly those who were authors of books:

1. The only representative of the Khorasani school, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il an-Naysābūrī, was the *ṣāhib*, i.e., associate possibly a disciple, of the great Nishāpūrī authority on Shi'ite tradition, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān. Kashī on many occasions (cf. pp. 30, 334, etc.) mentions as his *rāwī* Abū'l-Ḥasan Mḥd b. Ismā'il al-Bandaqī an-Naysābūrī. It is not easy to ascertain whether they are one and the same person, though this seems not impossible. The strange *nisba*, Bandaqī, is perhaps a corruption of Bayhaqī. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān mostly resided in Bayhaq after having been banished by the Ṭahirids. Kashī knows several persons with the name Mḥd b. Ismā'il: One ar-Rāzī, another Ibn Bazigh (p. 348, to whom 'Alī b. Nu'mān bequeathed his books), and Ibn Abī Sa'id az-Zayyāt. All of them apparently belong to the middle of the third/ninth c. Ṭabari has seven *rāwīs* with the same name.

2. The most interesting of Kulīnī's *rāwīs* is the Qumī, Abū'l-Qāsim Sa'd b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Abī Khalaf al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (d., according to *'Aynu'l-ghazāl*, "fī wilāya Rustam" in 299, 300, or 311/912, 923). Najāshī (126-127) says that he composed many books, travelled studying both Shi'ite and Sunnite *hadīths*, and was a pupil of Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, i.e., Mḥd b. Idrīs al-Ḥanzalī (Toosy, no. 599) quite different, of course, from the Ismaili philosopher Abū Ḥātim (beg. iv/x c.) who wrote the *Kitābu'z-Zīna*. Kashī refers to this *rāwī* very often. In his work in Persian, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī* (Tehran, 1351/1933), 'Abbās Iqbāl has sought to prove that this personage was the real author of the work *Kitābu'l-ārā' wa diyānati'sh-Shī'at* (ed. by H. Ritter, 1931), which is usually attributed to Abū Mḥd al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā an-Nawbakhtī, a contemporary of Kulīnī (cf. Brockelmann, Suppl. I, 319). It is possible, however, as Brockelmann suggests, that quotations identified by 'Abbās Iqbāl in Kashī's and Ṭūsī's works merely prove a common origin from a third source.

3. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, died while on pilgrimage in 306/918-919, wrote a *Kitābu'n-nawādir* (Najāshī, 67).

4. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa'id b. 'Abdī'r-Raḥmān al-Hamaḍānī, surnamed Ibn 'Iqda, d. in Kūfa, in 333/944-945, was originally a Zaydī (Jārūdī).¹³ He composed several works, amongst which there was a *Kitābu't-ta'rīkh* and a *K. asmā' ar-*

rijāl, a collection of the names of 4000 persons who related tradition from Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. "At least one *ḥadīth*, related by each person, is quoted".

5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Āsimī (according to the '*Aynū'l-ghazāl*', apparently the same as Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh Aḥmad b. 'Āsim al-Kūfi), lived in Baghdad, and wrote a *Kitābu'n-nujūm*.

6. Ḥamid b. Ziyād from Nīnwā (?), a village near al-Ḥā'ir. The latter word, meaning a fenced space, is applied to many sacred localities (Karbala, Hebron, etc.), but here it obviously refers to a quarter in Samarra, because after al-Ḥā'ir stands '*alā sākinī-hi's-salām*' (a reference to the still living XII Imam). He was the author of numerous works, and died about 320/932.

7. Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh al-Ḥusayn b. Mḥd b. 'Imrān b. Abī Bakr al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, surnamed 'Āmir al-Ash'arī. Wrote a *K. an-nawādir*.

8. Dā'ūd b. Kūra al-Qummī. Arranged (*barwab*) the book of *Nawādir* by Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. 'Isā, and composed *k. ar-Raḥma fī'l-wudū'*.

9. Abū'l-'Abbās 'Abdū'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. al-Husayn b. Mālik b. Jāmī al-Ḥimyarī al-Qummī. According to Kashī, 372, he was the "*ustādh* of Abū'l-Ḥasan". The latter name is glossed as "Ibn Bābūya's father, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn." Kulīnī quotes him either directly, or through one intermediary link. Soon after 290/903 he went to Kūfa. Author of many books, on *tawḥīd*, *Imamat*, *medicine*, etc. Cf. Toosy, no. 407.

10. Abū Ja'far Mḥd b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥimyarī al-Qummī. According to the full name given by Najāshī, 251, he should have been the son of the preceding *rāwī*, but neither Najāshī nor Ṭūsī mention this. He corresponded with the Imam (not stated which), and composed several books: *k. al-ḥuqūq*, *k. al-awā'il*, *k. al-ard*, *k. as-samā'*, *k. al-masāḥat wa'l-buldān*, *k. Iblīs wa junūdi-hi*, and *k. al-iḥtijāj*. All these were obviously collections of *ḥadīths*.

11. "Aṣ-Ṣaffār" (coppersmith, as he is usually referred to), i.e., Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan al-Qummī, an important *rāwī* of Kulīnī who quotes him either directly or through one link. He is the author of a book entitled *Baṣā'iru'd-darajāt*. He is regarded by some as one of the '*idda*, i.e., Kulīnī's authorities, disciples of Sahl

b. Ziyād, but this is doubtful and probably a confusion with Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd. Toosy, no. 621, simply calls him Qumī, and mentions his books and correspondence with the XIth Imam. Najāshī, 251, mentions that his grandfather, Farrukh, was a *mawla* of 'Isā b. Mūsā al-Ash'arī. It is not clear whether the *Baṣā'iru'd-darajāt* is the title of the compendium of his compositions, or of a small work. The titles quoted by Najāshī produce the impression of a large compilation on tradition, not unlike *al-Kāfi*, perhaps smaller. It is therefore not impossible that this book was a nucleus of the latter. He died in 290/903.

It is not clear whether Kulīnī's other *rāwīs* had any books to their credit, but it is most likely that they had. Perhaps some of them merely copied the works of their predecessors. Kulīnī, in addition to the immediate *rāwīs* mentioned above, very often uses information derived from *rāwīs* whom he obviously never met personally, but whom he treats in the same manner as those whom he had personally met. Much more frequently than Kashī, indeed quite regularly, he introduces his *isnāds* with the phrase: '*idda man aṣḥābi-nā'an*... i.e., "a number of our informers related from so-and-so". This plainly implies that several of his informers related the *ḥadīth* identically, both with regard to the substance and the *isnād*, as otherwise Kulīnī is always particular to mention the variants, or difference in the *isnād*. There cannot be any doubt as to the reason of such uniformity: the tradition was copied from one and the same source either because all the *rāwīs* concerned wrote at the same dictation, or, more likely, copied the tradition from the same original. In *al-Kāfi* there are several such "second line" *rāwīs* whose information is related by various '*iddas*. Here we are chiefly concerned with that of Sahl b. Ziyād, an interesting personality, about whom, fortunately, some information is available.

Abū 'Alī Sahl b. Ziyād al-Ādamī ar-Rāzī, according to Najāshī, 132, was "weak" (*ḍa'if*) and unreliable as a *rāwī*. He resided in Qum, but was expelled from there to Ray on an accusation of *ghuluww* and *kidhb*, i.e., Shi'ite extremist beliefs tending to the deification of the Imams, on the testimony of Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. 'Isā. While residing in Ray, he started a correspondence with the XIth Imam through ('*alā yad*) Mḥd b. 'Abdī'l-Ḥamid al-'Aṭṭār; this was in the middle of Rab. I, 255/beg. March 869. He composed a *K. at-tawḥīd*, and a *K. an-nawādir*. Kashī, 349,

adds that his *kunya* was Abū Sa'īd. He related traditions from the IX, Xth and XIth Imams, and was a prolific author. Both Kulīnī and Kashī, *i.e.*, representatives of both the Qumī and Khorasani schools, quote him profusely. His extremist opinions most probably were the matter of his early years which were held not to affect the traditions which he copied from others.¹⁴ The date of his death is not recorded, but it is obvious that Kulīnī was born when he was a very old man, or after his death. It is easy to see why the author of *al-Kāfi* had at his disposal such a plentiful supply of information originating from him: through long residence in Ray, Sahl had left a numerous school behind him there.

My experience with *al-Kāfi* having yielded good results, I decided to examine other early Shi'ite works on tradition which were available locally, and, through the kindness of Mr. A. A. A. Fyze, in lending me copies, was able to examine Ibn Bābūya's *Kitābu't-Tawhīd* and *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu'l-faqīh*, and the *Tahdhīb-ū'l-aḥkām* by Ṭūsī. All these works command high authority in Shi'ite literature and, though of later date than *al-Kāfi*, are, nevertheless, compiled from very early sources. As far as traditions related by Ibn al-Qaddāh are concerned, they are not so rich as *al-Kāfi* in material, and therefore I think unnecessary to describe them in detail. The *Kitābu't-Tawhīd* contains only two traditions, *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu'l-faqīh*—9; and *Tahdhīb-ū'l-aḥkām*—33, of which the majority are copied from *al-Kāfi*.

Ibn Bābūya.

In regard to Ibn Bābūya, *i.e.*, Abū Ja'far Mḥd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābūya al-Qummī (d. 381 or 391/991 or 1001), and his works, see Brockelmann, G.A.L., I, 187 and Suppl. I, 321-2. For the biography of the author, based on the traditional version, see A. A. A. Fyze, "A Shi'ite Creed" (Bombay, 1942), pp. 6-11. Of his real biography very little is known, but fortunately more than about Kulīnī's, chiefly because he refers to certain events in his own works. This material has not so far been collected, and the study of it may considerably modify traditional ideas on the subject. The *Kitābu't-Tawhīd* is one of his earliest works, and was composed probably very soon after 354/965, in which year, he says, he acquired certain traditions (*fī mā ajāz li*) in Hamadān (p. 44). This is the latest date mentioned in the book. Nūru'l-lāh Shushtarī in his *Majā-*

Jisu'l-mu'minīn (pp. 189-193) mentions 355/966 as the date of Ibn Bābūya's migration to Baghdad from Ray (probably after the defeat of his patron, the Buyid Ruknu'd-dawla, at the hands of the 'ayyārs, and the devastation of the capital). The combination of the date 354 with the mention of Hamadān may perhaps indicate that Ibn Bābūya was already moving in the direction of Baghdad earlier. It may be recalled that although he is known under the nisba of al-Qummī, which he probably inherited from his father, he seems to have been born and to have studied in Khorasan. From his *rāwīs* he can be classed entirely as a representative of the Khorasani school. He refers to his studies in Balkh (pp. 11, 36, 61, 133, 300), Marw (pp. 133, 230, 258), and especially Nishāpūr where he was living as late as in 352/963 (pp. 192, 215, 326). Amongst his teachers there are people with various Eastern *nisbas*, such as *Ṣughdī* (pp. 133, 230, 258), *Farghānī* (p. 54) and also such as *Rūyānī* (*Rūyān* is a district in Māzandarān), and *Sarandībī* (from Ceylon?), as on p. 268. On the other hand, *Kūfa* is also mentioned (p. 181) as a place where he received information (though this may be a later interpolation). He never met Kulīnī personally: he quotes him through one link, Mḥd b. Mḥd b. 'Iṣām al-Kulīnī, but such quotations are not numerous. He occasionally quotes Kashī, *i.e.* Abū 'Amrw Mḥd. b. 'Amrw ('Umar?) b. 'Abdi'l-'Azīz al-Anṣārī al-Kajī (or al-Kachī?). Was the original form of Kash really Kaj or Kach? This town became later on known under the name of Shahrīsabz.

Ibn Bābūya's famous work on Shi'ite *fiqh*, *Man lā Yaḥḍuru-hu'l-faqīh*, was, as its title indicates, most probably intended as a popular manual on the subject. For this reason, apparently, the lengthy *isnāds* are suppressed, and only the first or initial *rāwī* is referred to. At the end, however, there is a complete list of *isnāds* with their variants (*ṭuruq*). These *isnāds* are arranged in an alphabetical order, discussed and commented upon in the third volume of the *Mustadrak* (pp. 547-718). The differences in references to Ibn al-Qaddāh in this book and *al-Kāfi*, with regard to their number, is obviously due to the fact that the large majority of the traditions related by this worthy related to prayers and to discussion of matters not directly connected with the subjects with which the system of *fiqh* is concerned.

Tūsi.

On Abū Ja'far Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī aṭ-Ṭūsī surnamed *Shaykhu't-Ṭā'ifa*, or simply *ash-Shaykh* (d. in Kūfa ca. 460/1068), the author of the classic work on Shi'ite *fiqh*, the *Tahdhīb ul-ahkām*, as also of the well-known Shi'ite bibliography, edited as "Toosy's list of Shy'ah Books" by A. Sprenger (Calcutta, 1853-5) and of many other works, see Brockelmann, G.A. L., I, 405, and Suppl. I, 706-7. The *Tahdhīb*, its *rāwīs* etc., are discussed at length in the same third vol. of the *Mustadrak* (pp. 719-757). Although as an author of the fifth c. A.H. he cannot be classed as an *early* authority, nevertheless his work deserves examination because it is simply a compilation from early sources. The author copies pages and pages from *al-Kāfi*¹⁵ and other earlier collections, and for the student the value of his work chiefly lies in the numerous quotations from works which were later lost.

It is interesting to note a difference in technique: Kulīnī carefully mentions all links of all the *isnāds* in his work. Ibn Bābūya mentions only the first *rāwī*, and for the intermediary links refers his reader to a special chapter at the end. Ṭūsī occupies an intermediary position, quoting sometimes complete *isnāds*, sometimes only the earlier links in these. It is noteworthy, however, that he never refers to the title of the source, but merely to the name of the author, in terms which may appear to imply oral transfer of the tradition. For instance, he never mentions the title of *al-Kāfi*, but simply says: 'an Mḥd b. Ya'qūb. In this case no doubt can arise as to the use of a written document because Kulīnī died long before Ṭūsī was born; but this method of quotation causes much difficulty in the case of less known authors.

With regard to the traditions related by Ibn al-Qaddāh the author simply copies *al-Kāfi* on 14 occasions, out of 30. These are the cases which are fully acknowledged,¹⁶ but in reality their number must be much greater, and probably many of those in which only early *rāwīs* are referred to are also taken from the same work. Such for instance are two quoted directly from Sahl b. Ziyād, one from Ibn Faḍḍāl, one from Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Ash'arī, and one from Kulīnī's favourite authority, aṣ-Ṣaffār. From some other source are apparently taken the traditions quoted from al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'id (b. Ḥammād b. Mihrān al-

Ahwāzī, who flourished towards the end of the third/ninth c., cf. Najāshī, 42-5), and Sa'id (Sa'd?) b. 'Abdī'l-lāh (b. Abī Khalaf al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, who died either in 299/912 or 311/923, cf. Naj. 126-7).

Six traditions are derived from Mḥd b. 'Alī b. Maḥbūb al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (Naj. 246-7), a favourite source of Ṭūsī. He was a prominent member of the Qum school, author of many works, and flourished about the end of the third/ninth c., and the beginning of the next. It is quite possible that his materials are used in the *Tahdhīb* directly. The other source, probably also used directly, from which five traditions are derived, is Mḥd b. Aḥmad b. Yahya b. 'Imrān b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Sa'd b. Malik al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, who flourished about the same time as the preceding one, cf. Naj. 245-6). He was the author of many works amongst which the most popular was his *Nawādir ul-hikma*, much admired by the Qumīs, who have given it a special name, *Dabbat Shubayh*.¹⁷

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II.

1 It is quite possible that his note is chiefly based on the *Mustadrak*.

2 Cf. the lithographed Tabriz edition (not dated), p. 148.

3 Najāshī (185) mentions 329 quite definitely as the year of the shower of shooting stars.

4 Various sources vocalize this name differently. Cf. P. Schwarz, "Iran im Mittelalter", p. 796. The village was situated at a day's march (six farsakhs) from Ray, in the district of Qawsīn. The name Kulīn, Kalīn, Kilīn, Kilīn, even Kulān (arabicized, of course, by the "learned" into "Kulayn"), obviously consists of a root *k-l* and the common Persian suffix, *-īn*, which appears in so many place names. The root *k-l* may have been autochthonous, but the possibility cannot be excluded that we have here simply to deal with Persian adjective *gīlīn* or *gūlīn*, i.e. "abounding in clay", or "flowery", "abounding in flowers", from *gīl* or *gūl*. In the Arabic script such a reading would not be impossible. The place in the time of Kulīnī was apparently a medium-sized village with a small bazar.

5 The author of the *'Aynu'l-ghazāl* has carefully collected all the information relating to Kulīnī's biography in Shi'ite literature, which is remarkably meagre. It is unfortunate for the student that, contrary to the practice of Ibn Bābūya, Kulīnī seems never to refer to himself in his book.

6 In my "Rise of the Fatimids" (footnote on pp. 20-21) I have already drawn the attention of students to the use of the term *jazīra* in the sense of "province".

7 Cf. P. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 557-568.

8 Cf. Kashī, 213, 314. On p. 318 there is a mention of a certain al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubaydī'l-lāh who emigrated from Qum "at the time when the people suspected of Shi'ite extremism were leaving it".

9 In the time of Abū Mḥd al-Faḍl b. Shādhān b. al-Jalīl (Khalīl?) al-Azdi an-Naysābūrī, Nīshāpūr was only beginning to develop into an important town under 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Ṭāhir (213-230/828-844), the famous *de facto* independent ruler of Khorasan. He exiled al-Faḍl b. Shādhān from the town, and the latter took refuge in the district of Bayhaq (N. W. from Nīshāpūr), where he died in 260/874. He was a very old man when he received news that the Ṣaffārid troops (here called Khawārij, *i.e.* Kharijites) had defeated the last Tahirid, occupied Nīshāpūr, and were moving on further. He fled from the village where he was living but, exhausted by the journey, he collapsed and died (Kashī, 336). The list of his works comprises over 180 titles, many of them probably chapters from larger works.

10 It is interesting that Najāshī, who completed his bibliography soon after 436/1045 (because this is the latest date mentioned in the text, p. 193), explains in the beginning of his book that the reason for its compilation was the allegations of the public that the Shi'ites had no literature of their own. From this we may rightly infer that copies of Shi'ite works were not easily accessible.

11 Ṭūsī (no. 709) counts only 30 *kitābs* in *al-Kāfi*.

12 On what Kulīnī invariably calls *'idda min aṣḥābi-nā*, "a number of our friends" *i.e.* the local *rāwīs* who probably related certain traditions, or groups of traditions, identically, see further on.

13 Another instance of acceptance of a tradition related by Zaydī *rāwīs* is the case of Yahyā b. 'Abdi'l-lāh Abi'l-Ḥasan Ṣāḥibī'd-Daylam, obviously one of the early Zaydite rulers in Tabaristan, a precursor of the independent Alid dynasty which ruled there between 250/864 and 316/928.

14 A long and detailed note on Sahl b. Ziyād, discussing his alleged unorthodoxy, is given in the *Mustadrak*, III, 666-673, in the note on Marwān b. Muslim.

15 While reading the *Tahdhīb*, with attention to the *isnāds* of the traditions which are quoted, one may receive the impression that the author did not consult *al-Kāfi* when starting his work. But in the latter half he is copying from Kulīnī all the time, rarely using other sources.

16 Out of 33 separate traditions three are literal repetitions, so that in reality there are only 30 of them.

17 These early works on tradition most probably perished early or were later on superseded by such works as *al-Kāfi* and the *Tahdhīb*. As far as I could see in Persia, the later is generally much more valued than *al-Kāfi*. This is most probably due not only to the fact that it is limited to *fiqh* subjects, and is more complete than Kulīnī's compendium, but also because it incorporates in the text various critical and explanatory remarks of the author which may be of much use to student, while in *al-Kāfi* traditions are quoted without explanation.

III

TRADITIONS RELATED BY IBN AL-QADDAH
AND HIS FATHER

As the text of *al-Kāfi* is available in printed form, and as the absence of MSS locally does not permit me to suggest variants or emendations, the traditions are here given only in translation, with a few comments. To economise space the following abbreviations have been introduced:

Traditions related by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn are marked with (A), those related by his father with (M), and those related by 'Abdu'l-lāh on the authority of Maymūn—with (A+M).

AMQ stands for the full name of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh.

'Idda='idda min aṣḥābi-nā 'an..

IQ=Ibn al-Qaddāh.

JMA=Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Ash'arī (Qumī), an early *rāwī*, see further on.

JS=Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (here mostly called Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh).

Mḥd=Mūhammad.

SZ=Sahl b. Ziyād, a *rāwī*, see above.

1. FROM *AL-KĀFĪ*.

I. *Kitābu'l-'aql wa'l-jahl*, subdivision on *faḍlu'l-'ilm*.
Bāb thawābi'l-muta'allim.

1. (A+M), p. 17.¹ Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan and 'Alī b. Mḥd—SZ and Mḥd b. Yaḥyā—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—all from JMA—AMQ—JS. And also 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father—Ḥammād b. 'Īsā—al-Qaddāh—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: Whosoever walks along a path in search for knowledge, God walks along with him on the path to Paradise. Verily, angels spread their wings under the feet of those who search for knowledge, admiring them. Every one in the heaven and on earth, and as far as the Whale in the Sea, pray God to forgive (their sins) to those who search for knowledge. The scholar surpasses in merit the devotee as much as

the full moon surpasses (in its light) all other celestial bodies on the night skies. Verily, scholars are the heirs of the prophets. Verily, the prophets do not leave to their heirs gold or silver money, but knowledge (*'ilm*). And whoever is benefited by it, he receives it as great happiness."²

Bāb su'ālil-'alim wa tadhakkuri-hi.

2. (A). p. 19. 'Alī b. Mḥd—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS:

"This (=religious) knowledge is under a lock, the key to which is inquiry".

3. (A). p. 23. 'Alī b. Mḥd—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS from his ancestors:

"A man came once to the Prophet, and asked: What is learning (*'ilm*)?—The Prophet replied: Fairness.³—The man asked again: And what more?—The Prophet replied: Listening to (*istimā'*).—The man asked: And what more?—The Prophet said: Keeping in mind (*ḥifẓ*).—The man asked: And what else?—The Prophet replied: Acting (in accordance with knowledge, *'amal*).—Then the man asked: And what more?—The Prophet replied: Spreading it (*nashru-hu*)".

II. *Kitābu't-tawḥīd*.—Nil.

III. *Kitābu'l-ḥujjat*.⁴

Bāb anna-hu lays mina'l-ḥaqq fī aydī'n-nās illā mā kharaj min 'indil-'A'imma.

4. (M). p. 203. 'Idda min aṣḥābi-nā—al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd—Badr—his father—Salām Abū 'Alī al-Khurāsānī—Salām b. Sa'id al-Makhzūmī, who said:

"I had an interview with JS, when entered 'Abbād b. Kathīr, the Baṣra devotee (*'ābid ahlil-Baṣra*) and Ibn Shurayḥ,⁵ a judge in Mekka (*faqīh ahl Makka*), while Maymūn al-Qaddāh, a *marw-tā* of Abū Ja'far (Imam Mūhammad al-Bāqir), was also present. (In the course of the conversation) 'Abbād b. Kathīr asked JS as to in how many pieces of cloth the Apostle of God was wrapped as in a shroud (at the burial). To this JS replied: In three pieces, two of nomad manufacture (*ṣaḥāriyya*), and one *ḥabra* (?)⁶. (Apparently) on account of cold, 'Abbād b. Kathīr moved as if to move off (*izwarr*) on hearing this. Then JS added: Verily, the date tree of Maryam was in reality a bunch of dates (*'afwa*), which descended from the heaven. Good dates are those

which keep in the bunch, and those which fall off upon earth, these are bad (*la'awn*)”.

“When they came out from the presence of JS, ‘Abbād b. Kathīr said to Ibn Shurayḥ: By God, I did not understand what JS was aiming at in the simile which he mentioned in his answer to me.—Said Ibn Shurayḥ: This servant (*ghulam*)—*i.e.*, Maymūn,—will explain it to thee, he is one of them.—‘Abbād asked him, and Maymūn said: Thou dost not understand this?—‘Abbād said: No! by God!—Maymūn said: He aimed at himself, making thee to understand that he was a descendant of the Apostle of God, whose wisdom (*ilm*) remains with his progeny. What (knowledge) comes from them is reliable, and what comes from others is picked up, *liqāt*.”

IV. *Kitābu'l-īmān wa'l-kufr*.
Bābu'l-iffat.

5. (A). p. 336. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS:
“*Amīru'l-mu'minīn* (‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) used to say: The best form of devotion is continence (self-restraint)”.

6. (M). p. 337. Abū ‘Alī al-Ash‘arī—Mḥd b. ‘Abdī'l-Jabbār—*ba'd aṣḥābi-hi*—Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ:

“I heard Abū Ja‘far (Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir) saying: There is no better form of devotion than one’s restraint of himself in food and lust”.

7. (A). p. 342. ‘Alī—his father—JMA—‘Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn—JS:

“Once *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*, on entering a mosque, saw at the door a man with an expression of utter sorrow, and asked him the reason. The man replied: My father, brother and sister died, and I am afraid to die.—‘Alī said to him: Have fear of God and patience. Follow this always (*ghadan*). Patience (self-control) in life is like the head of the body: when the head is separated from the body, the body perishes, and so when one loses the control over himself in life, his life becomes ruined.”

Bāb ḥusnī'l-khulq.

8. (A). p. 348. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS:
“Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: The (true) faithful (Muslim) should be sociable. One who does not associate with others, and one with whom others do not associate, is good for nothing.”

Bābu's-samt wa ḥifẓi'l-lisān.

9. (A). p. 353. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—Ibn al-Qaddāḥ—JS:
“Said Luqmān to his son: if thou thinkest that speech is of silver, then silence is of gold”.

Bāb ṣilatī'r-raḥm.

10. (A). p. 370. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—AMQ—Abū ‘Ubayda al-Khadhdhā—Abū Ja‘far (Mḥd al-Bāqir):

“Said the Apostle of God: Good deeds that bring the quickest reward are deeds of mercy”.

Bābu'l-muṣāḥafa.

11. (A). p. 385. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:
“Once the Prophet met Ḥudhayfa and stretched out his hand to him, but Ḥudhayfa withdrew his hand. The Prophet asked: Why didst thou withdraw thy hand when I have stretched out mine to thee? Ḥudhayfa replied: O Apostle of God, I wish very much to touch thy hand, but I was in the state of impurity, and I did not like that my hand should touch thine while I am in such state.—And the Prophet said: But know that when two Muslims meet and greet each other, their sins become cancelled, just like dry leaves fall down from trees.”

Bāb if‘āmī'l-mu'min.

12. (A). p. 394. The same *isnād*:
“Whoever feeds a Muslim so that he eats to satisfaction, no one can know how much God will reward him in life after death, neither human beings, nor the angel of a superior rank, nor even a prophet, apostle of God. Only God, the Lord of the world, knows this. Then JS added: Feeding of a hungry Muslim is required for earning forgiveness of God.—He recited the word of God (XC, 14): “or feeding on the day of famine an orphan who is akin, or a poor man who lies in the dust”.

Bābu'r-riyā'.

13. (A). p. 431. The same *isnād*:
“Said JS to ‘Abbād b. Kathīr al-Baṣrī in the mosque: Woe to thee, ‘Abbād, for thy hypocrisy! Verily, one who acts not as God commands, God abandons him to him, on whose instigations he acts (Satan?)”

14. (A). p. 432. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: Fear God in such a way which needs no apologies, act without hypocrisy, not merely for acquiring good reputation. Verily, who acts not in accord with the command of God, God abandons him into (the results of) his acts."

Bābu'l-baghy.

15. (A). p. 444. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: Verily, the evil act which receives the quickest punishment is arrogance."

Bāb mujākasat ahli'l-ma'āsi.

16. (A). p. 462. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: Whosoever believes in God and the Last Day, he will not find himself in the position of a suspect."

Bāb 'uqūbatih-dh-dhanb.

17. (A). p. 486. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: Verily, God says: By My glory and greatness! I do not bring any of My slaves from this world without My wishing to take mercy on him, so that all his sins should be expiated by illness of his body, poverty, or fear about his life. And if after this anything remains uncanceled, I make his death hours painful. By My glory and greatness! Verily, I do not take any of My slaves from this world with intention to torture him, I reward every good action of his either by affluence, health, safety of life; and if something still remains to his credit, his death becomes easy to him."

18. (A). p. 493. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father, and 'idda—SZ (both together)—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Verily God... those who feed them and love them, by His mercifulness, and brings them to Paradise by His grace, so that misfortunes and calamities pass by them without affecting them in any way."

V. *Kitābu'l-ad'īya* (or *Kitābu'd-du'ā*).⁸

Bāb faḍlī'd-du'ā wa'l-hathth 'alay-hi.

19. (A). p. 253. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: The most pleasing action to God on earth is prayer, and the most meritorious form of worship is

chastity." JS added: "*Amīru'l-mu'minīn* himself was always praying very much."

Bāb anna'd-du'ā silāhu'l-mu'min.

20. (A). p. 253. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: Prayer shields the believer. Where thou committest an act of impiety, knock at the door, and it will be opened to thee".

Bāb anna man da'ā ustujīb la-hu.

21. (A). p. 254. Mḥd b. Yaḥyā—Aḥmad b. 'Isā—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī—AMQ—JS:

"Prayer is a store of Divine forgiveness, just as a cloud is a store of rain water."

22. (A). p. 254. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"No worshipper stretches out his hand to God, the Great, the All-Powerful without God's saving him from taking it back empty. He fills it with the blessing (*faḍl*) of His mercy, as He wills. (Therefore) if any one of you prays to God, he should not take back his hand without passing it over his face or head."

Bābu'l-iqbāl 'alā'd-du'ā.

23. (A). p. 254. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: God will not accept the prayer of a negligent man.—'Alī also used to say: When any one of you prays over a dead man, he should not do this while his heart is indifferent towards the man over whom he prays. He must concentrate on his prayer."

Bābu'l-ilhāh fī'd-du'ā.

24. (A). p. 255. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: God takes mercy of the worshipper who prays for what he needs insistently, whether his prayer is heard, or not. And he recited the verse (XIX, 49): . . . "and will pray my Lord that I be not unfortunate in my prayer to my Lord."

Bābu'l-'umūm fī'd-du'ā.

25. (A). p. 257. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: When any one prays, he should put on a turban on his head, this is necessary for (the effectiveness of the) prayer."⁹

Bābu'ṣ-ṣalāt 'alā Muḥammad wa ahl bayti-hi.

26. (A). p. 258. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: Do not make me like the cup of a riding man who fills it up and drinks whenever he wants. Make me (mentioned) in the beginning of the prayer, at the end of it, and in the middle."

27. (A). p. 258. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: Those who pray for me, and the angels of God, may either shorten their invocations, or prolong these."

28. (A). p. 259. The same *isnād* (instead of IQ here stands Abū'l-Qaddāh):

"Said JS: Once my father (Mḥd al-Bāqir) heard a member of his family uttering the invocation: "God, bless Muḥammad." The Imam said: Do not cut thy invocation at this, and do not deprive us (*i.e.* descendants of the Prophet) unjustly from our right. Say: God, bless Muḥammad and his progeny."

Bāb dhikrī'l-lāh kathīran.

29. (A). p. 259. The same *isnād*:

"Said JS: There is no such thing which should not be done up to its proper limit except for the mentioning (*dhikr*) of God: to this there is no limit. God has prescribed certain duties, and those who discharge these, do these to their limit. Those who fast through the month of Ramaḍān, this month completes their fast. Those who perform pilgrimage, complete their obligations. Quite different it is with *dhikr*. God does not accept it if it is insufficient, and He has not laid any limit to it". (He proceeds to repeat the same idea, mentioning that Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir was always busy with *dhikr*, even amidst other preoccupations. When one does this, Shayṭāns go away from him, and the inhabitants of the heaven approach. Utterances of the Prophet to the same effect).

Bābu'l-qawl 'inda'l-iṣbāḥ wa'l-imsā'.

30. (A). p. 264. The same *isnād*:

"Every day that comes upon man says to him: I am a new day, a witness against thee. Act well during my duration, and say good, so that I may testify this on the day of Resurrection; verily, thou shalt never see me again. Said JS: 'Alī used to say

at the evening: Welcome, new night, and (the day) the witness recording our deeds! Write against my name ('*alayya?*') the name of God.—Then he used to mention God."

Bābu'd du'ā 'inda'n-nawm wa'l-intibāḥ.

31. (A). p. 268. *Idda*—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—his father—'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn—JS:

"The *Amīru'l-mu'minin* used to pray: God, I take refuge with Thee from polluting or bad dreams, from the tricks of Shayṭān played with me, either in sleep or waking."

32. (A). p. 269. *Idda*—SZ and Aḥmad b. Mḥd together—JMA—IQ—JS:

"When the Apostle of God reposed on his bed, he used to repeat: God, in Thy name I live, and in Thy name I die!—When he was awaking from his sleep, he used to say: Praise be to God who brought me to life after He made me die, and to whom is Resurrection (*wa ilay-hi'n-nushūr*)!—JS added: Who, when going to bed, recites the *āyatū'l-Kursī* three times (etc., several other *āyas*), then two *Shayṭāns*, whether they want to or not, will be appointed to guard him against the unruly devils. With them will appear thirty angels of God who praise Him and glorify Him, imploring Him that the believer should wake up from his sleep, and that the meritoriousness of their own actions should be credited to him."

Bābu'l-hirz wa'l-'ūdhat.

33. (M). p. 276. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father—some of his authorities—al-Qaddāh—JS:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minin*: The Apostle of God recited an incantation over Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, saying: I entrust both of you to the protection of God, to the perfect words of God and to all His great names from the evil of lofty or nimble (smelling or crawling), from the evil of every staring eye, from the envy of every envying.— Then the Prophet turned towards us, and said: In this way Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il and Ishāq were asking God for protection."

VI. *Kitāb faḍlī'l-Qur'an.*

Bābu'l-buyūt allatī yuqra' fī-hā'l-Qur'an.

34. (A). p. 287. *Idda*—SZ—Ja'far b. Mḥd b. Abdi'l-lāh (al-'Ash'arī?)—IQ (Abū'l-Qaddāh)—JS:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: In the house in which they recite the Coran and mention the name of God, His blessing will increase, angels will be present, Shayṭāns will depart from it, and the inhabitants of Heaven¹⁰ will shine (there) just as stars shine to the inhabitants of earth. And in the house in which the Coran is not read, nor the name of God mentioned, its blessing will depart, angels will go away, the Shayṭāns will collect."

VII. *Kitābu'l-'ishrat*.

Bābu't-taslīm.

35. (A). p. 294. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said JS: When one of you utters the sentence "*salām 'alaykum*" he should say it loudly. He should not say: I greeted them but they did not return my greeting. Perhaps he spoke the *salām* to them, but did not hear their reply. When any one of you returns the greeting, he also should do it loudly. The Muslim should not say: I spoke the *salām* to them, but they did not return my *salām*.—Then JS added: 'Alī used to say: Do not become angry, and do not make others angry! Speak the *salām* to every one, speak to every one kindly, pray at night when others are asleep, so that you may enter Paradise in peace." Then he recited to them the verse (LIX, 23):.. "He is the Peace-giver, the Faithful, the Protector.."

Bāb man yujīb an yabda' bi's-salām.

36. (A). p. 294. (Idda?)—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said JS: One who rides speaks the *salām* first to the pedestrian, and the one who stands does this to the one who sits."

Bābu'l-'itās wa't-tasmīt.

37. (A). p. 296. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: The truth of the story is testified by (some one's) sneezing."¹¹

Bāb ikrāmī'l-karīm.

38. (A). p. 297. The same *isnād*.

"Said JS: Two men came to *Amīru'l-mu'minīn* and he gave each one a cushion to sit on. One of them sat down, but the other refused to sit. AM said to him: Sit down on it, verily, only asses refuse to accept a sign of respect.— Then he added:

The Apostle of God said: When a respectable man comes to you, stand up, and show respect to him."

Bābu'd-dī'āba wa'd-daḥk.

39. (A). p. 298. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: Beware of joking (at some one's expense), because this creates hatred, which leads to malice,—it (joking) is "mild abuse."

VIII. *Kitābu'l-Ṭahārat*.¹²

Bābu's-siwāk.

40 (A). p. 8. 'Alī b. Mḥd—SZ and 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father, together,—JMA—AMQ—JS:

"Two *rak'ats* of regular prayer (*ṣalāt*) recited after teeth have been cleaned are more meritorious than seventy *rak'ats* recited with teeth not cleaned. Said the Apostle of God: If it had not been rather difficult for my people (followers) to do (always), verily, I would have prescribed to them the cleaning of teeth before every regular prayer."

Bābu'n-nawādir.

41. (M?) p. 21. 'Alī b. Mḥd—SZ—JMA—al-Qaddāh (*sic*)¹³ JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: The opening of the prayer is ablution (*wuḍū'*), its consecration (*tahrim*) is the pronouncement of the formula "God is Great", and its dissolution is the formula of *taslīm*."

IX. *Kitābu'l-janā'iz*.

Bāb talqīnī'l-mayyit.

42. (A). p. 34. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS:

"When some one of the family of *Amīru'l-mu'minīn* 'Alī was dying, he used to recite the prayer as follows: "say: there is no deity except God, the High the Great (*al-'Alī al-'Azīm*), praise be to Him, the Lord of the Seven Heavens and Seven Earths, and of all that is between these, the Lord of the Great Throne,—Glory be to God, the Lord of the worlds!" And when the ailing person repeated this prayer, he used to say: (now) proceed, everything will be all right with thee." (Cf. no. 132).

43. (M?). p. 67. 'Idda—SZ and 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father, together,—JMA—al-Qaddāh (*sic*)—JS:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minin*: The worst water on the face of the earth is that of Barahūt, in Ḥaḍramawt, to which corpses of unbelievers descend for drinking." (Cf. no. 99).

(Note: Barahūt, Balahūt, Burhūt is the name of a valley at the foot of a volcanic hill in Ḥaḍramawt, with a spring of water coming out of a deep fissure. The water, saturated with sulphur, has a revolting smell, and bubbles. Legend makes it the entrance into Hell, at which the souls of unbelievers present themselves. (Cf. *EI*, I, 653-4).

44. (A). p. 72. *'Idda—SZ—JMA—Ibn al-Qaddāh—JS*:
 "The Prophet heard a woman saying after the death of 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn: Paradise shall become thy lot easily, O Abū's-Sā'ib!—He asked her: How dost thou know about this? It would be enough for thee to say: He loved God and His Apostle.—And when Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet, died, his eyes filled with tears, and he said: My eyes are full of tears, my heart is filled with grief, but we do not ask, why has God become angry, sending us such an agony, Ibrāhīm!—Then he noticed an unevenness on the grave (that was filled), smoothed it with his own hand, and said: Whoever of you acts righteously (*'amal 'amalan*), let him be sure (of reward in life after death). Then he said: Join thy pious ancestors, 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn!"¹⁴

X. *Kitābu's-ṣalāt*.
Bāb nawādir'īl-jum'a.

45. (M)? p. 119. 'Alī b. Mḥd and Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan—SZ—JMA—al-Qaddāh—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: Increase the number of your prayers for my sake (*'alayya*) on the most auspicious night and the best day, *i.e.*, the night (from Thursday) to Friday and the day of Friday.—Some asked him: Up to how many prayers should we increase?—The Prophet replied: Up to a hundred; and what will be above that number, it will be still more meritorious."

Bābu'n-nawādir.

46. (M)? p. 137. Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan—SZ—JMA—al-Qaddāh—JS:

"A man came once to the Prophet and asked him to give him a useful counsel. The Prophet replied: Do not offer prayer while

leaning on something, because the community of Islam rejects every one who finishes his prayer while leaning on something."

XI. *Kitābu'z-zakāt*.
Bāb faḍl ṣadaqatī's-sirr.

47. (A). p. 163. *'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS*:
 "Said the Apostle of God: Alms given in secret appease the anger of God". (Cf. no. 143).

Bāb faḍl'l-ma'rūf.

48. (A). p. 169. The same *isnād*:
 "Said the Apostle of God. Every act of kindness is a sort of alms, leading to good, (because) one who does this, by God, loves to help the aggrieved."

Bāb anna ṣanā'ī'u'l-ma'rūf tadfi' maṣārī'a's-su'.

49. (A). p. 169. *'Idda—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS*:
 "Acts of kindness shy away from the places where evil things are done."

XII. *Kitābu's-ṣawm*.

Bāb mā yastawjib an yaftun 'alay-hi.

50. (A). p. 205. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father—Ja'far b. (Mḥd b. ?) 'Abdī'l-lāh al-Ash'arī—IQ—JS:

"The Apostle of God used to break his fast with dates when it was the season of dates, or with other fruits when it was their season."

XIII. *Kitābu'l-ḥajj*.

Bāb anna man lam yaṭuqī'l-ḥajj bi-badani-hi jahhaz ghayra-hu.

51. (A). p. 241. *'Idda—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS*:
 "Verily, 'Alī (*sic*)¹⁵ said to an old man who had never performed a *ḥajj*: If thou wantest to perform a *ḥajj*, equip someone else, and send him so that he may go on pilgrimage on thy behalf."

Bāb mā yajūz lī'l-muḥrima an talbisa-hu minā'th-thiyāb wa'l-hulā, etc.

52. (A). p. 260. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father—Ḥammād b. 'Isā—'Abdū'l-lāh b. Maymūn—Ja'far (*sic*)—his father (Mḥd. al-Bāqir):

"The woman who dons the *ihrām* should not wear a *niqāb* (veil) because her *ihrām* is on (*fī*) her face, while the *ihrām* of man is on (*fī*) his head." (Cf. no. 122).

Bābu'l-muḥrim yuḍṭarr ilā mā lā yajūz la-hu libāsu-hu.

53. (A). p. 261. ('*Idda*)—SZ—JMA—'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn —Ja'far (*sic*).

"'Alī (*sic*) regarded as permissible praying with the dress being tied (two pieces?), if short, while one is in *ihrām*."

Bāb anna's-ṣalāt wa't-ṭawāf ayyu-humā-afḍal?

54. (A). p. 279. '*Idda*—SZ—Ibn Faḍḍāl—IQ—JS:

"One *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) before the *ḥajj* is more meritorious than seventy *ṭawāfs* after it."

Bāb dukhūl'l-Ka'ba.

55. (A). p. 309. Mḥd b. Yāḥyā—Mḥd b. Aḥmad—Ya'qūb b. Zayd—Ibn Faḍḍāl—IQ—Ja'far (*sic*)—his father (Mḥd al-Bāqir):

"I (JS) asked him (Mḥd al-Bāqir) about (the meritoriousness of) entering the house of Ka'ba. He replied: The entering into it is the entering into the mercy of God, and coming forth from it is coming forth from one's sins, and remaining immaculate for the rest of life, possessing forgiveness for all sins formerly committed." (Cf. no. 148).

XIV. *Kitābu'l-jihād.*

Bāb ṭalab'l-mubārāza.

56. (A). p. 337. '*Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"A man challenged a Hashimite to fight, and the latter refused to fight. *Amīru'l-mu'minin* asked him as to what prevented him from fighting? The Hashimite replied: He was an Arab horseman, and I was afraid that he might kill me.—*Amīru'l-mu'minin* said: But he was insolent with thee, and if thou wouldst fight him, thou wouldst defeat him, as the proverb says: the hill, arrogantly surpassing other hills, becomes ruined.—JS added: Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī once challenged a man to fight. On learning about this, *Amīru'l-mu'minin* said to him: If thou wilt do such a thing, verily, I shall punish thee, as I would also punish thee if a man would insolently challenge thee, and thou wouldst not accept the challenge. (Cf. no. 151).

Bāb (heading omitted).

57. (M+A). p. 340. '*Idda*—SZ—Ja'far b. Mḥd (*sic*)—IQ—his father al-Maymūn (*sic*)—JS:

"Verily, when *Amīru'l-mu'minin* was starting a battle, he first recited the prayer as follows." (Seven lines of prayers).

XV. *Kitābu'l-ma'ishat.*

Bāb karāhiyyati'l-kasal.

58. (A). p. 351. '*Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Laziness is the enemy of good actions."

Bābu'd-dīn.

59. (A). p. 354. The same *isnād*:

"Said 'Alī: Be mindful of religion! One is apt to neglect it in (the excitement of) the day, and treat it as important at night. But human fate both in this life, and life after death, depends on it." (Cf. further on, no. 152).

Bābu'l-ḥakra.

60. (A). p. 375. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: May the merchant importing goods prosper, and may the profiteer (or hoarder) be cursed."

Bābu'n-nawādir.

61. (A). p. 420. '*Idda*—Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. Khālid—JMA—IQ—JS:

"I brought to my father (Mḥd al-Bāqir) a letter which a man had given me, and took it out from my sleeve. And he said to me: Son, never keep anything in your sleeve because it is the place in which many things become lost." (Cf. no. 153).

XVI. *Kitābu'n-nikāh.*¹⁶

Bāb man waffaq la-hu'z-zawjatu's-ṣāliha.

62. (A). p. 4. '*Idda*—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS:

"Said the Prophet: From nothing would a Muslim derive more advantage, after Islam, than from a pious Muslim wife. She will gladden him when he looks at her, and will obey him when he gives her an order, and will guard his interests during his absence, both concerning herself and his property." (Cf. no. 155).

Bāb karāhiyyati'l-ghurūba.

63. (A). p. 4. 'Idda—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—Ibn Faḍḍāl—IQ—JS:
 "Two *rak'ats* of prayer offered by a married man are more meritorious than seventy offered by a bachelor." (Cf. no. 125).

64. (A). p. 4. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS. The same *ḥadīth*.

65. (A). p. 5. 'Alī b. Mḥd b. Būndār and others—Aḥmad b. Abī 'Abdī'l-lāh al-Barqī—Ibn Faḍḍāl and Ja'far b. Mḥd (al-Ash'arī?)—IQ—JS—his father (Mḥd al-Bāqir):

"Said JS: A man came to my father, who asked him, whether he was married? The man replied in the negative. The Imam said: What good it would be for me in life if I should be lonely, having no wife? Then he added: Two *rak'ats* of prayer offered by a married man are more meritorious than if a bachelor would spend his nights in prayer and days in fast.—Then my father gave the man seven *dīnārs* (gold coin), and said: Go, and marry a woman on these moneys. Then he added: Said the Apostle of God: marry, this brings prosperity to you (*arzaq la-kum?*)" (Cf. nos. 125 and 154).

Bābu't-tazwīj bi-ghayr khuṭbat.

66. (A) p. 17. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS:

"Said JS: 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (Zaynu'l-'ābidīn) once performed the ceremony of marriage while much perspiring (from heat). He only pronounced the words: Praise be to God, may God bless Muḥammad and his progeny, and may God forgive (us)! We have married thee according to the covenant of God."—Then he added: If one offers praise to God, this is equivalent to the *khuṭba*". (Cf. no. 156).

Bābu's-sarārī.

67. (A). p. 50. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: Welcome slave concubines,—there is blessing in their wombs."

Bāb karāhiyyati'r-rahbāniyyat wa tarki'l-bāh.

68. (A). p. 56. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"The wife of 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn¹⁷ came to the Prophet and said: O, Apostle of God, 'Uthmān fasts during the day time, and spends his nights in worship. The Prophet (rose and) went out in anger, stamping his sandals (*yu'mīl na'lay-hi*), and entered

the house of 'Uthmān, whom he found praying. The latter stopped his prayer on seeing the Prophet, who said to him: 'Uthmān, God has sent me not to spread asceticism, but the true religion (*al-ḥanīfiyya*), light and generous. I fast and pray but I also enjoy the company of my wives, as my nature pleases. Let it be according to my law (*sunnat-i*), which also includes marriage."

69. (A). p. 57. ('Idda—SZ—) Ja'far b. Mḥd (Ash'arī?)—AMQ—JS:

"The Apostle of God asked a man: Dost thou spend days in fast? He replied: No. The Prophet asked: Dost thou feed the poor? He replied: No. The Prophet said: Then return to thy family, because they have the right to claim alms from thee."

Bābu'n-nawādir.

70. (A). p. 57. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: When one has an intercourse with a woman, he should not do this quickly, as a bird, but must spend some time, without a hurry." He (JS) added: "in some versions of this *ḥadīth* the form *la-yatalabbath* is used instead of *la-yalabbath*". (Cf. no. 157).

Bābu'l-qawl 'inda'l-bāh wa mā yu'ṣim min mushārakati'sh-Shayṭān.

71. (A). p. 59. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'mīnīn*: When one has an intercourse with a woman, he should say: In the name of God, and by God! God, keep the Shayṭān away from me, and keep him away from what Thou hast given to me!—He added: If God destines a child to be born by them, the Shayṭān will never injure it by any means, if such precautionary measure is taken."

Bāb fī ta'dībī'n-nisā'.

72. (A). p. 63. The same *isnād*:

"The Apostle of God prohibited women from riding in the saddle astride."

Bāb āli'l-irbat minār-rijāl.

73. (A). p. 65. Al-Ḥusayn b. Mḥd—Mu'allī b. Mḥd and 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—both from his father—JMA—AMQ—JS—his father:

"There were two men in Medina, one called Hit, and the other Mānī'. Once they were talking to a man while the Prophet could

hear what they were saying. They said: When you take Ṭa'if get hold of the daughter of Ghaylān, the Thaqafite. (Follows a very realistic description of her attractions, with undue accent on those matters which are usually avoided in print.) The Prophet (on hearing all this) exclaimed: May not any sexually hungry man ever see both of you! Then he ordered them to retire to a place called al-'Arāyā, and they used to come to Medina for trade every Friday."

Bābu'l-ghayrat.

74. (A). p. 69. Aḥmad b. Mḥd—Ibn Faḍḍāl—AMQ—JS:

"Paradise cannot be entered by a contented cuckold (*day-yūth*)."

Bābu'z-zānī.

75. (A). p. 70. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—AMQ—JS—his father:

"The adulterer gets six varieties of retribution for his sin, three in this life, and three in life after death. The three in this life are: he will lose reputation (*nūru'l-wajh*), will inherit poverty, and will accelerate his death. And the three in life after death are: the anger of God, a disadvantageous account (in the list of his sins as against good actions), and abiding in Hell." (Cf. no. 127).

Bāb man amkan min nafsi-hi.

76. (A). p. 73 (. . ?) Aḥmad—JMA—IQ—JS:

"A man came to my father (Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir), and said: O, grandson of the Apostle of God! a misfortune has befallen me,—pray God for me! (and they said *anna-hu yu'tā fī dubri-hi*) The Imam replied: God does not send such a misfortune to any one except to those who need it.—Then the Imam added: Said God: by My Glory and Greatness, the man *man yu'tā fī dubri-hi* will never sit upon the *istabraq*¹⁸ and silk (of Paradise)."

Bāb man 'aff 'an ḥarami'n-nās.

77. (M). p. 74. Mḥd b. Yaḥyā—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—'Alī b. al-Ḥakam—Mu'āwiya b. Wahb—Māymin al-Qaddāḥ:

"I heard Abū Ja'far (*i.e.* Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir) saying: No variety of devotion is more meritorious than restraining one's gluttony and lust." (Cf. no. 6).

XVII. *Kitābu'l-'aḳīqa.*

Bāb ta'dībī'l-walad.

78. (A). p. 86-7. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father—JMA—IQ—JS:

"A man came to the Prophet and said: A boy is born to me, what name should I give him?—The Prophet replied: Give him the name which I like the most: Ḥamza." (Cf. no. 158).

Bāb ta'dībī'l-walad.

79. (A). p. 94. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm—his father, and 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"When boys reach the age of ten, their sleeping place should be separate from the sleeping place of women." (Cf. no. 126).

80. (A). p. 94. The same *isnād*:

"We order children to combine together the *first* and the '*aṣr* prayers, and also that of *maghrib* and '*ishā*', before they go to bed, in case they do not need a new *wuḍu'* (ablution)." (Cf. no. 159).

XVIII. *Kitābu't-talāq.* XIX. *Kitābu'l-'itq.* XX. *Kitābu'ṣ-ṣayd*—Nil. XXI. *Kitābu'l-aḳ'ima.*

Bāb aklī't-ḥīn.

81. (A). p. 156. 'Idda—SZ—Ibn Faḍḍāl—IQ—JS:

"Some people told *Amīru'l-mu'minīn* that so-and-so eats clay (*ḥīn*). 'Alī did not approve of it, and said: Do not eat it, because if thou eatest it, and diest, it would be the same as if thou hadst accelerated thy death." (Cf. no. 161).

Bābu'l-akl ma'a'd-dayf.

82. (A). p. 161. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"When the Apostle of God was taking food in company with some people, he was the first to put his hand into the dish with others, and the last to lift it till others began to eat."

83. (A). p. 161. Mḥd b. Yaḥyā—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—Ibn Faḍḍāl—IQ—JS:

"(The same *ḥadīth*, slightly differing in wording).

Bābu'n-nawādir.

84. (A). p. 164. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: When one of you eats, he should eat (from the common dish) what is the nearest to him."

Bāb faḍl'il-laḥm.

85. (A). p. 167. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: Verily, we, the people of Quraysh, are meat-eaters."

Bāb faḍl'dh-dhirā' 'alā sā'ir'il-a'ḍā'.

"The Jewess poisoned the Prophet by putting poison in sheep's thigh. He liked sheep's thigh or shoulder, but did not like the upper part of the thigh as too closely situated to the organs of urination."

Bābu'th-tharīd.

87. (A). p. 169. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: God! bless my community with *thard* and *tharīd* (varieties of a dish prepared from a mixture of pieces of boiled meat and bread). JS added: *thard* is called when the dish consists of smaller pieces, and *tharīd* when of larger."

Bābu't-ṭa'āmi'l-hārr.

88. (A). p. 171. Mḥd b. Yahyā—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—Ibn Faḍḍāl—IQ—JS:

"A hot dish was served to the Prophet. He said: God will feed us with fire as much as this dish, until it becomes cold. Then he left the dish until it cooled down."

Bābu'z-zayt wa'z-zaytūn.

89. (A). p. 173. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: Eat olives, and use olive oil, because they come from a blessed tree."

Bābu'l-fawākih.

90. (A). p. 178. *Idda*—SZ—Ja'far b. Mḥd—IQ—JS:

"JS did not like to peel fruits (when eating)".

Bābu'r-rummān.

91. (A). p. 179. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Eat sour-sweet pomegranates with rich dishes (*bi-shuḥma*), because they are like tanners to the stomach."

Bābu'l-batīḥ.

92. (A). p. 181. The same *isnād*:

"The Prophet admired water-melon with dates".

Bābu'l-qar'.

93. (A). p. 183. Mḥd b. Yahyā—Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. 'Isā—Ibn Faḍḍāl—AMQ—JS:

"The Prophet admired young fried locusts; he used to pick them up from a dish."

Bābu'l-khilāl.

94. (A). p. 184. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said the Prophet: use the toothpick, because it is good for gums and teeth".

95. (A). p. 184. The same *isnād*:

(The same as the preceding, ending with): "...it cleans the mouth and is good for gums."

XXII. *Kitābu'l-ashriba.**Bāb II.*

96. (A). p. 186. The same *isnād*:

"Said the Apostle of God: drink water in small mouthfuls, never gulp it, because this affects the spleen".

Bābu'l-qawl 'alā shurb'il-mā'.

97. (A). p. 186. Mḥd b. Yahyā—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"When drinking water, the Apostle of God used to say: Praise be to God Who has given us to drink sweet and wholesome water, not the salt water from which the throat burns, Who does not punish us for our sins".

Bābu'l-awānī.

98. (A). p. 187. *Idda*—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Once the Prophet, passing during the war of Tabūk near some men who drank water straight with their mouths (from a pool), said to them: Drink water from your handfuls,—these are the best of your vessels". (Cf. no. 123).

Bāb faḍl mā' Zamzam wa mā' il-Mizāb.

99. (A). p. 187. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minin*: the water of Zamzam is the best water on the face of the earth, and the worst is that of Barahūt, in Ḥaḍramawt, to which at night descend the corpses of infidels". (Cf. no. 43).

100. (A). p. 187. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minin*: The Prophet said that the water of Zamzam is a medicine against the illness for the sake of which one takes it".

XXIII. *Kitābu'z-ziyy wa't-tajammul wa'l-muruwwat.*
Bābu'l-libās.

101. (A). p. 203. The same *isnād*:

"Said AMQ: Once JS was walking, supported by me (or did he say: by my father), when he met 'Abbād b. Kathīr, al-Baṣrī.²⁰ JS was wearing an excellent dress made of Marw cloth. 'Abbād said to him: O, Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh! Thou belongest to the family of the Prophet, and thy ancestor did not wear such cloth as is on thee. Would not it be better if thou wouldst wear something more modest?—JS replied: Woe to thee, 'Abbād! Who can prohibit to the people the ornaments that God gives, or good things that He sends? If God gives a man wealth, it is better that it should be shown. There is nothing bad in this. Woe to thee, 'Abbād! I am a particle of the Prophet of God,—do not vex me! —And 'Abbād himself was wearing a two piece garment made of the cloth manufactured in al-Qaṭr (Bedouin homespun?)."²¹

Bāb libāsī'l-bayād wa'l-quṭn.

102. (A). p. 204. Mḥd b. Yahyā—Aḥmad b. Mḥd—Ibn Faḍ-ḍāl—IQ—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: Dress in white, because it is the best and cleanest colour, and also make of this colour shrouds for your dead".

Bāb libāsī'l-mu'aṣṣar.

103. (A). p. 204. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minin*: The Apostle of God prohibited me from putting on gorgeous (*shuhra*) dress (?). But I would not say that he prohibited to you to wear yellow coloured (*mu'aṣṣar*?) high class (*muqaddam*?) dress."²²

104. (A). p. 204. The same *isnād*:

"The Apostle of God had a yellow blanket which he used at home. This blanket was still in possession of the grandfather of JS. Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir remembered that they used to cover themselves with this yellow blanket (*al-mu'aṣṣar*) when at home".

Bāb tashmīrī th-thiyāb.

105. (A). p. 207. The same *isnād*:

"*Amīru'l-mu'minin* used to stretch his hand, and if (the sleeves?) were longer than the ends of the fingers, he would cut off the superfluous length".

Bābu's-sunnat fī labsī'l-khuff wa'n-na'l wa kha'i-hā.

106. (A). p. 210. The same *isnād*:

"JS used to say: When any one of you puts on his sandals, he should always put on the right one first, and when taking these off he should take off the left one first."

Bābu'l-khawātīm.

107. (A). p. 210. The same *isnād*:

"The Prophet used to wear a ring on his right hand."

108. (A). p. 210. The same *isnād*:

"Imams 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn used to wear rings on their left hands."

Bābu'l-ḥulā.

109. (A). p. 212. The same *isnād*:

"Once the Prophet put a gold ring on his left hand, and came out to meet people. They started to look at the ring. The Prophet then put the right hand upon the small finger of the left, and returned to his house. Then he threw the ring away and never put it on again."

Bāb qaṣṣī'l-aḡfār.

110. (A). p. 217. Al-Ḥusayn b. Mḥd—Mu'allī b. Mḥd—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Once inspiration (*waḥy*) did not come for a long time to the Prophet. People asked him the reason, and he replied: How should not it be stopped when you do not clip your nails and do not clean your fingers?"

Bābu'l-kuḥl.

111. (A). p. 218. 'Idda—Aḥmad b. Abī 'Abdī'l-lāh—Ibn Faḍ-ḍāl—IQ—JS:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minin*: Whoever applies collyrium, he acts in a preferable way. Who does this, acts rightly, and who does not— it does not matter."

Bābu's-siwāk.

112. (A). p. 218. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"Said the Apostle of God: Jabrā'il commanded me so much to use a toothbrush that I became afraid that I would rub off all my teeth and lose them".

113. (A). p. 218. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: A toothbrush cleans the mouth and pleases God".

Bāb tarwīqī'l-buyūt.

114. (A). p. 226. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: The Apostle of God sent me to destroy graves and smash idols (*ṣiwar*)."

Bāb karāhiyyat an yabīta'l-insān waḥdu-hu wa'l-khiṣālu'l-munhā 'an-hā.

115. (A+M). p. 228 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—his father Maymūn—Abū Ja'far (Mḥd al-Bāqir):

"The Imam asked Mḥd b. Sulaymān: Where hast thou put up? He replied: In such-and-such a place. The Imam asked whether some one was staying with him, and Mḥd b. Sulaymān replied in the negative. The Imam said: Thou shouldst not be left alone. Maymūn, shift him (to some other place). Verily, the devil becomes bold in his tricks against man when he remains alone".

XXIV. *Kitābu'd-dawājīn.*

Bāb ittikhādhi'l-ibīl.

116. (A+M). p. 231. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS, and from his father, Maymūn:

"We travelled with Abū Ja'far (Mḥd al-Bāqir) to Ṭayba, in the company of 'Amrw b. Dīnār and his friends. We stayed there as long as it was required, and then started, the Imam riding a strong camel. 'Amrw b. Dīnār said to the Imam: What a strong beast is thy camel!—The Imam replied: But dost thou know that the Apostle of God said: On the back of every camel there is a shayṭān: therefore subjugate him, humiliate him, and mention the name of God when riding a camel, then God will carry you through.—Then the Imam (with his party) rode into Mekka, and we all entered it without putting on *ihrāms*."

Bābu'd-dīk.

117. (A). p. 233. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: The crowing of the cock is its prayer, and its beating with wings is bows and prostrations."

XXV. *Kitābu'l-waṣāyā.* XXVI. *Kitābu'l-maxwārith* XXVII. *Kitābu'l-hudūd.* XXVIII. *Kitābu'd-diyāt.* XXIX. *Kitābu'sh-shahādāt.* XXX. *Kitābu'l-qaḍā' wa'l-aḥkām.*—Nil.

XXXI. *Kitābu'l-aymān wa'n-nudhūr wa'l-kaṣārāt.*

Bāb mā lā yalzam minā'l-aymān wa'n-nudhūr.

118. (A). p. 368. 'Idda—SZ—JMA—IQ—JS:

"The son cannot swear an oath with his father, neither wife with her husband, nor the slave with his owner". (Cf. no. 160).

Bābu'l-istiṭhnā' fī'l yamīn.

119. (A). p. 370. The same *isnād*:

"Said *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*: The revocation of an oath is possible within the time of the hearing of the case. And if it will be later than forty days since, then the verse of the Coran (XVIII, 23) applies. . . "and remember thy Lord when thou hast forgotten, (and say: It may be that my Lord will guide me to what is nearer to the right than this)".

2. FROM THE KITĀBU'T-TAWḤĪD BY IBN BĀBŪYA.

Bāb LIV, al-Mashīyyat (al-mashī'at) wa'l-irādāt.

120. (A). (p. 272)²³. Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd—Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaffār—Ja'far b. Mḥd b. Abdi'l-lāh²⁴—AMQ—JS—his father:

"They said to 'Alī (b. Abī Ṭālib) that a certain man was theorizing (*yatakallam*) on the subject of the wish (*mashī'at*) of God. 'Alī gave orders to summon him, and when he was brought in, he asked him: O, slave of God! Has God created thee according to what He Himself wished, or according to thy wish?—The man replied: According to what He Himself wished.—'Alī asked: Does He send thee an illness when He wishes, or when thou wishest?—The man replied: When He wishes.—'Alī asked: Does He heal thee when He wishes, or when thou wishest?—The man replied: When He wishes.—'Alī asked: Does He make thee enter where thou wishest, or where He wishes?—The man replied: Where He wishes.—'Alī said: If thou shouldst

give me an answer not like this, verily, I would strike off that part of thy body in which thy eyes are placed."

121. (A). (pp. 272-273). The same *isnād*:

"Once a man, an associate of the Omayyads, came to call on Imam Ja'far (or his father). We hurried to the Imam and suggested that he should hide himself, and should tell the visitor that he was not at home. (But) the Imam said: All right, ask him in. Verily, the Prophet of God is near the tongue of every one that speaks and the hand of every one who stretches it. And this speaker (the visitor?) cannot stretch his hand except if God wishes this.—Then the visitor came in, asked about various matters quietly, and went out."

3. FROM THE *MAN LĀ YAḤḌURU-HU'L-FAQĪH* BY IBN BĀBŪYA.

122. (A). (II, 118). AMQ—*aṣ-Ṣādiq*—his father.²⁵

The same as *al-Kāfi*, no. 52 above. Added: "Once Mḥd al-Bāqir passed a woman in *iḥrām* who (in addition) covered her face with a fan (*mirwāḥa*). He removed the fan with his stick from her face."

123. (A). (III, 113). AMQ—JS—his father:

The same as *al-Kāfi* no. 98 above. Added: "Said *aṣ-Ṣādiq*: the habit of drinking water during the day increases perspiration and strengthens the body. And he added: and the habit of drinking water at night stirs gall. Someone asked him about the (manner of) drinking with one gulp. (The Imam) replied: If the person who offers thee water is a slave, then drink it in three gulps, and if a free man, then drink it in one gulp."

124. (A). (III, 116). 'Isā b. Ḥammād—AMQ—JS:

"If one (while expressing intention to do something) adds the formula "If God please", it will materialize soon, and up to forty days if he forgets to add this. Once some Jews came to the Prophet, asking him some question, and he told them to come to-morrow, promising to give them his reply. He, however, forgot to add the formula. (Then so it happened that) Jabrā'il ceased to come to him for forty days. At last he appeared, and said: never say "I shall do this to-morrow", unless you add "If God please". If you forget to do so, pray to God (for forgiveness)."

125. (A). (III, 123). AMQ—JS—his father:

The same as nos. 63 and 65 above.

126. (A). (III, 140). AMQ—JS—his father—his forefathers:

"Said the Apostle of God: Boy from boy, boy from girl, and girl from girl should be given separate sleeping place on their attainment of the age of ten". (Cf. no. 79).

127. (A). (III, 191). AMQ—JS:

The same as no. 75 above.

128. (A). (IV, 200). AMQ—JS—his father:

"Jacob (the patriarch) said to his son Joseph: "My son, do not commit adultery, because the bird which commits it loses all its plumage".

129. (A). (IV, 246). AMQ—JS—his father:

"Once a man was brought before *Amīru'l-mu'minin* (Ali) who had beaten another man so that he injured his power of sight. 'Alī summoned several men of a similar age. Then he showed them something, judging as to how much of the power of sight was lost by the plaintiff, and then adjudicated to him the "blood money", compensating him for the loss".

130. (A). (IV, 358). Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Sa'd—AMQ—JS—his father:

"Al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās said: I brought once before the Prophet the mule which was presented to him by Kisrā (the king of Persia) or Qayṣar (Byzantine emperor). The Prophet mounted it, sitting on a woollen horse cloth, and gave me a seat behind himself. Then he said to me: Boy, always remember God, and He shall remember thee, always remember God and thou shalt find Him thy leader. Know God in affluence, and He will know thee in need. If thou hast to beg from some one, beg from God, and if thou askest for help, ask God for it. The meaning of the Divine Pen (writing the destinies of the world) is in what is going to happen. If people try to benefit thee with something, God does not credit to thee what they are unable to do. And if people want to harm thee with something, God will not debit to thee what they cannot achieve. If thou canst act patiently, with strong faith in God, then act in this way. And if thou canst not, then be patient. Verily, there is great help against what thou dislikest, in patience. Know that patience brings victory, and joy brings sorrow. Verily, difficulty is followed by relief!"

4. FROM THE *TAHDHIBU'L-AḤKĀM* BY MḤD B. AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ AṬ-ṬŪSĪ.

131. (A). (I, 9). Shaykh Mufīd—Aḥmad b. MḤd b. al-Ḥasan—his father—MḤd b. Yaḥyā—MḤd b. 'Alī b. Maḥbūb—'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Mughīra—AMQ—JS—his forefathers—'Alī. (Same as no 133):

"When 'Alī was coming out of the latrine, he used to say: Glory be to God Who has given me His food to enjoy, Who has given His strength to my body, and Who relieved me from sufferings sent by Him. O, these three blessings! Then he first stepped with his right foot before stepping with his left, while leaving."

132. (A). (I, 82).

From *al-Kāfi*, see no. 42 above.

133. (A). (I, 100).

The same as no. 131 above, with a shortened *isnād*.

134. (M). (I, 120). MḤd b. al-Ḥasan as-Ṣaffār—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'l-lāh—'Abdu'l-lāh b. Jabala—Sayf b. 'Umayra—Maymūn—JS:

"I asked him (JS): if a man at night is dirtied, and washes himself, and then offers his prayers, and then, when day dawns, he sees that there is dirt on his dress, what should he do? (The Imam) replied: Glory be to God Who has not put anything without giving it proper definition! If he prayed being unaware of this, then he may repeat his prayer (after cleaning)."

135. (A). (I, 180). MḤd b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā—Ja'far b. MḤd (JMA)—'Abdu'l-lāh al-Qaddāh—JS—his father. (Given twice):

"Verily, 'Alī was asked that if one offers his prayers, but absent-mindedly forgets to say the formula of *subḥāna'l-lāh*, etc.,—(what should he do?)—'Alī replied: his prayer is finished (*tammāt*)."

136. (A). (I, 191). Sa'd—Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. MḤd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī'l-Khaṭṭāb—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl—AMQ—JS—his father—'Alī:

"Both the prostrations for expiating a mistake in prayer should be made after the formula of *taslīm*, but before that of *kalām*."²⁶

137. (A). (I, 191 bis)²⁷. Aḥ-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (b. Faḍḍāl?)—JMA—AMQ—Ja'far—his father. (The *isnād* is abbreviated):

"When the Apostle of God went out for communal prayers, he used to sit on the *minbar* waiting till the *mu'adhḥins* finish their call."

- 138. (A). (I, 194 bis). MḤd b. 'Alī b. Maḥbūb—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (b. Faḍḍāl?) al-Kūfī—JMA—AMQ—JS—his father:

"Said the Prophet: Deposit safely your sandals near the walls of your mosques. (And he) prohibited them to put on sandals while standing."

139. (A). (I, 204 bis). MḤd b. 'Alī b. Maḥbūb—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (b. Faḍḍāl?)—JMA—JS—his father—his forefathers:

"Once there was a solar eclipse in the time of the Apostle of God. He prayed with the people two *rak'ats*, prolonging his prayers so long that some people fainted while praying under his leadership, under the influence of fatigue from standing."

140. (A). (I, 211 bis). MḤd b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā—Ja'far b. MḤd b. 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Qummī (JMA)—AMQ—JS—his father:

"When 'Alī prayed over the dead, he used to recite the *Fātiḥa*, adding blessings upon the Prophet."

141. (A). (I, 238 bis). Al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣa'id—Ḥammād—AMQ—JS—his father. (The *isnād* is very much abbreviated):

"The *zakāt* on raw products, such as dates, grapes, barley, cheese, is to be paid by every one, whether a free man, or slave, young or old. But it is not to be paid by those who have not got enough to meet (expenses) in distress (*mā yataṣaddaq bi-hi ḥaraj*)".

142. (I, 239 bis). The same as the preceding.

143. (A). (I, 246). From *al-Kāfi*, see no 47 above.

144. (A). (I, 277). 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan—MḤd b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Jahm—AMQ—JS—his father:

"Once Qanbar, a *mawla* of 'Alī, brought to him food for breaking his fast, and it was barley meal in a travelling bag, which was sealed. One of those present said to him: O, A.M., this is a sign of greed, if thou sealest thy food.—'Alī laughed at this, and said approximately this: No! I simply prefer to take in nothing but of what I know the origin (*sabū'a-hu*). Then he broke the seal, took out the (vessel with) barley soup, poured a cup of it, and gave it to the man. And when he started eating it, he said: In the name of God! O, Lord, for Thee we fast, and by Thy food we break our fast. Accept our fast from us; verily Thou art Listening, All-Knowing!"

145. (A). (I, 293). ..Ḥammād b. 'Isā—AMQ—JS—his father:

"Three things do not cause the interruption of the fast: vomiting, pollution in dream, and being bled. Once the Prophet himself was bled while fasting. He also did not disapprove of the use of collyrium."

146. (A). (I, 305). Sa'd b. 'Abdi'l-lāh—Ibn Ja'far—JMA—AMQ—*Abū* Ja'far (apparently the scribe's error for simply Ja'far)—his father:

"Fast on the day of 'Āshūrā is atonement in religious practice (*ṣunnat*)."

147. (A). (I, 370 *bis*). Mḥd b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā—JMA—AMQ—JS—his father:

"AM 'Alī used to say: It is permitted to those who want to make up their fast to fast three days during the *ḥajj*, namely one day before the ceremony of the *tarwīya*, (or) on the day of it. And as to the day of 'Arafat, he may fast on the days of *tashrīq*."

148. (A). (I, 434). Taken from *al-Kāfi*, see no. 55 above.

149. (A). (I, 434). Mḥd b. 'Alī b. Maḥbūb—al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī—JMA—AMQ—JS—his father:

"The *wādīs* (watercourses) of the Mekka sanctuary originally formed part of the mosque, but (caliph) 'Umar altered this."

150. (A). (II, 51). Mḥd b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā—JMA—AMQ:

"A prisoner of war was brought before 'Alī during the battle of Ṣiffīn. The prisoner swore allegiance to him, and 'Alī said: I shall not kill thee, because I fear God, the Lord of the worlds. —Then he let him free, returning to him the loot which he had in his possession."

151. (A). (II, 55). Obviously from *al-Kāfi*, the same as no. 56 above.

152. (A). (II, 59). Ditto, no. 59.

153. (A). (II, 179). Ditto no. 61.

154. (A). (II, 183). From *al-Kāfi*, see no. 65 above.

155. (A). (II, 183). Ditto, no. 62.

156. (A). (II, 228). Ditto no. 66.

157. (A). (II, 229). Ditto, no. 70.

158. (A). (II, 236). Ditto, no. 78.

159. (A). (II, 224 *bis*). Ditto, no. 80.

160. (A). (II, 272). Ditto, no. 118.

161. (A). (II, 304). Ditto, no. 81.

162. (M?). (II, 380). Mḥd b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā—Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Qummī (obviously JMA)—al-Qaddāḥ (obviously for *Ibn* al-Qaddāḥ)—JS—his father:

"Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of 'Alī (AM) died at the same hour as her son, Zayd b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and it was not known which of them died first. Therefore neither of them inherited from the other, and one burial prayer was recited over both of them.

163. (A). (II, 452). JMA—'Abd Maymūn (AMQ)—JS:

"If a man declares a claim against his brother at night, he remains his bailer till he returns home."

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Ref. to the pages of the lith. ed. 1281.

2 Here, of course, 'ālim does not mean a "scholar" in general, and *ilm* has a special meaning, obviously referring to *esoteric* knowledge. Thus the 'ālim in this tradition is an Alid, or even the Imam. These special implications of the terms are often found in *al-Kāfi*, although sometimes this is not so obvious.

3 In the text *al-inṣāt*, obviously a slip for *al-inṣāf*=justice, impartiality, fairness, absence of prejudice.

4 Here *ḥujjat* is used in the sense of *Imāmat*, the office of the Imam. Apparently the term *imāmat* had not yet come into common use at the time.

5 Concerning these worthies see further on.

6 These are names of some kinds of cloth which are not found in my dictionaries.

7 Not clearly legible: badly written, the ink having spread.

8 From here the text used is the edition of 1278, which is not paged in the original. The pagination referred to here has been introduced by myself.

9 The underlying idea here is the lack of respect implied in appearance before any one bareheaded, contrary to the implications of covering the head in the West.

10 Here again as in the tradition no. 29 there appear these mysterious *ahlu's-samā'*, the "dwellers of the sky" (stars?), who are always mentioned separately from the angels (*malā'ika*). Their functions are described as "shining."

11 As is well known, many peoples in widely-separated parts of the world attribute a supernatural significance to the act of sneezing, and this is an interesting testimony from the ancient Arab world: if some one present happens to sneeze at the moment when something is said, then what is said is true. Persians regard it as an ill omen a sneeze which does not ultimately materialize.

12 Henceforward references are given to the first volume of the 1315 lithographed edition.

13 As the name of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh is here often abbreviated into Ibn al-Qaddāh, it seems more probable that we have to deal with a scribe's mistake rather than with the case of Maymūn being simply called "al-Qaddāh. The same applies to nos. 33, 43, 45, etc.

14 It seems obvious that the text here has been mutilated, and the story of the burial of Ibrāhīm, the infant son of the Prophet (cf. W. Muir, "The Life of Mohammed", ed. 1923, pp. 429-430), has been inserted by mistake in a tradition referring to 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn (a man of ascetic inclinations, cf. *EI*, III, 1011). The reference to "acting righteously" must surely pertain to him, not to Ibrāhīm, who died as a child of 15 or 16 months.

15 While normally the usual blessings are invoked after the names of the Imams, such traces of negligence as here and in several other traditions are quite common in all the editions which are here referred to.

16 Henceforward references are to the *second* volume of the same edition.

17 Cf. above, tradition no. 44, and the footnote.

18 A kind of costly brocade cloth.

19 The explanation, put into the mouth of the Imam, obviously belongs to later *rāwis*.

20 Cf. traditions nos. 4 and 13 above, and further on, section IV,

21 The place mentioned here, al-Qaṭr, is the peninsula in the Persian Gulf, on the eastern coast of Arabia, near the Bahrayn islands.

22 It is not easy to ascertain the correct description of these different kinds of cloth referred to here.

23 The lithogr. edition (Tabriz?) is neither dated nor paginated. References are here given to the pagination inserted by myself.

24 Obviously Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Ash'arī, the usual first *rāwī* of AMQ. Cf. further on, section IV.

25 As has been mentioned above, the name of AMQ is often abbreviated as Ibn al-Qaddāh, but on several occasions it erroneously appears as Abū'l-Qaddāh, or simply al-Qaddāh. Imam Ja'far is usually called Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh, sometimes Ja'far b. Mḥd, but incidentally as "Ja'far", without even the usual invocation of blessings.

26 I find that I have omitted here one tradition quoted twice (I, 138 *bis* and 139 *bis*), with the usual *isnād*. It contains a prayer which 'Alī used to recite during the month of Ramaḍān.

27 In this edition the pagination several times goes wrong so that pages repeat the same numbers.

IV

THE BIOGRAPHY OF IBN AL-QADDĀH

1. *References in the Traditions related by him.*

Various allusions scattered in the traditions related by Ibn al-Qaddāh, collected above, not only permit us to reconstruct certain features of his mentality, but also pick up some positive information as to his and his father's biographies. Such information is very meagre; but little is, of course, better than nothing. The question which is of paramount importance to the student, that of chronology, remains open. The only way to collect some information on this subject is an analysis of the *isnāds* in which the name of the worthy forms a link. The period at which he flourished may be roughly ascertained from the dates of those people from whom he related traditions, or who related from him. In addition to the information of this kind contained in the traditions collected above, some more details are available in various Shi'ite and Sunnite *rijāl* works which are analyzed further on.

Specialization of rāwīs.

Before discussing Ibn al-Qaddāh's biography, it is necessary to refer to a feature in Muslim tradition which has a special importance in his case. This is what may be described as "specialization" of *rāwīs*. It is often easy to notice in works on tradition that certain classes of subjects are almost invariably related by one and the same *rāwī*, or group of *rāwīs*. It is difficult to believe that such specialization existed at an early period. All that we know of these early enthusiasts of *ḥadīth* studies makes one inclined to think that they were mostly interested in everything. Quite naturally some of them were more interested in one subject than another, or had better facilities to acquire information of a certain kind. The later compilers who had at their disposal such early works quite naturally preferred to incorporate a whole set of traditions, already collected and systematized by some one, rather than to pick up one by one from different sources. This created an impression that certain subjects were a speciality of certain *rāwīs*.

It is, however, obvious that on certain exceptional occasions some original *rāwīs* of Shi'ite *ḥadīths*, being in daily contact with the Imams, were able to collect their sayings on subjects which, by their nature, would hardly be discussed much in what may be called their public assemblies. Such subjects might have been any matters connected with intimate family life, or minute details of daily routine. To this latter class belongs the most original, and therefore valuable, of the contributions to the study of Shi'ite *ḥadīth* made by Ibn al-Qaddāh. If we accept the usual idea of him as a bold reformer, the originator of a new philosophical sect in Islam, etc., we may be greatly disappointed to find a complete absence of traditions such as would logically preoccupy a person of that type. In what we may collect of the traditions related by him, dogmatic, philosophical, theoretical, or other such matters are not discussed at all. The same applies to the forms of worship, legal matters, and *fiqh* topics in general. He, however, at once becomes an important original *rāwī* in chapters dealing with the efficacy of various prayers, said to have been recited by the Prophet or earliest Imams on various occasions, and especially on subjects connected with *domestic matters*: food, drink, clothing, etc. It is here that he is at home: it is his real "speciality". Subjects of this kind and prayers probably form something like 75 per cent of all his traditions.

If he was a heresiarch, as he is usually represented, and would have been preoccupied with theoretical and dogmatic questions, it would be inconceivable that the whole of his *repertoire* on these matters consisted only of traditions containing a variety of outrageously impious ideas. We have seen above that early authors of works on *ḥadīth* accepted or rejected traditions on their merits, even if they were related by indubitable heretics. One can therefore only come to the conclusion that Ibn al-Qaddāh took no interest in these matters.

Servants of the Imams.

Such indisputable traces of his intimate association with the family of the Imam in which he had the opportunity to hear what was said on various insignificant occasions of daily routine, can only prove that he and his father were *servants in the family of the Imams*. If this theory is accepted, the whole matter becomes clear.

This is sufficiently supported by the implications of the tradition no. 115 where Mḥd al-Bāqir orders Maymūn to change the accommodation of a guest; no. 116, where Maymūn accompanies the same Imam on a journey, and no. 101, where Imam Ja'far walks supported by Ibn al-Qaddāh. But the richest in allusions is no. 4, where Maymūn is explicitly called a *mawlā* of Imam Mḥd'al-Bāqir and a *ghulām* of Imam Ja'far.

Mawlā and ghulām.

It is unfortunate for us that the word *ghulām* in Arabic has so many and so divergent meanings: boy, lad, young man, pupil, slave, servant, policeman, etc. In this particular place the word cannot mean "slave", because Maymūn is in the same breath called a *mawlā*, i.e., a "client", or freed slave of the Imam. The meanings of "boy, lad, youth" are also unsuitable. The general tone of the tradition implies that Imam Ja'far is already a recognized "speaker" for the Alid family, i.e., the head of it. Then the conversation must be held *after* the death of Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir (114/732). We see, however, that before that date Maymūn already at least had two sons, Abān and 'Abdu'l-lāh. The first knew the Corān by heart, and 'Abdu'l-lāh was grown up enough to have a conversation with the Imam, perhaps even to travel with a report from Mekka to Medina.¹ In addition to this, the *qāḍī* would not have suggested to a respectable friend that he should ask for an explanation of a difficult matter from a child. Thus the term *ghulām* must be used here in the sense of a (paid) servant. Such a meaning of the word is testified by the text of *al-Kāfi* itself. In another place (II, 138-9) a story is related in which the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'in (248-251/862-866) presents Ḥasan 'Askarī, the Ithna-'ashari Imam, with a mule. The Imam, addressing a *bayṭār* (veterinary practitioner) employed by him, says: "take it, *ghulām*". A child could not, of course, have been employed as a *bayṭār*, and, moreover, the story is narrated by the latter's son who was present on the occasion, most probably as his father's assistant, certainly not as a small child.

The fact that Maymūn is here called a *mawlā* of Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir, and not of Imam Ja'far, implies that he was a *mawlā* already under that Imam. It is particularly noteworthy also because the *rāwī*, Salām b. Sa'id, is here called a member of the

Makhzūmī clan, whose *mawlā* Maymūn was according to Najāshī (148), and other sources. Sunnite sources also call 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn a *mawlā* of Imam Ja'far (meaning the Alid family generally). It is therefore quite possible that Maymūn, originally a *mawlā*, or "client", of the Makhzūmī clan was a *paid servant* in the employ of the family of the Imams, that he was therefore designated as "their" *mawlā*, and that his sons continued in the same position.²

In the scene described in the tradition no. 4, two distinguished visitors call on Imam Ja'far, obviously in Mekka. One is an ascetic from Baṣra, 'Abbād (or 'Ubād) Ibn Kathīr, and the other is the Mekkan *faqīh*, Ibn Shurayḥ. The first of these not infrequently figures in Ibn al-Qaddāh's traditions (cf. nos. 13, 101), invariably as an unfair, unsympathetic and uncompromising critic of Imam Ja'far. In the course of a conversation, apparently in the presence of a crowd of other people, Ibn Kathīr asks a question, and the Imam's answer leaves him incredulous. By a movement he sufficiently expresses his attitude. Noticing this, the Imam, perhaps addressing his own followers rather than the visitors, seeks to smooth the impression by drawing a comparison, of which, however, the visitors do not comprehend the significance. Leaving the assembly, and probably seen off by servants and friends, they exchange their impressions, and Ibn Kathīr confesses that he has not understood the simile given by the Imam. The judge, apparently a habitué of the house, then suggests that he should ask an explanation from "this *ghulām*," i.e., Maymūn, who is "one of them", i.e. Shi'ites, followers of the Imam. He would surely not have made such a suggestion if Maymūn had been a mere youth at the time. The situation implies rather that he was a respected person, known as an enthusiastic Shi'ite from whom the distinguished visitor could ask an explanation without feeling humiliated.

It is a great pity that the anecdote, so valuable in other respects, affords no clue to the date of the event. 'Abbād b. Kathīr ath-Thaqafī al-Baṣrī, who is here mentioned, is a well-known person in Sunnite tradition. Dhahabī (*Mizānu'l-i'tidāl*, II, 12-15) and also Ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdhīb'u't-Tahdhīb*, V, 100-2) devote much space to him. The information may be summed up as follows: he was a very pious man of ascetic life, but perfectly worthless and misleading as a *rāwī*, who probably quite

unintentionally falsified *ḥadīths* because (as Ibn Zur'a says) he never committed them to writing and relied only on his memory. He died between 140/757 and 150/767.

Ibn Shurayḥ, the Mekkan *faqīh*, is obviously the same person as Najāshī's (292) Abū Muḥammad Mu'āwiya b. Maysara Ibn Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī al-Qāḍī, a contemporary of Imam Ja'far. There was at the same period another person who was also "Ibn Shurayḥ", namely Mḥd b. Shurayḥ al-Ḥadrāmī (Naj. 259), but there can be little doubt that the former was the person involved here.

The name of Maymūn's father, Aswad, as given by Najāshī (148), is not mentioned by Dhahabī, and Ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdhīb*, VI, 49) mentions Dā'ūd instead. The latter may be, however, the result of an early mistake in writing. If his name, Aswad, purely Arabic, was genuine, does this mean that he was already born in Islam, or was an Arab?³ But were Christian Arabs treated as *mawlās* when converted to Islam?

Meaning of "qaddāh".

Maymūn's surname, al-Qaddāh, is usually taken to mean "oculist". This is extremely doubtful, and probably implies a considerable anachronism: it is doubtful that in the Mekka of the first c. A.H. there were already oculists. The root q-d-ḥ, originally connected with the idea of flint, as later developed, came to cover a wide range of notions, the connection between which is often not obvious. The term *qaddāh* in the sense of "oculist", i.e., the man who deals with sick eyes, comes from the meaning "to become sick, dry, emaciated", or, with reference to the eye, to become sick, dry, "sunk in its socket". But this latter meaning itself obviously comes from the original idea of grinding, or hollowing, perhaps shaping a bowl out of a stone.

The real meaning of *qaddāh* most probably is quite different, and is connected with *qidāh*, i.e., an ancient Arab play or form of divination with the help of special arrows. In his "List", Ṭūsī (no. 425), while dealing with Ibn al-Qaddāh, explains the word as "a man who *yabra'u'l-qidāh*", i.e., practises the game (or divination) of *qidāh*, which was much in use at an early period, judging from the fact that early works on tradition and *fiqh* invariably refer to it, condemning it together with drinking and playing *maysir* (which probably was either the same as, or a

variety of, *qidāh*).⁴ A very detailed account of the game is given by Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, the famous Ismaili *dā'i*, in his lexicoterminological religious encyclopædia, *Kitāb az-Zīna*. He quotes a profusion of poetry and various authorities to substantiate his statements, and also to prove the idea that *qidāh* was the same as *maysir*. The game consisted in drawing from a bag an unsharpened arrow, out of a lot of ten, in which seven arrows bore marks, from one to seven lines, while three were unmarked. Each marked arrow had a special name, and there were numerous rules concerning the game. The same arrows (as playing cards now) were also used for divination. The *qaddāh* was the man who owned such arrows and induced people to gamble, or took part in the gamble himself, or was a specialist in divination with the help of arrows. The surname *al-qaddāh* implied no contemptive sense: at the same period as Maymūn's there was in Mekka a Sunni *muftī*, a very respectable man, Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Sālim al-Qaddāh al-Makkī, originally from Khorasan (=Persia generally), or Kūfa, as mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdhīb*, IV, 35).

Maymūn's family.

An interesting fact, apparently so far unknown in Oriental studies, is that in addition to 'Abdu'l-lāh, Maymūn had yet another son, apparently older than the former, with the name Abān. In the chapter *Faḍlu'l-Qur'ān* in *al-Kāfī*, in the *bābū'n-nawādir* (I, 291) a *ḥadīth* is quoted with the *isnād*: al-Ḥusayn b. Mḥd—Mu'allī b. Mḥd—al-Washshā'—Abān b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh, who said: "Said to me Abū Ja'far (i.e., Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir): Recite! I asked: Recite what?—He said: Recite from the ninth *sūra*.—So I started reciting it. Then he (the Imam) said to me: (Now) recite the *sūra* "Yūnus".—I recited until I reached verse (27).—He said then: Enough! Said the Apostle of God: Verily, I feel astonished how I should not become grey-haired while reciting the Coran!"

In the *Tahdhībū'l-ahkām* of Ṭūsī quite a prominent *rāwī* is Ibrāhīm b. Maymūn, a rather enigmatic person. He relates from Imam Ja'far, and very often appears as asking him various questions. This implies that he was a man of ripe age, because there is an etiquette, noticeable in Shi'ite traditions, which usually presumes that only persons of certain importance could venture to

ask questions, while less important individuals had to keep quiet at the assemblies. Authors of various works on tradition (as mentioned in the *Mustadrak*, III, 550-551) variously identify him, but it is possible that he was the son of al-Qaddāh (as suggested in the *Bihārū'l-maqāl* by Faraju'l-lāh al-Ḥuwayzāwī). It is interesting that despite a search on the matter I have been unable to find any other reference to Abān b. Maymūn. Is it possible that this Abān and Ibrāhīm b. Maymūn are one and the same person? No source whatever I have so far seen mentions any *kunya* of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, or any of his descendants. The only possible late descendant of Maymūn may perhaps be discovered in a certain 'Alī b. 'Abdu'l-lāh b. 'Imrān al-Qurashī *al-Makhzūmī al-Maymūnī*, mentioned by Najāshī (190). The last two *nisbas* sound quite significant, although it may, of course, be a mere coincidence.

Unfortunately for the student, no materials have so far been found in Shi'ite tradition which permit a reconstruction of the chronology. There are no indications as to the date either of Maymūn's death, or of his son's. We can only infer that 'Abdu'l-lāh was at least a young man before the death of Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir. Kashī preserves the well-known *hadīth*, much commented upon (160 and again 247), in which the Imam asked Ibn al-Qaddāh: "How many of you people are there in Mekka? —He replied: There are four of us".—The Imam then added: "Verily, you people are light in the darkness prevailing on earth".

This story has been discussed by many authors on Shi'ite tradition,⁵ who usually come to the conclusion that the tradition was spurious because it contains praise of the *rāwī* himself. It appeared to me (and I am glad to see now that I was not alone in this point of view, as is shown by the *Mustadrak*, III, 551) that the tradition refers to the *family* of Maymūn. There must surely have been more than four Shi'ites in Mekka at the beginning of the second c. A.H., and surely, also, the Imam would have had no need to ask about local affairs there as if it was a very distant place. Most probably the story implies that 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, at the time probably a young man, had come from Mekka to Medina with a report (perhaps about the house and other property of the Imams in Mekka which was in charge of Maymūn and his sons). The aged Imam asks as to how many of them (members of the family, who were his servants) are in

fact there. 'Abdu'l-lāh gives the answer, and the Imam pays an encouraging compliment to the son of his devout servant. There is nothing impossible in this.⁶

As the Imam died in 114/732, it may be safely taken that 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn was born in the first/seventh c. It would be a great achievement to make a proper search in Bukhārī and other early collections of *Sunnite* tradition for the *hadīths* related by him! Perhaps they would reveal some additional information. We must not forget that the worthy moved in a world in which there was no sharp division between the Sunni and Shi'ite tradition, no general prejudice or animosity between the two schools. People such as Ibn al-Qaddāh, and many others, really belong to both these schools,

It remains only to mention the works which are believed to have been written by Ibn al-Qaddāh. No works are ascribed to Maymūn by Shi'ite sources, and it is not impossible that he (as was normal in that ancient period) was illiterate. Najāshī, 148, refers to Ibn al-Qaddāh's books (*kutub*): *Mab'athū'n-Nabī wa akhbāru-hu*, and another, *Kitāb šifati'l-Jannat wa'n-Nār*.⁷ As usual with early Shi'ite literature, it is uncertain whether these were separate books or sections of one and the same book. *Al-Kāfi* apparently contains under the corresponding headings no traditions which could have been derived from such a book if it existed. Such *kutub* may have really been thin notebooks, consisting of a few pages each.

No indications are available as to the date of Ibn al-Qaddāh's death. Even if he died after Imam Ja'far, he probably was not in contact with Mūsā b. Ja'far as there are no traditions related by him from the latter.

2. Shi'ite and Sunnite Isnāds analyzed.

The only way open to us to supplement the meagre information concerning the biography of Ibn al-Qaddāh contained in his traditions is to analyze the *isnāds*, both Shi'ite and Sunnite, in which he appears as a *rāwī*. However approximate and unreliable this way is, it is the only method at our disposal to verify the period to which the worthy belongs.

Shi'ite isnāds.

The meagreness of the information preserved by Shi'ite *rijāl* works concerning the biography of Ibn al-Qaddāh indubitably

reflects the fact that he was a very unimportant *rāwī* in whom very few specialists in tradition took much interest. Kashī, as discussed above quotes only a single tradition from him, without any comments. Najāshī (148), and after him Tūsī (no. 425), contain very little, and, judging from a synopsis in the *Mustadrak* (III, 619), this is practically all that is known about him. Najāshī and Tūsī mention only two *rāwīs* who related from him, namely Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Ash'arī, and Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Qummī (Naj., 12). It is, therefore, a valuable feature of the note given by the author of the *Mustadrak* that it collects the names of other of his *rāwīs* from different sources. Strangely, although he devotes in another place (III, 788) a separate note to the principal *rāwī*, Ja'far b. Mḥd, on whose authority almost 90% of Ibn al-Qaddāh's traditions are related in *al-Kāfi*, the author of the *Mustadrak* entirely omits his mention here. We shall scrutinize his *isnāds* further on.

Only ten traditions from IQ are related in *al-Kāfi* through a very important early *rāwī*, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl (Naj. 24-26, d. in 224/839). From the chronological point of view this *rāwī* evokes certain doubts. We may discuss these further on.

A few traditions are related through Ḥammād b. 'Īsā al-Juhfī (Naj. 103-4; *Mustadrak*, III, 592; Dhahabī, I, 280), who, at the age of over 90, was drowned by a spate near Medina in 208/823.

In his *Tahdhīb*, as shown above, Tūsī quotes only one tradition which is related through a very eminent *rāwī*, 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Mughīra al-Bajalī (Naj. 149), who was the author of over 30 books on tradition, and flourished in the middle of the second/eighth c., relating chiefly from Mūsā b. Ja'far.

To the end of the same century belongs Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Qummī referred to above. He flourished at the time of ar-Riḍā, *i.e.*, the end of the second, and beg. of the third/ninth c.

On a single occasion Tūsī in his *Tahdhīb* mentions as a *rāwī* of IQ a certain Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Jahm. It is obviously the same person as Abū Mḥd al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm b. Bukayr b. A'yan ash-Shaybānī (Naj. 37), who flourished during the time of Mūsā b. Ja'far and ar-Riḍā. If it was really his son, Muḥammad, who is not mentioned in the *riḡāl* works, the period must be a little later.

To the same period belong Abū Ṭālib 'Abdu'l-lāh b. as-Ṣalt al-Qummī (Naj. 150), and Abū Khālid Ṣāliḥ (b. Sa'īd al-Qammāt al-Asadī) (Naj. 141), both mentioned in the *Mustadrak*, and a later *rāwī* Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Ash'arī, who flourished towards the middle of the third/ninth c.

The most important immediate *rāwī* of IQ, on whose authority something like 90% of his traditions are related; is Ja'far b. Mḥd b. 'Ubaydī'l-lāh (or 'Abdi'l-lāh) al-Ash'arī (al-Qummī),⁸ to whom a short note is devoted in the *Mustadrak*, III, 788. Tūsī in his "List" (no. 147) mentions his name in an incomplete form, and only says that he was the author of a "book". The *Mustadrak* refers to the *rāwīs* who related from him. Amongst these people reappear the *rāwīs* of IQ himself: Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim, and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl, just mentioned above. To Sahl b. Ziyād we have already referred above (p. 17). Others are Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. 'Īsā al-Ash'arī, who flourished in the third/ninth c., and probably in his early youth met with ar-Riḍā (Naj. 59-60), and also two authors who flourished towards the end of the third/ninth c. and in the beginning of the next, namely Mḥd b. Aḥmad b. Yahyā and Mḥd b. 'Alī b. Mahbūb already discussed above, p. 21. The first of them related from Sahl b. Ziyād, who, as we can see, is the *rāwī* of Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Ash'arī in almost all IQ's traditions in *al-Kāfi*. As it is surely improbable that a person who flourished about 300/912-3 would have been able to relate from another who was in personal contact with a third 150 years before this date, it is obvious that here "relation" implied the perusal of written notes.

The same is obviously the position with the well-known *rāwī*, mentioned above, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl, who died, according to *riḡāl* works, in 224/839. This date is quite probable, because Najāshī (24-26) quotes an anecdote concerning a meeting with this person from the reminiscences of the famous Khorasani Shi'ite, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, who died in 260/874. Apparently in his early youth he met Ibn Faḍḍāl in Kūfa. But further details mentioned by Najāshī abound in anachronisms, so that it is quite possible that in reality they refer to different persons, perhaps the father and the son. Najāshī simply copies Kashī (pp. 319 sqq., 349) where it is stated that Ibn Faḍḍāl was one of the most learned and prominent Faḥites, *i.e.*, the party recognizing the eldest son of Imam Ja'far, 'Abdu'l-lāh, as the legitimate succes-

sor of his father. This 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Aṭṭaḥ was a half-wit, a sickly and incapable man who probably died soon after his father without leaving any posterity, and his devout followers cultivated the same beliefs and expectations about his return as the Ithna-'asharis concerning their XIIth Imam (cf. further on, section VI).

It is not certain whether his sect lasted long after his death and whether there was a "second generation" amongst its followers. The person in question, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl, who died in 224/839, could not have been born early enough to be an adult at the time of the dispute over Imam Ja'far's succession. But supposing that he did belong to such "second generation" of the Faṭḥites, one detail appears very strange: it is narrated that on his death bed he "repented" from his error, and recognized as the legitimate Imam—*ar-Riḍā*. In 224/839 the Imam was 'Alī al-Ḥādī, while the period of *ar-Riḍā*'s Imamāt is 183/-799—*ca.* 203/818. This may be a genuine mistake in an early source, never corrected since. But if we suppose that it was the father, 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl, who really died in *ar-Riḍā*'s time, the chronology would be correct. He could have been an adult at the time of the dispute and could have met 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn personally. All this, of course, requires confirmation.

It is noteworthy that in these *isnāds* there is one clear feature: practically all *rāwīs* are either Qumīs, or have some connection with the pilgrim route Qum-Kūfa-Mekka. It is, therefore, easy to suggest either that the book of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Qaddāh was brought to Kūfa and thence to Qum, or that a person such as Ja'far b. Mḥd al-Ash'arī, while visiting Mekka, compiled a book of traditions related by IQ, and brought it to Qum, perhaps lending it to be copied by persons in Kūfa on his way home.

Sunnite isnāds.

We must not forget that 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn flourished at a period when there was no sharp differentiation between the Shi'ite and Sunnite schools of tradition. If even now, so many centuries later, the boundary line between the two is by no means impassable, in his time the question of different schools did not arise. For this reason he, together with a large number of other *rāwīs*, whom the Shi'ites claim as their own, are included in the *rijāl* works of the Sunnites. It is, however, really a strange thing

that despite centuries of propaganda and the definite opinions of all authorities concerning the hereticism of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, he nevertheless has not been excluded from such Sunnite works. Probably from Ibn an-Najjār's work (d. 643/1245) he is preserved in Dhahabī's (d. 748/1349), and thence in Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449), and even as late as *Khudāṣat Tahdhīb-i'l-Kamāl* by Ahmad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī who died in 923/1517. This shows beyond any doubt that Sunnite specialists in tradition, any more than Shi'ite experts, *have never found any direct and explicit allegation of heresy against him* in the whole literature of tradition. We can see that various authorities regard him as an unreliable *rāwī*, but exclusively from technical considerations. Many persons of the most indubitable piety were in the same position. We have seen a few pages above an example of this in the man of saintly life, 'Abbād b. Kathīr. It is worth while to review in chronological order the sources in which he appears as a *rāwī*, and the attitude of their authors towards him. This list is compiled from the notes in Dhahabī's *Mizānu'l-i'tidāl* (II, 81) and Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhīb-i'l-Tahdhīb* (vol. VI, 49).

Tirmidhī (d. 255/869) regards him as *munkaru'l-ḥadīth*. Bukhārī (d. 256/870)—*dhāhibu'l-ḥadīth*. Abū Zur'a (d. 264/877)—*wāḥīl-ḥadīth*, one who corrupts traditions in the process of relating them. Nasā'ī (d. 302/914)—weak. Ibn Ḥibbān (354/965)—his traditions cannot be taken as deciding the issue, unless supported by testimony from other *rāwīs*. Al-Ḥākim (Mḥd b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Mḥd an-Naysābūrī, d. 405/1014)—related what should be rejected, *rawā'ī-manākīr*. Abū Ḥātim (d. *ca.* 440/1048)—*matruk*, to be avoided. Ibn 'Adī (?)—to be disregarded and ignored. Thus out of the ten highest authorities on Sunnite tradition, none regards him as suspected in heretical beliefs.

In Sunnite *rijāl* works IQ primarily figures as a *rāwī* of Imam Ja'far, but in addition to this they mention the names of other authorities in the Sunnite line: Ismā'īl (b. 'Amrw b. Sa'īd.) b. Umayya (d. 139/756 or 144/761); Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī (d. 144/761); 'Ubaydu'l-lāh b. 'Amrw b. Ḥafṣ al-'Adawī (d. 147/764); 'Uthmān (b. al-Aswad b. Mūsā b. Bādhān, d. 150/767); and Ṭalḥa b. 'Amrw b. 'Uthmān al-Ḥaḍramī al-Makkī (d. 152/769).

Thus the coincidence with the later period of Imam Ja'far is perfect. It is remarkable that when we come to the persons who related from IQ, the same phenomenon is observed as in the case of their Shi'ite counterparts: al-Husayn b. Manšūr an-Naysābūrī (d. 238/852); Ya'qūb b. Ḥamid b. Kāsib (al-Madanī, lived in Mekka, d. 240-1/854-5); Mu'ammil b. Ahāb al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī (a native of Kerman, lived in Ramla and Egypt, d. in Ramla, 254/-868); Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb Ziyād b. Yahyā (b. Ziyād b. Ḥassān an-Nakrī, d. 254/868); and Aḥmad b. Shaybān (ar-Ramlī, d. 275/-888). Three more names are given, Ismā'il b. Khālid al-Muqaddasī, Abū'l-Azhar, and Aḥmad b. Burd al-Anṭākī, but I have been unable to identify them.

It is obviously not possible that a person who must have been in personal contact with the people who all died between 144/761 and 152/769, could also have been in personal contact with some one who died in 275/888. We need not strain our imagination in looking for the explanation: it is the difference in the implications of the technical expression *rawā' an-hu*. In the first half of the second c. A.H., when the study of tradition had only begun, there was a real oral transmission in the form of the teacher's dictation to his pupils. In another 125 years the position had changed very much, and *rawā' an-hu* came to mean simply the repetition of traditions, regardless of whether they were really heard from the mouth of the teacher or were simply read and copied from a book. We have seen above that such disregard of the difference between the oral and written sources becomes a permanent feature with the passage of time (cf. p. 22). All these worthies who flourished in the third/ninth c., and related Ibn al-Qaddāh's traditions, had most probably perused the same book or books which were known to Shi'ite scholars, and had taken out what suited them, while most probably rejecting those traditions which exhibited a strong Shi'ite flavour.

A small but noteworthy feature of the few traditions related by IQ which are quoted by Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar is the fact that they also refer to matters of food and drink, his speciality, as we have already seen.

In the *Taqribu't-Tahdhīb*,⁹ Ibn Ḥajar's own conspectus of his large work, the *Tahdhīb*, he gives an approximate date for Ibn al-Qaddāh's death. He divides the *rawā'is* mentioned in his book into *ṭabaqas*, or generations. For each *ṭabaqa* he men-

tions a "perfect specimen", unfortunately, however, under the abbreviated name of Abū-so-and-so or Ibn-so-and-so, familiar enough to the specialists of his time but useless for identification now.¹⁰ From a comparison of the dates of the deaths (where known) of those who are classed under a single *ṭabaqa*, it is not easy to see what principle the author followed. For instance, some people are mentioned as belonging to the VIIth *ṭabaqa* who died in 200 A.H., to the IXth—202 and 204; to the tenth—204, 208 and to the eleventh—275! Ibn al-Qaddāh belongs to the eighth *ṭabaqa*, which includes people who died between 162 and 200 A.H. I have picked out the dates 162, 165, 177, 179, 180, 181, 187, 191, 200.- It is, therefore, quite possible that IQ, who, as we have seen, was most probably born in the concluding years of the first c., died sometime between 160 and 170.

3. Anti-Fatimid Propaganda Sources.

To sum up the information discussed in the two preceding sections, we may with a certain feeling of confidence conjecture that the true story of Maymūn al-Qaddāh and his son ran on some such lines as the following. The father, a *marwā* (perhaps in the second generation), a resident of Mekka, and a man of some local importance, was a devout servant of Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir, and his son Ja'far. It is quite possible that he was what is now called a business man, a merchant, or dealer in something, and he may perhaps have been in charge of the property of the Imams in Mekka. He probably had not much education, but possessed plenty of what is called "personality". He had several sons, of whom we know 'Abdu'l-lāh, Abān, and possibly Ibrāhīm. As we have seen above, Abān was a literate man who knew the Coran by heart, and it is not impossible that his brother 'Abdu'l-lāh also could write. He can thus be supposed in his later years to have committed to writing what he had had a chance of hearing from the Imam, whose servant he had been. Probably in his preoccupation with his task, he had little time to devote to proper study of tradition, and his effort was only concerned with the *hadiths* heard from Imam Ja'far. He was either not connected with Mūsā b. Ja'far or did not write down the traditions which he heard from him. Alternatively, he may have recorded this, but his book may have been lost at an early date. There are no indications that he was mixed up with any heretical movements.

Maymūn's kunya.

A different picture is presented by non-Shi'ite sources in some way connected with anti-Fatimid or anti-Ismaili propaganda. These sources know everything about Maymūn and his son, even each thought they harboured. They become monsters of heresy and impiety, as I have discussed this to a sufficient extent.¹¹ In such circumstances, it is a case of "take it or leave it". Criticism is useless and meaningless; you cannot take seriously what is undisguised fiction and apply to it the methods which are applicable to historical information. Many of the anachronisms and exaggerations are too obvious to draw the attention of the student to them. Some other details are more subtle as, for instance, Maymūn's *kunya* "Abū Shākir". It never appears in Shi'ite sources; Ibn Razzām, quoted by Ibn Nadīm, also does not mention it. But an author of a much later period, Ibn Shaddād (cf. above, p. 2), already gives it to Maymūn, and this small detail at once betrays a falsification. As is known, *mawlās* in early Islam, under the Omayyads, were strictly forbidden to use *kunya*s. This prohibition gradually fell into oblivion, together with the whole institution of *mawlās*, and a *kunya* became a part of every Muslim's name, regardless of his origin. For instance, Najāshī, who wrote about the middle of the fifth/eleventh c., regularly mentions *kunya*s, most probably quite imaginary, with the names of all early *mawlās*. Maymūn, however, was a man whose lifetime fell almost wholly within the first c. A.H., and he certainly never really had a *kunya* at all.

The *kunya*, i.e., the appellation "father of so-and-so", was, of course, used as a sign of respect amongst the Arabs long before the advent of Islam, regardless of whether its bearer was a heathen, Christian, or Jew by religion. If by some extraordinary chance, the information that Maymūn had a *kunya* contains any crumb of truth and does not rest on imagination only, this would inevitably imply the fact that he was a pure Arab. This may be to some extent coupled with the revelations as to his having been a Bardesian, i.e., the follower of a Christian sect. But it is doubtful whether Christians of pure Arab extraction were treated as *mawlās* after their conversion. There is no doubt as to his having been a *mawlā*, probably at first of Banū Makhzūm; this is plentifully attested by the earliest sources. It is quite obvious that Maymūn's *kunya*, his Bardesian persuasion, etc.,

are products of a period when even comparatively educated people knew nothing about the real implications of these statements. For them a *kunya* was a part of every Muslim name and Bardesians were "dualists".

Maymūn's books.

Another instance of subtle falsification may be detected in the attribution of certain books to Maymūn's authorship. In Shi'ite tradition, as we have seen, he appears as a devout follower of the Imams, but only very rarely as a *rāwī*. The reason seems to be obvious. Although he had the chance of hearing various utterances of his masters on many occasions, he was probably illiterate and unable to commit these to writing; he apparently flourished at the period before the study of tradition had become "the fashion of the day", and all that he knew was never properly recorded. Accordingly, no early Shi'ite source mentions any books composed by him. It is only much later that anti-Fatimid, supposedly well-informed sources, such as Ibn Shaddād, mention that Maymūn was the author of certain highly heretical books. Ibn Shaddād mentions only one, giving to it the title of *Kitābu'l-mizān*, i.e., "Book of Balance" (which some other sources also inadvertently ascribe to his son, 'Abdu'l-lāh). Ibn Shaddād adds: *fi nuṣ-rati'z-zandaqa wa ghayri-hi* (or *ghayrihu?*). It is not obvious whether these words form a part of the title or are Ibn Shaddād's own comment.¹¹ Of course, nobody but a madman would have given his book such a title as "the balance in aid of atheism and other (similar) doctrines". A book with such a title would have been at once proscribed, and would have called down persecution both upon the author and his readers. It is not clear why the title should not be given simply as *al-Mizān fi'z-zandaqa* instead of "in aid" of it. It looks as if Ibn Shaddād, who might have heard something about the genuine Ismaili literature, was vaguely referring to a real book, *Kitābu'r-Riyād* by Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī (cf. *Guide*, no. 137), in which a much earlier work, *Kitābu'n-Nuṣrat* by Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī, an Ismaili *dā'ī*, is discussed (cf. *Guide*, no. 32). Neither of these, of course, has anything to do with Maymūn.

No useful purpose will be served by reviewing later non-Shi'ite, anti-Fatimid authors. To separate the needles of truth in the hay-

stacks of their lies and wild fictions would require a tremendous amount of labour which would be plainly wasted. It is quite possible that incidentally some of these reports contain elements of reliable information, derived from original Ismaili sources. But it would be a hopeless task to reconcile the irreconcilable, or to distil history from fairy tales, sense from nonsense. Every student with a critical mind will at once notice the anachronisms and irrelevance of various elements in the stories that he reads. For those who do not possess such a faculty our exertions would be wasted.

We have seen that the names of such respectable mediæval authors as Ibn Nadīm or Ibn al-Athīr are unceremoniously used to enlist belief in the truth of fictions for which they expressly disclaimed responsibility. Nonsensical stories related by Niẓāmu'l-mulk in his *Siyāsat-nāma*, and intended for entertainment, not as history, or the lies of Rashīdu'd-dīn, are with amazing credulity accepted as revelations of the truth.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 See further on, the end of this section.

2 Ṭūsī omits his *nisbas*, Kashī simply calls him al-Makkī, Dhahabī (II, 81) calls him both al-Makkī and al-Makhzūmī, *mawla-hum* (really a *mawla* of *āl al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī*). Banū Makhzūm formed a branch of the Mekkan aristocracy and were regarded as of equal standing with Banū Hāshim (*BI*, III, 171-3). *Mawlās*, being free men, could enter the service of a person or a tribe other than, that to which they were affiliated. A full parallel to the case of al-Qaddāh is found in Mu'allī b. Khunays who was (Kashī, 296), a wealthy Persian and important *rāwī*, executed in 133/750. He was a *mawla* of Imam Ja'far although originally a *mawla* of Banū Asad (*wa min qabli-hi kān mawla Banī Asad*). Najāshī (311) mentions a certain Yūnus b. 'Abdī'r-Rahmān (*mawla* of 'Alī b. Yaḡṡīn) b. Mūsā (*mawla* of Banū Asad).

3 Ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdhīb*, X, 388-9) mentions an early *rāwī* (who was older than al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) with the name Maymūn b. *Siyāh* al-Baṣrī. Here the name *Siyāh* is obviously Persian (black, of dark complexion), an equivalent of Arabic *aswad*. Strangely, however, he seems to be an Arab, not Persian.

4 For instance, Najāshī (305) mentions *K. al-qidāh wa'l-maysir* by Hishām b. Mḥd as-Sā'ib (second/eighth c.), or (235) *K. al-Maysir*

wa'l-qidāh, by Mḥd b. Salma al-Yashkūrī, etc. Usually a chapter is devoted to this subject in large collections of tradition.

5 This tradition is also quoted by Astrābādī (*Minhāju'l-maqāl*, Tehran, 1337, p. 212), and Ḥillī.

6 As far as I can see (although my experience must be of necessity very limited) in works on Shi'ite tradition the father of Imam Ja'far seems never to be called Mḥd al-Bāqir, or Mḥd b. 'Alī in *isnāds*, but invariably "Abū Ja'far", while, contrary to this, Imam Ja'far is quite frequently called (instead of the more usual Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh) Ja'far b. Mḥd, or simply Ja'far. Knowing how easily scribes pervert names, making, e.g., Ibn al-Qaddāh into Abū'l-Qaddāh, or simply al-Qaddāh, etc., one might not be surprised if perhaps in this tradition *Abū Ja'far* stands for simply Ja'far. Against this we have to consider the fact that this tradition was already known to mediæval Shi'ite authors, who, as we have seen above, repeatedly commented upon. An obvious instance of a mistake of the scribe is found in the tradition no. 146 above, in which *Abū Ja'far* stands for simply Ja'far.

7 In his "Bibliographie Qarmāṭe" (330), Prof. L. Massignon regards *Kitāb aṣ-ṣifāt*, i.e., obviously the same work, ascribed to Imam Mḥd al-Bāqir (by Shahrastānī) as "probably edited" by Maymūn. I do not understand the implications of the term "edited" when applied to such an early period. Does it mean that he related it (*rawā*)? Shi'ite tradition, strangely enough, contains no allusion whatever to such an important matter as an original work of this early Imam. All this seems to me to be one of those fictions of which the supposedly well-informed sources are full. On the other hand, the abundance of the demonological and angelological element in the traditions related by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, as seen above, make it easier for us to believe that he was the author of a collection of *ḥadīths* on eschatological matters (*ṣifatu'l-Jannat wa'n-Nār*). Najāshī's bibliography contains the mention of many works with a similar title: by 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl (182); 'Alī b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Bazraj al-Kūfī (181); 'Ayyāshī (249); Ḥannān b. Sudayr b. Ḥakīm aṣ-Ṣayrāfī (106); Mḥd b. 'Abbās b. 'Isā (241); Sa'īd b. Jannāḥ (136), etc.'

8 So he is called by Ṭūsī in his *Tahdhīb*. See above, traditions nos. 140 and 162.

9 Lithographed in Lucknow (?), 1271.

10 The scholastic practice of using surnames instead of the lengthy Muslim names was highly developed in various centres of religious learning, and such surnames probably differed consider-

ably in different places. When I was in Bukhara before the first war, I found a bewildering multitude of all sorts of "Mullās", "Ākhūnds", "Qāḍīs", "Shaykhs", etc. Books were popularly entitled as "*Sharḥ-i Ākhūnd bar Mullā*", or "*Hāshiyā-yi Shaykh bar Qāḍī*", etc. The same was the order of things in Persia. I mention this in order to suggest that future students of Persian or Arabic scholastic literature or cataloguers of MSS should pay attention to these surnames, carefully decipher their implications and include them in indexes for easy reference.

¹¹ See my "Rise of the Fatimids", pp. 127-156.

V

THE ALLEGED DAISANISM OF MAYMŪN AND HIS SON

Apparently from and after the time of Ibn Razzām, or of his source, all anti-Fatimid authors unanimously connect Maymūn and his son 'Abdu'l-lāh with the ancient Christian gnostic sect of the Bardesaniens, or even make Maymūn into a son, or descendant, of its founder, Bardesanes (born *ca.* 154, d. *ca.* 222 A.D.). It is remarkable that all such accounts describe both the father and the son as Daisanites and at the same time as *marwās* *i.e.* converts to Islam, under the protection of the clan of Banū Makhzūm. As far as I can see, nowhere it is plainly stated that they were converts from Daisanism, or that they remained Daisanites in secret.

Bardesanes is the Greek form of the Syriac name Bar Dayṣān, "son of Daisan," and Dayṣān is the name of a local river at Edessa, now known as Nahrū'l-kut, or in Turkish, Qara-Qoyun.¹ Bardesanes was a native of Edessa, now Urfa (ancient Syriac Orhai, refounded as Edessa by the Selucids under the name taken from a town in Macedonia). At the time of Bardesanes' birth (*ca.* 154 A.D.) it was the capital of a semi-independent principality in N. Mesopotamia which was called by the Greeks Orrhoene or Osrhoene, a form apparently preserved in the Mediæval Arabic name ar-Ruhā (or ar-Rohā). The rulers (toparchs) of this principality were regarded by the Greeks as of Arab stock, and bore sometimes Arabic, sometimes Nabataean, and sometimes even Persian names. Bardesanes, who was a priest in the temple of Atergatis, an intimate friend of king Abgar IX, was perhaps himself an Arab. He was an aristocrat, a man of exceptionally refined manners, of the highest education, much more of a philosopher rather than theologian, deeply interested in philosophical and cosmological questions and ethical problems which were so much discussed by early gnostics. He could write both Greek and Syriac, and, being an exceptionally gifted poet, he laid the foundation of Syriac literature and Christian poetry. Despite their occasional unorthodoxy (although there was not much of it),

his religious songs were used by the Syrian church for more than a century, until they were superseded by the hymns of his fellow countryman, St. Ephraim (Afrēm, d. 373 A.D.).² Bardesanes left several works of which a portion of a treatise, "On the laws of the countries," is preserved both in Greek and Syriac.³ His son, Harmonios, was also a gnostic, a talented and highly educated man.

Daisanites and Manichees.

Apparently because Bardesanes was in some sense a fellow countryman of Mani, and because his doctrine like the doctrines of other early gnostics contained an appreciable element of dualism, his name was very often associated with that of the founder of Manichæism. Some early authors, even those expected to be quite competent in the subject, regard Bardesanes as the precursor of Mani. Such an opinion is expressed by Moses Bar Kepha⁴ and by St. Ephraim, who believes that the basic principles of Mani's system were derived from the doctrine of Bar Dayṣān.⁵ In his most valuable account of Manichæism Ibn Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 470) mentions the contents of some of Mani's compositions in which, it appears, the Daisanite doctrine is often referred to. In the book *Sifru'l-asrār* the first *bāb* was devoted to *dhikru'd-Dayṣāniyyīn*. Another *bāb* dealt with the *qawlu'd-Dayṣāniyyīn fī'n-nafs wa'l-jasad*, and yet another *bāb* had the heading: *bābu'r-radd 'alā'd-Dayṣāniyyīn fī nafasi'l-hayāt*. This may be regarded as a substantial evidence of the existence of a genuine connection between Manichæism and Daisanism. It is remarkable, however, that although the name of Marcion⁶ was found in one of the Manichæan fragments discovered in the excavations in Turfan, no reference to the name of Bardesanes has been found.

F. C. Burkitt (84) suggests that if Ibn Nadīm, as we have seen, brings into connection the three names of Mani, Bardesanes and Marcion, this is simply because at this point he follows his sources which probably belonged to much earlier times. His own ideas about these heresiarchs certainly would have been very confused. This obviously pre-supposes that the sects of Bardesanes and Marcion had been long extinct before Ibn Nadīm's time.⁷

As is well-known, the Manichees not only existed but were quite numerous, and he knew many of them.⁸ Indications scattered in the early Ithna-'ashari and Ismaili literatures, however, show

that at least in the first two centuries of Islam both these sects, and in any case the Bardesanians, were still in existence, and probably even exercised some influence on certain Muslim circles.⁹

Ibn Nadīm (474) mentions that the Bardesanians were formerly (*qadīman*) to be found in the marshy plain of Southern Mesopotamia (the refuge of many persecuted religions). But in his own time they apparently existed only in "China and Khorasan", i.e. E. Persia and the Western part of Chinese Central Asia. It is quite possible that they were scattered in isolated communities and in very small numbers as no "headquarters" are mentioned.

The presence of Daisanites in Khorasan and Turkestan is apparently not yet authenticated, although, as we shall see presently, there are traditions preserved in *al-Kāfi* and the *Kitābu'l-Tawhīd* of Ibn Bābūya which refer to them in Kūfa in the time of Imam Ja'far, i.e. the middle of the second/eighth c.

From various allusions scattered in early Ismaili works it appears that the Daisanites were not entirely negligible in the mass of non-Muslims with whom Ismaili missionaries had to deal. This appears from frequent references to them in various enumerations of the erring religions. The extremely erudite Ismaili *dā'i*, Abū Ḥātim 'Abdu'r-Rahman b. Ḥamdān ar-Rāzī who flourished in the first half of the fourth/tenth c. in Daylam and generally regions of Western Persia,¹⁰ is known as the author of several important works: *Kitābu'z-Zīna* (mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 268), a lexico-religious and terminological encyclopædia, obviously intended for general public¹¹; *A'lāmu'n-Nubuwwat*, an extremely erudite theological and philosophical proof of the truth of the doctrine of prophethood, in which the author shows first hand acquaintance with the Bible and Gospels¹²; and the *Kitābu'l-Iṣlāḥ bayna'sh-Shaykhayn*, a discussion of certain dogmatic differences between two schools of early Ismailism.¹³

In the *K. az-Zīna* and *A'lāmu'n-Nubuwwat* Abū Ḥātim does not touch on the question of the Daisanites. In the latter work, in which he often refers to Zoroastrianism and Manichæism, and even displays knowledge of Mani's work *Shaburqān* (mentioned twice), he has only one incidental mention of the name of ad-Dayṣāniyya. In the *Iṣlāḥ*, however, he devotes a whole chapter (on the Third *Nāṭiq*, i.e. Abraham) to an interesting discussion of the false claims advanced by the Zoroastrians and some other religions to be regarded as the "*ahlu'l-kitāb*," i.e. the class of

non-Muslims who enjoyed certain privileges as compared with those classed as simply *kāfirs*.

With a critical sense, quite remarkable at that early period, he rejects as fictions both the connection of Zoroastrianism with the legendary religion of Abraham and such details as the identification of the mythical Jam (Vedic Yama) with the Biblical Solomon. Similarly, he is fully conscious of the nature of the religion of the Sabeans, which he treats as a kind of relapse of Christianity into Zoroastrianism. He scatters interesting allusions to the sect of Bihāfarīd, a contemporary of Abū Muslim and the Abbasid accession, whose followers he defines as *ghulātu'l-Majūs*, or Zoroastrian extremists. He also mentions Mazdak, "whose relation to Zoroastrianism (*sabīlu-hu fī'l-Majūs*) was of the same kind as the relation of Mani and Bardesanes to the Sabeans." He mentions four persons accepted by the dualists as their "prophets," Zoroaster, Mazdak, Mani and Bihāfarīd, stressing the ties between the doctrines of Mazdak, Mani and Bardesanes. [This has not the appearance of mere confused notions, but rather seems to imply at any rate some personal contact with members of the sects, if not with their literature.

Just as Abū Ḥātim appears to be in touch chiefly with Christian circles,¹⁴ his younger contemporary, Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Aḥmad as-Sijzī, or as-Sijistānī (*Guide*, pp. 33-35), who died in the end of the fourth/tenth c., is in touch with the East. In his work, *Ithbātu'n-Nubuwwat* (apparently an answer to the *A'lāmu'n-Nubuwwat* of Abū Ḥātim), he refers to China, Sind, Hind (S. E. Afghanistan), the Khazars (a clear indication of his period),¹⁵ and "the wonderful crafts current amongst the peoples of China." He knows that the "common people in the towns of China (*Šin wa Māšīn*) profess the religion of Mani, studying his religious law and lecturing on his books, seeking to approach God the All-High through the religion which he (Mani) founded amongst them."¹⁶ While Abū Ḥātim apparently never refers to Marcion, Abū Ya'qūb mentions him several times, as, e.g., in his references to the famous heresiarchs, Zoroaster, Mani, Bihāfarīd, Mazdak, Bardesanes, Marqūn (Marcion) "and others;" or, elsewhere, Zoroaster, Mazdūq (Mazdak), Bihāfarīd, Mani, Bardesanes and Marqūn. One statement shows that his ideas were by no means confused, and displays a sensible realisation of the relations between these religions. "Zoroaster," he says, "Bihāfarīd and Mazdak

added their own institutions to the religion of Abraham, just as Mani, Bardesanes and Marqūn (here written M-z-d-q-w-n) added theirs to that of Jesus, believing that it was they who had come to renovate the religion of Christ." Such a grouping of Manichæism together with two different gnostic sects, exactly as in the case of Ibn Nadīm, may imply the possession of first hand information, not merely the repetition of the statements from earlier sources.

Other works by Abū Ya'qūb incidentally contain passing references to the Daisanites (as for instance the *Sullamū'n-najāt*, near the beginning).

It may be added that a reference to the Daisanites is found in the XXII *risāla* of the *Ikhwānu's-ṣafā* (II, 308),¹⁷ together with references to various Christian sects which undoubtedly existed at the time: Nestorians, Jacobites, Malkānī (orthodox), and also to dualists, Mānawī (Manichees), "Thanawīs," Khurramīs, Mazdakīs, Bahramīs and Shamsīs.

It is not always easy to ascertain the real religious connections of some of the heretics referred to by early Shi'ite authors simply as *zindīq* (Plur. *zanādiqa*). This term has nothing to do with Zand, as sought to be shown by the popular etymology of mediæval philologists, but obviously comes from the Syriac *zaddīqā* which, among other meanings, was applied to the fully initiated Manichees.¹⁸ In common usage the word became a term of general vituperation with a wide range, covering a dualist, a Manichee, a mere free-thinker, a person of unsound religious opinions. It is natural enough that such a term should have been often applied to the remnants of gnostic sects, but in Shi'ite literature it appears as if this particular meaning had acquired a kind of terminological significance: in those references to the Bardesanians which are preserved in early Shi'ite tradition, the terms *Dayṣānī* and *zindīq* appear to be alternatives.

In *al-Kāfi* (I, 56,—*Kitābu'l-hujjat, bāb fī-hi dhikru's-Ṣaḥīfat wa'l-Jafr wa'l-Jāmi'a wa Maṣḥaf Fāṭima*) Kulīnī quotes a strange but very interesting tradition: "Some authorities of ours relate from Aḥmad b. Mḥd, who related from 'Umar b. 'Abdī'l-'Azīz, and the latter from Ḥammād b. 'Uthmān, who said: we heard Imam Ja'far saying: the *zindīqs* will appear in 128/745-6. I saw this (prophesy) in the *Maṣḥaf* of Fāṭima. (I asked: and what is this *Maṣḥaf*?— The Imam explained): When God took away

the Prophet unbearable sorrow had seized Fāṭima. To console her God sent an angel to her to talk to her (and distract her thoughts). She confided about this to her husband, 'Alī, who asked her to tell him whenever she began to imagine that she heard his voice. She did so, and 'Alī arranged that all that she (heard and) repeated (from her invisible messenger) should be taken down. This ultimately formed a book... It contained no religious prescriptions or revelations of law, but only knowledge ('ilm) as to what was going to happen in the future"...

These "prophecies" surely could not have been "false," and the date 128/745 must certainly refer to some definite events in history in which the "appearance of the *zindīqs*" played some part. It would be interesting to trace such events.¹⁹

There are several traditions referring to the Bardesanians in *al-Kāfi* which deserve attention. In the first *bāb* of the *K. at-Tawhīd* :

Said 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm on the authority of Mḥd b. Ishāq al-Khaṭfāf (or of 'Alī's father Ibrāhīm, who related from the latter) :

Once 'Abdu'l-lāh ad-Daysānī asked Hishām b. al-Ḥakam : dost thou recognize a God?—Hishām replied : yes.—The Daysānī asked : is He omnipotent?—Hishām replied : yes, He is, and can enforce His will.—The Daysānī asked : can he place the whole of the world into an egg in such a way that neither is the world made smaller, nor the egg bigger?

(Being unable to reply to the question, Hishām asks for time, rides to Imam Ja'far, and asks for solution. The Imam asks him how many senses he has, and which (organ of sense) is the smallest. Hishām replies that he has five senses, and the smallest (organ of sense) is (the organ for) sight, which is "of the size of a lentil grain, or even smaller." The Imam tells him to look round him and say what he sees. Then he explains that He who can put all the hills and other things seen by Hishām into Hishām's organ of sight, which is smaller than a lentil grain, can also put the world into an egg).

Hishām brings the reply to the Daysānite, who is impressed, and betakes himself to see the Imam, with a request for guidance concerning the true God. The Imam asks him his name. The heretic rises without answering, and walks out. The Daysānī then relates the story to his people who persuade him to go to the Imam again and ask him to show him God without inquiring

about his own name (because if he should say that his name is 'Abdu'l-lāh, *i.e.* the slave of God, naturally no future "guidance" would be required). The heretic actually comes again to visit the Imam with the same question, asking him at the same time not to inquire as to his own name. The Imam takes an egg from the hands of a child playing near by, and says : "O, Daysānī! This is a mysterious fortress of hard shell under which there is yet another, soft shell. This encloses a quantity of molten gold and silver which remain separate and unmixed one with the other. Nothing good can come out of it so that we may learn about its goodness, nor anything bad can enter it to inform us of its badness. It is not known whether it is created to produce a male or a female bird. It encloses (many things, including) colours like those of the feathers of the peacock. Dost thou see the hand of the One who has arranged all this?"

The narrator then said : "The man sat with his head hung down, silent and confused. Then he looked up, and pronounced the formula of the profession of Islam, adding : and thou art the Imam and the Proof of God to His creations. I repent from my former disbelief."

In the 18th *bāb* of the same book (I, 29), *bāb fī qawl "ar-Rahmān 'alā'l-'Arsh istawā,"* the well-known verse of the Coran which always gave so much trouble to Muslim theologians (XX, 4), there is another tradition referring to the Daysānites :

Said 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, on the authority of his father, who related from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, and the latter from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who said :

"Once Abū Shākir ad-Daysānī said to me : verily, there is in the Coran a verse which expresses beliefs similar to those which we hold.—I asked : which verse is this?—And he replied : it is this (XLIII, 84) : 'He it is who is in the heaven a God and in the earth a God.'—I did not know what to say. (Later on) I mentioned this to Imam Ja'far, who said : these words are the words of a *zindīq*, the wretch. When thou comest back to him, ask him what is his name in Kūfa. And when he replies, ask him how he is called in Baṣra, and he will mention (the same name). Then say to him : our Lord is God in the heaven and on the earth, God on the seas and God in the deserts,—God everywhere."

Said Hishām : "I returned (to my place), called on Abū Shākīr, and said to him what the Imam had ordered me to say. He remarked : this must have been imported from al-Ḥijāz."

If, as we shall see presently, there are reasons to treat the two persons mentioned here, 'Abdu'l-lāh and Abū Shākīr ad-Daysānī, as one and the same, then the first tradition refers to the concluding moment of the drama of conversion, while this tradition belongs to the earlier phase. It may be noted that despite the probable readjustment of these stories to the usual iconographic pattern, the second story preserves certain features which can be regarded as proofs that the zindīq mentioned here was not a Manichee (the Manichees do not recognize two gods), but a gnostic with the basic doctrine of the Supreme God and God the Creator.

Apparently there are no further references to these heretics in *al-Kāfī*, but the famous early Shi'ite theologian, Ibn Bābūya, in his work *Kitābu't-Tawḥīd* (in the 41st and 42nd *bābs*), quotes two more, in addition to the two foregoing which he also repeats.

'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. 'Imrān ad-Daqqāq, from Mḥd b. Ja'far, *i.e.*, Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Asadī, and he from al-Ḥasan b. al-Ma'mūn al-Qurashī, and he from 'Umar b. 'Abdī'l-'Azīz, and the latter from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who said :

"Once Abū Shākīr ad-Daysānī said to me : "I have a question which I put to various learned people, never receiving a satisfactory answer. Get permission from thy master (*i.e.*, Imam Ja'far) for me to ask him."—Said I : "Why not to tell me what it is : perhaps I have an answer to it that would satisfy thee?"—Said he : "No, I would like to have an interview concerning it with Abū 'Abdī'l-lāh himself."—I therefore asked for an interview for him, he came, and asked (the Imam) : "Dost thou permit me to ask a question?"—(The Imam) replied : "Ask what thou wouldst."—And he (Abū Shākīr) then asked : "What is the proof of the existence of thy Creator?"—(The Imam) replied : "I find that my own self must be in one of the two positions. If I am my own creator, then it must be one of these two conditions : either I had created it while it was in existence, or I had created it while it was non-existent. If I myself am my own self's creator while it was already in existence, then there was no necessity in creating it. But if it was non-existent, then, as thou knowest, a non-existent thing cannot be the cause of the

existence of other things. Therefore one has to admit the third case, *i.e.*, that he has a Creator who is God, the Lord of the worlds."—(Abū Shākīr), on hearing this, rose (and walked out) without saying anything".

Here is yet another tradition of a similar kind. Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, from Mḥd b. al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaffār, who related from Aḥmad b. Mḥd b. 'Isā, who, in his turn, related from al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd b. Sa'īd, who said : "I heard 'Alī b. Manṣūr saying that he had heard this from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam" :

"Once Abū Shākīr ad-Daysānī called on Imam Ja'far and said to him : "Verily, thou art one of the brilliant stars, and thy forefathers were shining moons, thy wise mothers were beauties, and thy substance is from the noblest substance ! When the learned are mentioned, all first of all point to thee. Tell me, O generous overflowing sea (of wisdom), how to prove the transience of the world?"

(Imām Ja'far gives orders to bring an egg and explain its symbolism as in one of the preceding traditions).

Said Abū Shākīr : "I understand that we do not perceive anything except what we see with our eyes, hear with our ears, etc., or what we think of in our hearts or deduce clearly from reports (of others)."—Said Imam Ja'far : "Thou hast mentioned the five senses, and they cannot convey (true) knowledge without a proof, just as darkness cannot be dispersed without the help of a lamp".

All four traditions quoted here come from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, and there can be little room for doubt as to their being derived from one of his works,—they are too long and elaborate to be committed to memory.

Apparently the same Abū Shākīr is referred to by Kashī (180). While relating the story of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, he says that once ar-Riḍā mentioned al-'Ayyāshī (the famous Shi'ite traditionalist of Mawara'annahr,²⁰ and said : He is one of the disciples (*ghilmān*)²¹ of Abū'l-Ḥārith, *i.e.*, Yūnus b. 'Abdī'r -Raḥmān,²² who himself was one of the disciples of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the disciple of Abū Shākīr, a (notorious) zindīq."

This same Abū Shākīr seems also to be the subject of an allusion by Ibn Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 473) who mentions him amongst the "principal theologians who feigned Islam, remaining in their hearts *zindīqs*." He also mentions one "Ibn Akhī Abī Shākīr".