

SHI‘A AUTHORITIES IN THE AGE OF THE MAJOR OCCULTATION PART IV: SHEIKH TUSI

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ABSTRACT: Sheikh Tusi, known as Sheikh al-Ta’ifah, was a renowned Shi‘a scholar recognized for his hadith compilations *Tahdhib al-Ahkam* and *al-Istibsar*, two of the four major works of Shi‘a Islamic traditions. Having closely studied under and associated with prominent Shi‘a leaders and scholars such as Sheikh al-Mufid and Sharif al-Murtadha, Sheikh Tusi became the leading spokesperson of Shi‘ism, one of his greatest roles being the founder of the Seminary of Najaf, which marked the city of Najaf as the leading centre of Shi‘a scholarship. This article studies the status, jurisprudential initiative, and religious authority of Sheikh Tusi, including a list of his teachers, students, and works on subjects such as hadith, exegesis, jurisprudence, supplication, and theology, and a description of the political situation during his time.

Abū Ja‘far Muhammad ibn Hasan Tūsī, known as “Sheikh al-Ṭā’ifah,” is one of the brightest luminaries of the Islamic world. The period he lived was the peak of Shi‘a Islamic scholarship which began with the authors of the four major Shi‘a hadith collections: Sheikh al-Kulayni (*al-Kafi*),

Shaikh al-Saduq (*Man la Yahduruh al-Faqih*), and the last two (*Tahdhib* and *al-Istibsar*) compiled by Shaikh Tusi. He also has written books on various subjects of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), hadith, exegesis of the Qur'an (*tafsīr*), Islamic theology (*kalām*), and genealogies of hadith narration (*rijāl*). Sheikh Tusi was born in 385 AH. When he was 23, he migrated to Baghdad in 408 AH where and entered the centre of Islamic culture and sciences of Baghdad and wound up spending the rest of his life in Iraq.

After his arrival in Baghdad, Sheikh Tusi studied under Sheikh Mufid for five years. He continued his education during the leadership of Sayyid Murtaḍā,¹ and in 436 AH after Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away, he spent the rest of his life – 24 years – as a leader of the Shi'a. After Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away, he stayed in Baghdad for twelve more years; and when the Seljuks attacked in 448 A.H causing a series of disturbances as his house was pillaged and destroyed, he left for Najaf where he established a centre for theological studies.²

Teachers

Sheikh Tusi was taught by Sheikh Mufid in the last 5 years of his life. When Sheikh Mufid passed away, Sheikh Tusi studied under Sayyid Murtaḍā Alam al-Hudā at the age of 28 and was on his special attention. He took benefit of his profitable presence for 23 years. Although, he did not need to refer to Sayyid Murtaḍā in hadith and

1 *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, p. 217. In addition to them, Sheikh Ṭūsī was taught by teachers such as Ibn Ghaḍā'irī and Ibn Ṣalt Ahwāzī, (cf. *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, p. 9, pp. 159 - 160; *Millennium Commemoration of Sheikh Ṭūsī*, the lecture of Muḥammad Wā'iz Zādiḥ, p. 47 & 51).

² Amīn, Sayyid Muḥsin, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 9, p. 159.

mentioned him less in the chain of transmission of hadith but on the subjects of Qur'an exegesis, lexicology, Kalām, Literary Studies, Fiqh and Uṣūl, he studied under the Sayyid and quoted his ideas in his words in " *Uddah al-Uṣūl*" and in some cases critiqued his ideas.

At the time of Sayyid Murtaḍā's life, Sheikh Tusi wrote some books such as *Tahdhīb*, *Istibṣār* (among the Four major References of Shī'a) and *al-Nihāyah*, *al-Mafṣaḥ fī al-Imāmah*, *Rijāl* and a part of "*al-Fihrist*". He also wrote a summary of "*al-Shāfi*" (about imamate) which was originally written by Sayyid Murtaḍā. Sheikh Tusi finished writing his summary 4 years before Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away in 432 AH.

Students

The most famous students of Sheikh Tusi are: 1. Sheikh Abū 'Alī, the son of Sheikh Tusi; 2. Abū al-Salāḥ Halabī, Taqī Najm al-Dīn; 3. Abū al-Faṭḥ Karāchakī; 4. Sheikh Sulaymān ibn Hasan ṣahrushtī; 5. the judge, Ibn Barrāj 'Abd al - 'Azīz ʿIrāblusī Shāmī; 6. Ādam ibn Yūnus ibn Abī al-Muhājir Nasafī; 7. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Husayn ibn Aḥmad Neyshābūrī Khuzā'ī Rāzī; 8. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān; 9 & 10. Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il and Abū ʿĀlib Ishāq, sons of Muḥammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Bābiwayah Qumī; 11. Abū al-Khayr Barkah ibn Muḥammad ibn Barkah Asadī; 12. Shams al-Islām Abū Muḥammad Hasan ibn Husayn ibn 'Alī ibn Bābiwayah Qumī; 13. Abū Muḥammad Hasan ibn Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥsin Jahānī; 14. Muhyi al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Husayn Muḥafar ibn Alī Hamdānī Nazīl Qazwīn; 15. Sayyid Abū al-Samṣām Dhūl-Faqār ibn Muḥammad ibn Mu'īd al-Husaynī Marwzī; 16. Sayyid Abū Muḥammad Zayd ibn Ali ibn al-Husayn

Husaynī; 17. Sayyid Zayn al-Dīn, son of Dā'ī Husaynī who was a knowledgeable and erudite man; 18. Muhaddith ibn Shahr Āshūb; 19. Sā'id ibn Rabī'ah ibn Abī Ghānim; 20. Sheikh Aba Salt ibn 'Abd al-Qādir who was a righteous jurist and has commentary on Sheikh's works; 21. Sheikh Abū al-Wafā 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Abdullāh ibn Ali Muqirī Rāzi; 22. Sheikh Abd al-Jabbār ibn Ali ibn Neyshābūrī; 23. Sheikh Ali ibn Abdussamad Tamīmī; 24. Emir, Ghāzī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Manṣūr Sāmānī, et al.³

Publications

The works of Sheikh Tusi, whether in form of books or treatises, are more than forty five volumes addressing nine subjects: 1. Hadith and narrations; 2. Rijāl, translations and listings; 3. Qur'an exegesis; 4. Fiqh; 5. Uṣūl; 6. Kalām; 7. Supplications and practices; 8. History and records of martyrdom; 9. Collections of responses to the questions in various subjects which were asked from him by people from near and far lands and this indicates his great prominence and authority.

Sheikh Tusi was an eminent hadith scholar and his book "*Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām wa Istibṣār*" (among the Four Books⁴) manifested that.

Mabsut

Mabsūt is the first book in Shi'a demonstrative jurisprudence (*al-fiqh al-istidlālī*) that the jurisprudential principles benefitting from reason and religion. *Al-Nihāyah* – written before *Mabsut* – was according to the

⁶ cf. Hizārih Sheikh Tusi, the section of lectures, Hāj Mīrzā Khalīl Kamarīh'ī, p. 194; *Rawḍāt*, vol. 6, pp. 9 – 228.

⁴ The most important hadith references of Shi'a.

method of previous jurists in traditional fiqh, where it simplified the duties of Muslims.

Before *Mabsūt*, the contents of Shi'a jurisprudential books generally consisted of only jurisprudence and addressed mostly the subjects which were directly received from Imams. Before *Mabsūt*, Shi'a jurists considered it necessary to use the exact writing and rulings received from the Imam; therefore, jurists of other sects objected and did not deem the Shi'a as researchers.

In the preface of *Mabsūt*, Sheikh Tusi describes how and why he wrote it:

I frequently hear that among jurists, those who denied the authority of guardianship (*wilāyah*) have underestimated Shi'a fiqh and believe that it did not delve into secondary topics; moreover, Shi'a jurists spoke in exaggerative and paradoxical ways. Those who say this cannot expand and add to major topics in *uṣūl* because they refuse *ijtihād* and *qīyās*,⁵ the two ways to add to the topics.

The roots lie in their lack of knowledge about our faith and our *uṣūl*. If they thought about our hadiths and fiqh, they had soon learned that more of the subjects mentioned by them exist in our traditions and its ruling is mentioned in general or in particular explicitly or implicitly by our Imams whose words are as valuable and

⁵ Interpretive reasoning and jurisprudential reasoning through analogy

as authentic as the Prophet's. Those whose books are predominantly on secondary topics⁶ should know that they cannot find any unless their rulings exist according to our uṣūl. Not through analogy, rather in a way that brings certainty and thus one must act accordingly. The way of reaching the truth is open for us and we might act according to this and the rule of clearance from obligation⁷ and the like. Most secondary topics lay in general principles written by Shi'a jurists, and the solution to them is simple. But the matter is that they have become somehow complicated due to performing some rules and applying scientific techniques.

Since long ago, I wanted to write a book only on secondary topics though there were obstacles that prevented me to do so. The Shi'a's reluctance caused me frustration and prevented me from initiating it. They did not heed to secondary topics and stuck to the literal meaning of the hadiths.

They would become surprised if a ruling for an issue was expressed with different words than the exact words in hadiths, and they were not able to understand the meaning.

⁶ Besides, through answering questions, Imams tried to teach the principles of laws implicitly so that jurists deduce the jurisprudential rulings for cases from them, these rulings are secondary issues.

⁷ *Barā'at al-Dhimmah*

In *Al-Nihāyah*, I promised to write a book on secondary topics as an additional supplement so that it be completed in the all subjects, whether in uṣūl or secondary topics; but I changed my mind and decided to write a separate book on all jurisprudential books.

The books on fiqh written by jurists are about 80 titles so far. I decided to give information about each book in brief and write a book consisting of fiqh without prayers and recommended rituals, to go chapter by chapter in a way that the same subjects lie in a special part and go ahead in topics as deep as possible, to mention all secondary topics issued by other jurists; then I would mention my ideas according to Shi'a principles. If the rule about an issue is clear, I will simply write the ruling (*fatwā*) and if it is complicated, I will refer to the reasons to make it clear for non-emulating observers. If the jurists have difference of opinions in a subject or in its details and each one express their own judicial opinion, I will mention all opinions and make the root of those disagreements clear; then I will choose and introduce the true opinion and bring a reason except the judicial reasoning acquired through analogy. If I mention similarities between an issue with another, my goal is to give an example not mentioning the differences of them in ruling. In that book, I would not bring the names of opposing jurists lest the book becomes lengthy. I

mentioned their names in the book "*Masā'il al- Khilāf*" in detail.

If the matter is so that none of jurisprudential opinions has any preference, and all of them have the same justification, I would stop further investigation and thus, in practice I will authorize the responsible to choose between them. If I can easily finish this book by the help of God, it will be a unique book among the books of our friends and the books of others.

I have not seen any book by jurists which include all the issues in Uṣūl and secondary topics.⁸

Regarding *Mabsut*, Martyr Muṭaharī said:

It seems that *Mabsūt* is the first jurisprudential book that brought up secondary topics and derived their rulings from uṣūl. The words of Sheikh in *Mabsūt* show that in the time of Sheikh Tusi, the Shī'a experienced a period of inactivity in fiqh. Sheikh Tusi understood that a development in fiqh and ijtihād was needed and achieving it would not be possible without taking steps against some customs; therefore, he displayed courage, a trait exclusive to noble ones like him, to write *Mabsūt* and thus, fiqh and ijtihād entered into a new stage.

⁸ *Al-Mabsūt*, Sheikh Tūsī, vol. 1, pp. 1 – 3; cf. [*Proceedings of*] *Hezareh Sheikh Tūsī*, the lecture of Martyr Muṭahharī, p. 355 up to the end.

Thus, Sheikh Tusi confirmed that a) he was fully aware of the needs of his time, b) he had a divine bounty of literary and rational bravery, c) he confirmed that *ijtihād*, new topics and responding to them cannot provide an excuse to present Islamic jurisprudence as incomplete and resort to analogy. Rather, we can answer to secondary topics through general Islamic principles and *uṣūl*. The art of Sheikh Tusi was that was he neither rigid in answering to the needs of his time, nor was he reckless by offering personal ideas into Islamic legislation. He did what Islam expects of real scholars of the *ummah*.⁹

Books

Sheikh Tusi continued the period of Shi'ā Islamic scholarship with his *Tahdhib al-Ahkam fi Sharh al-Muqni'*, a commentary to *al-Muqni'a* and the third of the four major works of Shi'ā Islamic traditions.

His books on hadith:

1. *Tahdhib al-Ahkām*, one of the four major works of Shi'ā traditions, a source used by Shi'ā scholars to refer to Islamic rulings. It consists of 23 chapters, the first of which is on *tahārat* (purity) and the last of which *dīyyāt*. In the introduction, Sheikh Ṭūsī writes that he first wrote it as a commentary of *al-Muqni'ah* written by his teacher, Sheikh Mufīd. The chapter *Tahārat* and the early part of *Salāt* was written during Sheikh

⁹ cf. [Proceedings of] *Hezareh Sheikh Tūsī*, the lecture of martyr Muṭaharī, p. 355 up to the end, extracted from it.

Mufīd's life. At that time, Sheikh Tusi was 25 or 26 years old; the rest of the book was written after the death of Sheikh Mufīd;

2. *Al-Istibṣār*:¹⁰ The last of the four major Shi'a works of tradition. Arranged in 3 sections, two sections are on Acts of Worship (*Ibādāt*) and the third section on other issues in fiqh. It includes the whole book of *Tahdhīb*; the only difference is that this book smaller in size and has only some of the hadiths collected in *Tahdhīb*. *Tahdhīb* consists of all conflicting and agreeing traditions together;

3. *Āmālī* consists of 18 sections and 27 chapters. His son, Abu Ali Tusi, wrote the 18 sections for his students in 509 A.H. Abū 'Alī Ṭūsī wrote the 18 chapters for his students in 509 AH and since the traditionist used to mention the name of the traditionist author in the beginning of the book therefore the book including these 18 chapters are known as *Abū 'Alī Ṭūsī's Āmālī*.

His books on rijāl:

1. *Ikhtiyār Rijāl*, originally known as *Rijāl Kashī*. Since it needed re-organization, Sheikh Tusi revised it and titled it *Ikhtiyār al-Rijāl*. According to Allāmah Nūrī, at the end of *Mustadrak al-Wasa'il*, what is available and known as *Rijāl Kashī* is the same Shaykh Ṭūsī's book, *Ikhtiyār al-Rijāl*;

2. *Rijāl Ṭūsī*, in which 8900 names of companions of the Prophet, Imams, and other traditionists during both the minor and major occultation until the time of Sheikh Ṭūsī are listed in alphabetical order.

¹⁰ Full name: *Al-Istibṣār fī ma al-Ikhtalafā min al-Akhhbār*

The primary aim in writing this book was to mention and categorize the numbers of traditionists rather than praising, criticizing, or modifying their sayings;

3. *Al-Fihrist* an introduction to a plethora of books and Uṣūl and consists of more than 900 names of Shi'ā authors and their teachers.

Books on tafsīr:

1. *Al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, one of his greatest books; 2. *Al-Masā' il al-Damishqīyyah*, which consisted of 12 issues on Qur'anic exegesis, mentioned in *al-Fihrist* and *al-Masā' il al-Rajabīyyah*.

His books on fiqh:

1. *Al-Nihāyah fī Mujarrad al-Fiqh wa al-Fatwā*, a series of authentic traditions; 2. *Al-Mabsūt fī al-Fiqh*, a book on jurisprudence consisting of almost 80 chapters on all subjects in fiqh; and one of the top Shi'ā jurisprudential references written with a jurisperdent approach, including opened discussion, research, and ijtihād in various secondary topics; 3. *Al-Jumal wa al-'Uqūd fī al-'Ibādāt*, a reply to a student's demand, on the subject of purity (*tahara*) to enjoining good and forbidding evil (*amr bil ma'roof wa al-nahy an il-munkar*); 4. *Al-khilāf fī al-Ahkām* also known as *Masā' il al-Khilāf*, compiled in similar order to jurisprudential books regarding controversial issues between the Shi'ā and Sunnī, mentioned from the beginning of the chapter "Purity" (*Tahārat*) to the end of *Ummahāt al-Awlād*. He then offers his own analysis and quotes public opinion. He ends it with his reason for arriving at his conclusion according to Shī'a doctrine; 5. *Al-ijāz fī al-*

Farā'iz, in which Sheikh briefly mentions some obligations that the author of *Al-Dhurīyah* mentioned in his book; 6. *Manāsik al-Haj fī Mujarrad al-'Amal* mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*; 7. *Al-Masā'il al-Halabīyyah fī al-Fiqh*; 8. *Al-Masā'il al-Junbalā'īyyah*, a book on fiqh consisting of 24 subjects; 9. *Al-Masā'il al-Hā'irīyyah fī al-Fiqh* covering about 300 jurisprudential issues; 10. *Mas'alah fī Wujūb al-Jizyah 'Ala al-Yahūd wa al-Muntamīn Ilā al-Jabābirah*; 11. *Mas'alah fī Tahrim al-Fuqqā* mentioned in *al-Fihrist*.

His books on Uṣūl:

1. *Al-'Udduh fī al-Uṣūl*: he wrote it after *Istibṣār* and *Tahdhīb* in the time of his teacher, Sayyid Murtaḍā – may God have mercy upon him – and it can be understood from its introduction that he wrote it as a response to the demand of his students; 2. *Mas'alah fī al-'Amal bi Khabar al-Wāḥid* mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*.

His books on kalām:

1. *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi*, a summary of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *al-Shafi* written in response to 'Abd al-Jabbar Mu'tazili's *Mughnī* on Imāmat; 2. *Tamhīd al-Uṣūl*: written as an explanation of the uṣūl section of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'Ilm wa al-'Amal*; 3. *Al-Iqtisād al-Hādī ilā Tarīq al-Irshād*, a concise account on the principles of the beliefs and acts according to the Islamic law; 4. *Al-Mufṣaḥ fī al-Imāmah*, a book on Imamate, the manuscript of which remains until today; 5. *Mā lā Yasa' al-Mukallaf al-Ikhlāl Bih*, written on Kalām; 6. *Mā Yu'llal wa mā lā Yu'alal*, a book on Kalām; 7. *Muqadamah fī al-Madkhal ilā 'Ilm al-Kalām*, mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*; 8. *Rīyādat al-'Uqūl*: an explanation of his previous

Muqaddimah fī al-Madkhal, although it is lost; 9. *Uṣūl al-‘Aqāyid*, his unfinished book, the name of which is mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* and discussed “Monotheism” (*Tawhīd*) and briefly “Justice” (*‘Adl*); 10. The explanation to *al-Sharḥ fī al-Uṣūl*; 11. *Al-Ghaybah*: written on the absence of Imām Mahdī; 12. *Mas’alah fī al-Uṣūl*, mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*; 13. *Al-Farq bayn al-Nabī wa al-Imām* or *al-Masā’il fī al-Farq bayn an-Nabī wa al-Imām* mentioned in *al-Fihrist*; 14. *Al-Masā’il al-Rāzīyah*, consisting of responses to 15 questions from the people of Rey, Iran; 15. *Al-Naqḍ ‘ala ibn Shādhān fī Mas’alah al-Ghār*, mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*; 16. *Masā’il Uṣūl al-Dīn* or *Masā’il al-Ṭūsī*, a brief text on beliefs.

His books on dua:¹¹

1. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid fī A’māl al-Sanah* in rituals and supplications of one year; 2. *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-Ad‘iyah wa al-‘Ibādāt* or *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Saghīr* – a summary of the previous book; 3. *Mukhtaṣar fī ‘Amal Yaum wa laylah fī al-‘Ibādāt* or *Yaum wa Laylah*: on daily prayers and their additional deeds; 4. *Uns al-Waḥīd*; 5. *Hidāyah al-Mustarshid wa Baṣīrah al-Mutu ‘abbid fī al-Ad‘iyah wa al-‘Ibādāt*.

His history books

1. *Mukhtaṣar Akhbār al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ‘Ubaydah al-Thaqafī* or *Akhbār al-Mukhtār*; 2. *Maqtal al-Husayn*.

¹¹ Supplication

His books on answering questions

1. *Al-Masā'il al-Qumīyyah* or *Jawābāt al-Masā'il al-Qumīyyah*, consisting of answers to the questions of people of Qum, Iran; 2. *Masā'il ibn al-Barrāj*, mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*; 3. *al-Masā'il al-Ilyāsīyyah*, covering 100 issues in various fields, and mentioned in *al-Fihrist*.¹²

Socio-political situation**The fall of the Buyids**

Aḍud ad-Dawla was the most powerful Shi'a emir of the Buyids who occupied Baghdād after killing his cousin, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, the son of Mu'izz ad-Dawla, and expanded his territory to Damascus while simultaneously taking control of Halab (Aleppo) whose governor was Sa'd ad-Dawla, the son of Sayf al-Dawla Hamdānī.¹³ Abū Manṣūr Iftakīn, the Turk ruler of Damascus, who was previously under the command of Mu'iz al-Dawla, also succumbed to 'Aḍud ad-Dawla.¹⁴

Before the Fātimids, the governor of Egypt, Anūjūy, the son of Akhshīd, had close consultation with Mu'iz al-Dawla. In the time of Fatimids, al-'Azīz, Fatimid's caliph, sent some letters to 'Aḍud al-Dawla to strengthen his relation with him;¹⁵ but gradually the Buyids were involved in disputes and enmity and were thus weakened.

¹² *A'yān al-Shī'a*, vol. 9. pp. 6 – 165; Cf. 'Alī Dawānī, *Ibid*, the part of the lecture of Sayyid Hāshim Rasūlī Maḥallātī, p. 209 to the end & Muḥammad Wā'iz Zādih, p. 66 to the end; the writer of *Rūḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, from p. 229, introduced a lot of Sheikh Tūsī's books.

¹³ 'Abbās Pazwīz, *Tārikh-e Dīyālamēh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids)*, p. 81-82.

¹⁴ Ibn khalkān, vol. 1, p. 455, quoted from Faqīhī, *Shāhanshāhī 'Aḍad al-Dawla*, p. 200.

¹⁵ cf (see): *al-Muntaẓam*, vol.7, p. 98, quoted from Faqīhī, *Ibid*.

In 369, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla attacked his brother Fakhr al-Dawla who was appointed as the governor of Hamadān and Rey by his father and accused him of coalition with 'Izz al-Dawla. He ran away from Hamadān and took refuge before one of Zīyārīd's emirs, Qābūs ibn Wushmgīr. 'Aḍud ad-Dawla deputed Hamadān and Rey to his other brother, Mū'ayyid al-Dawla. In 371, because Qābūs (Zīyārī) refused to hand over Fakhr al-Dawla to 'Aḍud al-Dawla, he attacked Gorgān and occupied it. Both Qābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla escaped to Khurāsān. Finally, in 372, 'Aḍud al-Dawla passed away from epilepsy in Baghdād when he was 47. He was buried in Najaf.¹⁶

Sharaf al-Dawla¹⁷ got ahead of his brother Abū Kālījār¹⁸ who was in Baghdād and after his father took reign of Shīrāz. A year after 'Aḍud al-Dawla passed away, when his brother Mū'ayyid al-Dawla passed away in Rey, Sāhib ibn 'Ubbād called Fakhr al-Dawla from Khurāsān and appointed him as the governor of Rey after Mū'ayyid al-Dawla. Both the caliph and Samṣām al-Dawla confirmed Fakhr al-Dawla's office. At that time, Aḍud al-Dawla's five sons disputed over the succession of their father. That time, their uncle Fakhr al-Dawla did not have much political influence; therefore, each one settled in a region to counterbalance each other. However, Sharaf al-Dawla attacked Baghdād and imprisoned Samṣām al-Dawla in a castle in Fārs and took its control. He passed away in 379 AH.

¹⁶ Hasan Pīrnīya, 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 165.

¹⁷ 372-379

¹⁸ Or Samṣām al-Dawla

In 380 AH, after Sharaf al-Dawla passed away, Bahā' al-Dawla compromised with Samsām al-Dawla who seized Fārs and Bihbahān, while Bahā' al-Dawla ruled over Khūzistān and Arabian part of Iraq. After Samsām al-Dawla was killed in 388 AH, Bahā' al-Dawla occupied that territory as well. He passed away in 403 AH.

Afterwards, Sultān al-Dawla¹⁹ succeeded his father and ruled Baghdād and Fārs. In 407 AH, his brother Abū al-Fawāras rebelled against him and occupied Shīrāz, though he could not resist and so asked for Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī's assistance and occupied Kirmān and Fārs with the support of the Ghaznavid army. However, Sultān al-Dawla was recaptured there.

In 411 AH, the army rebelled against Sultān al-Dawla in Baghdad and made Abū 'Alī Mushrif al-Dawla, the younger brother of Sultān al-Dawla, the governor of Baghdād. He ruled in Fārs, a part of Khūzistān and Kirmān, for 3 years, and then passed away in 415 AH. His son Abū Kālījār Marzbān succeeded him and ruled from 440 until 450 AH. Finally in 417 AH, after a series of campaigns, Sultān al-Dawla settled in Shīrāz; due to these battles, he could not go to Baghdād, where the city was emptied of emirs for some time.

The situation did not change for 2 years, while some people were supporters of Abū Kālījār and a group supported Jalāl al-Dawla.²⁰ Finally, in 418 AH, Jalāl al-Dawla captured Baghdād and formally became its governor. But the hostilities resumed between the Daylamite

¹⁹ 403-415

²⁰ The son and successor of Mushrif al-Dawla

and Turkish army until the Turks rebelled against al-Malik al-'Azīz Abū Manṣūr, the son of Jalāl al-Dawla in Basra in 419 AH and called for the help of Abū Kālījār who was unconcerned about Kirmān at that time. But in 420 AH, when Abū Kālījār attacked Wāsīt, Jalāl al-Dawla severely defeated him and also seized Ahwāz; in the next year, he defeated him and occupied Basra. These civil wars continued between the two Daylamite Emirs until 428 AH.

Finally, Jalāl al-Dawla passed away in Baghdād in 435 and Abū Kālījār captured Iraq, Khūzistān, and Fārs. His rule continued until 440 AH. Towards the end of his ruling, he fought with the Seljuk governors when the Seljuks ruled most of Iran and occupied many Buyid territories. Abū Kālījār was compelled to make peace between the Seljuk Toghrul in 439 AH, and thus he married his daughter to Toghrul²¹ and his son, Abū Manṣūr to the daughter of Jughrī Biyk, the brother of Toghrul. Since then, the Iraqi Daylamites were supported by the Seljuks.

Toghrul knew it is not easy to annihilate the Daylamites, and so he made unity with them and ordered to his commander, Ibrāhīm Yanāl Tikīn, to end the occupation of the Daylamite regions. Thus, Abū Kālījār ruled Baghdād for 4 years and 3 months after Jalāl al-Dawla passed away in Kerman in 440 AH.²²

²¹ Cf. *Tārīkh-e Dayālamēh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids)*, p. 129; *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 165 to the end.

²² *Rawḍah al-Ṣafā*, vol. 6, pp. 28 – 30; *Tārīkh Gozīdih (selected history)*, pp. 25 – 424, p. 432; and 'Abbās Pazwīz, *Ibid*, p. 129.

The people then pledged allegiance to his son Abū Naṣr Khusro Fīrūz, nicknamed Malik Raḥīm.²³ But Abū Kālījār had six sons, each of whom claimed the crown, and sped up the decline of the Buyids. For example, in 443 AH, Malik Raḥīm conquered Iṣṭakhr and Shīrāz, and his brother Fūlād Sutūn asked Seljuk Toghrul's assistance. Toghrul sent an army from Iṣṭahān to help him. Fūlād Sutūn severely defeated Malik Raḥīm in Ahwāz, and in 447 AH, Seljuk Toghrul arrived in Baghdad, and Malik Raḥīm was taken captive by him. The caliph then ordered to give a speech in the name of Toghrul, rendering Malik Raḥīm the last Iraqi Daylamite.²⁴

In 447 AH, Toghrul, the founder of Seljuk dynasty, came from Rey to Hamadān; in the same year, he went to Baghdad with the intention of meeting the caliph, Qā'im. Malik Raḥīm attempted to stop him though he failed.

Since a group of the officials of the caliph were adherents of Toghrul in heart and, Arsalān Basāsīrī, the commander of the Turkish army, stood against the caliph since 446 AH and communicated with the Fātimid caliph, Mustanṣir, in secret, the caliph ordered to give speech in the name of Toghrul²⁵ after his arrival in Baghdad in 447 AH. This way, the Buyid dynasty, who was dominated by Baghdad during the rule of Mu'iz al-Dawla, collapsed in 447 AH. In 448 AH, the family relations between the Seljuks and Abbāsids strengthened after the caliph married Dāwūd's daughter.

²³ 440-447 AH

²⁴ *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 176; *Tārīkh-e Dīyālamēh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids)*, p. 137.

²⁵ Joel L. Kremer, *Ihyā-e Farhangī dar 'Ahd Āl Būyeh* (the cultural revival in Buyid Era), p. 318.

Finally, with the foundation of the Sunni Turkish Seljuk dynasty, the power and influence of the Turks increased since the stabilization of the caliphate of Mu'taşam. The expansion of the Seljuk territory and the domination on the lands that had been independent greatly influenced the promotion of formal ruling and the apparent position of the caliphs, although the caliphs were pawns in the hands of the Emirs.

Qā'im 'Abbāsī passed away after 44 years of caliphate in 467 AH. He was contemporary with several Ghaznavid and Seljuk kings such as: Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī (432–442 AH); Sultān Muḥammad (421); 'Abd al-Rashīd (441–444 AH); Mawdūd (432–441 AH); 'Ali ibn Mas'ūd (417 AH); Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī (451–452 AH); the first Toghrul, the founder of Seljuk dynasty (429–455 AH); Alp Arslan (455–465 AH) and Malikshāh (465–485 AH).²⁶

Migration to Najaf

The Shi'a leadership in Baghdad – in spite of the competition between the populous Hanbalites and Shi'as at the time of Sheikh Mufid, Sayyid Murtaḍā and a part of Sheikh Tusi's life – was not only due to the Buyids' rule in western Iran or the Mesopotamia, but it also was because of the authority of Shi'ites of Damascus, Hejaz, and Yemen. The Fātimid caliphs in Egypt, Emirs of Banī 'Amār in Tripoli and Damascus, and Zaydi Imams in Yemen were known as a manifestation of Shi'a power at that time. Although Egyptian Fātimids and Yemeni Zaydis had differences of opinion with the Shi'as of Tripoli and Baghdad, their general agreement on religion and their belief on the Abbasids' power

²⁶ Quoted from 'Azīzollāh Bayāt, *Ibid*, pp. 148 – 149.

was stronger than their differences of opinion. Moreover, their opposition with the Umayyad and Abbasid governments strengthened their unity, which forced the Abbasids to have weak reaction against the Shi'as. Conversely, apart from some differences of opinion in kalām, Shi'a scholars maintained their unity and this provided an opportunity for them: until the time of the Buyid dynasty in Baghdad, they could teach and debate on Shi'a kalām, fiqh, and uṣūl conveniently and write major works that were accepted by both friends and enemies. Shi'a scholars in Tripoli were especially dedicated to Sheikh Tusi in fiqh through his student, Ibn Barrāj.

Following the Hamdānids in Halab, they were the inheritors of the early Shī'a. In publication and preservation of books, they established the largest library in the world. However, one million and 300 thousand manuscripts were eventually burnt down after the arrival of the Crusaders.²⁷

It was an event that after a century, made the unknown 'Abd al-Latīf Baghdadi to create the story of firing of the Alexandria library by the hands of the earlier Muslims without any reference to the reports of the

²⁷ For more information, refer to Jacques Nantes, *Tārīkh Lebanon (the history of Lebanon)*, pp. 179 – 180, in brief, the crusader passed Lebanon again and it was important for them as a connection. In April, 28th, 1104 CE (Sha'bān, 498 AH) Raymond de Seine Gilles who planned to make his private emirate in Lebanon, turned from occupation of Jubail to Tripoli with the help of the Geneva navy that blocked the harbor; but he faced with a firm castle above the mountains that prevented him to occupy there. After he passed away, Guillaume de Seire Dane took the advantage of the absent of Fakhr al-Dawla ibn 'Ammār, the last independent Emir of Tripoli and on June 10th, 1109 CE (Dhī al-Qa'dah, 502 AH) with the help of Seine Gilles's army and the support of Biduin I, who came from Jerusalem, started the attack while the Geneva navy prevented of the arrival of Fātimid navy who came to help them. Thus, on July, 12th, 1109 CE (Muḥarram, 503 AH), Tripoli was defeated. In this event, the famous library of city burned completely.

earlier Islamic and Christian historians who wrote about the capture of Egypt, and because of being recent, it became popular and spread in Europe through *Tārīkh ibn 'Ibrī 'Isawī* which hid the true event of the firing of the Shī'a Āl-e 'Amār library in Tripoli by focusing on the false story of firing the library of Alexandria.²⁸

Sheikh Tusi had scientific and spiritual leadership in Baghdad for 12 years after Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away. Iraqi, Damascan, and Iranian Shi'as accepted his religious authority and the scholars received responses for their questions.

Since al-Qā'im bi Amrillāh and Toghrul Beg Seljuki (a bigoted Sunnite) conspired against Basāsīrī at the time of Sheikh Tusi in 447 AH, the harsh treatment against the Shi'a increased. Because the enemies of Shī'ism were free from the Buyid rule, it provided an opportunity for them to relieve their inferiority against Shi'as and the influence of Shi'a scholars during the previous century.

With the arrival of Toghrul in Baghdad, the Shi'as in Karkh were forbidden to say the phrase "Hasten toward best of action"²⁹ in the call to prayer (*adhan*) and instead were required to say "Prayer is better than sleep"³⁰ as Sunnis recited in the morning call to prayer. Moreover, they destroyed all Shi'a mottos and epigraphs such as "Muḥammad wa 'Alī, Khayr al-Bashar" ("Muhammad and Ali are the best of people") written on the walls and gates of Karkh. Then Sunni eulogists entered Karkh and loudly sang poems in the praise of the caliphs. By the order of Ibn

²⁸ 'Alī Dawānī, *Ibid*, extracted from the lecture of Muḥīṭ Tabātabāeī, p. 99 to the end.

²⁹ Literally meaning: "*Hay-e 'alā khayr al-'amal.*"

³⁰ Literally meaning: "*Al-ṣalāt khayrun min al-naum.*"

Salamah, the first supreme chief, Abū Abdullāh Julāb, the chief of the drapers of Karkh, was hung at the doorstep of his store with the charge of exaggerating about Shi‘as. Sheikh Tusi hid himself, but his home was plundered.³¹

Following the tragic events which took place for the Shi‘as in Karkh, the Sheikh had to leave. Those events happened on the months of Muḥarram and Safar, when the Shi‘as mourn for the martyrs of Karbala and for the oppression of Imam Husayn.

According to Ibn Jawzī³² a series of bloody events took place at the times of the authority of Sheikh Mufid, Sayyid Murtaḍā, and Sheikh Tusi in 408 AH, in the month of Muḥarram,³³ in Ashūrā,³⁴ and in the month of Safar³⁵ in which many were injured or killed, and the shops, houses, and possessions of the Shi‘as were plundered, but owing to the presence of the Shi‘a Buyid monarchs, these brawls were pacified.

In 447 and 448 AH, after the fall of the Buyids and the emergence of the Seljuks, the Sunnis of Baghdad rebelled against the Shi‘a altogether and plundered and burned the house of Sheikh Tusi, and thus Sheikh Tusi left forever.

In their last attack on the Shi‘as in Karkh, they rushed to the house of the Sheikh and when they did not find him, they plundered his possessions and burned his books; and his teacher chair which was

³¹ Ibn Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 8 & p. 16; Ibn Haajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, vol. 5, p. 135.

³² In *Al-Muntaẓam*, Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī in *Lisān al-Mizān*, Ibn Kathīr Shāmī in *Al-bidāyah wa al-Nahāyah* and Ibn Athīr in *Al-Kāmil*

³³ , 417 AH, 430 AH and 432 AH

³⁴ 440 AH

³⁵ 443 AH and 445 AH

brought to Karkh in 449 AH was accompanied by three flags carried by the Shi'as during pilgrimage of Imam 'Alī.³⁶

The migration of Sheikh was very short in time, because in the next year when the power of Basāsīrī³⁷ increased and in the absence of Toghrul while ruling Baghdad he was ineffective, the Shi'as seized the opportunity to take revenge on their opponents for the attacks in Karkh. But very soon Seljuk Toghrul returned to Baghdad. Basāsīrī ran

³⁶ Cf. Ibn Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam*, "The events in 448 – 449 AH"; *A'yān al-Shi'a*, vol. 9, p. 159; Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Tārīkh Tashayū' dar Iran* (the Shi'ites history in Iran), vol. 1, p. 366.

³⁷ When Toghrul resided in Baghdad, Arsalān Basāsīrī with the support of Mustansir Fātimī and his followers in Algeria, attacked the province of Mosul. He fought with Quraysh ibn Badran, Emir of Mosul and Qutlimash, cousin of Toghrul in Sanjār. In this event, Nūr al-Dawla, Emir of Halah (backed) Basāsīrī and Fātimid caliph. Basāsīrī and Nūr al-Dawla defeated Quraysh and Qutlimash severely. The caliph, Qā'im send Toghrul on duty to Algeria and Sultān moved there after 13 month of his residence to make up for this failure which was a threat for his office and also to get rid of the armies of Toghrul that due to their long residence in Baghdad had caused of general bothering of people.

Nūr al-Dawla was brought into submission of Toghrul as result of this movement. In addition Marwānī Emir of Bakr became obeyed him, then Toghrul suppressed the riots in those regions, deposited them with Ibrāhīm Yanāl and returned to Baghdad in 449 AH. Basāsīrī took refuge in Damascus and because he heard that Ibrāhīm Yanāl had upraised against Toghrul and was moving from Mosul to the regions of Jabal, came to Mosul in 450 AH and recaptured there; but Toghrul quickly came from Baghdad to Mosul and Basāsīrī ran away.

After return of Toghrul from Baghdad and his movement to Hamadān, Basāsīrī found an opportunity to attack Baghdad and because the caliph, Qā'im could not resist his power, left the palace (Dār al-Khilāfah). Basāsīrī entered the center of 'Abassid caliphate of Baghdad in 8th of the month "Dhī al-Qa'dah" and gave speech in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustansir Billāh; and this way, the name of 'Abbasids was omitted of speeches in Baghdad. After his arrival to Hamadan, Toghrul engaged in rebellion of his brother, Ibrāhīm Yanāl; so, Toghrul fought with him and defeated him near Rey. He was killed by order of Toghrul. Then, Toghrul moved quickly toward Baghdad to push Basāsīrī out of there and brought Qā'im back to caliphate. In 451 AH, after one year staying in the palace (Dār al-Khilāfah) of Baghdad, Basāsīrī left there for his fear of Toghrul and revolutionists. Both the caliph, Qā'im and Toghrul entered Baghdad. Toghrul fought with Basāsīrī to prevent him from arriving at Damascus and killed him in 451 AH. Then, he sent the head of Basāsīrī for the caliph in Baghdad. Toghrul passed away in 455 AH after 26 years ruling in Rey; and his cousin, Alp Arslan took the throne with the help of Khājah Nizām al-Mulk. (cf. *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 319)

away and later was killed, and Baghdad was occupied by the followers of the 'Abbasids. The public attacks to Karkh restarted; more houses and public places were plundered and the smoke of fire filled the entire city.

In 450 or 451 AH, the Shāhpūr ibn Ardishīr library was burned down. Shāhpūr ibn Ardishīr, a determined scholar, was the minister of Bahā al-Dawla, son of Aḍud al-Dawla.³⁸ The library included 10,400 volumes of unique and valuable books³⁹ which were hand-written copies of the books from Iran, Rome, China, India, and Iraq by the order of Shāhpūr ibn Ardishīr.⁴⁰

Sheikh Tusi taught the largest community in Baghdad. Some Sunni scholars were not pleased by this and were jealous of him; therefore, they attempted several times to push him aside by slandering him. For instance, once they complained to the caliph that Sheikh Tusi had cursed the early caliphs in his book. The caliph ordered to call him to the royal court and they took Sheikh Tusi's *Maṣābīh* which included *Ziyārat Ashūrā* as evidence to the presence of the caliph.

But the Sheikh offered reasonable analyses of the phrases in *Ziyārat Ashūrā*, and the caliph was pleased by them and eventually freed him.⁴¹ However, their jealousy did not cease as the Sheikh's house was burned down once again.

³⁸ cf. *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 9, p. 159, quoted from Yāqūt Hamūmī, *Mu'jam al-Baldān*, vol. 2.

³⁹ cf. *Khatat al-Shām*, vol. 6, p. 185, quoted from *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 9, p. 159.

⁴⁰ cf. Ibn Athīr, *Al-kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 350; 'Alī Dawānī, *Hizāreh Sheikh Tūsī*, p. 16, Ibid, the conference of Wā'iz Zādih, p. 63.

⁴¹ *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, vol. 1, p. 481; cf. *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, p. 226.

Moreover, parts of the conflicts were directly connected to the Sheikh's family and teachers. Even after his arrival to Baghdad, Sheikh Mufid was exiled from the city in 392 AH.⁴² Not only did this not affect his writing career, but all his works and books manifested a calm spirit and a firm will, similar to his impartial debates on controversial issues among Muslim's sects. In the beginning of his *Al-Ghaybah* in 447 AH, regarding the crises in Baghdad and his migration to Najaf, Sheikh Tusi wrote: "[... at this time which is 447 AH...] I accepted his request and in spite of the lack of time, disturbed minds, events and obstacles, I wrote what he wanted..."⁴³ Although these phrases indicate the difficulties he faced, in that situation he wrote the valuable *Al-Ghaybah* one of the most useful references on the crises until today.

Following the migration of Sheikh, the Shi'a scientific centre and community of Baghdad must have been scattered and other scholars must have fled to secure places or stayed in Baghdad in an anonymity and solitude. Najāshī,⁴⁴ contemporary with Sheikh Tusi, left to Matīr Ābād, Samarra and passed away there in 450 AH. Following the arrival of Toghrul Beg many scientific and cultural works and heritage of the Shi'a in Baghdad were destroyed. In this period, the Nizāmīyyah of Baghdad was established for Shafi'i jurists by Nizām al-Mulk, a

⁴² Ibn Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 178; *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, vol. 2, p. 444, quoted from Sayyid Ja'far Murtaḍā, *Al-Sarā' al-Hurīyyah fi 'Aṣr al-Mufīd*, vol. 21, p. 22, its Persian translation by the name "Mubārīzih Barā-ye Āzādī-ye Bayān wa 'Aqīdih dar 'Aṣr Sheikh Mufīd," Muḥammad Sipihri, p. 44.

⁴³ Sheikh Tūsī, *Al-Ghaybah*, p. 2; Wā'iz Zādih, in *Hizārah Sheikh Tūsī*, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Born in Baghdad in 372 AH

minister in the time of Seljuk Alp Arslan in 457 AH, 9 years after the migration of Sheikh Tusi.⁴⁵

Founder of the School of Najaf

During this time, the people were not able to visit the shrines or freely do their rituals; the shrines of Najaf no longer crowded like the time of the Daylamites.

Although Sheikh Tusi was an eminent scholar in the Islamic world, because he was Iranian, there were those in Iraq who saw him as a stranger, and to exercise beneficent influence on the society, he went to Najaf. Apparently, Najaf was not a city at that time and only some pilgrims and Shi'as lived around the Holy Shrine of Imam 'Alī. In the time of the Daylamite monarchs such as Mu'izz al-Dawla, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Bahā' al-Dawla, their ministers, and Shi'a nobility in that dynasty, the condition of Najaf improved and precious objects were endowed to the shrine of Imam 'Alī. However, when the Sheikh arrived in Najaf, the city was not the same as it was at the time of the Buyids and there was less pilgrims.

The Sheikh lived for about 12 years during the closing years of his life in Najaf. After his migration, some of his students came to Najaf as well. Gradually, some Shi'as migrated to Najaf as well because in the end of the Sheikh's life and after he passed away, his son Sheikh Abū 'Alī Tusi known as Mufid al-Thānī [or the second Mufid] and his grandson, Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Muhammad (d. 540 AH) were the authorities in Najaf. Najaf was then a scientific center

⁴⁵ Wā'iz Zādih, Ibid, p. 65.

and a hub for scholars. It flourished with the presence of Sheikh Tusi as he was the founder of the nine-hundred-year old seminary of Najaf.⁴⁶

The demise of Sheikh Tusi

Sheikh Tusi passed away in 460 AH. In 455 AH his honourable son, Sheikh Abū 'Alī Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Tusi who received permit of ijtiḥād five years before Sheikh Tusi passed away and became the Shi'ā leader and head of seminary. Abū 'Alī⁴⁷ included a commentary on his father's book, *al-Nihāyah* and authored others works as well. Abū 'Alī's son, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Hasan was the remaining scholar and Shi'ā leader from the family of Sheikh Tusi.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *A'yān al-Shi'ah*, vol. 9, p. 160.

⁴⁷ Demise 511 AH

⁴⁸ According to 'Allāmah Tehrānī in the introduction of *Tafsīr Bayān*

