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**Title:** The Sources of Ismaili Law

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**Abstract:** This paper was delivered at the Congress of the American Oriental Society in Santa Barbara in March 1974. In it, Wilferd Madelung presents his exhaustive research into the origins and sources of a monumental document that was considered lost to history; the *Kitab al-idah*, Qadi al-Nu‘man's first legal work - a vast collection of legal traditions transmitted from the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), indicating their points of consensus (*ijma`*) and conflict (*ikhtilaf*) and elucidating what was firmly established doctrine in them with evidence and proofs. This article provides an invaluable resource for academics and students of Islamic studies and related fields.

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## THE SOURCES OF ISMALI LAW

Wilferd Madelung

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### Article

Under the reign of the fourth Fatimid Caliph, al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah (341-365 AH / 952-975 CE), the Qadi al-Nu'man b. Muhammad b. Hayyun (d. 363/974) composed his well-known *Da'a'im al-islam*<sup>i</sup>, which to this day has remained the most authoritative exposition of the law for the Tayyibi Ismailis. The *Da'a'im* was not his first legal treatise. Some time earlier he had written a short compendium of the law entitled *Kitab al-iqtisar*<sup>ii</sup>.

In its introduction he explains that he had at first composed a vast collection of legal traditions transmitted from the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), indicating their points of consensus (*ijma'*) and conflict (*ikhtilaf*) and elucidating what was firmly established doctrine in them with evidence and proofs. This work, entitled *Kitab al-idah*, comprised about 3,000 folios. He then excerpted from the *K. al-idah*, by omitting chains of transmission and other details, a shorter book called *Kitab al-ikhbar*. Of the latter work, the *K. al-iqtisar* and an *urjuza* (a poem composed in the Arab metre of *rajaz*) poem named *al-Muntakhaba* were further abridgments.<sup>iii</sup>

The *K. al-idah* was until recently considered totally lost, even by such experts on Ismaili literature as W. Ivanow and A. A. A. Fyze.<sup>iv</sup> However, in the collection of Ismaili manuscripts acquired recently by the University Library of Tübingen, there is one claiming in its title to contain "what is extant (*ma wujida*) of the *K. al-idah*."<sup>v</sup> A second manuscript containing the same fragment is in the possession of Professor Abbas Hamdani,<sup>vi</sup> and further copies may quite likely be discovered in the future in Ismaili libraries. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the fragment. Its contents correspond exactly to the description of the *K. al-idah* given by al-Nu'man in the *K. al-iqtisar*.

In contrast to al-Nu'man's practice in his other legal works, the chain of transmission is fully quoted for each tradition. On each legal matter the author cites several relevant traditions from the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) and points out their agreement or disagreement. If there is apparent conflict, he usually resolves it either by harmonising the alternatives or by explaining why one side deserves preference over the other. This is in contrast to al-Nu'man's practice in the *Da'a'im*, where he usually quotes only a single tradition on any question in support of the actual doctrine or simply formulates it himself, disregarding any conflict (*ikhtilaf*).

With the massiveness of the complete *K. al-idah* as described by al-Nu'man corresponds the fact that the fragment, which contains only a part of the book on

ritual prayer (*salat*), covers in 260 pages about the same ground as is covered by the printed text of the *Da'a'im* in 35 and by the *K. al-iqtisar* in 4 pages.<sup>vii</sup>

Owing to these characteristics and to the fact that the *K. al-idah* was Qadi al-Nu'man's first legal work, written perhaps still under the first Fatimid caliph, *al-Mahdi* (297-322/ 909-934),<sup>viii</sup> the fragment is apt to shed important new light on the sources and the genesis of Ismaili law.

Al-Nu'man probably was originally a Sunnite and apparently never received formal training in Shi'ite *hadith* and *fiqh*.<sup>ix</sup> In quoting the traditions of the *ahl al-bayt*, he could not claim authorised oral transmission directly to himself but had to rely on literary sources available to him. In the fragment, he regularly names the book from which he is quoting and then cites the chain of transmission from the author back to the origin of the tradition. He thus departed from the common practice of the time which was to trace the *isnad* (chain of transmission) back from the final narrator or collector without mentioning a literary source even if the initial part of the chain merely covered a literary transmission. The fragment thus provides valuable information on earlier collections of Shi'ite legal traditions and, in a number of cases, facilitates the identification of the literary source, as well as the separation of the literary from the original *isnad*, of identical traditions in Imami collections like the *Kitab al-kafi* of *al-Kulayni*.

Al-Nu'man names about 20 books as sources of his quotations throughout the fragment. In a few instances it is not certain whether a previously mentioned work or a different one is meant. All of these books, with a single partial exception,<sup>x</sup> appear to be no longer extant. Only a few, mostly early ones, are mentioned in the *Fihrist* of *Ibn al-Nadim* and in Imami bibliographies.<sup>xi</sup> Some authors cannot be identified with the available sources.<sup>xii</sup>

In time of composition, the books range from the *Kitab al-masa'il* and the *Jami'* of 'Ubayd Allah al-Halabi, who transmits directly from Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765) and who died in his lifetime,<sup>xiii</sup> through the *Kitab* of Hammad b. 'Isa (d. 208/823-24 or 209/824-25), who usually transmits from Ja'far's father, Imam Muhammad al-Baqir, on the authority of two intervening transmitters,<sup>xiv</sup> down to later compilations of authors who died during the lifetime of al-Nu'man.

As has been noted, a small proportion of the traditions related by al-Nu'man are identically found in the canonical Imami collections of *hadith*. They are invariably traditions from Muhammad al-Baqir and Ja'far al-Sadiq, who are imams of both the Imamis and the Ismailis, and the source of the bulk of their legal *hadiths*. Al-Nu'man totally ignores the traditions of the later imams of the Imamis - beginning with Musa al-Kazim - who are not recognised by the Ismailis, although he not infrequently quoted traditions related by Musa al-Kazim from his father Ja'far.<sup>xv</sup>

Another notable difference between the traditions used by Qadi al-Nu'man and those received in the four canonical collections of the Imamis becomes evident upon

a closer study of their chains of transmission. In the Imami collections the authority of the scholars of Qumm is paramount. In fact, more than 80 percent of the traditions contained in the *Kafi* of al-Kulayni are related by the traditionists of Qumm. If the traditions related by the scholars of Rayy, who had close ties with the school of Qumm, are added to them, their share reaches well above 90 percent. In the *K. man la yahdaruhu l-faqih*, Ibn Babuya, himself from Qumm, relates nearly exclusively on the authority of transmitters of that town.

In the remaining two works, the *tahdhib* and the *istibsar* of Shaykh al-Tusi, only rarely is an *isnad* found that did not pass through a Qumman phase. Most of the traditions in these collections were initially transmitted by Kufan traditionists and then passed on to Qumm. This town in the third/ninth century became the chief centre of Imami learning where the traditions first handed down in Kufa and elsewhere were sifted and collected.

This aspect is completely missing in the traditions related by Qadi al-Nu‘man. Apparently not a single author of the collections used by him, nor any of their transmitters, belonged to the scholars of Qumm. The majority of them, as far as can be ascertained, were Kufans, with a few Medinese, Baghdadis, Basrans, and Egyptians. Did al-Nu‘man intentionally repudiate the school of Qumm? This is not unlikely, though it is also possible that the choice of his sources was rather dictated by their availability in the Maghrib.

Al-Nu‘man does not quote any traditions ascribed to the Ismaili imams after Ja‘far al-Sadiq. Such traditions evidently did not exist, and these imams were, according to Ismaili belief, living in a time of occultation, so much so that al-Nu‘man in all of his works does not even reveal their identity.<sup>xvi</sup> Nor does al-Nu‘man anywhere in the fragment rely on a statement of the present imam, the Fatimid caliph, whoever he was. More surprising, especially in view of the total exclusion of traditions from the imams of the Imami line after Ja‘far al-Sadiq, is the fact that al-Nu‘man relies frequently on traditions from ‘Alids who were not considered *imams* by either Imamis or Ismailis.

These traditions he takes from a single source, the *Kutub* of a Kufan Zaydi, Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. Sallam b. Sayyar,<sup>xvii</sup> who must have lived in the second half of the third/ninth century. While this Ibn Sallam apparently is nowhere mentioned as a transmitter in later Zaydi literature, the traditions he relates are well known in Zaydi *fiqh*. His work evidently contained a large part of the legal *hadiths* used by the Zaydis of his time. He quotes the traditions found in the *Majmu‘ al-fiqh* ascribed to Zayd b. ‘Ali, the traditions of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib transmitted by al-Husayn b. ‘Abd Allah b. Dumayra with a family *isnad*, which were unknown among the Imamis but were used by the Zaydi imam al-Qasim b. Ibrahim and other Zaydis; the traditions which Ja‘far b. Muhammad al-Tabari, known in Zaydi literature as al-Nayrusi, related from al-Qasim b. Ibrahim; as well as the legal doctrine which Muhammad b. Mansur al-Muradi, the great collector of Zaydi *hadith* flourishing in Kufa about the middle of the third/ninth century, transmitted from Zaydi ‘Alids such

as Ahmad b. 'Isa b. Zayd, 'Abd Allah b. Musa b. 'Abd Allah, 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Ali, and others.

How much weight is al-Nu'man willing to give to the legal doctrine of these 'Alids whom he does not recognise as imams? It is to be noted that he speaks regularly in the fragment of the consensus or disagreement of the *ahl al-bayt*, i.e., the descendants of 'Ali and Fatima in general. This fully agrees with the Zaydi (Jarudi) doctrine and practice which considers the teaching of all qualified members of the family of the Prophet, not only just of those recognised as imams, as authoritative. Al-Nu'man in one place specifically commends a legal view of the Zaydi 'Alid al-Qasim b. Ibrahim calling it "a good doctrine (*qawl hasan*)"<sup>xxviii</sup>. Elsewhere, however, he rejects the view of al-Qasim on the grounds that it clashed with the view of the imams.<sup>xix</sup> The legal doctrine of these Zaydi 'Alids thus was definitely authoritative for Qadi al-Nu'man, though less so than the doctrine of the Ismaili imams.

Ismaili law thus appears in the *K. al-idah*, both materially and theoretically, as a compromise between Imami and Zaydi law. Materially, it is based on sources accepted as authoritative in Imami *fiqh* as well as those accepted as authoritative in Zaydi *fiqh*. Theoretically, al-Nu'man recognises, in agreement with the Zaydis, the authority of the *ahl al-bayt* in general, not merely that of the imams. But he makes a concession to the Imami position in granting the imams superior authority to that of the other 'Alids. In particular, the importance of Imam Ja'far, whose role is quite limited in Zaydi law but paramount in Imami law, is evident in the fragment of the *K. al-idah*.

In some of his later legal works Qadi al-Nu'man departed from his position in the *K. al-idah*, at least on the theoretical level. In the introduction of the *Da'a'im al-islam* he states his intention to confine himself to the firmly established doctrine of the imams of the *ahl al-bayt* as related to him.<sup>xx</sup> Similarly, in his *Ikhtilaf usul al-madhahib*, a work on the principles of the law (*usul al-fiqh*), he recognises the Qur'an, the *sunna* of the Prophet, and the teachings (*madhahib*) of the imams as the only authoritative sources of law.<sup>xxi</sup> This change of attitude was evidently influenced by the view of the Caliph al-Mu'izz.<sup>xxii</sup> Yet on the material level, the legal doctrine of the *Da'a'im* appears nearly identical with the positions worked out by al-Nu'man in the *K. al-idah*.

In the *Da'a'im* he quotes a few traditions not found in the *K. al-idah*, but mostly in support of the same views. Only exceptionally his doctrine seems to differ on minor points of detail. In spite of his promise to present only the doctrine of the imams, he does in a few places quote the views of the Zaydi 'Alids Zayd b. 'Ali, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya), and al-Qasim b. Ibrahim as the basis of the law.<sup>xxiii</sup> In a major point of conflict with Imami law, the prohibition of the temporary marriage (*mut'a*) admitted in the latter, he relies on traditions from Ja'far al-Sadiq and 'Ali used also by the Zaydis.<sup>xxiv</sup> The description of the legal doctrine of the *K. al-idah* as a compromise between Imami and Zaydi law thus is applicable to Ismaili *fiqh* in general.

## APPENDIX

The following books are quoted in the fragment of the *K. al-idah*:

1. ***Kitab Hammad b. 'Isa***: Abu Muhammad Hammad b. 'Isa al-Juhani (d. 208-9/823-25) was a well-known Shi'ite traditionist of Kufan origin residing in Wasit and Basra.<sup>xxv</sup> His reliability as a transmitter is considered high by the Imami authorities and low by Sunnites. The "book" quoted by al-Nu'man may be the *Kitab al-salat* mentioned by the Imami sources, which also ascribe some other books to him. The *isnad* most often used by him is: Hammad 'an Hariz b. 'Abd Allah 'an Zurara b. A'yan 'an Abi Ja'far (= al-Baqir). A number of traditions quoted by al-Nu'man from this source are found identically in the *Kafi* of al-Kulayni.

2. ***Al-Kutub al-Ja'fariyya, min riwayat Abi 'Ali Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Kufi***: Mostly traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, 'Ali or the early imams are quoted from this source with the *isnad* Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath 'an Abi l-Hasan Musa b. Isma'il b. Musa b. Ja'far (= al-Sadiq) continuing as a family *isnad* through Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq to 'Ali or one of the early imams. Occasionally Ibn al-Ash'ath uses a different *isnad*. The *al-Kutub al-Ja'fariyya* are at least partially identical with the *hadith* collection known in Imami tradition as *al-Ash'athiyat* or *al-Ja'fariyyat*. This work was known to some Imami scholars down to the 'Allama al-Hilli (d. 726/1325), but its traditions were not included in the canonical collections on which Imami *fiqh* is based. It was unknown to al-Hurr al-'Amili (d. 1104/1693) and al-Majlisi (d. 1111/1700), who in their works *Wasa'il al-shi'a* and *Bihar al-anwar* broadened the base of *hadiths* to be used in Imami *fiqh*. A copy of it was discovered by Shaykh Husayn al-Nuri al-Tabarsi and provided the main stimulus for him to compose his *Mustadrak wasa'il al-shi'a* (written in 1305/1887) in which he collected further *hadiths* to be used in Imami *ijtihad*.<sup>xxvi</sup>

The edition of this work<sup>xxvii</sup> has not been available to me. Of the traditions quoted in the fragment, only one seems to be quoted also in the *Mustadrak al-wasa'il*. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath, a Kufan by origin living in Egypt<sup>xxviii</sup>, was an informant of the Egyptian historian al-Kindi (d. 350/961)<sup>xxix</sup>. He transmitted the *Ja'fariyyat* as late as the year 314/926-27<sup>xxx</sup>. Sunnite sources accuse him of having forged the whole book<sup>xxxi</sup>. The Imami sources, on the other hand, mention the 'Alid Musa b. Isma'il<sup>xxxii</sup> and his father Isma'il b. Musa al-Kazim<sup>xxxiii</sup> as authors of books transmitted by Ibn al-Ash'ath. They lived in Medina and Egypt.

3. ***K. al-salat, min riwayat Abi Dharr Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. Asbat***: It is mentioned only by Ibn Shahrashub<sup>xxxiv</sup>. The author is otherwise unknown. Traditions of the Imams Muhammad al-Baqir and Ja'far are quoted, usually with an *isnad* of one or two transmitters. It is not unlikely, however, that the author lived much later and that the *isnads* are regularly interrupted. Several of the traditions quoted are also found in the *Kafi* of al-Kulayni.

4. **Jami' 'Ali b. Asbat**: The Kufan Abu l-Hasan 'Ali b. Asbat b. Salim Bayya' al-Zutti was a prominent Shi'ite *faqih* and a companion of the Imams 'Ali al-Rida and Muhammad al-Jawad (203-220/818-835). He belonged to the Fathiyya, who held that the imamate passed from Ja'far al-Sadiq first to his son 'Abd Allah al-Aftah and only after the latter's death to Musa al-Kazim. According to al-Najashi, Ibn Asbat repudiated this heresy before his death. This is denied, however, by al-Kishshi<sup>xxxv</sup>. The names of several books of his are mentioned by al-Najashi, but none with the title *Jami'*. In the fragment, the book is quoted for a tradition of Imam Ja'far with one intervening transmitter and for traditions of 'Ali "with his (= Ibn Asbat's) chain of transmission (*bi-isnadih*)."

5. & 6. **Kitab al-Halabi al-ma'ruf bi l-masa'il and Jami' al-Halabi**: The author of the two books is nowhere in the fragment identified aside from his *nisba* al-Halabi. The Imami sources mention several members of the Kufan family Al Abi Shu'ba, who because of their trade connections with Aleppo were given the *nisba* al-Halabi, as highly reliable transmitters from the imams. The most famous among them was 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Ali b. Abi Shu'ba al-Halabi, whose collection of traditions of Imam Ja'far was said to have been corrected and praised by the latter and was widely transmitted with slight variations<sup>xxxvi</sup>. There is evidence that it was used as a basic legal compendium as late as the fifth/eleventh century. The Sharif al-Murtada (d. 436/1044) was asked by members of the Imami community in Mayyafariqin what book they should rely upon concerning legal problems: the *Risala* of 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. Musa b. Babuya, the *Kitab* of al-Shalmaghani or the *Kitab* of 'Ubayd Allah al-Halabi. He answered that the works of Ibn Babuya and al-Halabi should be preferred to that of al-Shalmaghani<sup>xxxvii</sup>. The Imami sources and Ibn al-Nadim<sup>xxxviii</sup> refer to the book only as *Kitab* and do not mention any other book of 'Ubayd Allah. Another *Kitab*, however, is ascribed to his brother Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Halabi<sup>xxxix</sup>. Al-Nu'man treats the author of the *Jami'* and the author of the *Masa'il* as the same al-Halabi<sup>xl</sup>. Unless he is mistaken, it is to be assumed that the two books are either variant versions or two different sections of the *Kitab* of 'Ubayd Allah mentioned in the Imami sources. Some traditions quoted by al-Nu'man from either book are also found in the *Kafi* of al-Kulayni. 'Ubayd Allah and Muhammad al-Halabi both died before the death of Imam Ja'far (148/765)<sup>xli</sup>.

7. **Al-Jami', min kutub Tahir b. Zakariyya' b. al-Husayn**: mentioned by Ibn Shahrashub<sup>xlii</sup>. The author is otherwise unknown. Traditions of Imam Ja'far are quoted, frequently without a chain of transmission and occasionally with a chain of one or two intervening transmitters. The author probably lived later and omitted or cut the *isnads*.

8. **Kutub Abi 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Sallam b. Sayyar al-Kufi**: mentioned by Ibn Shahrashub<sup>xliiii</sup>. The author is otherwise unknown. His chief informant, the Kufan Zaydi Muhammad b. Mansur al-Muradi, still taught in 292/905<sup>xliv</sup>. The work is solidly Zaydi. It contains the whole range of the transmission of al-Muradi<sup>xlv</sup>. Many of the traditions quoted by al-Nu'man from the *Kutub* of Ibn Sallam are

identically found in al-Muradi's *Amali Ahmad b. 'Isa*<sup>xlvi</sup>. Traditions contained in the *Majmu' al-fiqh* ascribed to Zayd b. 'Ali are quoted with the *isnad* : Abu 'Abd Allah (= Ahmad b. 'Isa b. Zayd) 'an Husayn b. 'Ulwan 'an Abi Khalid (= al-Wasiti) 'an Zayd. The same *isnad* is used by al-Muradi in the *Amali Ahmad b. 'Isa*<sup>xlvii</sup>. Ibn Sallam most likely received these traditions from al-Muradi, who is merely omitted from the *isnad* as his common authority. Most of these traditions, though not all, are also quoted in the *Amali Ahmad b. 'Isa*. Traditions related by Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Tabari (= al-Nayrusi) from the Zaydi imam al-Qasim b. Ibrahim<sup>xlviii</sup> are sometimes quoted expressly on the authority of al-Muradi. In other cases, where al-Muradi is not mentioned, the *isnad* is probably incomplete. Apart from the transmission of al-Muradi, Ibn Sallam quoted the traditions of 'Ali transmitted by al-Husayn b. 'Abd Allah b. Dumayra with a family *isnad* which were also quoted by al-Qasim b. Ibrahim<sup>xlix</sup>. Ibn Sallam's *isnad* for these traditions begins: Zayd b. Ahmad b. Isma'il (b. Muhammad b. Isma'il b. Ja'far al-Sadiq)<sup>l</sup> 'an khalih Zayd b. al-Husayn (b. 'Isa b. Zayd)<sup>li</sup> 'an Abi Bakr b. Abi Uways and continues then like the *isnad* of al-Qasim b. Ibrahim from this transmitter.

9. **Jami' Ghiyath b. Ibrahim, riwayat Isma'il 'anhu:** Ghiyath b. Ibrahim al-Tamimi al-Usaydi was a Basran living in Kufa and transmitted from Imams Ja'far and Musa<sup>lii</sup>. Abu Ja'far al-Barqi (d. 274/887-88 or 280/893-94) names him Ghiyath b. Ibrahim al-Nakha'i<sup>liiii</sup>. He is thus probably identical with Ghiyath b. Ibrahim al-Nakha'i mentioned by Sunnite sources as an unreliable transmitter from al-A'mash<sup>liv</sup>. According to the 'Allama al-Hilli, he was a Batri (Zaydi)<sup>lv</sup>. He compiled a book arranged according to subject matter (mubawwab) on the law. Ibn Shahrashub gives its name as al-Jami'a<sup>lvi</sup>. Isma'il, who transmitted from Ghiyath, probably is the Kufan Isma'il b. Aban b. Ishaq al-Azdi al-Warraaq (d. 216/831) who appears as the transmitter of Ghiyath's book in the *isnad* of al-Najashi<sup>lvii</sup>. In the fragment of the *K. al-idah* the *Jami' Ghiyath* is quoted only once<sup>lviii</sup> for a statement of Imam Ja'far. It is not impossible that this is an indirect quotation through the *Kutub* of Ibn Sallam (see no. 8 above) since traditions with the *isnad* Isma'il 'an Ghiyath 'an Ja'far b. Muhammad (= al-Sadiq) occasionally occur there.

10. **K. al-masa'il, min riwayat al-Husayn b. 'Ali:** In some places al-Nu'man gives the full name of the author as Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. al-Hasan<sup>lix</sup> b. 'Ali b. 'Umar b. 'Ali (= Zayn al-'Abidin) b. al-Husayn. This genealogy identifies him as al-Husayn al-Sha'ir al-Muhaddith (d. 312/924-25)<sup>lx</sup>, the brother of the Caspian Zaydi imam al-Hasan al-Utrush al-Nasir li l-haqq (d. 304/917) and ancestor of the Tha'irid 'Alids ruling Hawsam and Lahijan in the fourth-seventh/tenth-thirteenth centuries. Al-Husayn al-Sha'ir lived in Medina and later in Egypt, where he was considered the *shaykh* of the family of the Prophet<sup>lxi</sup>. He is not mentioned in any of the Imami *rijal* works. The traditions quoted by al-Nu'man from this source have two different *isnads*:

(a) Al-Husayn b. 'Ali 'an abih 'an 'Ali b. Ja'far b. Muhammad 'an akhihi Musa (= al-Kazim) 'an abih. These traditions contain questions which Musa asked his father



Ja'far and the answers of the latter. Imami sources ascribe to Imam Musa's brother 'Ali (d. 210/825-26) a book containing questions (*masa'il*) which he put to the imam<sup>lxii</sup>.

Such questions of 'Ali b. Ja'far and Musa's answers are quoted in the canonical Imami collections. In al-Nu'man's quotations from the *masa'il* of al-Husayn al-Sha'ir it is regularly Musa who puts the questions to his father and the latter who answers;

(b) Al-Husayn b. 'Ali 'an Ibrahim b. Sulayman al-Hamdani 'an Isma'il<sup>lxiii</sup> 'an al-'Ala' 'an Muhammad b. Muslim 'an Abi Ja'far (= al-Baqir). The full name of the Kufan Ibrahim b. Sulayman is Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Sulayman b. 'Abd (or 'Ubayd) Allah b. Hayyan (or Khalid) al-Nahmi. The Imami *rijal* works list several books by him<sup>lxiv</sup>. Isma'il could not be identified. Al-'Ala is al-'Ala b. Razin al-Qalla<sup>lxv</sup>, and Muhammad b. Muslim is Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Muslim b. Riyah al-Thaqafi al-Tahhan (d. 150/767)<sup>lxvi</sup>. Both are Kufan Shi'ite transmitters highly esteemed by the Imamis.

11. **K. al-masa'il riwayat Ibrahim b. Sulayman al-Hamdani:** This title occurs only once.<sup>lxvii</sup> Most likely the previous work (no. 10) is meant, and the first *rawi* al-Husayn b. 'Ali is omitted. The *isnad* from Ibrahim is identical with the second one mentioned under no. 10 above. If a different work is meant, *al-masa'il* might be a corruption *al-manasik*. This title is mentioned among the works of Ibrahim b. Sulayman<sup>lxviii</sup>. Almost certainly truncated is the *isnad* in the quotation:<sup>lxix</sup> *Kitab al-masa'il 'an al-'Ala' 'an Muhammad b. Muslim 'an Abi Ja'far*. Either no. 11 or, more likely, no. 10 must be meant.

12. **K. al-masa'il, min riwayat Ahmad b. al-Husayn:** This title occurs twice<sup>lxx</sup>. Ahmad b. al-Husayn is to be identified with the author of the *Kitab al-qadaya* (no. 13), for, like the latter, he transmitted from 'Abbad b. Ya'qub<sup>lxxi</sup>. *Al-masa'il* is either an error for *al-qadaya* or this is a separate work by the same author.

13. **K. al-qadaya, min riwayat Abi Ja'far Muhammad (or Ahmad) b. al-Husayn b. Hafs al-Khath'ami:** In the fragment the name of the author is given about equally as often as Ahmad instead of Muhammad. Since both Ahmad and Muhammad are named with the *kunya* Abu Ja'far, there can be little doubt that one and the same person is meant. Ibn Shahrashub also calls him Ahmad<sup>lxxii</sup>. In the other sources his name is given as Muhammad, and he was an important informant of Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahani<sup>lxxiii</sup>. Al-Sam'ani calls him a reliable transmitter and gives his full name as Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. al-Husayn b. Hafs b. 'Umar al-Ushnani al-Kufi stating that he was born in 221/836 and died in Safar 315/April-May 927<sup>lxxiv</sup>. According to al-Tusi, however, he died in 327/929. Al-Tusi's information apparently goes back to the Imami traditionist Harun b. Musa al-Tal'ukbari, who heard al-Khath'ami in 315/927<sup>lxxv</sup>. In the quotations of the fragment, al-Khath'ami invariably relates from 'Abbad b. Ya'qub, i.e., the Kufan Abu Sa'id 'Abbad b. Ya'qub al-Asadi al-Rawajini (d. 250/864). The Imami *rijal* works call 'Abbad a non-Shi'ite (*'ammi al-*

*madhhab*)<sup>lxxvi</sup>. The Sunnite sources consider him a trustworthy (*saduq*) transmitter but describe him as an extreme Shi'ite (*min ghulat al-shi'a*) who cursed 'Uthman and kept his sword ready hoping to rise with the Mahdi<sup>lxxvii</sup>. He was evidently a prominent figure in Kufan non-Imami Shi'ism. In the quotations from the *K. al-qadaya* he relates frequently traditions about 'Ali with the following *isnad*: 'an 'Ubayd b. Muhammad b. Qays al-Bajali 'an *abihi* 'an Abi Ja'far (= al-Baqir). Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Qays al-Bajali (d. 151/768) is known to the Imami sources as the author of a *K. qadaya Amir al-mu'minin* (= 'Ali) which he related from Imam al-Baqir<sup>lxxviii</sup>. The book was transmitted by his son 'Ubayd among others<sup>lxxix</sup>.

In several instances Muhammad b. Sallam is mentioned together with Muhammad b. al-Husayn as the initial relater (from 'Abbad b. Ya'qub). Most likely Muhammad b. Sallam b. Sayyar, the author of the *Kutub* (no. 8) is meant. This may mean that the anonymous writer of the copy of the *K. al-qadaya*, who had perhaps heard both Ibn Sallam and Muhammad b. al-Husayn, joined the two *isnads*; or there may have been among the *Kutub* of Ibn Sallam a *Kitab al-qadaya*, and al-Nu'man combined the two reports.

14 ***K. al-qadaya, min riwayat Ahmad b. Harun b. Hani' al-Q-h-mi (?)***: occurs only once in the fragment<sup>lxxx</sup>. The author is unknown. The tradition is quoted "with his *isnad (bi-isnadih)*" and is introduced with "he said (*qala*)" without identification of the subject.

15. ***K. al-qadaya, min riwayat al-Hasan b. al-Husayn***: is quoted only once<sup>lxxxi</sup>. The *isnad* continues: 'an 'Ali b. al-Qasim al-Kindi 'an Muhammad b. 'Ubayd (in MS 'Abd) Allah b. Abi Rafi' 'an *abihi* 'an *jaddihi* 'an 'Ali (b. Abi Talib). This is the same as the final part of al-Najashi's *isnad* for the *K. al-sunan wa l-ahkam wa l-qadaya* of Abu Rafi'<sup>lxxxii</sup>. Al-Najashi gives the *nisba* of al-Hasan b. al-Husayn as al-Ansari. This identifies him further as al-Hasan b. al-Husayn al-'Urani al-Kufi, who is described by the Sunnite sources as a chief of the Shi'i (*min ru'asa' al-shi'a*)<sup>lxxxiii</sup>. He is mentioned among the scholars who pledged allegiance to the 'Alid Yahya b. 'Abd Allah<sup>lxxxiv</sup>, and Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahani quotes him reporting about the revolt of Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah<sup>lxxxv</sup>. Although he is credited with the authorship of a book on the transmitters from Imam Ja'far<sup>lxxxvi</sup>, he stood evidently closer to Zaydism than to Imami Shi'ism.

The *K. qadaya Amir al-mu'minin* of 'Ubayd Allah b. Abu Rafi', the "scribe of 'Ali," is known in Imami tradition, though it was apparently not transmitted by the school of Qumm in the third/ninth century. The Sunnite sources characterise 'Ali b. al-Qasim al-Kindi as an extreme Shi'ite<sup>lxxxvii</sup> and Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah b. Abi Rafi' as belonging to the Kufan Shi'a and relating objectionable (*munkar*) traditions<sup>lxxxviii</sup>. 'Ubayd Allah b. Abi Rafi', on the other hand, is judged reliable<sup>lxxxix</sup>.

16. ***K. al-nahy, min riwayat al-Hasan b. Ja'far***: Both author and book are mentioned only by Ibn Shahrashub, who gives the full name of the author as al-

Hasan b. Ja'far b. Qahwan<sup>xc</sup>. From this source al-Nu'man quotes traditions of the Prophet containing a prohibition. The *isnad* is regularly: al-Hasan b. Ja'far 'an Ishaq b. Musa 'an 'Ali b. Ja'far 'an akhihi Musa (= al-Kazim) b. Ja'far 'an Ja'far (al-Sadiq) b. Muhammad 'an abihi 'an aba'ih.

Ishaq b. Musa could not be identified. The transmission of 'Ali b. Ja'far from his brother Musa al-Kazim is well known and is quoted in the *K. al-masa'il* of al-Husayn b. 'Ali (no. 10), but there it is used for statements of Imam Ja'far, not for traditions of the Prophet.

17. **K. usul madhahib al-shi'a, min riwayat Muhammad b. al-Salt:** is mentioned by Ibn Shahrashub<sup>xc1</sup>. The author is otherwise unknown. He is regularly quoted relating from his maternal uncle (*khal*) Muhammad b. Abi 'Umayr, i.e., the Baghdadi Abu Ahmad Muhammad b. Ziyad b. 'Isa al-Azdi (d. 217/832), a prominent Imami traditionist and author of books<sup>xcii</sup>. The *isnad* regularly continues: 'an Hammad b. 'Isa 'an 'Ubayd Allah al-Halabi relating traditions of Imam Ja'far.

18. **Al-Musnad:** The compiler is nowhere mentioned. The final transmitters in the *isnads* are: Abu Nu'aym (= al-Fadl b. Dukayn), Kufan d. 219/834<sup>xciii</sup>; Ahmad<sup>xciv</sup> (b. 'Isa b. Zayd), the Zaydi 'Alid living mostly in Basra (157-247/773-861)<sup>xcv</sup>; Abu Ghassan, perhaps Malik b. Isma'il al-Nahdi (d. 219/834), a Kufan Zaydi considered a reliable transmitter by the Sunnite sources<sup>xcvi</sup>; Nasr b. Muzahim<sup>xcvii</sup> (= al-Minqari), Kufan Zaydi<sup>xcviii</sup> (d. 212/827-28), quoted with the *isnad* 'an Abi Khalid (= al-Wasiti) 'an Zayd for a tradition contained in the *Majmu' al-fiqh* of Zayd b. 'Ali; 'Amr b. Khalid (= Abui Khalid al-Wasiti), Kufan Zaydi (d. ca. 150/767);<sup>xcix</sup> Safwan b. 'Isa, perhaps the Basran al-Zuhri al-Qassam (death dates given range from 198-208/813-824)<sup>c</sup>; Sa'id b. Salim al-Qaddah, active Murji'ite of Khurasanian or Kufan origin living in Mekka (d. before 200/816)<sup>ci</sup>; Abu 'Asim, perhaps the Basran al-Dahhak b. Makhlad al-Shaybani (d. between 212 and 214/827-29)<sup>cii</sup>; Hammad b. Maslama, could not be identified, 'an al-Hajjaj (b. Artat al-Nakha'i), Kufan (d. 145 or 147/762-64)<sup>ciii</sup>; Sa'id b. Abi 'Aruba<sup>civ</sup>, Basran (d. 156 or 157/773 or 774)<sup>cv</sup>; Mukhawwal (b. Ibrahim al-Nahdi), Zaydi supporter of Yahya b. 'Abd Allah<sup>cv1</sup>; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik (b. Abi Shawarib), Basran (d. 244/858)<sup>cvii</sup>, 'an Yusuf b. (Ya'qub) al-Majishun (d. between 183 and 185/799-801)<sup>cviii</sup>; Hushaym, i.e., b. Bashir al-Wasiti (d. 183/799)<sup>cix</sup>. Some of the *isnads* are obviously cut off. Most of the traditions are from 'Ali, one from Imam al-Baqir and one from Imam Ja'far. The compiler cannot have flourished before the first half of the third/ninth century and probably was a Zaydi or other non-Imami Shi'ite.

19. **Kutub Abi l-Hasan (or Abi l-Husayn) 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. Warsand (or Farsand?) al-Bajali:** quoted only twice. The author is unknown. He relates from Imam Muhammad al-Baqir with an *isnad* of four intermediaries.

20. **K. yawm wa-layla:** The author is not mentioned. Only traditions of Imam Ja'far are quoted, usually without *isnad* and occasionally through a single transmitter. The compiler may be regularly omitting or cutting the *isnad*. The Imami sources mention

Abu Ja'far Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah b. Mihran al-Karkhi, known as Ibn Khanaba, as the author of a "*K. al-ta'dib* which is the *K. yawm wa-layla*."<sup>cx</sup> He was a secretary of Ishaq b. Ibrahim b. Mus'ab<sup>cx<sup>i</sup></sup> (d. 235/849-50), police prefect of Baghdad, and thus lived in the first half of the third/ninth century. A *K. yawm wa-layla* was also compiled by the Kufan Abu l-Qasim Mu'awiya b. 'Ammar al-Duhni (d. 175/791-92), a prominent transmitter from the Imams Ja'far and Musa<sup>cx<sup>ii</sup></sup>.

21. ***Kitab 'Ali, 'an 'Ali***: quoted once<sup>cx<sup>iii</sup></sup>. Just before the quotation there is a gap in the text. It is possible that the written source of the tradition was mentioned there and that the preserved text is merely the end of the *isnad* and should be read [ ... '*an... wa-huwa*] *min kuttab 'Ali 'an 'Ali*.

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<sup>i</sup> A.A.A Fyzee, ed., *Da'a'im al-islam*, Vols. 1 and 2 (cairo, 1951/61).

<sup>ii</sup> Mohammad Wahid Mirza, ed., *Kitab al-iqtisar*, (Damascus, 1957).

<sup>iii</sup> *Al-iqtisar*, pp. 9 f.

<sup>iv</sup> Cf. W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature* (Tehran, 1963), p. 34; A. A. A. Fyzee, *Compendium of Fatimid Law* (Simla, 1969), introduction, p. xxvii.

<sup>v</sup> A microfilm of the manuscript has been kindly made available to me by Dr. E. Kummerer, director of the Oriental section of the University Library of Tubingen.

<sup>vi</sup> Letter of Professor Hamdani dated March 9, 1975.

<sup>vii</sup> The fragment begins abruptly with what must be very near the beginning of the *kitab al-salat* and ends abruptly in the chapter entitled *dhikr ma yuqra' fi l-salat min al-suwar*. There are a few, apparently minor, gaps in the text. The arrangement of material mostly parallels that of the *Da'a'im*. The material covered corresponds approximately to *Da'a'im*, Vol. 1, pp. 159-94 and *al-iqtisar*, pp. 21-24.

<sup>viii</sup> Al-Nu'man entered the service of al-Mahdi in 313/925-26. Cf. A. A. A. Fyzee, "Qadi an-Nu'man, The Fatimid Jurist and Author," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS)*, 1934, p. 7.

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<sup>ix</sup> On the disputed question whether al-Nu‘man originally belonged to the Maliki or the Hanafi school, see my notes in *Journal of the American Oriental Society (JAOS)* 84 (1964): 424 and now I. K. Poonawala, "A Reconsideration of al-Qadi al-Nu‘man 's *Madhhab*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)* 37 (1974): 572 ff. Poonawala's additional arguments strengthen the case for the identity of al-Nu‘man's father with the Muhammad b. Hayyan mentioned by al-Khushani as a convert to Ismailism from the Maliki school.

<sup>x</sup> Cf. appendix, no. 2.

<sup>xi</sup> Cf. appendix, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 9.

<sup>xii</sup> Several of these authors and their books are listed only by *Ibn Shahrashub* in his *ma‘alim al-‘ulama’*. *Ibn Shahrashub* also has an entry on al-Nu‘man and names the *K. al-idah* among his books (‘Abbas Iqbal, ed., *Ma‘alim al-‘ulama’*, p. 113). It is evident that the book was available to him and that the authors and books quoted in it were known to him only through this source.

<sup>xiii</sup> Cf. appendix, nos. 5 and 6.

<sup>xiv</sup> Cf. appendix. no. 1.

<sup>xv</sup> Cf. appendix, nos. 2, 10, and 16.

<sup>xvi</sup> Cf. W. Madelung, "Das Imamatus in der fatimidischen Lehre," *Der Islam* 37 (1961): 88, n. 235.

<sup>xvii</sup> Cf. appendix, no. 8.

<sup>xviii</sup> Fol. 22r.

<sup>xix</sup> Fol. 85v.

<sup>xx</sup> *Da‘a‘im*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

<sup>xxi</sup> Al-Nu‘man b. Muhammad, *Ikhtilaf usul al-madhahib*, ed. Mustafa Ghalib (Beirut, 1973), p. 51.

<sup>xxii</sup> Cf. the instructions of al-Mu‘izz in his letter appointing al-Nu‘man as *qadi* in *al-Mansuriyya* in 343/954, quoted in *Ikhtilaf usul al-madhahib*, p. 49.

<sup>xxiii</sup> *Da‘a‘im* Vol. 1, pp. 102, 158, 309, 315, and 404. The share of legal doctrine derived from Zaydi sources in the *Da‘a‘im* is obviously much larger than these explicit quotations would indicate. In quoting *hadiths* also contained in the *K. al-idah*, al-Nu‘man frequently paraphrases, abridges, and combines their text. This gives him some freedom to incorporate material from other sources into apparent statements of the imams or his own comments. For instance, in the quotation of ‘Ali, *Da‘a‘im*, Vol. 1, p. 175 lines 5-6, only the first part (*yastaqbilu ... wa‘l-iqama*) is a (paraphrased) statement of ‘Ali according to the *K. al-idah* (fol. 52r). The second part is in the *K. al-idah* (fol. 52v) part of a statement (also paraphrased in the *Da‘a‘im*) of the Zaydi ‘Alid ‘Abd Allah b. Musa quoted in the *Kutub* of Ibn Sallam on the authority of al-Muradi. (In al-Muradi's *Amali Ahmad b. ‘Isa*, MS Ambrosiana H 115 fol. 24v, it is quoted as a statement of al-Qasim b. Ibrahim. The erroneous substitution of ‘Abd Allah b. Musa for al-Qasim may have been made by Ibn Sallam). The quotation of Qur’an 9: 28, *Da‘a‘im*, Vol. 1, p. 180 line 14, must appear as a continuation of the preceding statement of ‘Ali or as part of a comment of al-Nu‘man, while in the *K. al-idah* (fol. 76) it is part of a statement of al-Qasim b. Ibrahim. Al-Nu‘man seems sometimes careless in his attribution of traditions to Ismaili imams. In *Da‘a‘im*, Vol. 1, p. 178 lines 6-7 he quotes a statement as *‘an Ja‘far b. Muhammad*, ostensibly meaning Imam Ja‘far al-Sadiq, while in the *K. al-idah* (fol. 69r, quoting the *Kutub* of Ibn Sallam) the *isnad* reads... *‘an Ja‘far ya‘ni Ibn Muhammad al-Tabari* (= al-Nayrusi) *‘an Qasim b. Ibrahim*. The same error probably occurred in the quotation *‘an Ja‘far b. Muhammad*, *Da‘a‘im*, Vol. 1, p. 186 lines 12 f. This quotation is missing in the fragment of the *K. al-idah* because of a gap

in the text (fol. 53r). It is, however, identically contained (without the last three words) in the *Amali Ahmad b. 'Isa* with the *isnad* ... 'an Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Tabari (= al-Nayruisi) 'an Qasim b. Ibrahim. The bulk of the Zaydi material in the *Da'a'im* is hidden by the omission of the Zaydi *isnads* for traditions of the Prophet, 'Ali, and other imams recognised by the Ismailis and Imamis, as in the case mentioned in the following note.

<sup>xxiv</sup> *Da'a'im*, Vol. 2, pp. 226 f., nos. 858, 859. In the *Amali Ahmad b. 'Isa*, al-Muradi quotes the *hadith* of the Prophet on the authority of 'Ali (no. 858) with the *isnad* of Ibn Dumayra (text published by E. Griffini, "*Corpus Iuris*" di Zaid Ibn 'Ali [Milan, 1919], p. 332) and the tradition of Imam Ja'far (no. 859) with the *isnad* 'Abbad b. Ya'qub 'an Ibn al-Isbahani (Corpus p. 330, no. 1440). Al-Nu'man no doubt took these traditions from the *Kutub* of Ibn Sallam.

<sup>xxv</sup> Al-Kishshi (al-Kashshi), *Ikhtiyar ma'rifat al-rijal*, ed. Hasan al-Mustafawi (Mashhad, 1348 Sh./1969), pp. 316 f., 375; al-Najashi, *al-Rijal* (Tehran: Chapkhana- yi Mustafawi, n.d.), pp. 109 f.; al-Tusi, *Fihrist kutub al-shi'a*, ed. A. Sprenger et al. (Calcutta, 1853), pp. 116 f.; al-Dhahabi, *Mizan al-i'tidal*, ed. 'Ali Muhammad al-Bijawi (Cairo, 1382/1963), Vol. 1, p. 598; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-tahdhib* (Hyderabad, 1325-27/ 1907-9), Vol. 3, pp. 18 f.

<sup>xxvi</sup> See the entry on *al-Ash'athiyat* in Agha Buzurg al-Tihrani, *al-Dhari'a ila tasanif al-shi'a* (Najaf, 1355/ 1936- ), Vol. 2, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>xxvii</sup> *Al-Ash'athiyat aw al-Ja'fariyat*, lith. (Tehran, 1271/1892); cf. Kh. Mushar, *Fihrist-i kitabhai-y chapi- yi 'arabi* (Tehran, 1337-42/1958-63), col. 60. The work is missing in Brockelman, *GAL* and Sezgin, *GAS*.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 294.

<sup>xxix</sup> Al-Kindi, *Akhbar qudat Misr*, in R. Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb Memorial Series (London, 1912), p. 437.

<sup>xxx</sup> Cf. al-Tusi, *Rijal al-Tusi*, ed. Muhammad Sadiq Al Bahr al-'Ulum (al-Najaf, 1381/1961), pp. 500 ff.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 4, pp. 27 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-mizan* (Hyderabad, 1329-31/1911-13), Vol. 5, p. 362.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 321; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 341.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 21; Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-talib fi ansab al Abi Talib*, ed. Muhammad Hasan al-Taliqani (al-Najaf 1380/1961), p. 232; al-Kishshi, pp. 437, 502.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, *K. ma'alim al-'ulama'*, ed. 'Abbas Iqbal, p. 20.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 190; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 211 f.; al-Kishshi, pp. 345, 562.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Al-Najashi, pp. 171 f.; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 203 f.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> A1-Murtada, *al-Masa'il al-Mayyafariqiyyat*, in MS Tehran University, Central Library, no. 2525, p. 8.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871-72), p. 220; 'Abd Allah al-Halabi read *'Ubayd Allah al-Halabi*.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Al-Najashi, pp. 248 f.; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 303.

<sup>xl</sup> Cf. fol. 39r: *fi kitab al-Halabi al-ma'ruf bi l-masa'il wa-kitabih al-ma'ruf bi l-jami'*.

<sup>xli</sup> Al-Kishshi, p. 488.

<sup>xlii</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, p. 54.

<sup>xliiii</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, p. 103.

<sup>xliiv</sup> See E. Griffini, "Lista di manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano," in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali (RSO)* 8 (1919-21): 249.

<sup>xliiv</sup> On the role of al-Muradi in the transmission of Zaydi *hadith* and doctrine see my book: *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 81 ff.

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- <sup>xlvi</sup> MS Ambrosiana H 115.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> E. Griffini, *Corpus Iuris di Zaid Ibn 'Ali*, p. cvii, n. 1.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> On these traditions see *Der Imam al-Qasim*, p. 133.
- <sup>xlix</sup> On these traditions see *Der Imam al-Qasim*, pp. 131 ff.
- <sup>1</sup> He is mentioned by al-Maqrizi, *Itti'az al-hunafa'*, ed. J. al-Shayyal (Cairo, 1967), Vol. 1, pp. 19f. His brother Isma'il died in Egypt in 274/888, *ibid.*, p. 18.
- <sup>ii</sup> He is mentioned by Ibn 'Inaba, p. 295. He is probably identical with the Zayd b. al-Hasan (thus incorrectly for al-Husayn) al-'Alawi mentioned by Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 3, p. 407.
- <sup>iii</sup> A1-Najashi, p. 234; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 251 f. Al-Tusi, *Rijal* p. 270, states that he transmitted from Imam Ja'far indirectly (*asnada*) and from Imam Musa- directly (*rawa*). This seems to be incorrect.
- <sup>iiii</sup> A1-Barqi, *K. al-rijal*, printed together with Ibn Daud al-Hilli, *K. al-rijal* (Tehran, 1343/1964), p. 42.
- <sup>iv</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 3, p. 337; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan*, Vol. 4, p. 422. He visited Isfahan. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani, *Dhikr akhbar Isfahan*, ed. S. Dederling (Leiden, 1931-34), Vol. 2, p. 150.
- <sup>lv</sup> Al-Hilli, *Khulasat al-aqwal fi ma'rifat al-rijal*, edited under the title *Rijal al-'Allama al-Hilli* by Muhammad Sadiq Al Bahr al-'Ulum (al-Najaf, 1381/ 1961), pp. 245 f.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, p. 80.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 234. On Isma'il b. Aban cf. al-Najashi, pp. 25 f.; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 55. He is considered a reliable (*saduq*) transmitter by Sunnite scholars. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-kubra*, ed. E. Sachau (Leiden, 1905-40), Vol. 6, p. 285; *al-Dhahabi, Mizan*, Vol. 1, p. 213; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 1, pp. 269 f.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Fol. 64v.
- <sup>lix</sup> The MS regularly has the incorrect reading- al-Husayn.
- <sup>lx</sup> Ibn 'Inaba, pp. 308, 310.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Lisan*, Vol. 5, p. 362.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 190; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 212 f.; al-Tusi, *Rijal* p. 353; Ibn Shahrashub, p. 63; al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 3, p. 117; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 7, p. 293.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> He is sometimes omitted.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 15; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 13, al-Hilli, *Khulasa*, p. 5; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan*, Vol. 1, p. 65.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Al-Najashi, pp. 229 f.; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 207 f.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> A1-Najashi, pp. 247 f.; al-Tusi, *Rijal*, pp. 135, 300, 308; al-Kishshi, pp. 161-69.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Fol. 29v.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> A1-Najashi, p. 15; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 13.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Fol. 45r.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Fols. 101v and 105v.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> Fol. 101b.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, p. 20.
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> Cf. Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Maqatil al-Talibiyyin*, ed. Ahmad Saqr (Cairo, 1949), pp. 9, 51, and elsewhere. As in the fragment, al-Khath'ami is quoted relating from 'Abbad b. Ya'qub.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Al-Sam'ani, *al-Ansab*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmin al-Yamani (Hyderabad, 1962), Vol. 1, p. 274.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> A-Tusi, *Rijal*, p. 500.
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> A1-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 176 f.; Ibn Shahrashub, p. 78; al-Najashi, p. 225.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 2, pp. 379 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 5, pp. 109 f.

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- <sup>lxxviii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 247; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 313 f.; al-Tusi, *Rijal*, p. 298.
- <sup>lxxix</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 247; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 202 where al-Tusi quotes the book with the *isnad*: ... al-Tal‘ukbari-Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Hafsa (read thus for Ja‘far) al-Khath‘ami-‘Abbad b. Ya‘qub-‘Ubayd b. Muhammad b. Qays al-Bajali ‘*an abih*.
- <sup>lxxx</sup> Fol. 26v.
- <sup>lxxxi</sup> Fol. 112v.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 5.
- <sup>lxxxiii</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 1, pp. 483 ff.: on p. 484, line 7 he is called al-Ansari; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan*, Vol. 2, pp. 199 f.
- <sup>lxxxiv</sup> Van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imamat Zaidite au Yemen*, p. 318.
- <sup>lxxxv</sup> Abu l-Faraj, *Maqatil*, p. 354.
- <sup>lxxxvi</sup> Al-Najashi, pp. 40 f.
- <sup>lxxxvii</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 3, p. 151; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan*, Vol. 4, p. 249.
- <sup>lxxxviii</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 3, pp. 634 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 9, p. 321.
- <sup>lxxxix</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 8, pp. 10 f.
- <sup>xc</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, p. 32.
- <sup>xc i</sup> Ibn Shahrashub, p. 105.
- <sup>xc ii</sup> Al-Najashi, pp. 250 f.; al-Kishshi, pp. 589-92; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 265 f.
- <sup>xc iii</sup> See F. Rosenthal, s.v. "Abu Nu‘aym al-Mula‘i," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1951-).
- <sup>xc iv</sup> Fol. 70v: *Ahmad b. Husayn b. ‘Ulwan ‘an Abi Khalid* most likely is to be read *Ahmad ‘an Husayn*. ... This is the common *isnad* of Muhammad b. Mansur al-Muradi for traditions of Zayd b. ‘Ali.
- <sup>xc v</sup> *Der Imam al-Qasim*, pp. 80 f.
- <sup>xc vi</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 3, pp. 424 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 10, pp. 3 f.
- <sup>xc vii</sup> The MS (fol. 90r) has erroneously *b. Abi Muzahim*.
- <sup>xc viii</sup> Griffini, *Corpus*, pp. xci ff.
- <sup>xc ix</sup> Griffini, *Corpus*, pp. cxx ff.
- <sup>c</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 4, p. 429 f.
- <sup>ci</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 2, p. 139; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 4, p. 35.
- <sup>cii</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 2, p. 325; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 4, pp. 450 ff.
- <sup>ciii</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 1, pp. 458 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 2, pp. 196 ff.
- <sup>civ</sup> The MS (fol. 110r) has erroneously *Sa‘id ‘an Abi ‘Aruba*.
- <sup>cv</sup> Al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 2, pp. 151 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 4, p. 63.
- <sup>cvi</sup> Van Arendonk, *Les débuts*, p. 318.
- <sup>cvi i</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 9, pp. 316 f.
- <sup>cvi ii</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 11, pp. 430 f.
- <sup>cix</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 7, pt. 2, p. 70; al-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, Vol. 4, pp. 306 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, Vol. 11, pp. 59 ff.
- <sup>cx</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 71; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 31; Ibn Shahrashub, p. 12.
- <sup>cx i</sup> Al-Kishshi, p. 566.
- <sup>cx ii</sup> Al-Najashi, p. 322; al-Tusi, *Fihrist*, pp. 332 f.; al-Tusi, *Rijal*, p. 310; Ibn Shahrashub, p. 108.
- <sup>cx iii</sup> Fol. 2a.