

## Revelation and Falsification

# Texts and Studies on the Qur'ān

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# Revelation and Falsification

The *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* of Aḥmad b.  
Muḥammad al-Sayyārī

*Critical Edition with  
an Introduction and Notes  
by*

Etan Kohlberg  
and  
Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi



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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the early ‘Abbāsid period a number of Muslim scholars, both Sunnī and Shī‘ī, composed works specifically devoted to variant readings of the Qur’ān. Most of these works are now known to us only by name or from citations in later sources. One of the earliest to have survived in its entirety is the work presented in this volume, the *Kitāb al-qirā’āt* (= *KQ*) by the Shī‘ī author Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī (3rd/9th century). This composition, also known as *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-tahrīf* (The Book of Revelation and Falsification [of the Qur’ān]) or *al-Taḥsīn* (Commentary on the Qur’ān), is among the oldest Imāmī Shī‘ī texts to have reached us. For some Shī‘īs the subject of *qirā’āt* has an even greater significance than for the Sunnīs. These are Shī‘īs who believe that the text of the Qur’ān was intentionally corrupted in order to delete all reference to the rights of ‘Alī and his successors. Such views, though not often expressed in recent decades, were widely held in the first centuries of Islam. In the work presented here, al-Sayyārī quotes many passages from the Qur’ān where the text is alleged to have been altered. For this reason, *KQ* is of major importance both for the doctrinal history of Shī‘ism and, more generally, for the history of the redaction of the Qur’ān.

Copies of the first two manuscripts of *KQ* which we saw (mss. M and T) were obtained by Amir-Moezzi, and it was as a result of his initiative that, in 2002, we began the preparation of an edition. Working jointly, we produced a first draft of the Arabic text, and tracked down a few of the Shī‘ī sources in which similar material appears. At this stage, we gained access to copies of two further manuscripts (mss. B and L), which necessitated a major revision of the text. This work, together with the composition of the Notes, was carried out by Kohlberg. We divided up the writing of the Introduction: sections 1 to 3 are by Amir-Moezzi, and 4 to 6 are by Kohlberg.

It is our pleasant duty to thank those who have contributed to the making of this book (although it goes without saying that we alone are responsible for all errors and oversights). Photocopies of the manuscripts were supplied to us both by the officials of various Iranian

libraries and by some of our Iranian colleagues. We would like to express to all these our heartfelt gratitude for their generosity, and to salute here their devotion to the spirit of disinterested scholarship and international cooperation. Frank Stewart gave the entire text written by Kohlberg a close reading and, as so often in the past, made numerous suggestions that have improved both its style and content. Simon Hopkins and Wilferd Madelung willingly responded to questions relating to the Arabic text. Others who have helped us in various ways include Meir M. Bar-Asher, Rémy Boucharlat, Rainer Brunner, Michael Cook, Patricia Crone, Hassan Farhang Ansari, Gerd Graßhoff, Fariborz Hakami, Isaac Hasson, Bernard Haykel, Philippe Hoffmann, Judith Loebenstein-Witztum, Sabine Schmidtke, and the staffs of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. We are grateful to our editors Jane Dammen McAuliffe and Gerhard Böwering for their helpful advice. Special thanks go to our families for their patient support throughout the years in which work on this project was in progress.



## INTRODUCTION\*

The prophet Mānī, presenting himself as a successor of Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus, put forward in *Shābūrgān*—the only Iranian text attributed to him—two main reasons for the decadence and corruption of past religions. The first is that each messenger preached only in his own country and his own language. The second reason is that these messengers did not write down their teachings in a book *ne varietur*, as a result of which these teachings remained intact only as long as the messengers were alive; upon their death the community, having split into sects, falsified these sacred texts and led religion into decadence.<sup>1</sup> Mānī thus shares with the modern scholar certain fundamental notions regarding scriptures: these are that scriptures are subject to changes due to social, geographic and linguistic factors, historical events, the vagaries of reception and of the writing of transmission; in short, that they have a history and that the alteration of the prophetic message, its “falsification” according to Mānī, is an integral part of this history. The concept of alteration also lies at the heart of the text of al-Sayyārī, and will be addressed in the following pages. The aim is to place the text of al-Sayyārī within the broader context of early discussions and polemical debates on the Qur’ānic text held between Muslim scholars of various political-religious persuasions. These fruitful exchanges, revealing an unexpected plurality of views, were passed over in silence by later “orthodoxy”, for obvious ideological reasons.

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\* An earlier version of the Introduction was published in French (Amir-Moezzi-Kohlberg, “Révélation et falsification”).

<sup>1</sup> See Schmidt, *Kephalaia*, pp. 7–8; Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, p. 12; Puech, *Manichéisme*, pp. 88–89. See also the accounts in Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 207 (cf. pp. 23 and 27) = Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 190.

1. *Issues Raised by Western Studies*

The notion of the falsification of sacred scriptures of the past is known from the Qur'ān itself (e.g. Q 2:59, 2:75, 2:159, 2:174, 4:46, 6:91 and other verses which are often interpreted in this sense). The Qur'ān may, either directly or indirectly, have inherited it from the Manichaeans, or perhaps from the pagans (Celsus, Porphyry, Emperor Julian), the Christians (Tatian, Marcion), the Samaritans and the Ebionites, all of whom used this notion to discredit their adversaries and their adversaries' scriptures.<sup>2</sup> The issue of falsification of the revelations received by the Prophet Muḥammad is of course closely linked to the history of the Qur'ān and the date at which it was put into writing. Evidently, the nearer the definitive redaction of the text is to the time of revelation, the lesser the risk of alteration. This is the main reason why the most widespread "orthodox" traditions maintain that the decision to collect the Qur'ān was made during the time of Abū Bakr, just after the Prophet's death in 11/632, and that the official version, completely faithful to the revelations received by Muḥammad, was produced during the caliphate of 'Uthmān, barely thirty years after the death of the Prophet. Against this background it is important to investigate when and under what circumstances the Qur'ān was put into writing in the form conventionally known as the 'Uthmānic codex.

It would be natural to turn first to the manuscript tradition of the Qur'ān, but thus far this has not proved very helpful. There is no autograph of Muḥammad<sup>3</sup> or his scribes. The oldest complete manuscripts of the Qur'ān probably go back to the 3rd/9th century; there are some rare older manuscripts of parts of the Qur'ān, but their fragmentary nature makes precise dating difficult. The few fragments which have come down to us on papyrus or parchment have been dated by some scholars to the end of the first or beginning of the second century *hijra*, but this dating is not accepted by all. For over a century now, no particular theory about the date of the earliest manuscripts has gained unanimous scholarly approval.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Andrae, *Origines*, pp. 203–204; Caspar, "Textes"; Baarda, "Harmonization"; Stroumsa, *Savoir*, pp. 238–242; Petersen, *Diatessaron*, pp. 75–76; Simon, "Mānī", pp. 134–138; Hengel, *Gospels*, pp. 24ff.; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Taḥrīf" (H. Lazarus-Yafeh).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning "illiterate" given to the term *ummī* and hence the dogma of the illiteracy of the Prophet are almost certainly late. See Goldfeld, "Prophet"; Calder, "Ummī"; Rubin, *Beholder*, pp. 23–30 and index, s.v. *ummī*.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *GdQ*, III, pp. 249–274 (chapter 3: "Die Koranhandschriften"); Grohmann,

In looking for an answer, we therefore have to turn to other sources of information, beginning with studies of the historical philology of the Qur'ānic text, which in turn form part of the critical study of the history of writing in Islam. Already in the 19th century, Alois Sprenger, in his famous biography of Muḥammad, opted for the late dating of book production strictly speaking, distinguishing between notes or aide-mémoires, which are very old, and actual books, which he dated to the 2nd–3rd/8th–9th centuries.<sup>5</sup> This thesis was taken up and elaborated by Ignaz Goldziher in his masterly study on the formation and development of the corpus of Ḥadīth.<sup>6</sup> It was subjected to criticism, some of it justified;<sup>7</sup> yet it remained predominant among scholars until the mid-20th century.<sup>8</sup> A turning point was reached in the 1960s, when serious doubts arose concerning the theory of the “late book”. One reason for these doubts was the publication of two monumental works arguing that Muslim scholars systematically wrote down texts from a very early period. The first of these works was *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* by Nabia Abbott,<sup>9</sup> the second Fuat Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. The authors of both works maintained that Arabs wrote down poetry as early as the pre-Islamic period, and that a written corpus began to develop from the advent of Islam and particularly during the Umayyad period, i.e. approximately between 40/660 and 132/750. This view regarding the antiquity of the book was subjected to lengthy and learned discussions, particularly in Germany. Among its critics one may cite Rudolf Sellheim and Stefan Leder.<sup>10</sup> Others, including Manfred Fleischhammer, Walter Werkmeister and Sebastian Günther, opted for the antiquity of certain forms of systematic writing, without going so far as to defend the theses of Abbott and Sezgin.<sup>11</sup> Gregor Schoeler, a

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“Dating”; Déroche, *Manuscripts*, introduction; idem, “Siècle”, particularly pp. 343–365; idem, *Livre*, pp. 13–18; Neuwirth, “Koran”, p. 112; Puin, “Observations”; Motzki, “Collection”, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Sprenger, *Muḥammad*, III, pp. xciii–civ. See also idem, “Traditionswesen”, pp. 5–6.

<sup>6</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, pp. 15–251 (“On the Development of the Ḥadīth”).

<sup>7</sup> As implicitly in the case of Martin Hartmann; see his “Handschriften”, pp. 240ff.

<sup>8</sup> The most important studies defending the thesis of the late dating of books include Schacht, “Revaluation”; idem, *Origins*, passim; idem, “Maghāzī”, pp. 290–293; Sauvaget, *Introduction*, pp. 29–31; Blachère, *Histoire*, I, pp. 100–105, 136–140.

<sup>9</sup> Abbott, *Studies*; see also idem, *Rise*.

<sup>10</sup> Sellheim, *Materialien*, I, pp. 33–43; idem, “Offenbarungserlebnis”; Leder, *Korpus*.

<sup>11</sup> Fleischhammer, *Quellen* (a revised version of the author's *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-aḡānī*, Habilitationsschrift, Halle, 1965); Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen*, pp. 348, 465ff.; Günther, *Maqātil*; idem, “Results”.

specialist on the transmission of texts in Islam, has considerably refined the approach to the problem in numerous articles published mainly in the journal *Der Islam*. Introducing the pair *syngamma-hypomnēma* borrowed from the Greek, Schoeler makes (inter alia) an apt distinction between the act of “writing”, which does not always imply a written publication, and the later act of “publishing”, which for a long period only occurs orally.<sup>12</sup>

The second reason for doubting the theory of the “late book” was the discovery and publication, in the past few decades, of a large number of early sources, some of them of considerable size and dating mainly from the second half of the 2nd/8th century, such as *al-Ridda wa-l-futūḥ* by Sayf b. ‘Umar (d. ca. 180/796),<sup>13</sup> *al-Muṣannaf* by ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Šan‘ānī (d. 211/827) and *al-Muṣannaf fī l-aḥādīth wa-l-āthār* by Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849).<sup>14</sup> The existence of such large-scale systematic works seems to indicate that the literary tradition of writing is very old and goes back at least to the beginning of the second or even to the late first century *hijra*.

Similar questions are faced by specialists of the text and history of the redaction of the Qur’ān. One of the main problems here is the gap between the date traditionally given for the definitive recording of the Qur’ān in writing (during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate, 23–35/644–656) and the earliest sources in which this date is mentioned. Attempts to come to grips with this problem gave rise to two main methodological approaches: the hypercritical and the critical, to use Schoeler’s terminology.<sup>15</sup> The following is a very brief survey of some key arguments and important figures associated with these two approaches.

The hypercritical method is used by scholars who either totally or almost totally reject the Muslim textual tradition. The points raised by these scholars include the following: the transmission of a written text is subject to the wear and tear of time, and contradictions exist in the transmission of works by even a single author; there is no independent

<sup>12</sup> Schoeler, “Frage”; idem, “Weiteres”; idem, “Thora”; idem, “Schreiben”; idem, *Charakter*, index, s.vv. *hypomnēmata*, *syngamma*; idem, *Ecrire*, passim and especially the Introduction.

<sup>13</sup> For the debate regarding the attribution of this work to Sayf see Landau-Tasseron, “Sayf”; Sāmarrāī, “Reappraisal”.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Shāhīn’s edition of Ibn Abī Shayba’s work, which is the one used here, comprises nine volumes; so does the edition of S.M. al-Laḥḥām, Beirut, 1409/1989. The Hyderabad, 1386–1403/1966–1983 edition comprises 15 volumes.

<sup>15</sup> Schoeler, *Ecrire*, pp. 10–12; cf. idem, *Charakter*, pp. 9–25.

authority guaranteeing the authenticity of the transmission; there are historically implausible reports, accounts that are clearly legendary, and so on. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, Leone Caetani in his now classic *Annali* and Henri Lammens in a famous, rather polemical study on the *Sīra* of the Prophet, adopted this approach.<sup>16</sup> They were followed by the Arabist and Syriacist Alphonse Mingana, beginning with his study on the transmission of the Qur'ān.<sup>17</sup> Taking up and considerably elaborating on the theories of Paul Casanova concerning the fundamental role played by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) and his governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in establishing the final recension of the Qur'ān,<sup>18</sup> Mingana emphasized the unreliable character of Islamic sources regarding the history of the redaction of the Qur'ān. In his view, a gap of almost two centuries separates the time of the Prophet from the oldest sources which provide accounts of the writing down of the Qur'ān, namely the *Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845) and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870).<sup>19</sup> Mingana meticulously examined a number of Syriac sources of oriental Christian provenance composed during the first two centuries of Islam, concluding that an official version of the Qur'ān could not have existed before the end of the seventh century C.E. and that this version, called the 'Uthmānic codex, must be dated to the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.

The hypercritical approach was shared by other renowned scholars such as Joseph Schacht<sup>20</sup> and Régis Blachère,<sup>21</sup> culminating in the two celebrated books by John Wansbrough: *Quranic Studies* and *The Sectarian Milieu*. Like his predecessors, Wansbrough rejects outright the historicity of traditional Muslim accounts on the recension of the Qur'ān and assumes that the Qur'ān could not have reached its definitive shape before the end of the 2nd/8th or beginning of the 3rd/9th century. For reasons which will be mentioned below, this very late dating was subsequently dismissed not only by opponents of the hypercritical method,

<sup>16</sup> Caetani, *Annali*, I, pp. 28ff., 57; Lammens, "Qoran".

<sup>17</sup> Mingana, "Transmission".

<sup>18</sup> Casanova, *Mohammed*, pp. 103–142.

<sup>19</sup> Mingana could not of course have known that after his time much older sources (such as those referred to above) would be discovered.

<sup>20</sup> See above, note 8. Schacht, to be precise, applied this method to the study of Ḥadīth. Curiously enough, he did not challenge the view that the Qur'ān may go back to Muḥammad or that it could constitute the best source for studying Muḥammad's life.

<sup>21</sup> Especially in *Mahomet*.

but also by Wansbrough's continuators on the methodological level, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook. Basing themselves on the inscriptions at the Dome of the Rock and in particular on non-Islamic works, they arrived in effect at the same conclusion as Mingana regarding the dating of the final official version of the Qur'ān, namely the period of 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>22</sup>

For their part, upholders of the critical method consider it possible, on the basis of scientific examination, to make judicious distinctions, within the Islamic textual tradition, between accounts that are more or less credible and those that are not. Here the main problem is of course finding adequate criteria for making such distinctions. Determining the political-religious orientation of a particular author or the environment in which a particular text emerged could serve as one such criterion. The critical method was adopted by most great scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries. They include, first of all, Theodor Nöldeke who, in his renowned *Geschichte des Qorāns* (published in 1860), accepted the traditional Muslim account of the history of the Qur'ān; in this he was followed by the continuators of his work, Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl. However, Friedrich Schwally, author of the revised edition of the book (1909–1938), following the methods which Goldziher applied to the study of Ḥadīth, rejected a good number of traditional accounts (such as the one about the first collection being made by Abū Bakr, or the account about the Qurashī dialect of the Qur'ān). He only retained the theses that a substantial part of the Qur'ān was given its final form during the days of the Prophet himself and that the definitive collection of the Qur'ān took place during 'Uthmān's caliphate.<sup>23</sup> The critical approach was to find some distinguished defenders in Great Britain. Thus Richard Bell considered the verses as the original units of revelation and advocated the theory that there were numerous revisions of the Qur'ān at a very early period, for the most part immediately

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<sup>22</sup> Crone-Cook, *Hagarism*, pp. 17–18 and especially the relevant notes; cf. also Cook, *Koran*, chapters 11 and 13. For the application of the hypercritical method to the study of the history of early Islam see Crone, *Slaves*; eadem, *Trade*; Cook, *Dogma*; idem, *Muhammad*; see also Hawting, "Origins"; idem, *Dynasty*; Chabbi, *Seigneur*. For the application of this method to the history and text of the Qur'ān see Lüling, *Ur-Qur'ān* (earlier than Wansbrough); Rippin, *Qur'ān*.

<sup>23</sup> *GdQ*, II (= F. Schwally, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns*), pp. 1–121; Schwally, "Betrachtungen". Schwally's analyses were at least partially taken up by Angelika Neuwirth, for example in her *Mekkanische Sureen*. See also the critical approach of Weil, *Einleitung*, pp. 55ff.

after the death of Muḥammad.<sup>24</sup> Bell was followed by Montgomery Watt<sup>25</sup> and Robert B. Serjeant.<sup>26</sup> Another British scholar, John Burton, adopted the critical approach in one of his books, *The Collection of the Qurʾān*, published in 1977, the same year as Wansbrough's *Quranic Studies*. Although both scholars base themselves on the methods of Goldziher and Schacht in questioning the credibility of the Islamic tradition concerning the dating and final redaction of the Qurʾān, Burton reaches entirely different conclusions from Wansbrough. Accounts according to which the codex was first collected during Abū Bakr's time and then during the time of ʿUthmān are rejected by Burton as ideologically motivated inventions of later jurists; instead he makes a distinction between a very old "Qurʾān document" and a later "Qurʾān source",<sup>27</sup> concluding that the Qurʾānic text as we know it was put together in the time of Muḥammad himself.

Among the many proponents of the critical method one may also mention Alford T. Welch,<sup>28</sup> Rudi Paret<sup>29</sup> and Gregor Schoeler, who in this field clearly sees himself as a continuator of Nöldeke.<sup>30</sup> Schoeler rejects Wansbrough's hypotheses on the definitive recension of the Qurʾān with reference to a famous Qurʾān fragment from Ṣanʿāʾ and the findings of the study group led by Gerd-R. Puin. This group, using the carbon-14 dating technique, suggested that this Ṣanʿāʾ manuscript was written between 37/657 and 71/690, thus not long after the time of ʿUthmān.<sup>31</sup> The problem is that, for want of a scientific edition, it is still not known whether the numerous fragments of this manuscript represent the entire text of the Qurʾān. Remarkably, several decades after the discovery of this Qurʾān Puin and his colleagues have only published a few brief articles on this subject.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Bell, *Qurʾān*, especially the introduction.

<sup>25</sup> Watt, "Dating"; idem, *Bell's Introduction*; idem, *Mecca*, introduction.

<sup>26</sup> Serjeant, "Prose".

<sup>27</sup> Burton, *Collection*, pp. 187, 225–240.

<sup>28</sup> *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Qurʾān" (V, pp. 400–429); idem, "Understanding".

<sup>29</sup> Paret, *Übersetzung*; idem, *Kommentar*.

<sup>30</sup> Schoeler, *Ecrire*, pp. 12–14. See also his other works cited above, note 12.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Schoeler, *Ecrire*, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> Notably Puin, "Methods"; idem, "Observations"; von Bothmer, "Wege". The reason given for the paucity of studies on this manuscript is the reserved attitude of the Yemeni authorities and the many obstacles they place before scholars. Is it not because this manuscript contains significant variants in relation to the official version of the Qurʾān? The studies mentioned earlier in this note gingerly point out a few: apart from some minor orthographic and lexicographical variants, 22 % of the 926 groups of fragments studied present a sequence of Sūras completely different from that known

The method of those upholding the critical approach may be summarized as follows: an early source or tradition should be considered authentic and its contents trustworthy as long as no specific reason for rejecting it has been found. Michael Cook, the well-known representative of the hypercritical method, states that this may be the right approach, but notes that “it may equally be the case that we are nearer the mark in rejecting whatever we do not have specific reason to accept”.<sup>33</sup> Harald Motzki, representing the critical approach, nicely illustrates the major differences among Western scholars concerning the dating of the final version of the Qur’ān by reporting, in chronological order, the conclusions which four leading scholars reached in their studies: Schwally dates this version to the time of the caliph ‘Uthmān; Mingana, to the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik; Wansbrough, to the beginning of the 3rd/9th century; and Burton, to the lifetime of the prophet Muḥammad.<sup>34</sup>

Apart from issues raised by the Islamic textual tradition, other elements, pertaining to the Qur’ānic text itself, have also proved problematic for Arabists. Such is the case with words and expressions whose meaning is obscure, not only for modern specialists but also for medieval Muslim scholars. The numerous commentaries composed by these scholars record a wide variety of different interpretations of Qur’ānic words and phrases, revealing uncertainty if not downright ignorance of the meaning. This is the case for example with the expression *jizya ‘an yad* (Q 9:29), whose critical analysis ranges from the pioneering study by Franz Rosenthal<sup>35</sup> to the recent detailed examination by Uri Rubin.<sup>36</sup> The journal *Arabica* served for years as a forum for learned discussions about this expression, with contributions by Claude Cahen, Meir M. Bravmann and Meir J. Kister.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the various ways in which the exegetes explain the word *ilāf* in Sūra 106 (Quraysh)

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today; the division into verses corresponds to none of the twenty-one known systems. It is striking that the sequence of Sūras is very similar to that of the codices of Ubayy and Ibn Mas‘ūd, both of which were held in particularly high esteem by the ‘Alids. See also the comments in Cook, *Koran*, p. 120; Fedeli, “Manuscripts”.

<sup>33</sup> Cook, *Muhammad*, p. 67.

<sup>34</sup> Motzki, “Collection”, p. 12. See also the overview by Fück, “Qur’āntext”.

<sup>35</sup> Rosenthal, “Problems”, pp. 68–72.

<sup>36</sup> Rubin, “‘An yadin”; see now idem, “Qur’ān and Poetry”.

<sup>37</sup> Cahen, “Coran IX-29”; Bravmann, “Qur’ān IX-29”; idem, “Background” (these two articles were revised and updated in idem, *Islam*); Kister, “‘An yadin”.



have been discussed by Birkeland, Cook, Crone and Rubin.<sup>38</sup> The exegetical uncertainty over the term *kalāla* (Q 4:12) was subjected to a detailed examination by David Powers in several articles,<sup>39</sup> and the problematic character of the term *al-ṣamad* in Sūra 112 (*al-Ikhlāṣ*) was noted by Rosenthal, Paret, Schedl, Rubin, Ambros and others.<sup>40</sup> One could add to the list the word *ḥanīf*, the famous “opening letters” (*al-fawātiḥ*) of some Sūras,<sup>41</sup> the terms *abābil*, *sijjil* and *al-qārīʿa*, and many more.<sup>42</sup> The kind of problems faced by Muslim commentators and modern philologists alike can be demonstrated by a particularly significant case: the word *kawthar*, which appears in the very short Sūra 108, of which it is also the title. In a recent suggestive article, Claude Gilliot has shown that the great theologian and Qurʾān commentator al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) was unsure of its meaning, putting forward four hypotheses in his *Taʾwīlāt al-qurʾān*: (1) abundance (as a metaphor for Muḥammad’s prophetic mission); (2) a river in paradise; (3) something mysterious which God gave Muḥammad and about which others have no knowledge; (4) a word borrowed from ancient books (*al-kutub al-mutaqaddima*).<sup>43</sup> Before al-Māturīdī, the theologian Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d. 200/816 or 201/817), cited by al-Thaʿlabī in his *al-Kaṣḥf wa-l-bayān*, considered *kawthar* to be “a word originating in (the books of) ancient prophecy and meaning preference/election” (*ḥuwa kalima min al-nubuwwa al-ūlā wa-maʿnāhā al-ūthār*).<sup>44</sup> As Gilliot notes, the term is a *crux interpretum* which Muslim scholars, as well as Western experts and translators of the Qurʾān, have had difficulty understanding. He believes that the view attributed to al-Aṣamm, as well as the last hypothesis put forward by al-Māturīdī, support the theory advanced by Chris-

<sup>38</sup> Birkeland, pp. 102–121; Cook, *Muhammad*, pp. 71–73; Crone, *Trade*, pp. 205–211 and index; Rubin, “Īlāf”.

<sup>39</sup> Powers, “Law”; idem, “Will”; idem, “Abrogation” (articles revised and updated in idem, *Studies*).

<sup>40</sup> Rosenthal, “Problems”, pp. 72–83; Köbert, “Gottesepitheton”; Newby, “Ikhlāṣ”; Paret, “Ausdruck”; Schedl, “Probleme”; Rubin, “Ṣamad”; Ambros, “Analyse”; Cuypers, “Lecture”.

<sup>41</sup> For *ḥanīf*, see e.g. Gil, “Opposition”; idem, “Creed”; Rubin, “Ḥanīfiyya”. For the “opening letters”, see e.g. Bellamy, “Letters”.

<sup>42</sup> Cook, *Koran*, pp. 136–138. See also Torrey, “Passages”; Bellamy, “Emendations”. The *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* is an excellent reference work for these words and expressions, as well as for the questions which they raise. See further Puin, “Leuke Kome”.

<sup>43</sup> Māturīdī, X, p. 627.

<sup>44</sup> Gilliot, “Embarras”, pp. 52–54. Gilliot explains that *ūthār* refers to the choice or election of the Biblical prophets (“Embarras”, p. 53, note 127).

toph Luxenberg about the Syriac provenance of *kawthar*. According to Luxenberg, this word has remained incomprehensible because it is an Arabicized deformation of a Syriac term (*kuttārā*/*kuṭārā*) meaning stability, persistence, perseverance. In general, all of Sūra 108, highly enigmatic if not unintelligible, is a deformation of a Syriac liturgy in his view.<sup>45</sup> Without necessarily accepting all of these points of view, one can appreciate how this example illustrates the scope of the problem and the numerous possible avenues of investigation.

As concerns the evolution of the redaction of the Qur'ān, the fundamental question is this: why is it that Muslim scholars from a very early period, namely a few decades after the Prophet's death, did not know (or no longer knew) the meaning of these words, expressions and "opening letters"? In his book on the Qur'ān, Michael Cook puts forward two possible answers: either the materials which make up the Qur'ān did not become available as a scripture until several decades after the Prophet's death; or else, much of what appears in the Qur'ān was already old by the time of the Prophet.<sup>46</sup> The precise reasons for this phenomenon remain far from clear, though it can be assumed that the redaction of the Qur'ān proceeded by successive waves. This will be discussed further below.

Another break with the Qur'ānic text concerns the legal field. In his pathbreaking work, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Joseph Schacht notes that Islamic law from the second century *hijra* onwards is surprisingly non-Qur'ānic.<sup>47</sup> Subsequent studies have argued that less than a century after the days of the Prophet, important aspects of the law had become not only non-Qur'ānic (as maintained by Schacht) but at times squarely anti-Qur'ānic. These studies include John Burton on the laws of inheritance, the rights of widows and the stoning of adulterers;<sup>48</sup> David Powers on the laws of inheritance;<sup>49</sup> Harald Motzki on the *muḥṣanāt*/*muḥṣināt* of Q 4:24;<sup>50</sup> Gerald Hawting on the rights of a divorced woman during her "waiting period" (*ʿidda*);<sup>51</sup> Patricia Crone

<sup>45</sup> Luxenberg, *Lesart*, pp. 269ff. For a critical review of this book see Hopkins, "Review". For an anthropological and historical interpretation of Sūra 108 see Chabbi, *Seigneur*, pp. 240–246 and notes (pp. 555–556, 572). See also Saleh, *Formation*, pp. 119–124; van Reeth, "Vignoble"; the Notes to *KQ* no. 702.

<sup>46</sup> Cook, *Koran*, pp. 137–138.

<sup>47</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, p. 5 and passim.

<sup>48</sup> Burton, *Collection*, pp. 55, 61, 72–85.

<sup>49</sup> See above, note 39.

<sup>50</sup> Motzki, "Muḥṣanāt".

<sup>51</sup> Hawting, "Role".

on the word *kitāb* in Q 24:33, here meaning “marriage contract”.<sup>52</sup> In all the cases studied, the overall impression is that the Qur’ānic injunctions or those attributed to Muḥammad were disregarded or never implemented. Possible reasons may include the late and non-consensual final redaction of the Qur’ān and the extensive use of *ra’y* (the personal opinion of the jurist which is not directly based on the Qur’ān). The question remains open.

Problems of this nature underlie the hypercritical approach. It will be useful to summarize here the theses of its most radical and best known proponent, John Wansbrough.<sup>53</sup> In his view, the Qur’ān originated neither in Arabia nor in Islam. The Arabs had not established a new religious community of their own when they left their homeland to conquer other territories. It was outside Arabia that they found, after the conquests, a “sectarian milieu” in the Middle East, more precisely in ‘Irāq, and began gradually to adopt this milieu and adapt it to themselves by rewriting its history and “Arabicizing” its evolution. In this manner, the Qur’ān emerged from a variety of sources in a process in which the popular preachers (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣāṣ*) played a major role. Indeed, the popular sermon is said to have been the means both for transmitting and explicating the so-called prophetic sayings, which largely derived from this sectarian milieu. The Qur’ān, which owed its origin to this composite material, only very gradually detached itself from it. It took shape at such a slow pace that the date of its definitive version cannot be earlier than ca. 184/800, during the early ‘Abbāsid period.

Although Wansbrough’s arguments are often convincing and his theories pertinent and evocative, his dating of the final version of the Qur’ān no longer seems tenable. The reasons, in addition to those given above, have to do with certain discoveries in the fields of codicology, archaeology and epigraphy: apart from the Ṣan‘ā’ manuscript, there is the fragment from Khirbet el-Mird described by Grohmann and identified by Kister as comprising a citation of Q 3:102–103; the fragment thus seems to prove that a fixed text already existed towards the end of the Umayyad period.<sup>54</sup> Another pointer in this direction is the Nubian papyrus datable to 141/758, analysed and translated by Hinds and Sakkout, which contains two Qur’ānic citations preceded

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<sup>52</sup> Crone, “Problems”.

<sup>53</sup> In his two above-mentioned works, *Quranic Studies* and *Sectarian Milieu*.

<sup>54</sup> Grohmann, *Papyri*, especially pp. xi–xii; Kister, “Fragment”.

by the formula “And God, may He be glorified and exalted, says in His book”.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, coins dating from the Umayyad period and studied by Crone and Hinds identify Muḥammad as Messenger of God or include Qur’ānic quotations.<sup>56</sup> To this there may be added the literary tradition and some textual evidence. Reports about the systematic collection of the Qur’ān, especially during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ‘Uthmān, are found in sources as early as the above-mentioned *al-Ridda wa-l-futūḥ* by Sayf b. ‘Umar,<sup>57</sup> the *al-Ĵāmi‘* by ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812),<sup>58</sup> the *Musnad* by al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204/820),<sup>59</sup> and *Kitāb faḍā’il al-qur’ān* by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. al-Sallām (d. 224/838).<sup>60</sup> In “The Collection of the Qur’ān”, Motzki convincingly demonstrates that almost all of these reports go back to the scholar and traditionist Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742).<sup>61</sup> This again takes us back to the time of the first Marwānid Umayyads, as Mingana had maintained.<sup>62</sup> Though this is quite an early date, it is nevertheless many decades later than the time of the third caliph. These decades witnessed rapid changes which under other conditions would have taken centuries, given the enormous consequences of the civil wars and the great and brilliant conquests that transformed the face of history and deeply influenced the mentality of early Muslims.

## 2. Information, Doubts and Contradictions in Islamic Sources

Not unlike Western research, the Islamic textual tradition also exhibits much disagreement. The conflicting views seem to indicate that the definitive recording of the Qur’ān in writing was much later than Muslim “orthodoxy” was eventually to claim.

<sup>55</sup> Hinds-Sakkout, “Letter”, especially p. 218.

<sup>56</sup> Crone-Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, pp. 24–26. See also Cook, *Dogma*, pp. 16–18 and, more recently, Déroche, “Colonnes”, pp. 227–230.

<sup>57</sup> For reports about the collection of the Qur’ān, see Sayf, *Ridda*, pp. 48ff., especially nos. 50, 52.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Wahb, *Ĵāmi‘/‘Ulūm*, pp. 274–279 (fōl 5b–6b).

<sup>59</sup> Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> There are three editions of this work: ed. W.S. Ghāwījī, Beirut, 1411/1991 (in two volumes); ed. A. al-Khayyāfī, al-Muḥammadiyya (Morocco), 1415/1995 (used in the Notes); ed. M. al-‘Aṭiyya et al., Damascus, 1415/1995. For the question discussed here, see the first two chapters of Abū ‘Ubayd’s work.

<sup>61</sup> Motzki, “Collection”, pp. 22–29.

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 5.

Let us first briefly examine the most widespread account in Islamic tradition on the collection and writing down of the Qur'ān.<sup>63</sup> According to the predominant version of this account, at the time of the Prophet's death there was no complete codex of the Qur'ān, let alone one which had been authorized by him. Extracts of differing length and written on various materials were kept by his Companions. On the advice of the future second caliph 'Umar a first recension was initiated by the first caliph Abū Bakr and, after initial reluctance, was compiled by the Prophet's scribe Zayd b. Thābit. The resulting exemplar was what tradition often refers to as "the codex between the two boards" (*al-muṣḥaf alladhī mā bayn al-daffatayn*). After 'Umar's death this copy remained in the possession of his family as his daughter Ḥafṣa, one of the Prophet's wives, inherited it. Besides this codex other corpora were produced, due to initiatives taken by some major figures, the best-known among them being 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. The third caliph 'Uthmān, acting on the advice of his famous general Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, ordered the establishment of an official recension of the Qur'ān, known as "the model codex" (*al-muṣḥaf al-imām*) or the 'Uthmānic codex (*al-muṣḥaf al-'uthmānī*). The task again fell to Zayd b. Thābit, aided this time by a commission composed of men from Quraysh (curiously, the sources agree on neither their number nor their identity). This group based its work on Ḥafṣa's codex. The caliph gave this recension an official and exclusive character. On his orders copies were sent out to different provincial capitals of the empire, where they were to serve as a standard reference. He then ordered all other recensions to be destroyed. As will be mentioned below, it took centuries for this official recension to be accepted by all Muslims as the *textus receptus*.

We can now briefly look at some problems arising from this description of events. First, at the philological level, some key terms appear to be ambiguous. Thus the distinction between Ḥadīth and Qur'ān, the first designating sayings of the Prophet, the second the word of God, seems to be late.<sup>64</sup> Alfred Louis de Prémare studied a pertinent example of an initial indecision between the two terms by consider-

<sup>63</sup> For the countless sources providing this information, see e.g. Rāmyār, *Tārīkh*, pp. 320–335; Qaddūrī, *Rasm*, pp. 91–152 and more specifically pp. 100–128. See also *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "al-Ḳur'ān" (A. Welch), especially at V, pp. 404–409.

<sup>64</sup> This subject is discussed in Graham, *Divine Word*, pp. 9–48 (part one: "Revelation in Early Islam"); see also idem, *Scripture*; Schoeler, "Schreiben", pp. 24–25; Déroche, *Livre*, pp. 21–22.

ing the famous so-called “farewell sermon” (*khutbat al-wadāʿ*) which the Prophet is said to have delivered shortly before his death. Some phrases from this sermon, particularly those relating to women and the sacred months, are in fact found in the Qurʾān, with only minor variations.<sup>65</sup> Another example is the enigmatic *ḥadīth qudsī*, comprising words which were uttered by God and transmitted by Muḥammad, but which none the less were not recorded in the Qurʾān.<sup>66</sup>

De Prémare has also emphasized the problematic nature of the root *jmʿ* in the recurring expression *jamʿ al-qurʾān*.<sup>67</sup> The root obviously carries the meaning “to collect, assemble, gather”; yet many Muslim lexicographers maintain that it can also mean “to memorize, retain and learn by heart”, despite the fact that there is a specific verb for the latter meaning, namely *ḥafīza*. Thus, there are quite a few accounts according to which the Qurʾān was first “gathered in the hearts of men”—i.e. memorized—and then “collected”—i.e. assembled—by one or another of Muḥammad’s Companions. This may well reflect the dialectic between oral and written; yet it seems that the marked ambiguity in the verb *jamaʿa* is deliberate and originated in the wish to avoid the most glaring inconsistencies that existed in accounts about the redaction of the Qurʾān. Alternatively, the intention was to conceal the conflicts on this subject that raged among representatives of the different political-religious tendencies. Thus ʿAlī is said to have collected a complete Qurʾān in the form of a codex immediately after Muḥammad’s death. Now Ibn Abī Dāwūd, who cites this tradition in his *Maṣāḥif*, specifies at once that here the expression *jamaʿtu l-qurʾān kul-lahu* means “I learned the entire Qurʾān by heart”.<sup>68</sup> To add further to this difficulty, the Qurʾān itself says: *inna ʿalaynā jamʿahu wa-qurʾānahu* (Q 75:17), literally “incumbent upon us is the collection/memorization and its ‘Qurʾān’”. Who is speaking and what do the terms *jamʿ* and *qurʾān* mean in this case? The question is controversial.

Another enigmatic point: numerous accounts report that when Abū Bakr and ʿUmar summoned Zayd b. Thābit to commission him to collect the Qurʾān, Zayd is said to have been angered at first, crying

<sup>65</sup> For the Qurʾānic phrases concerning women (Q 4:15, 4:19, 4:34) and the holy months (Q 9:36–37) which are incorporated in the Prophet’s sermon see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, IV, pp. 1022–1023. See de Prémare, “Histoire”; idem, “Discours”.

<sup>66</sup> Graham, *Divine Word*, pp. 9–48.

<sup>67</sup> De Prémare, *Fondations*, pp. 283–285; further information on the history of the redaction of the Qurʾān is now provided in idem, *Origines*.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 10.

out: “How can you do what the Messenger of God did not do?”<sup>69</sup> Did Muḥammad thus wish to preserve the Qur’ān as a single version, or in a state of oral recitation, as was the case with poetry?<sup>70</sup> If so, the studies by Father Edmund Beck again become relevant. Beck was the first to have recognized the striking similarity between the first “reciters of the Qur’ān” (*qurrā’*, sing. *qārī’*) and the ancient *ruwāt* (sing. *rāwī*), mostly oral transmitters of ancient pre-Islamic Arabic poetry.<sup>71</sup> Now the *ruwāt* did not consider the existence of different versions of a single poem to be a flaw. Quite the contrary: these versions, discernible mainly through recitation, were desirable since they facilitated an improvement of the poem. In a similar vein, Karl Vollers, who maintained that the original language of the Qur’ān was the Meccan version of the dialect of Ḥijāz, argued that the Qur’ān was subsequently re-written in the “common language” (koine) of pre-Islamic poetry in order to improve its language and style.<sup>72</sup> Still according to Beck, it is altogether possible that the first *qurrā’*, who were active at least until the mid-2nd/8th century, considered the variants of the different recitations, recorded after a fashion in the various recensions of the Qur’ān, as an opportunity to improve the linguistic level of the latter. Whence perhaps the *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet and particularly valued by the early *qurrā’*: “In the *muṣḥaf* there are dialectal expressions (*lahn*) but the Arabs are going to standardize them”.<sup>73</sup> The sources at times refer to these reciters/readers, who were experts in Arabic, as “the people of the Arabic language” (*aṣḥāb al-‘arabiyya*); according to al-Ṭabarī, they are the ones who violently reproached ‘Uthmān for making *his* codex the official text: “The Qur’ān used to be (preserved in a number of different) written versions (*kutub*), and you have abandoned all but one”.<sup>74</sup> It is noteworthy that in al-Sayyārī’s text the *aṣḥāb al-‘arabiyya*

<sup>69</sup> Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 3; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, p. 10, no. 58, p. 13, no. 77, V, pp. 188–189, no. 21700; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, pp. 392–393 (*Kitāb faḍā’il al-qur’ān*); Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 7–8.

<sup>70</sup> On the opposition in early Islam to the writing of Ḥadīth as scripture see the substantial article by Cook, “Opponents”; see also Kister, “Lā taqra’ū”.

<sup>71</sup> Beck, “Kodex”; idem, “‘Arabiyya”, especially pp. 209ff.; idem, “Kodizesvarianten”. On this issue see also Blau, “Bedouins”. For the *qurrā’* see also Juynboll, “Qurra”.

<sup>72</sup> Vollers, *Volkssprache*, pp. 175–185 and passim. See also Kahle, “Readers”; Rabin, “Arabic”; and now Larcher, “Arabe préislamique”.

<sup>73</sup> See Farrā’, II, p. 183.

<sup>74</sup> Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, first series, p. 2952, tr. Ṭabarī, *Crisis*, p. 156. See also Juynboll, “Reciter”.



are depicted, among others, as responsible for the alteration of the Qur'ānic text.<sup>75</sup> An echo of the complaint levelled against the third caliph is also heard in a statement attributed to 'Abdallāh, the pious son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and a person admired by the *qurrā'*. In one of many versions of this statement, 'Abdallāh tells 'Uthmān: "Let no one tell you that he has the entire text of the Qur'ān in his possession. How is one to know what the entire Qur'ān is? Many things from the Qur'ān have disappeared forever (*qad dhahaba minhu qur'ānun kathīrun*)".<sup>76</sup> Other accounts mention the omission of parts of the Qur'ān as well as additions to the text. First, the omissions: in his *Faḍā'il al-qur'ān*, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām notes that certain passages of the Qur'ān, some predating 'Uthmān's caliphate, were "censored out".<sup>77</sup> The two short Sūras "al-Ḥafd" and "al-Khal", included in the recension of Ubayy b. Ka'b, as well as other short texts attributed to the codex of 'Alī or 'Umar, were not in the end incorporated into the final version of the Qur'ān.<sup>78</sup> The same is said to be true of some verses, including the stoning verse (*āyat al-rajm*) and the maxim: "If the son of Adam possessed two valleys of gold, he would wish for a third / only the earth satisfies the appetite of the son of Adam / God turns towards those who turn (towards Him)".<sup>79</sup> Other texts "missing" from the definitive version take up many pages in *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, to cite only one work.<sup>80</sup> As for the additions: certain Khārījīs, namely the 'Ajārīda (or a

<sup>75</sup> See *KQ* no. 312; cf. nos. 311, 460 (however, such criticism of the "experts of the Arabic language" or the "grammarians" is not very common in Shī'ī literature).

<sup>76</sup> E.g. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 146, no. 699 > Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, III, pp. 81–82 (chapter 47); cf. Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' / 'Ulūm*, p. 283 (fol. 3b, no. 17).

<sup>77</sup> These deleted passages are brought together in Jeffery, "Abū 'Uбайд".

<sup>78</sup> Jeffery, pp. 180–181. See also Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, I, p. 226 (chapter 19); Blachère, *Introduction*, pp. 188–189.

<sup>79</sup> These verses, which do not appear in the 'Uthmānic codex, are cited by al-Sayyārī (see *KQ* nos. 421, 430 respectively and the sources referred to in the Notes). See also Tirmidhī, *Awliyā'*, p. 351, where the author calmly acknowledges that these verses, as well as the term *muḥaddath* at the beginning of Q 22:52 (*wa-mā arsalnā min qablika min rasūl wa-lā nabī wa-lā muḥaddath...*), which had originally formed part of the Qur'ān, were omitted (for this latter term see Kohlberg, "Muḥaddath"; see further *KQ* no. 350).

<sup>80</sup> *GdQ*, I, pp. 234–261. The classical reason given by Sunnī authors for the suppression of these passages has to do with the notion of "the abrogation of the wording" (*naskh* or *mansūkh al-tilāwa*); see the learned, though apologetic analysis by Mu'arrafa, *Ṣiḡāna*, pp. 125–136; on this subject see also Burton, "Cranes", which deals mainly with the alleged omission of the famous "Satanic verses". Casanova likewise maintains that numerous eschatological passages of the Qur'ān, mainly those regarding the figure of the Saviour, were suppressed in the official version because, among other reasons, they would have demonstrated that "primitive Shī'ism is the true Muslim orthodoxy"



group among them called the Maymūniyya), regarded Sūra 12 (Yūsuf) as apocryphal and as a later addition to the genuine revelations made to the Prophet;<sup>81</sup> and Ibn Mas‘ūd is said to have regarded the first and the last two Sūras of the ‘Uthmānic codex (i.e. the Fātiḥa and the *mu‘awwidhatān*) as prayers, not as Qur’ānic revelations.<sup>82</sup> In a well documented article, Hossein Modarressi shows that in the first two or three centuries of the *hijra* a number of persons of standing in later Sunnism vehemently criticized the ‘Uthmānic codex.<sup>83</sup>

That the definitive codification of the Qur’ānic text was associated with political-religious tensions is illustrated by an account cited in numerous sources, beginning with al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*: Ḥudhayfa, the general who took part in the conquest of Armenia in 25–26/645–646, was alarmed by the disagreements regarding the recitation of the Qur’ān. He therefore implored the caliph ‘Uthmān to establish a written and unified version of the Qur’ān: “Unite this community before it differs about its Book just as the Jews and Christians differed (about their own books)”.<sup>84</sup> As de Prémare has aptly noted, an account of this kind seems to have symbolic value rather than reflecting historical reality.<sup>85</sup>

Shortly after the Prophet’s death the Arabs, who were skillful traders, had become great conquerors and within a few years had accumulated immense power and riches. Among these wealthy and powerful men,

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(Casanova, *Mohammed*, p. 55; cf. pp. 9, 59; for this issue cf. also Madelung, *Succession*, pp. 5–6, 40ff., 52, 270. Casanova’s arguments have recently been further developed in van Reeth, “Muḥammad”).

<sup>81</sup> See Shahrastānī, *Religions*, pp. 394, 397; Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 23.

<sup>82</sup> Jeffery, p. 21; Rāmyār, *Tārīkh*, pp. 362–366; see also Cuypers, “Analyse”. For the problems raised by the Fātiḥa see also Jeffery, “Variant Text”. (The first variant text of the Fātiḥa is cited there according to the *Tadhkirat al-a‘imma*, p. 18. This was published as a work of al-Majlisī, but its author is in fact his contemporary Muḥammad Bāqir al-Lāhijī; see Brunner, *Koranfälschung*, pp. 16–18.)

<sup>83</sup> Modarressi, “Debates”.

<sup>84</sup> See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 393 (*Kitāb faḍā’il al-qur’ān*). According to this account, Ḥudhayfa’s troops were made up of ‘Irāqī soldiers who wished to fight the Syrians with the aim of conquering Armenia and Adharbayjan. The general was disturbed by the difference between the readings of the Syrians, probably as compared with the readings which were then current in ‘Irāq and thus among his own men. If this is the case, could one assume that there was a difference between the readings of partisans of ‘Alī and the Banū Hāshim (‘Irāq) on the one hand and the Umayyads (Syria) on the other? For Ḥudhayfa’s role in the establishment of a single ‘Uthmānic codex and the suppression of rival codices see also Ibn Shabba, *Tārīkh*, III, pp. 998–999. Cf. Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 43ff.

<sup>85</sup> De Prémare, *Fondations*, pp. 288–289.

some appear to have united in their persons qualities that were to play a determining role in the definitive recension of the Qur'ān. Continuing the methods of Casanova, Mingana and Crone-Cook, de Prémare paints the portraits of three principal figures:<sup>86</sup>

1. First, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the famous and ruthless Umayyad governor of 'Irāq (56–67/675–686). A grandson of Abū Sufyān and thus a member of the powerful ruling family, he was one of those rich traders who became powerful conquerors. After the conquest of Transoxania he held the strategic post of governor of 'Irāq during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya and Yazīd I. He brutally stamped out Khārījī and 'Alid revolts and was responsible for the death of Imam al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī at Karbalā'. An astute politician, he encouraged Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to stand as a candidate for the caliphate in Damascus in the face of the rival caliphate of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca; Marwān subsequently became the first caliph of the second Umayyad period. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was also a man of letters and one of the "experts of Arabic" (*aṣḥāb al-'arabiyya*). Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in the *Aghānī*<sup>87</sup> and Yāqūt in the *Udabā'*<sup>88</sup> devote each a few lines to him. Ibn Abī Dāwūd writes that 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād intervened in the establishment of the Qur'ānic text, instructing his Persian secretary, Yazīd b. Hurmuz al-Fārisī, to enter numerous additions: "'Ubaydallāh added (*zāda*) two thousand *ḥarf* (words, letters, expressions?) to the codex", Yazīd reports.<sup>89</sup> Of course, the secretary does not provide any details on the identity of the codex in question nor on the nature of the additions which he mentions. Moreover, the doubtless deliberate ambiguity of the word *ḥarf* leaves room for all manner of speculation.
2. The second figure is the no less famous al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who was also governor of Umayyad 'Irāq. He was appointed to this position during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the second and undoubtedly the most important caliph of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty. It was during this period that there appeared the first currents of dogmatic reflection following the conquests; these currents were deeply concerned with the

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 292–301.

<sup>87</sup> Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, pp. 262–263.

<sup>88</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, V, pp. 639–640.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 117.

issue of political-religious legitimacy. During this period of incessant civil wars, the issue of scriptures must have assumed a major importance. Al-Ḥajjāj defeated the rival caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, thus restoring unity to the caliphate after a split lasting over ten years (62–73/681–692). Al-Ḥajjāj, too, was a man of letters and one of the finest experts of the Arabic language. Al-Ṭabarī in his *Ta'rikh*<sup>90</sup> and al-Jāḥiẓ in his *Bayān*<sup>91</sup> provide some examples of his flamboyant prose. Ibn Abī Dāwūd and Ibn Khallikān<sup>92</sup> state that al-Ḥajjāj was deeply involved with the Qur'ānic text. Occasionally contradictory accounts mention that he corrected divergent readings, arranged the order of certain chapters or verses, and improved the orthography by introducing diacritical marks and vowels. According to al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506), an historian of the city of Medina, in an account admirably analysed by Mingana,<sup>93</sup> al-Ḥajjāj established his own recension of the Qur'ān, copies of which he dispatched to each of the capitals of the major provinces of the Islamic empire. These copies were to become the official text, supplanting earlier recensions which, wherever in 'Irāq they were found, he ordered to be destroyed.<sup>94</sup> According to some accounts, al-Ḥajjāj was the first to have ordered the destruction of competing codices. Other accounts report that he followed the example set by 'Uthmān. Some sources maintain that the recensions banned by al-Ḥajjāj continued to circulate, and that his own codex was discarded under the 'Abbāsids.<sup>95</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj is mentioned in a polemical text by the Christian Arab apologist 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, written perhaps at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.<sup>96</sup> In one of his epistles, al-Kindī (or the person who wrote using this name) states: "Then there was the intervention (i.e. in the Qur'ānic text) by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. He seized all codices,

<sup>90</sup> Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, second series, pp. 823–824.

<sup>91</sup> Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, pp. 393–394, II, pp. 137–140.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 119–120; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, p. 32.

<sup>93</sup> Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, II, p. 667; Mingana, "Transmission", passim.

<sup>94</sup> See in general Beck, "Kodizesvarianten", especially pp. 371–376.

<sup>95</sup> Blachère, *Introduction*, pp. 75–78; de Prémare, *Fondations*, p. 296. See Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, II, pp. 667–668 (from Ibn Shabba).

<sup>96</sup> Al-Kindī's identity and dates are problematic. Paul Kraus believed that the name "al-Kindī" was a cover for a scholar seeking to spread Ibn al-Rāwandī's ideas. For others, al-Kindī's account regarding the collection of the Qur'ān is a distorted mixture of various Muslim accounts put together by a polemicist; see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "al-Kindī, 'Abd al-Masīḥ" (G. Troupeau).

omitting and adding a great deal. It is said that they (i.e. some of the omitted verses) were revealed concerning the Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids and included the names of some (Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd) personages.<sup>97</sup> Six copies of the recension conforming to the wishes of al-Ḥajjāj were made and distributed: one to Egypt, another to Damascus, a third to Medina, a fourth to Mecca, a fifth to Kūfa and a sixth to Baṣra. As for the earlier collections, he threw them into boiling oil and destroyed them, thus imitating ‘Uthmān’s action”.<sup>98</sup>

3. The third figure is the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik himself. The historiographical investigation by de Prémare, like earlier studies by Gerald Hawting on Umayyad history and Yehuda Nevo on the epigraphy of the period, demonstrate that ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign witnessed major developments in Islamic doctrine.<sup>99</sup> As concerns the definitive establishment of the Qur’ānic text, there is first this statement by the caliph, reported in numerous sources: “I am afraid to die in the month of Ramaḍān because I was born in it, I was weaned in it, and in it I collected (*jama’tu*) the Qur’ān”.<sup>100</sup> Of course, the meaning of the root *jm’* may again be said to be open to discussion; however, what we already know about the involvement of the two above-mentioned governors of ‘Irāq in the shaping of the Qur’ānic text seems to indicate that here the term does not mean “to memorize, to learn by heart” but rather “to collect, to put in order”.

Other noteworthy aspects of ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign are probably directly related to the issue at hand. The inscriptions at the Dome of the Rock, ably analysed by Christel Kessler and Oleg Grabar, were carried out on the orders of this caliph.<sup>101</sup> They seem to be the first real dated example of an Islamic definition of God’s unicity: *qul huwa llāhu aḥad allāhu*

<sup>97</sup> A constant theme of early Shī‘ī literature is that the authentic version of the Qur’ān had included pejorative references to specific Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids, but that these references had been suppressed (cf. below, p. 41).

<sup>98</sup> Tartar, *Ḥiwār*, p. 117, tr. idem, *Dialogue*, p. 190. See also Muir, *Apology*, p. 77 (English tr.). Cf. Blachère, *Introduction*, pp. 76–77; Griffith, “Muḥammad”, p. 144; Platti, “Arabes”.

<sup>99</sup> Hawting, *Dynasty*, index, s.v. “‘Abd al-Malik”; Nevo, “Prehistory”; de Prémare, *Fondations*, pp. 193, 297–301; idem, “‘Abd al-Malik”.

<sup>100</sup> See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/2, p. 586; Ibn al-‘Ibrī, *Ta’rīkh*, p. 194; Tha‘alibī, *Laṭā’if*, p. 109; Sharon, “Umayyads”, p. 131; de Prémare, “‘Abd al-Malik”, p. 193.

<sup>101</sup> Kessler, “‘Abd al-Malik”; Grabar, *Formation*, pp. 61–67; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ḳubbat al-ṣakhra” (O. Grabar).

*l-ṣamad lam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan aḥad*. Inside the Dome, on the outer face of the south side of the octagonal arcade, the text is preceded by the *basmala* and the unitarian statement “there is no God but Allāh; He has no associate”. Other than this last formula, the text as a whole consists of Sūra 112 (al-Ikhlās). But why this divergence from the Qur’ānic text? Why is the formula which immediately follows the *basmala* missing from the Sūra? In a refined work such as this, undertaken over an extended period, such divergence cannot be ascribed to negligence. Is it because the Qur’ānic text had not yet been given its definitive form?<sup>102</sup> In general, the inscriptions at the Dome of the Rock consist not only of declarative texts but also of polemical messages specifically directed against trinitarian Christianity. One example is Q 9:33: *huwa lladhī arsala rasūlahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuḏhirahu ‘alā l-dīn kullīhi wa-law kariha l-mushrikūn*. Solange Ory, among others, has argued that here, as almost always in the Qur’ān, the term “associators” (*mushrikūn*) refers to Christians and Jews; the former are accused of deifying Jesus and the latter, of deifying ‘Uzayr/Ezra (Q 9:30).<sup>103</sup> The text of these two inscriptions is found, with slight variations, not only in the Qur’ān (Sūra 112 and Q 9:33) but also on coins of the period and in many *ḥadīths*. As de Prémare puts it: “those that appear at the Dome of the Rock are in some way the first datable manuscripts: 72/691–692”.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, according to studies by Amikam Elad and Yehuda Nevo, the first real glorification of Muḥammad as a prophet of a religion independent of Judaism and Christianity also dates from ‘Abd al-Malik’s time.<sup>105</sup> Perhaps the latter sought to make Jerusalem a place of pilgrimage as important as Mecca, which had been conquered ten years previously by the rival caliph Ibn al-Zubayr;<sup>106</sup> yet ‘Abd al-Malik may have

<sup>102</sup> Blachère notes another problem related to this Sūra, namely that the recension by Ibn Mas‘ūd records *al-wāḥid* instead of *al-ṣamad* (Blachère, *Coran*, II, p. 124, note 2). See also the studies mentioned above, note 40. For the minor differences between inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock reproduced on coins from the period of ‘Abd al-Malik and the corresponding Qur’ānic verses see de Prémare, *Fondations*, pp. 298–299. For a different perspective on the inscriptions see Whelan, “Forgotten Witness”; this study usefully complements van Berchem, *Matériaux*, pp. 228–246.

<sup>103</sup> Ory, “Aspects”, especially pp. 35–37; see also Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, chapter 3 and, more recently, Comerro, “Esdras”.

<sup>104</sup> De Prémare, *Fondations*, p. 299. See also the remarks of Luxenberg, “Neudeutung”.

<sup>105</sup> Elad, “‘Abd al-Malik”; Nevo, “Prehistory”, pp. 110, 114, 122.

<sup>106</sup> This old theory of Goldziher (*Muslim Studies*, II, pp. 44–52) has had its supporters (e.g. Schrieke, “Himmelsreise”) and opponents (e.g. Horovitz, “Himmelfahrt”; Goitein, “Background”; Busse, “Islam”). For this debate see Elad, “‘Abd al-Malik”, pp. 40–41; idem, *Jerusalem*, chapter 4, pp. 147–163.

aimed much higher and may have had larger objectives. The history of early Islam is in fact indebted to him for some major decisions:

1. The Arabization of the language of administration, which had until then been managed by the old Byzantine and/or Iranian officials in their respective languages.
2. Rendering official the status of the “the protected” (*dhimmī*) Jews, Christians and probably also Zoroastrians, by implementing the poll tax (*jizya*) as a sign of their inferior status in the Islamic state and in return for the protection which this state offered them.
3. Issuing an Islamic gold coinage devoid of any figurative representation and minted exclusively with religious formulae in Arabic.<sup>107</sup>

In this context, the caliph and other powerful men in his entourage must have been aware that control of belief was a fundamental aspect of power, and that this could only be achieved by controlling and codifying scripture, especially in a society with numerous dissident political-religious movements. A single Book, independent of previous sacred scriptures—in this case those of the Jews and Christians—and codified according to state dogma was the best guarantee of doctrinal and thus political stability. Thus, the initiative to produce an official Qur’ānic codex, apparently begun during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate,<sup>108</sup> seems to have been concluded during ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign or slightly later.<sup>109</sup> In the intervening period, which witnessed further conquests and an increasing desire on the part of Muslim leaders clearly to distinguish their religion from Judaism and Christianity, continuous work on the redaction of the text was taking place, consisting of arrangement, rewriting, stylization, redaction, correction etc.<sup>110</sup> It is interesting to note that Ḥadīth,

<sup>107</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān” (H.A.R. Gibb); Hawting, *Dynasty*, pp. 63–66; de Prémare, *Fondations*, pp. 194, 301, 424.

<sup>108</sup> Accounts on the attempt to produce a definitive corpus of the Qur’ān during ‘Uthmān’s rule cannot be rejected outright. In fact, far from praising the action of the third caliph, some reports seem to be directed *against* this initiative, referring to ‘Uthmān as the “tearer” or “burner” (*kharrāq*/*ḥarrāq*) of the Qur’ānic codices (see e.g. Sayf, *Ridda*, p. 51, no. 52); other reports reproduce the protest of the insurgents against ‘Uthmān (see above, note 74 and the corresponding text).

<sup>109</sup> The latter possibility may be inferred for example from a text of John of Damascus. After leaving the Umayyads, whom he served between 700 and 705 (i.e. towards the end of ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign), this author wrote a treatise against Islam in which he gives the impression that the text of the Qur’ān was not yet completely stabilized (Jean Damascène, *Ecrits*, pp. 210–227).

<sup>110</sup> See now Gilliot, “Travail”. The paleographical arguments of Grohmann (in “Dating”, *passim*) concerning the first written transmissions of the Qur’ānic text also support

the second scriptural source in Islam, also seems to have begun acquiring its systematic form from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik. One knows, thanks to Goldziher, that a tentative writing down of Ḥadīth had taken place before this date,<sup>111</sup> but studies by Michael Lecker and Harald Motzki have shown that the first to have systematically recorded Ḥadīth in writing was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who was attached to the caliph Hishām (r. 105–127/724–743) but was already a learned courtier during the period of Hishām’s father, ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>112</sup>

Islamic tradition, for the most part, insists that the official version of the Qur’ān is of a very early date (initiated by Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and finalized by ‘Uthmān). This insistence may derive from an awareness that the later the date, the greater the risk of *taḥrīf*. And yet, despite all attempts by “orthodox” authors to conceal differences, an examination of the uncertainties and divergences found in the sources clearly shows that a great protest movement against the official version of the Qur’ān took shape from the very beginning. Given that the different recensions would have served as means of legitimation for various political-religious groups, it is not surprising that it took many centuries for the version called ‘Uthmānic to be accepted by all Muslims. Undoubtedly, the most significant example for the survival of non-‘Uthmānic readings is the double condemnation of Ibn Miqṣam and Ibn Shanabūdh in the early 4th/10th century for having adopted non-canonical readings. At the end of that century, in 398/1007, a debate broke out between Sunnīs and Shī‘īs in Baghdād regarding the licit or illicit character of the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd. A Sunnī tribunal eventually ordered its destruction.<sup>113</sup> According to Ibn al-Nadīm, copies of the recension of Ubayy still existed in the region of Baṣra in the time of Ibn Shādhān, i.e. in the mid-3rd/9th century.<sup>114</sup>

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the second half of the first century *hijra*, that is, the period which included the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik.

<sup>111</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, pp. 15–251 (“On the Development of the Ḥadīth”), especially the first part.

<sup>112</sup> Lecker, “Notes”; Motzki, “Zuhrī”; idem, “Collection”, pp. 22–29; idem, “Dating”, pp. 249–250.

<sup>113</sup> Rāmyār, *Tārīkh*, p. 362.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 29; cited in Jeffery, p. 115.

### 3. *Imāmī Views on the Question of the Falsification of the Qur'ān*

As we have seen, there were many who held that the 'Uthmānic version was not a faithful reproduction of the revelations made to the Prophet. Yet the most explicit, forceful and numerous accusations that the official Qur'ān did not conform to the revelations made to Muḥammad are found in Imāmī sources, especially of the pre-Buwayhid period, and are directed against the first three caliphs and their followers, all of whom are depicted as adversaries of 'Alī.<sup>115</sup> Briefly put, these sources maintain that 'Alī, Muḥammad's only true initiate and legitimate successor, was the sole possessor of the complete version of the revelation made to the Prophet. After Muḥammad's death and the assumption of power by 'Alī's enemies this version, which was much longer than the official one, was rejected by those in authority mainly because it contained explicit tributes to the first Imam, his descendants and supporters, and equally explicit attacks on their adversaries. Once rejected, this recension was concealed by 'Alī in order to be secretly transmitted to future Imams of his lineage. At least since the 4th/10th century, these beliefs have been under constant attack by Sunnī and Mu'tazilī authors and heresiographers, who regard them as among the most flagrant elements of Shī'ī "heresy".

There are quite a few studies on *tahrīf* in Shī'ism. They may be divided into three groups, depending on the conclusions drawn in them:

1. Writers belonging to the first group maintain that the doubts raised concerning the authenticity of the 'Uthmānic codex have no historical basis and are founded solely on dogmatic and political-theological views. Once 'Alī was removed from power, it was only natural that sooner or later his supporters would declare his recension to be the most complete, in order not only to demonstrate his superiority over other Companions of the Prophet but also to underline their betrayal of him.<sup>116</sup> The weakness of this thesis lies in that it reduces Imāmī Shī'ism to an exclusively political movement in search of temporal power. It does not take into

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<sup>115</sup> On the doctrinal turning point in Imāmī Shī'ism during the Buwayhid period see Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 15–48 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 6–19; idem, "Réflexions".

<sup>116</sup> Garcin de Tassy, "Chapitre"; Kazem-Beg, "Observations"; *GdQ*, II, pp. 93–100; Sell, *Studies*, pp. 246–252; Blachère, *Introduction*, pp. 184–186.



consideration the numerous and complex doctrinal and historical accounts which are found in various sources and support the notion of falsification.

2. According to a second group of studies, the Imāmīs did not claim that the official version as a whole was unreliable and did not doubt the authenticity of its content; rather, they argued that certain words or expressions had been omitted and that the order of some verses or Sūras had been changed. They held the ‘Uthmānic codex to contain virtually the entire revelation; ‘Uthmān’s fault lay above all in his rejection of other recensions and especially of ‘Alī’s commentary, which appeared in the margin of ‘Alī’s own copy and is indispensable for a proper understanding of the Qur’ānic text.<sup>117</sup> According to some of the studies which belong in this group, views on the falsification of the Qur’ān are of non-Shī’ī provenance, originating particularly among “extremist” groups (*ghulāt*) or various heterodox and heretic movements, and aiming to contaminate the corpus of Shī’ī Ḥadīth.<sup>118</sup> These studies reflect the position taken by the Imāmīs, or more precisely most of them, after the Buwayhid period, to the exclusion of the earlier views, which are passed over in silence for apologetic reasons. The studies thus attempt to present Imāmī Shī’ism, despite rich textual evidence to the contrary, as having been—always and everywhere—a “moderate” movement respectful of Islamic “orthodoxy”.
3. There are finally those who maintain that the Imāmīs, basing themselves on utterances of their Imams as reported in the vast corpus of early Shī’ī Ḥadīth, openly questioned the integrity of the ‘Uthmānic codex and accused non-Shī’īs of having falsified the Qur’ān. That this was in fact the early Imāmī position is confirmed by numerous historical accounts and by Imāmī tenets, mainly of the pre-Buwayhid period. In the Buwayhid period (i.e. starting in the mid-4th/10th century), specific historical and doctrinal circumstances led the majority of Twelver scholars, begin-

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<sup>117</sup> Jeffery, “Zaid”; Hollister, *India*, pp. 28–29; Rahbar, “Theology”; Eliash, “Shī’ite Qur’ān”; Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 311–312.

<sup>118</sup> Falaturi, “Schia”; Modarressi, “Debates”; Sander, “Koran”; Bayhom-Daou, “Knowledge”; Marcinkowski, “Reflections” (an article that fails to meet proper scientific standards). For the artificial nature of the distinction between “moderate” and “extremist” Imāmī Shī’ism during the early period see Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 310–317 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 128–131; idem, “Şaffār”, *passim*.

ning with Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991), to abandon this thesis and adopt the Sunnī viewpoint.<sup>119</sup>

In fact, practically all pre-Buwayhid Imāmī works that have come down to us—often written by well-known religious authorities—raise in greater or lesser detail, directly or indirectly, the issue of the falsified character of the so-called ‘Uthmānic version of the Qur’ān. Apart from al-Sayyārī, mention may be made of works by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Nīsābūrī (d. 260/873), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī (d. 274/887–888 or 280/893–894), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902–903), Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (d. 299/912 or 301/914), Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulīnī (d. 329/941), Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Zaynab al-Nu‘mānī (d. ca. 345/956 or 360/971), ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d. 352/963, author of *al-Istighātha fī bida‘ al-thalātha*) and authors of the first Imāmī Qur’ān commentaries such as Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī (d. ca. 300/912), ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. after 307/919) or Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī (d. early 4th/10th century).<sup>120</sup>

The Buwayhid era signalled the marginalization of the original esoteric suprarational tradition, whose main doctrines are set out in the above-mentioned sources. With the end of the period of historical Imams, the flourishing of a kind of rationalism in almost all religious environments, and especially the Shī‘ī rise to power at the centre of the Sunnī ‘Abbāsid caliphate, Imāmī jurists, particularly those in the capital Baghdād, seem to have felt constrained to break at certain points with the original tradition in order to develop the new rational theological-legal method. For these jurists, who were seeking a rapprochement with the Sunnī “orthodoxy” which had become ever more firmly established, belief in the falsification of the official Qur’ān was no longer tenable, particularly as this Qur’ān was being increasingly regarded as sacred and belief in its integrity as inseparable from faith.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Goldziher, *Richtungen*, especially pp. 263–309; in general idem, *Vorlesungen*, pp. 201–278 = *Introduction*, pp. 167–229 (masterly studies which contain however somewhat unwarranted value judgments); Tisdall; Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”; Lawson, “Note”; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 200–227 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 79–91; idem, “Walāya”; Bar-Asher, “Readings”; idem, *Scripture*, pp. 88–93; Brunner, *Koranfälschung*; idem, “Falsification”.

<sup>120</sup> For the numerous relevant passages from these works see the studies cited above, notes 117, 118 and especially 119.

<sup>121</sup> For this turning point in Imāmī Shī‘ism and the early history of the esoteric suprarational and rational theological-legal traditions see the references above, note 115; see also Amir-Moezzi-Jambet, *Shī‘isme*, third part (“the historical evolution of Shī‘ism”).

The leading Imāmī scholars of this period declared that the ‘Uthmānic codex faithfully reproduces the text of the revelation; at the same time they remained very circumspect about earlier religious authorities who had maintained the contrary. Ibn Bābawayh seems to have been the first major Twelver author to adopt a position identical to that of the Sunnīs: “Our (i.e. Twelver) belief is that the Qur’ān, which God revealed to His Prophet Muḥammad, is (the same as) the one between the two boards (*mā bayn al-daffatayn*, i.e. the official ‘Uthmānic version) ... And he who asserts that it is greater in extent than this (the present text) is a liar”.<sup>122</sup> He passes in silence over the many traditions which mention falsification, erasure or alteration (*taḥrīf*, *maḥw*, *tabdīl*/*taghyīr*). His disciple and commentator al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), at least in some of his writings, goes in the same direction and limits himself to speaking of a change which occurred in the order (*ta’līf*) of some verses or Sūras, or the elimination by certain Companions of ‘Alī’s commentary on the Qur’ān which appeared in the margins of his recension and which is also called *qur’ān*. This, apparently, is how al-Mufīd tries to explain away the existence of traditions which speak of the suppression of some passages of the Qur’ān.<sup>123</sup> Other opponents of the theory of falsification take the same position while developing it further; they include for example al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) in *al-Masā’il al-ṭarābulusiyyāt al-ūlā*<sup>124</sup> and Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) in *al-Tibyān*.<sup>125</sup>

This position regarding the Qur’ān, which tallies with that of the rest of the Muslims, became the prevailing view, held by the majority of Twelver Shī‘īs, who were dominated by the rationalist school later to be known as the Uṣūliyya. It was also held by some well-known scholars who did not all belong to the rationalist tendency (see further below); among them are al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1154), Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bayāḍī al-‘Āmilī (d. 877/1472–1473), Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680), Muḥammad b. al-

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Bābawayh, *I’tiqādāt*, p. 98 = Fyzee, p. 85; cited in Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”, p. 214.

<sup>123</sup> Mufīd, *Awā’il*, p. 55. It should be noted, however, that in his *Jawāb al-masā’il al-sarawīyya* al-Mufīd implies that the Shī‘ī readings may have formed part of the original text (see Kohlberg, “Scriptures”, pp. 296–297). See further Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”, pp. 215–216; Sourdel, “Imamisme”, pp. 234, 285–287; McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 92–99.

<sup>124</sup> Apud Ṭabrisī, I, p. 31.

<sup>125</sup> Ṭūsī, I, pp. 3–4.

Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693) and others.<sup>126</sup> According to the rationalists, traditions maintaining that the ʿUthmānic codex had been altered were invented in heterodox circles, are totally unreliable and in no way reflect genuine Shīʿī beliefs. Despite their prominence in the transmission of doctrine, the compilers and scholars who transmitted these traditions without examining their reliability lacked clarity and a critical sense.

However, there were always thinkers who, out of respect for Ḥadīth, upheld the theory of *tahrīf*. They are associated to a greater or lesser degree with the rival traditionalist school, the Akhbāriyya, a minority group which is nevertheless quite important in the history of Shīʿī thought.<sup>127</sup> Well-known representatives of this school include, in the 6th/12th century, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabrisī in his *Ihtijāj* and Ibn Shahrāshūb in his *Mathālib al-nawāṣib*; in the Ṣafawid period, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Lāhijī in his *Tadhkirat al-aʿimma*, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Māzandarānī in his commentary on al-Kulīnī's *Uṣūl min al-kāfi*, Hāshim al-Baḥrānī in *al-Burhān* and Niʿmat Allāh al-Jazʿarī in *al-Anwār al-nuʿmāniyya* and *Manbaʿ al-ḥayāt*; in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Shubbar in *Maṣābiḥ al-anwār* and Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī in *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-nāḍira*. Three particularly important works also belong here: *Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿālamīn/ʿālamayn fī l-imāma* and the Qurʾānic commentary *Mirʾāt al-anwār*, both by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-ʿĀmilī al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 1140/1727–1728), and the *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* by Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī (d. 1320/1902).<sup>128</sup>

At the same time, a careful reading of the texts seems to indicate that the attitude of Imāmī scholars regarding the ʿUthmānic codex is at times extremely complex, surely due to some embarrassment; and that the issue of whether or not the Qurʾān was falsified went well beyond the rationalist/traditionalist divide. We have already chosen to classify some major figures associated with the traditionalist tendency, namely Ibn Ṭāwūs, Muḥsin al-Fayḍ and al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, as oppo-

<sup>126</sup> Ṭabrisī, I, pp. 30–31; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, pp. 144, 192 (a rather ambiguous position); Hillī, *Ajwiba*, p. 121; Bayāḍī, *Shirāt*, I, pp. 45, 259 (see also the Notes to *KQ*, no. 165); Ṣāfi, I, pp. 36–49; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Fuṣūl*, p. 144 (the positions of Muḥsin al-Fayḍ and al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī are rather ambiguous). For more recent sources as well as *fatwās* by several Ayatollahs against the theory of falsification see Milānī, *Tahqīq*, pp. 18ff.; ʿAskarī, *Madrasatayn*, III, passim; Khurramshāhī, *Qurʾān*, pp. 119–122.

<sup>127</sup> On the opposition between Uṣūliyya and Akhbāriyya see *EI*, art. “Akbāriyya” (E. Kohlberg); Kohlberg, “Thought”; Cole, “Clerics”; Lawson, “Approaches”.

<sup>128</sup> For these sources see especially the studies cited above, note 119. For the most recent among them, see particularly the two works by Brunner which are cited there.

nents of *tahrīf*, although their positions are not always clear. Conversely, some renowned figures associated with the rationalist tendency also display an ambiguous attitude towards this particularly delicate matter: they include, from the Buwayhid period, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd;<sup>129</sup> from the Ṣafawid period, the renowned al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699);<sup>130</sup> in the 19th and 20th centuries, as Brunner has shown, celebrated *mujtahids* such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Narāqī (d. 1244/1828–1829), Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864), Ākhūnd Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911) and Ayatollah Khumaynī (d. 1409/1989).<sup>131</sup>

Among the works we have cited, the *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* by al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī undoubtedly constitutes the most systematic attempt to uphold the theory of the falsification of the ‘Uthmānic codex.<sup>132</sup> If al-Sayyārī’s work, used and extensively cited by al-Nūrī,<sup>133</sup> can be considered the oldest monograph upholding the Shī‘ī notion of the falsification of the Qur’ān, al-Nūrī’s book is the last. It also seems to complete another circle: the first of the twelve arguments in the *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* in favour of the theory of *tahrīf*, constituting the first of the book’s twelve chapters, is based on the famous *ḥadīth* according to which all that happened to the Jews and Christians will some day also befall the Muslims.<sup>134</sup> And since the sacred books of the Jews and Christians had been falsified (according to Q 2:75, 4:46, 6:91), our author concludes that the book of the Muslims, in its official version (not the true recension, that of ‘Alī, kept by the Hidden Imam and

<sup>129</sup> See the references given above, note 123.

<sup>130</sup> *Biḥār*, XCII, pp. 40–77; cf. XXIV, pp. 153–157, 195–196, 400. On al-Majlisī’s ambiguous position see Khurramshāhī, *Qur’ān*, p. 88.

<sup>131</sup> Brunner, *Koranfälschung*, index, s.vv.; idem, “Falsification”, pp. 19–20, 37.

<sup>132</sup> The importance of this book and the plethora of both Sunnī and Shī‘ī reactions that it provoked are all the more noteworthy as the author was one of the greatest Shī‘ī religious authorities of his time (see e.g. Brunner, *Koranfälschung*, pp. 39–69; idem, “Falsification”, pp. 22–29; Khurramshāhī, *Qur’ān*, pp. 89–122). Since the Islamic revolution in Iran (1978–1979), Sunnī, more specifically Wahhābī attacks against Shī‘ism have focused on this work to prove the “heresy” of the Shī‘īs. In reaction, many Imāmī scholars who were hostile to the theory of falsification sought to refute the book systematically in order to demonstrate the “orthodoxy” of Shī‘ism as concerns the official Qur’ān. Among the latest Imāmī refutations: Ja‘fariyān, *Ukdhūba*; Milānī, *Tahqīq*; Mu‘arrafa, *Ṣiḡāna*. See also above, note 80.

<sup>133</sup> See further below, pp. 38, 47, 51.

<sup>134</sup> Sunnī sources ascribe this *ḥadīth* (beginning: *kullu mā waqa‘a fī banī isrā‘īl wa-fī l-naṣārā*) to the Prophet or to Ibn ‘Abbās; Shī‘ī sources often attribute it to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. For its different versions see Wensinck, *Concordance*; *Fahāris Biḥār al-anwār*, s.vv. “Banū Isrā‘īl”, “Naṣārā”, as well as the sources cited by Kister, “Haddithū”, p. 232; see in particular the analysis in Rubin, *Bible*, pp. 168–189.

protected by God; cf. Q 15:9, 41:41–42) had been falsified as well.<sup>135</sup> In this lengthy first chapter, al-Nūrī attempts to demonstrate the key role which falsification of scriptures played in the history of all religions. Here one can hear an echo of the warnings sounded by the ancient prophet Mānī, mentioned at the beginning of this Introduction, about the fate which awaits scriptures and the religious communities which depend on them when these scriptures were not written down by the prophets who brought them.

#### 4. *Life and Works of al-Sayyārī*

Although al-Sayyārī was a prominent figure in the early history of Imāmī exegetical literature, the biographical information about him is meagre. His full name was Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sayyār. He is referred to not only as “al-Sayyārī” (after his grandfather), but also as “Iṣfahānī”<sup>136</sup> or “(al)-Baṣrī”,<sup>137</sup> though there are no accounts linking him to either Iṣfahān or Baṣra.<sup>138</sup> During the imamate of al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (254–260/868–873) al-Sayyārī is said to have served as secretary to the Ṭāhirids (*min kuttāb āl Ṭāhūr*),<sup>139</sup> whence the title *al-kātib* by which he was sometimes known.<sup>140</sup> The Ṭāhirids ruled over Khurāsān on behalf of the ‘Abbāsids;<sup>141</sup> al-Sayyārī may

<sup>135</sup> *Faṣl*, pp. 35–73. Regarding the ambiguity of this Shī‘ī position which supports the theory of the falsification of the ‘Uthmānic codex while basing its arguments on this very codex, see Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 280–281. This ambiguity is criticized by many Shī‘ī scholars who are opposed to the theory of *tahrīf*; for a summary of ‘Allāma Ṭabāṭabā‘ī’s criticism see Ṭīhrānī, *Mīhr* (conversations of Ayatollah Ḥusaynī Ṭīhrānī with ‘Allāma Ṭabāṭabā‘ī), pp. 206–210.

<sup>136</sup> Kishshī, p. 505 > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 149.

<sup>137</sup> Barqī, *Rijāl*, p. 61; Kishshī, p. 505 > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 149; Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70; idem, *Rijāl*, p. 427, no. 3 > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 150; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma‘ālim*, p. 13, no. 60.

<sup>138</sup> Al-Sayyārī is recorded as maintaining that it is only in Baṣra that the practice is followed of waiting for twenty-four hours before consuming the meat of dung-eating fish (Kulīnī, VI, p. 252, no. 9; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IX, p. 13, no. 48). This does not, however, prove that he had connections to that city.

<sup>139</sup> Kishshī, p. 505 (the reading *min kibār al-ẓāhiriyya* is erroneous) > Ibn al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Tahrīr*, p. 46, Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 149; Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70, both > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 150. Al-Kishshī’s source is Abū l-Qāsim Naṣr b. (al)-Ṣabbāḥ al-Balkhī, who is credited with a *Kutāb ma‘rifat al-nāqilīn* (see Najāshī, II, pp. 385–387, no. 1150; Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 515, no. 1; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 290–291).

<sup>140</sup> Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70, both > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 150.

<sup>141</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ṭāhirids” (C.E. Bosworth).

therefore have lived for a time in that region's capital, Nīsābūr (Nī-shāpūr). Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī (fl. first half of 5th/11th century) is alone among the early Imāmī experts on Rijāl to refer to al-Sayyārī as "al-Qummi".<sup>142</sup> Al-Sayyārī's connection to Qumm is in fact borne out by the names of some of his authorities and students; he is thus likely to have belonged to the circles of Shī'ī scholars who were active in that city.<sup>143</sup>

None of the early Imāmī sources available to us provides a precise birth or death date for al-Sayyārī. The Sunnī author Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) states that al-Sayyārī lived in the late 3rd/9th century.<sup>144</sup> Ibn Ḥajar's source may well have been the *Ḥāwī fī rijāl al-shī'a al-imāmiyya* by the Shī'ī author Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī (d. ca. 630/1232–1233), since it is from there that he culled most of his information on Shī'ī scholars.<sup>145</sup> Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī (d. 1389/1970) tends to conclude that al-Sayyārī did not reach the 4th/10th century, though he does not entirely rule out this possibility. He bases his view on Ibn Ḥajar (*fa-yazhar min qawl Ibn Ḥajar wa-min ṭabaqatihi ayḍan annahu laysa min a'lām al-qarn al-rābi' wa-la'allahu waṣala ilayhi*),<sup>146</sup> and also on a passage in the *Kitāb al-ghayba* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Zaynab al-Nu'mānī (d. ca. 345/956 or 360/971); this passage, in the version available to al-Ṭīhrānī, contained an error which misled him into thinking that al-Sayyārī was one generation younger than he really was.<sup>147</sup> A death-date given for al-Sayyārī in a late source is 368/978–979, but this is patently wrong.<sup>148</sup> A different date, cited by the contemporary

<sup>142</sup> Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, p. 40, no. 11 > Quhpā'ī, I, p. 149. See in general *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. "ʿIlm al-ridjāl" (B. Scarcia Amoretti).

<sup>143</sup> For these circles see Newman, *Formative Period*, passim.

<sup>144</sup> *Kāna fī awākhir al-mi'a al-thālitha* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, I, p. 275, no. 793).

<sup>145</sup> See Ja'fariyān, "Ḥāwī", p. 131.

<sup>146</sup> Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, pp. 47–48. The subtitle of this volume is *Nawābiḥ al-ruwāt fī rābi'at al-mi'at*, indicating that it deals with transmitters who were alive in the 4th/10th century.

<sup>147</sup> The correct version is found in the 1383 sh./1985 edition of al-Nu'mānī's *Ghayba*, p. 131; here there appears the *isnād* al-Nu'mānī < Salāma b. Muḥammad (d. 339/950–951) < al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Mahziyār < al-Sayyārī. According to the version cited by al-Ṭīhrānī (*Ṭabaqāt*, I, p. 47), the *isnād* is al-Nu'mānī < Salāma b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Mahziyār < al-Sayyārī. Judging by this *isnād*, al-Sayyārī was only two generations older than al-Nu'mānī and could thus conceivably have reached the 4th/10th century. The name as cited by al-Ṭīhrānī is evidently the result of a conflation between the two names found in the correct version of the passage ("al-Ḥusayn" is probably an error for "al-Ḥasan"; see Khū'ī, VI, pp. 60–61, no. 3002, VII, p. 54, no. 3552).

<sup>148</sup> This date is cited by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Astarābādī (d. 1026/1617) in his *Manhaj*



Iranian scholar Ja'far Sobhani, is 286/899.<sup>149</sup> Since the source for this statement is not provided, its reliability cannot be assessed. There are in fact several indications that al-Sayyārī lived in the mid-3rd/9th century. One of his most frequently cited authorities is Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī, who lived in the early 3rd/9th century;<sup>150</sup> al-Barqī's son, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 274/887–888 or 280/893–894),<sup>151</sup> transmitted from al-Sayyārī in his *Kitāb al-maḥāsīn*.<sup>152</sup> Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) lists al-Sayyārī among the disciples of both the tenth and eleventh Imams, 'Alī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 260/873) respectively.<sup>153</sup> From an epistle (*ruq'a*) ascribed to the ninth Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād (d. 220/835) it would appear that this Imam knew al-Sayyārī; but the Shī'ī scholar Muḥammad Taqī al-Tustarī (d. 1415/1995) maintains that the epistle was composed by al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, and that the available version contains an error in the Imam's name.<sup>154</sup> Al-Tustarī may well be right: this text is reminiscent of others written by the eleventh Imam.<sup>155</sup> In the epistle, sent in response to a query, the Imam declares that al-Sayyārī does not have the position

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*al-maqāl* (p. 44). Al-Astarābādī cites as his source the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī; in the available versions of al-Ṭūsī's work, this date is missing. Muḥsin al-Amīn provides the same information, also from al-Ṭūsī's *Fihrist* (*Ā'yān*, III, p. 116). Others who give this death-date (but without indicating the source of this information) are al-Ṭīhrānī in the *Dharī'a* (XVI, p. 1, no. 2, p. 262, no. 1070), as well as Kaḥḥāla (I, p. 268) and Sezgin (*GAS*, IX, p. 114) in their respective entries on al-Sayyārī. It is unlikely that the error was committed by al-Ṭūsī; more probably, it was introduced by a scribe at some stage in the transmission of the *Fihrist*. The following may have happened: first, the scribe confused al-Sayyārī with his namesake Aḥmad b. Sayyār, i.e. the Sunnī traditionist Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Sayyār b. Ayyūb al-Marwazī, who died in mid-Rabī' I 268/Oct. 881 (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, VII, p. 330) or mid-Rabī' II 268/Nov. 881 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, pp. 35–36; other sources also record the date 268, e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, IV, p. 189); second, he (or a later scribe) copied 268 as 368.

<sup>149</sup> Sobhani, *Doctrines*, p. 94.

<sup>150</sup> He appears in over seventy traditions in *KQ*; see the Notes to *KQ*, no. 1.

<sup>151</sup> For whom see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, Suppl., art. "al-Barqī" [Ch. Pellat]; Newman, *Formative Period*, index.

<sup>152</sup> See Barqī, I, p. 134, no. 12, II, p. 471, no. 464, p. 474, nos. 473, 476, p. 475, nos. 477, 478, p. 478, no. 499, p. 488, no. 558, p. 493, no. 585, p. 507, no. 653, p. 511, no. 684, p. 515, no. 708, p. 517, no. 714, p. 521, no. 736, p. 522, no. 738, p. 524, no. 749, p. 525, no. 754, p. 526, nos. 756, 758, 759, p. 550, nos. 887, 888, p. 590, no. 94.

<sup>153</sup> Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 411, no. 23, p. 427, no. 3 > Quḥpā'ī, I, p. 150. Al-Barqī (*Rijāl*, p. 61) only mentions him as a disciple of al-'Askarī. In *KQ* al-Sayyārī transmits from al-Hādī (both directly and indirectly; see nos. 40, 88, 224, 342, 344, 517), but not from al-'Askarī. For another example of al-Sayyārī's transmission from al-Hādī see *Baṣā'ir*, p. 517, no. 47 > *Biḥār*, XXV, p. 372, no. 23.

<sup>154</sup> Tustarī, *Rijāl*, I, p. 609.

<sup>155</sup> For these epistles see Modarressi, *Crisis*, pp. 16–17.



which he claims for himself, and orders that nothing be handed over to him (*lā tadfa'ū ilayhi shay'an*).<sup>156</sup> This somewhat cryptic statement may refer to an attempt by al-Sayyārī to present himself as a financial agent (*wakīl*) of the Imam, and as such entitled to collect money on his behalf. (Such money would include the *khums*, a 20 % levy on the income of the believers.)<sup>157</sup>

Al-Sayyārī is an early authority for a miraculous event connected with the Twelfth Imam: he reportedly declared having heard from Nasīm and Māriya, two slave girls of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, that when the Twelfth Imam was born he kneeled down, raised his index finger towards heaven, praised God and said: “The evil-doers have claimed that God’s argument is not valid (*ḥujjat allāh dāḥida*; cf. Q 42:16); had we been given permission to speak, all doubt would have been removed”.<sup>158</sup>

Al-Sayyārī was severely criticized by some Rijāl experts. Two main charges were levelled against him. The first was that he espoused extremist beliefs.<sup>159</sup> In this vein, al-Sayyārī’s contemporary Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Maḥbūb al-Ashʿarī in his *Kitāb (nawādir) al-muṣannaf* accuses him of belief in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*).<sup>160</sup> The second charge was that al-Sayyārī habitually transmitted traditions with incomplete *isnāds* (*kathīr al-marāsīl*) and was in general an unreliable transmitter (*daʿīf al-ḥadīth*).<sup>161</sup> Consequently, some Qummī scholars refused to relate traditions in which he appeared as a transmitter. Thus Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ibn al-Walīd al-Qummī (d. 343/954–955) and Muḥammad b.

<sup>156</sup> Kishshī, p. 505 > Ibn al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Tahzīb*, p. 46, Quhpāʿī, I, p. 149.

<sup>157</sup> For the role of the *wakālāʾ* see Modarressi, *Crisis*, pp. 13–16.

<sup>158</sup> See Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, p. 251 > *Mustadrak*, VIII, pp. 388–389, no. 9759; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 406 > *Bihār*, LI, p. 4, no. 6 (in *Bihār*, read “al-Sayyārī” for “al-Shāhī”); Ṭūsī, *Ghayba*, p. 147; anon., *Alqāb*, p. 287; Ibn Ḥamza, *Thāqib*, p. 584, no. 532 (beginning: *ʿan al-Sayyārī qāl*); Rāwandī, *Kharāʾij*, I, p. 457, no. 2 (beginning: *mā ruwiya ʿan al-Sayyārī*) > *Bihār*, LXXVI, p. 53, no. 5; Irbilī, *Kashf*, III, p. 302. In most of these sources, the story is transmitted from al-Sayyārī by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, a great-grandson of Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Elsewhere it is Ibrāhīm himself who quotes Nasīm and Māriya (see Khaṣībī, *Hidāya*, pp. 357–358; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām*, p. 420). The birth date of the Twelfth Imam is often given as 256/870, though other dates are also mentioned; see Hussain, *Occultation*, pp. 70–71.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, p. 40, no. 11 > Quhpāʿī, I, p. 149; Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70 (*fāsīd al-madhhab*, “holding to a corrupt doctrine”), both > Quhpāʿī, I, p. 150, Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 22, note 26; Ḥillī, *Khulāṣa*, p. 97.

<sup>160</sup> Cited in Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, p. 40, no. 11 > Quhpāʿī, I, p. 150, Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 22, note 26. For Ibn Maḥbūb’s work see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 288, no. 448. For a discussion of metempsychosis among the Shīʿa (particularly the *ghulāt*) see Freitag, *Seelenwanderung*, pp. 1–112.

<sup>161</sup> Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70, both > Quhpāʿī, I, p. 150.

‘Alī Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991) are said to have dropped all traditions found in the *Kitāb nawādir al-ḥikma* by Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (fl. late 3rd/9th century) that had been transmitted by al-Sayyārī.<sup>162</sup> Others related from al-Sayyārī conditionally: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār al-Qummī, who was one generation younger than al-Sayyārī and is described by al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058) as a leading scholar of his time (*shaykh aṣḥābinā fi zamānihi*), is reported to have transmitted on his authority only those of his traditions that did not contain elements of *ghuluww* (extremism).<sup>163</sup> At the same time, a number of prominent Qummī authors transmitted from him directly and without restrictions; they include Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902–903)<sup>164</sup> and ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far al-Ḥimyarī (d. after 297/909–910),<sup>165</sup> in addition to the above-mentioned Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī. Al-Sayyārī appears as a transmitter in two of the Four Books of Imāmī Shī‘ism: the *Kāfi* of al-Kulīnī and the *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* of al-Ṭūsī.<sup>166</sup>

Al-Ṭūsī credits al-Sayyārī with numerous works (*wa-ṣannaḥa kutuban kathīra*), and provides the titles of four of them: (1) *Kitāb thawāb al-qur‘ān* (The Book on the Reward for [Reciting] the Qur‘ān); (2) *Kitāb al-ṭibb* (The Book of Medicine); (3) *Kitāb al-qirā‘a* (The Book of Recitation [of the Qur‘ān]); (4) *Kitāb al-nawādir* (The Book of Strange/Entertaining Anecdotes).<sup>167</sup> Al-Najāshī gives the same titles, but with *Kitāb al-qirā‘āt* (The Book of Variant Readings [of the Qur‘ān]) for *Kitāb al-qirā‘a*.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Najāshī, II, pp. 242–244, no. 940 > Quhpā‘ī, V, pp. 144–145; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 175, no. 623 > Quhpā‘ī, V, p. 144. For al-Ash‘arī and his *Nawādir al-ḥikma* see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 299, no. 469.

<sup>163</sup> Najāshī, II, pp. 250–251, no. 947 > Quhpā‘ī, VI, pp. 70–71. For his transmission from al-Sayyārī see Najāshī, I, p. 212, no. 190, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70, both > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 150.

<sup>164</sup> See Amir-Moezzi, “Ṣaffār”, p. 234. Al-Ṣaffār cites from al-Sayyārī both directly (as in *Baṣā‘ir*, p. 125, no. 4) and via one or two intermediaries (as in *Baṣā‘ir*, p. 14, no. 2, p. 69, no. 2, p. 517, no. 47).

<sup>165</sup> See e.g. Ibn Tāwūs, *Falāḥ*, p. 283.

<sup>166</sup> See the examples in Ardabīlī, I, p. 67. Al-Sayyārī also appears as a transmitter in two traditions in al-Ṭūsī’s *Istibṣār* (I, p. 237, no. 846, p. 483, no. 1871). In his comment following the first of these traditions al-Ṭūsī cites Ibn Bābawayh’s negative assessment of al-Sayyārī. Al-Sayyārī’s own views are cited in Kulīnī, IV, p. 81, no. 3, VI, p. 252, no. 9, p. 307, no. 13. A partial list of al-Sayyārī’s authorities and those who transmitted from him is given in Khū‘ī, III, pp. 71–73, no. 874, XXIV, pp. 122–124, no. 15375.

<sup>167</sup> Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 51, no. 70 > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 150. See also Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma‘ālim*, p. 13, no. 60.

<sup>168</sup> Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190 > Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 150; also Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma‘ālim*, p. 13, no. 60 (*al-Qirā‘āt*). Muḥsin al-Amīn (*A‘yān*, III, p. 117) maintains that the title

He also mentions another work: (5) *Kitāb al-ghārāt* (The Book of Raids). All of these, he says, were available to him.<sup>169</sup> Fragments of a work by al-Sayyārī are cited in the concluding section (entitled *Mustaṭrafāt*) of the *Kitāb al-sarā'ir* by Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī (d. 598/1202);<sup>170</sup> judging by their contents, these fragments may have formed part of the *Kitāb al-nawādir*. Other than that, only the *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* has survived.

The first author to have cited from this work is in all likelihood Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās Ibn Māhyār, known as Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328/939–940). Ibn al-Juḥām was the author of a massive commentary on the Qur'ān known (inter alia) as *Ta'wīl mā nazala min al-qur'ān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa-ālihi*, and now lost. The second of its two volumes, comprising exegetical traditions on Sūrat al-isrā' to the end of the Qur'ān, was still available to the 10th/16th-century scholar Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī al-Najafī, who cites extensively from it in his *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira fī faḍā'il al-'itra al-tāhira*.<sup>171</sup> These citations include a fairly large number of traditions taken from al-Sayyārī's work. Ibn al-Juḥām cites from al-Sayyārī via one transmitter, Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-Hamdānī (or Hamad(h)ānī).<sup>172</sup>

During the four centuries that followed Ibn al-Juḥām, the *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* seems to have gone unnoticed, except perhaps by Raḍī al-Dīn

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*Kitāb al-qirā'a* appears in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm; this, however, is an error, probably caused by a confusion with the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī. According to al-Nūrī (*Faṣl*, p. 29) and al-Ṭihirānī (*Dharī'a*, IV, p. 454, XVII, p. 52, no. 284), *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* is the title given by both al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī. That the same work may be known as both *Kitāb al-qirā'a* and *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* is attested elsewhere, for example in the case of Abān b. Taghlib (d. 141/758–759; see *GdQ*, III, p. 206, note 5; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 111) or the grammarian Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Sa'dān al-Ḍarīr (d. 231/845–846; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 76, with note 6). Cf. in general *EL*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Qirā'a" (R. Paret). The title *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* reflects more accurately the contents of al-Sayyārī's work.

<sup>169</sup> Najāshī, I, p. 211, no. 190 > Quhpā'ī, I, p. 150. Al-Ṭihirānī (*Dharī'a*, XVI, p. 262, no. 1070) mentions a work of al-Sayyārī entitled *Faḍā'il al-qur'ān*, without however providing the source of this information. This may be an alternative title to *Kitāb thawāb al-qur'ān*.

<sup>170</sup> See Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā'ir*, III, pp. 568–572. Ibn Idrīs mistakenly refers to al-Sayyārī as a disciple of the Imams Mūsā al-Kāzīm and 'Alī al-Riḍā (*Sarā'ir*, III, p. 568).

<sup>171</sup> See Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, pp. 369–371, no. 623.

<sup>172</sup> The *nisba* "al-Hamdānī" is attested once, at Najafī, p. 432 > *Mustadrak*, XVII, p. 338, no. 21491. In the classical Rijāl works, the name Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim (without "al-Hamdānī") occurs twice: first, as the author of a work entitled *Imān Abī Ṭālib* (Najāshī, I, p. 242, no. 232 > *Dharī'a*, II, p. 512, no. 2008); second, as someone who, in 328/939–940 and later, transmitted traditions to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Talla'ukbarī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, pp. 444–445, no. 40 > Ardabīlī, I, p. 58). Here his name is given as Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Ubayy b. Ka'b.

‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), a scholar famed for his large collection of Shīʿī and other texts. In two of his works, Ibn Ṭāwūs refers to an anonymous work entitled *Kitāb tafsīr al-qurʾān ‘an al-ṣādiqīn/al-Ṣādiqayn* or *Kitāb tafsīr al-qurʾān wa-taʾwīlihi wa-tanzīlihi wa-nāsikhihi wa-mansūkihi wa-muḥkamihi wa-mutashābihihi wa-ziyādāt ḥurūfihi wa-faḍāʾilihi wa-thawābihi bi-riwāyāt al-thiqāt ‘an al-ṣādiqīn/al-Ṣādiqayn min āl rasūl allāh*. The manuscript of this work, which was in his possession, is described by him as a “beautiful old copy” and “an old bound book of Qurʾān exegesis”.<sup>173</sup> He cites one tradition from it (an exegesis of Q 5:1)<sup>174</sup> and states that the work contains four traditions relating to Q 2:238 plus two other traditions (presumably also on this verse).<sup>175</sup> All of these traditions are in fact found in the text of al-Sayyārī.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, the title given by Ibn Ṭāwūs fits the contents of *Kitāb al-qirāʾāt*. It is tempting to conclude that this was the work in Ibn Ṭāwūs’s possession.

The next author after Ibn al-Juḥām known to have cited from al-Sayyārī is al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī (d. after 802/1399–1400), a disciple of al-Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 786/1384). Al-Ḥillī’s *Mukhtaṣar* (or *Muntakhab*) *baṣāʾir al-darajāt*<sup>177</sup> contains three exegetical traditions (on Q 102:8) taken from al-Sayyārī.<sup>178</sup> Al-Ḥillī refers to al-Sayyārī’s work as *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf* (The Book of Revelation and Falsification [of the Qurʾān]). In classical Arabic literature, it is quite common for a particular work to be known by various names;<sup>179</sup> and the fact that in the available sources this title is first mentioned by al-Ḥillī should not be taken as evidence against its antiquity. It may in fact be assumed that al-Ḥillī took the title *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf* from Ibn al-Juḥām, the second volume of whose *Taʾwīl mā nazala min al-qurʾān* was available to him, as it was later available to

<sup>173</sup> See Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, pp. 349–350, no. 579.

<sup>174</sup> See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, p. 121 > *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 191.

<sup>175</sup> *Arbaʿat aḥādīth bi-ʿiddat ṭuruq ‘an al-Bāqir wa-l-Ṣādiq anna l-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā ṣalāt al-zuhr wa-anna rasūl allāh kāna qaraʾa: “ḥāfiẓū ‘alā l-ṣalawāt wa-l-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā wa-ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr” wa-fihi ḥadīthān ākharān baʿd dhikr aḥādīth* (sic). See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ*, pp. 94–95 > *Bihār*, LXXXII, pp. 290–291. The words *wa-ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* are missing from the printed edition of the *Falāḥ* but appear in the *Bihār*.

<sup>176</sup> *KQ*, nos. 67–71, 79–80, 162.

<sup>177</sup> In the Najaf 1370/1950 edition, the work is called *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir al-darajāt*. According to Crow (“Husayn”, p. 94, note 56), the correct title is *Muntakhab baṣāʾir al-darajāt*.

<sup>178</sup> Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 204. See *KQ*, nos. 689–691.

<sup>179</sup> See *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Unwān” (A.A. Ambros).

al-Najafī.<sup>180</sup> If this assumption is correct, it would mean that this title was in use shortly after al-Sayyārī's death.

Direct citations from al-Sayyārī's work are not found in the major Imāmī compilations of exegetical Ḥadīth composed in the late Ṣafawid period, such as the *Tafsīr al-ṣāfi* of Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680), the *Burhān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān* of Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d. 1107/1695–1696 or 1109/1697–1698) and the *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn* of 'Abd 'Alī al-Ḥuwayzī (d. 1112/1700–1701). The leading author and traditionist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (d. 1104/1693) does not cite from it in two of his major works, the *(Tafsīl) wasā'il al-shī'a* and the *Ithbāt al-hudāt*, and it is doubtful whether citations are to be found in any other of his writings. Al-Sayyārī's work is never cited directly in the monumental *Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699)<sup>181</sup> and is not included in its list of sources. While working on the *Biḥār al-Majlisī*, aided by some of his students, continued searching for additional Imāmī sources, with the aim of compiling a supplement to be entitled *Mustadrak al-biḥār*.<sup>182</sup> Al-Majlisī did not live to write this supplement, but a list of the sources which he had discovered and planned to use was published by al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī (d. 1320/1902) in his biography of al-Majlisī, *al-Fayḍ al-qudsī fī tarjamat al-'allāma al-Majlisī*. The tenth of the forty-eight works which appear in that list is *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf li-Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī wa-yuqāl lahu Kitāb al-qirā'āt ayḍan* ("The Revelation and Falsification [of the Qur'ān] by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī, also known as 'The Book of Variant Readings'").<sup>183</sup>

There are sporadic citations from the text of al-Sayyārī in works from the 18th and early 19th century. These include the *Ḥāshiyat al-madārik* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1206/1791–1792 or 1208/1793–1794);<sup>184</sup> the *Ghanā'im al-ayyām fī masā'il al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Jilānī known as al-Fāḍil al-Qummī (d. 1231/1815–1816 or 1233/1817–1818);<sup>185</sup> the *Mustanad al-shī'a* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad

<sup>180</sup> See Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, pp. 81, 370–371.

<sup>181</sup> Indirect quotations are occasionally found, such as the tradition cited via al-Ḥillī's *Mukhtaṣar* in *Biḥār*, LIII, p. 107, no. 135. See the Notes to KQ, no. 689.

<sup>182</sup> See *Biḥār*, I, p. 46.

<sup>183</sup> Nūrī, *Fayḍ*, p. 65.

<sup>184</sup> Thus according to Nūrī, *Khātima*, I, p. 114; *Dharī'a*, XVII, p. 52, no. 284. Al-Bihbihānī's *Ḥāshiya* is a commentary on the *Madārik al-aḥkām* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Āmilī known as Sibṭ al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 1009/1600) (see *Dharī'a*, VI, p. 196, no. 1079; Modarressi, *Introduction*, p. 84 [no. 6]). It was not available to us.

<sup>185</sup> Jilānī, *Ghanā'im*, II, p. 513.

Mahdī al-Narāqī (d. 1244/1828–1829);<sup>186</sup> and the *Jawāhir al-kalām* by Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Najafī (d. 1266/1850).<sup>187</sup> In the last three sources<sup>188</sup> al-Sayyārī's work is referred to as *Kitāb al-qirā'a* or *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, and the same traditions are cited.<sup>189</sup> It is thanks to al-Nūrī that this text was brought to the attention of a larger audience by being extensively quoted in two of his major works, the *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* (completed 10 Rabī' II 1319/27 July 1901) and particularly the earlier *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* (completed 12 Shawwāl 1298/7 Sept. 1881).<sup>190</sup>

### 5. Structure and Contents of the *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*

Broadly speaking, the *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* belongs within the pre-Buwayhid Imāmī school of exegesis.<sup>191</sup> At the same time, it has some distinctive features of its own.

Like other texts of the pre-Buwayhid school, al-Sayyārī's work is made up entirely of traditions. Most of these are cited with a complete *isnād*. In others, the *isnād* is abbreviated or is missing altogether. In some *isnāds*, al-Sayyārī's immediate authority is an unnamed scholar (*ba'd aṣḥābinā*)<sup>192</sup> or scholars (*ghayr wāḥid/ghayr wāḥid min aṣḥābinā*).<sup>193</sup> As a rule, traditions go back to an Imam (usually Muḥammad al-Bāqir or Ja'far al-Šādiq), though some Prophetic *ḥadīths* are also included.<sup>194</sup>

The work opens with a number of traditions (*KQ*, nos. 1–17) maintaining that the Qur'ān was revealed according to one reading (*qirā'a*) only, and that the Qur'ān as we have it contains omissions. This is followed by a chapter entitled *bāb mā jā'a fī bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (*KQ*, nos. 18–31) which deals with various aspects of the *basmala*, such as the duty to recite it audibly. The rest of the work is divided into

<sup>186</sup> Narāqī, *Mustanad*, V, p. 128.

<sup>187</sup> Najafī, *Jawāhir*, X, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>188</sup> All written by pupils or followers of al-Bihbihānī; see Modarressi, *Introduction*, p. 57.

<sup>189</sup> *KQ*, nos. 661, 699, 700. It is not clear which (if any) of these authors cited directly from a manuscript of the *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*.

<sup>190</sup> For al-Nūrī's citations from al-Sayyārī see Brunner, *Koranfälschung*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>191</sup> For the characteristics of this school see Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 71–86.

<sup>192</sup> *KQ*, nos. 105, 107, 184, 202, 314, 326, 337, 339, 402, 436, 441, 442, 444, 460, 468, 474, 476, 508, 596, 614, 617, 666, 669, 674, 684, 712, 723.

<sup>193</sup> *KQ*, nos. 49, 285, 465, 587, 656, 662, 665.

<sup>194</sup> Two traditions (*KQ*, nos. 71, 626) are recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, one (*KQ*, no. 663) is cited from a son of the Companion Samura b. Jundab, and one (*KQ*, no. 90) is cited from an unnamed Sunnī (*ba'd al-'amma*).

chapters arranged in accordance with the order of the Sūras. At times (particularly in the case of the shorter Sūras) material relating to two or more Sūras is combined in a single chapter. On several occasions the title of a chapter does not accurately reflect its contents: the chapter entitled *Sūrat Saba' wa-l-malā'ika* (i.e. Sūras 34–35) has no citations from Sūrat al-malā'ika; the chapter entitled *Sūrat al-ḥadīd wa-l-mujādala wa-l-ḥaṣhr wa-l-mumtaḥana* (i.e. Sūras 57–60) has no citations from Sūrat al-mumtaḥana. Within each chapter, the verses are not always cited in accordance with the order of their appearance in the Qur'ān. Thus the verses from Sūra 3 (Āl 'Imrān) appear in the following order: 18, 7, 123, 110, 128, 33, 85, 140, 180, 183, 185, 110 (again), 81, 103, 92, 102, 97 etc. In addition, verses which properly belong in a particular chapter are at times cited in the previous or the following chapter, or even in a completely different chapter. Thus Q 2:85 appears in the chapter on Sūra 3 (*KQ* no. 109); Q 5:95 appears in the chapter on Sūra 2 (*KQ* no. 84); Q 7:54 appears in the chapter on Sūra 6 (*KQ* no. 175); Q 22:52 appears in the chapter on Sūra 21 (*KQ* no. 350); Q 35:2 and 35:41 appear in the chapter on Sūra 36 (*KQ* nos. 452, 441 respectively); Q 47:31 appears in the chapter on Sūra 3 (*KQ* no. 130). Whether this reflects the original order of the text remains an open question.

The Imāmī character of the work comes to the fore in over one hundred exegetical traditions. In many of these traditions, 'Alī plays a central role: he alone is Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-mu'minīn*) (*KQ* nos. 160, 440), and is more excellent than Moses and Jesus (*KQ* no. 270); he is the guide of mankind (*al-hādī*) (*KQ* nos. 233, 270) and the path (*sabīl*) (*KQ* no. 378) and gate (*bāb*) leading to God (*KQ* nos. 92, 472), with Whom he enjoys a privileged position (*KQ* no. 481); he offered charity (*KQ* no. 570) and performed miracles (*KQ* no. 684); his *jihād* is the Prophet's *jihād* (*KQ* nos. 225, 585); he is the sole legitimate successor to the Prophet (*KQ* nos. 162, 665, 666, 668), and it is incumbent on the believers to show him loyalty and love (*walāya, ḥubb*) (*KQ* nos. 51, 76, 88, 139, 428, 491–493, 539); on the Day of Judgment he, together with the Prophet, will cast God's enemies into the Fire (*KQ* no. 525). 'Alī's sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the descendants of Abraham (*KQ* nos. 272, 278); they, like their father before them, fell victim to Kūfan deceit (*KQ* no. 450). Several verses are interpreted metaphorically as referring to Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn (*KQ* no. 52) and 'Alī (*KQ* no. 672). The Imams are those who possess authority (*ulū l-amr*) (*KQ* no. 132); they warn mankind (*KQ* no. 191) and are their saviours (*KQ* no. 118) and ambassadors to God (*KQ* no. 233); they have complete



mastery of the Qur'ān (*KQ* no. 451), and their knowledge constantly increases (*KQ* no. 527). They carry out the order of God (*qā'im bi-amr allāh*) (*KQ* no. 406) pending the arrival of the eschatological Qā'im (i.e. the Mahdī) (*KQ* nos. 44, 98, 154, 406, 409, 558, 610, 681). The followers (*shī'a*) of 'Alī and the other Imams enjoy a special position: they are the best of mankind (*KQ* no. 679) and "those possessed of understanding" (*ulū l-albāb*) (*KQ* nos. 92, 472); their sins will be forgiven (*KQ* nos. 473, 518) and they are assured of a place in heaven (*KQ* nos. 200, 468). 'Alī's enemies are often mentioned, sometimes by name but more usually through the use of nicknames or circumlocutions. Thus Abū Bakr is "the first" (*al-awwal*) (*KQ* nos. 359, 383, 474, 522, 616, 617, 621, 660, 672, 684, 698), 'Umar is "the second" (*al-thānī*) (*KQ* nos. 197, 276, 286, 359, 383, 522, 598, 616, 617, 698) and 'Uthmān is "the third" (*al-thālith*) (*KQ* nos. 522, 599, 600, 616, 617); Abū Bakr and 'Umar are "so-and-so" (*fulān wa-fulān*) (*KQ* no. 299), and 'Umar is referred to as *al-adlam* (*KQ* no. 380), Ruma' (*KQ* no. 380) and Zufar (*KQ* nos. 380, 382, 688, 725).<sup>195</sup> 'Ā'isha is "al-Ḥumayrā'" (*KQ* nos. 294, 408, 600);<sup>196</sup> her participation in the Battle of the Camel is recalled (*KQ* nos. 294, 600), and there are veiled references to the role which she and Ḥafṣa played in bringing about the Prophet's death (*KQ* nos. 128, 590). The Umayyads appear throughout in a negative light (*KQ* nos. 184, 299, 410, 511, 592, 598, 616, 677, 715, 716). There are allusions to a number of Imāmī doctrines, including *badā'* (*KQ* nos. 351, 550, 619), *iṣma* (*KQ* nos. 214, 508, 517) and *rajj'a* (*KQ* nos. 113, 295, 303, 490), though the terms themselves are not employed.<sup>197</sup>

A considerable number of traditions are not concerned with specifically Imāmī issues. Rather, they deal with such topics as abrogating or abrogated verses,<sup>198</sup> explication of Qur'ānic words,<sup>199</sup> the significance of particular verses<sup>200</sup> or the merits (*faḍā'il*) of particular Sūras.<sup>201</sup> Numer-

<sup>195</sup> For these appellations see Kohlberg, "Ṣaḥāba", pp. 162–163; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 115–119.

<sup>196</sup> See the Notes to *KQ* no. 294.

<sup>197</sup> For these doctrines, see the relevant articles in *ET*<sup>2</sup>. *Karra* ("return"), a term used synonymously with *rajj'a*, occurs twice, at *KQ* nos. 116, 691.

<sup>198</sup> *KQ* nos. 96, 97, 157, 158, 172, 308, 335, 401, 531, 533; cf. nos. 171, 189.

<sup>199</sup> E.g. *KQ* nos. 50, 250, 336, 337, 470, 632, 649.

<sup>200</sup> The ending (usually understood as the final two verses) of Sūrat al-baqara (*KQ* no. 95); verses 151–153 of Sūrat al-an'ām (*KQ* no. 189); the "verse of the throne" (*āyat al-kursī*, i.e. Q 2:255) (*KQ* no. 86). This verse, and the final verse of Sūrat al-fātiḥa, are each cited in seven traditions, more than any other Qur'ānic passage.

<sup>201</sup> Sūrat al-ḥajj (*KQ* no. 358), Sūrat al-kāfirūn (*KQ* no. 712) and Sūrat al-ikhhlās (*KQ* no. 722).



ous traditions deal with the prophets, but only some of these have an Imāmī colouring.<sup>202</sup>

The issue of the integrity of the Qurʾān figures prominently. It is maintained for example that Sūrat al-aḥzāb, Sūrat lam yakun (= al-bayyina) and Sūrat al-takāthur were originally longer than what we possess of them today (*KQ* nos. 418–422, 427, 680, 692), and that the above-mentioned passage on the “two valleys of gold” formed part of the original Qurʾān (*KQ* no. 430). Most claims of this type refer to the Imāmī belief according to which words or sentences dealing with the rights or merits of the Prophet, the Imams, the *ahl al-bayt* or the *shīʿa* and with the sins of their enemies have been altered or omitted (*KQ* nos. 9, 14, 15, 17, 105, 106, 115, 221, 381, 551, 588, 593, 605, 680).

As the title *Kitāb al-qirāʾāt* indicates, variant readings are a central component of the work. In this respect, it differs from other exegetical works of the pre-Buwayhid school, where *qirāʾāt* occupy a relatively minor position. Roughly two thirds of the traditions in the *Kitāb al-qirāʾāt* deal with readings. Over forty of these readings do not appear to be attested in any other source.<sup>203</sup> Structurally, the readings may be divided into a number of categories, according to the differences between them and the ʿUthmānic codex: (1) a change in vocalization; (2) a substitution of one or more words by another word or words; (3) a change in the order of the words; (4) an addition of one or more words; (5) a combination of elements from categories (1) to (4). As regards their content, the readings may be divided into two main categories: (1) readings carrying an Imāmī message.<sup>204</sup> These *qirāʾāt*, which may be termed “pro-Imāmī”, are further divided into two kinds (though the difference between them is not always clear-cut): (a) explicitly pro-Imāmī readings. These are readings in which one of the following is

<sup>202</sup> Prophets mentioned by name include Adam (*KQ* nos. 65, 104, 106, 339, 344, 384, 604), Noah (*KQ* nos. 104, 106, 116, 151, 237, 238, 240–242, 244, 245, 311, 454, 457, 492, 493, 592, 602), Abraham (*KQ* nos. 187, 188, 278–281, 334, 492, 493), Isaac (*KQ* nos. 271, 278, 492, 493), Ishmael (*KQ* nos. 273, 278, 493), Jacob (*KQ* nos. 255, 271, 492, 493), Moses (*KQ* nos. 115, 201, 202, 231, 270, 286, 319, 345, 390, 391, 402, 404, 405, 429, 493, 507), Aaron (*KQ* nos. 286, 429), Shuʿayb (*KQ* no. 404), David (*KQ* nos. 188, 398), Solomon (*KQ* nos. 188, 398, 471) and Jesus (*KQ* nos. 115, 123, 168, 188, 270, 493).

<sup>203</sup> See *KQ* nos. 60, 62, 89 (four readings), 94, 108, 143, 168 (repeated in 169), 196, 236, 239, 276, 277, 302, 306, 308, 314, 354, 362, 365, 374, 387, 391, 398, 407, 414, 435, 436, 445, 446, 448, 464, 488, 502, 514, 577, 602–605, 615, 646, 669, 701.

<sup>204</sup> For a list of such readings in other pre-Buwayhid Imāmī works see Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 51–72.

mentioned: ‘Alī (by his name or by one of his epithets: *walī*, *waṣī* etc.); the Imams; the Prophet’s family; the *walāya*; enemies of the Prophet’s family (by their name or by a pejorative appellation); terms of Imāmī law, doctrine etc. (b) implicitly pro-Imāmī readings. These are readings whose Imāmī character appears only in the interpretation given to them by the Shī‘ī exegetes. (2) neutral readings. These are readings with no explicit or implicit Imāmī message. Readings from category (1a) are almost never cited outside Imāmī literature (except for polemical purposes); readings from category (2) and sometimes also from category (1b) are also found in non-Imāmī works.

When, in a medieval commentary, we find that some word or words have been added to a passage from the Qur’ān or that some other change has taken place, it may not be obvious what the author intends: is he merely glossing the text, or is this a reading? In pre-Buwayhid Imāmī literature, this problem is addressed by means of various formulas that are used to make it clear when a reading is intended.<sup>205</sup> Of them the following are found in *KQ*: *kadhālika nazalat*<sup>206</sup> or *hākadhā nazalat* (“thus [the verse] was revealed”);<sup>207</sup> *wa-lākin nahā nazalat*;<sup>208</sup> *mā nazalat illā hākadhā* (“[the verse] was only revealed thus”);<sup>209</sup> *hākadhā nazala bihi/bihā Jabra’īl* (“thus it [the text/the verse] was revealed by [the archangel] Gabriel”);<sup>210</sup> *nazala bihā Jabra’īl ‘alā Muḥammad hākadhā*;<sup>211</sup> *nazala Jabra’īl bi-hādhīhi l-āya ‘alā Muḥammad/rasūl allāh hākadhā*;<sup>212</sup> *nazala Jabra’īl bi-hādhīhi l-āya hākadhā* (‘*alā rasūl allāh*’);<sup>213</sup> *nazalat (hādhīhi l-āya) hākadhā*;<sup>214</sup> *hākadhā nazalat hādhīhi l-āya* (“thus the verse was revealed”);<sup>215</sup> *hākadhā nazala bihi Jabra’īl ‘alā Muḥammad ṣ wa-lākin nahu ḥurriḥa fīmā ḥurriḥa min kitāb allāh* (“thus it [the text] was revealed by [the archangel] Gabriel to Muḥammad but it was among [the verses] of the Qur’ān which were altered”);<sup>216</sup> *hākadhā l-tanzīl/tanzīluhā* (“thus [it was found in] the [orig-

<sup>205</sup> See Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 44–45. In the *Faṣl*, al-Nūrī indicates a *qirā’a* by placing a line above it.

<sup>206</sup> *KQ* no. 415.

<sup>207</sup> *KQ* nos. 124, 221, 455, 508, 669–671, 706.

<sup>208</sup> *KQ* no. 596.

<sup>209</sup> *KQ* no. 473.

<sup>210</sup> *KQ* nos. 147, 339, 601.

<sup>211</sup> *KQ* no. 113.

<sup>212</sup> *KQ* nos. 81, 135, 150, 301, 378; cf. no. 380.

<sup>213</sup> *KQ* nos. 61, 63, 87, 300.

<sup>214</sup> *KQ* nos. 138, 552, 659.

<sup>215</sup> *KQ* no. 209.

<sup>216</sup> *KQ* no. 505.

inal] revelation”);<sup>217</sup> *innamā hiya* (“it [the correct reading of the verse] is”);<sup>218</sup> *innamā huwa* (“it [the correct reading of the text] is”);<sup>219</sup> *innamā nazalat/unzilat* (“it [the verse] was revealed [as follows]”);<sup>220</sup> *innamā qāl* (“He [God] said”);<sup>221</sup> *innamā tanzīluhā* (“it [the verse] was revealed [as follows]”).<sup>222</sup> When a Qur’ānic verse is preceded by a particular verb or expression and is not accompanied by exegetical material, it can often be taken that the verse cited contains a *qirā’a*. Examples are *qara’a*,<sup>223</sup> *kāna/samī’u* etc. *yaqra’u*,<sup>224</sup> *iqra’*,<sup>225</sup> *talā*,<sup>226</sup> *qāla*,<sup>227</sup> *fī qawl allāh ta’ālā*, *fī qawlihi* etc.<sup>228</sup> Finally, the Imam may emphasize that a particular reading was revealed to the Prophet,<sup>229</sup> was recited by the Prophet<sup>230</sup> or by ‘Alī,<sup>231</sup> or is found in ‘Alī’s codex of the Qur’ān.<sup>232</sup>

A favourite method of pointing out an Imāmī reading is to reproduce a dialogue between an Imam and his disciple. For example, the disciple recites (or refers to) a verse according to a non-Imāmī reading; the Imam corrects this reading,<sup>233</sup> at times pointing out that it is the result of *tahriṣ*.<sup>234</sup> In other cases, the Imam recites a verse according to the Imāmī reading, and when the disciple—who has never heard this reading

<sup>217</sup> *KQ* nos. 146, 372; cf. no. 603.

<sup>218</sup> *KQ* nos. 120, 180, 208, 211, 231, 254, 290, 348, 349, 362, 379, 405, 456, 475, 547, 576, 655.

<sup>219</sup> *KQ* nos. 326, 540, 663.

<sup>220</sup> *KQ* nos. 101, 436.

<sup>221</sup> *KQ* no. 605.

<sup>222</sup> *KQ* no. 413.

<sup>223</sup> *KQ* nos. 40, 102, 167, 220, 223, 243, 246, 275, 297, 311, 332, 338, 363, 370, 372, 373, 387, 423, 434, 490, 502, 509, 514, 545, 573, 581, 604, 606, 607, 631, 642, 646, 657, 659, 682, 717.

<sup>224</sup> *KQ* nos. 35, 79, 104, 248, 252, 271, 287, 304, 309, 327, 340, 354, 414, 439, 455, 463, 467, 571, 572, 586, 588, 589, 598, 613, 636, 637, 644, 652, 653, 696, 705, 706.

<sup>225</sup> *KQ* nos. 219, 718, 719.

<sup>226</sup> *KQ* nos. 251, 512.

<sup>227</sup> *KQ* nos. 234, 503, 574, 581, 712.

<sup>228</sup> *KQ* nos. 53–55, 58, 77, 93, 94, 110, 140, 156, 164, 165, 177, 195, 199, 210, 222, 269, 302, 306, 313, 321–323, 328, 347, 386, 392, 398, 417, 424, 425, 428, 429, 432, 435, 445, 454, 503, 507, 515, 516, 535, 541, 554, 567, 627.

<sup>229</sup> *KQ* nos. 65, 120, 479.

<sup>230</sup> *KQ* nos. 67, 79.

<sup>231</sup> *KQ* nos. 236, 293, 316, 319, 325.

<sup>232</sup> *KQ* nos. 380, 382.

<sup>233</sup> *KQ* nos. 72, 101, 106, 169, 181, 217, 267, 274, 343, 349, 399, 436, 457, 479, 576, 669.

<sup>234</sup> *KQ* nos. 505, 593, 605; cf. nos. 623, 663.

before—wonders about it, the Imam reaffirms its correctness.<sup>235</sup> The Imam may recite a verse according to the Imāmī reading and then tell the disciple to recite it in this manner;<sup>236</sup> or he may forbid his disciple to recite a verse according to the non-Imāmī reading.<sup>237</sup> Often the disciple reports that he heard the Imam recite a verse according to the Imāmī reading.<sup>238</sup>

Many readings which in *KQ* are ascribed to an Imam are ascribed elsewhere to Ibn Mas'ūd.<sup>239</sup> This is hardly surprising, given that the readings of both Ibn Mas'ūd and the early Shī'a were propagated in a single location (namely Kūfa) at about the same time by people who had contacts to each other.<sup>240</sup> Remarkably, eleven readings are cited in *KQ* on Ibn Mas'ūd's authority—significantly more than the number of such readings in any other Imāmī work of the pre-Buwayhid period.<sup>241</sup> In medieval sources there is considerable overlap between readings on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd and those on the authority of Ubayy b. Ka'b.<sup>242</sup> No readings in *KQ* are ascribed to Ubayy<sup>243</sup> but, as in the case of Ibn Mas'ūd, various readings elsewhere given on his authority are in *KQ* ascribed to an Imam.<sup>244</sup>

<sup>235</sup> *KQ* nos. 182, 220, 331, 348, 473, 479, 551, 639.

<sup>236</sup> *KQ* nos. 119, 168, 353, 361.

<sup>237</sup> *KQ* nos. 346, 353, 540.

<sup>238</sup> *KQ* nos. 37, 38, 104, 248, 252, 264, 289, 296, 348, 407, 414, 467, 509, 566, 586, 589, 608, 613, 636, 637, 644, 653.

<sup>239</sup> See the Notes to *KQ* nos. 34, 57, 93, 105, 126, 140, 146, 148, 153, 207, 210, 219, 232, 241, 248, 254, 264, 265, 271, 291, 296, 313, 316, 317, 336, 338, 343, 367, 371, 386, 406, 424, 426, 434, 439, 455, 463, 474, 503, 523, 554, 560, 574, 586, 609, 627, 664, 670, 685, 705, 714.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Jeffery, pp. 20–21; Burton, *Collection*, pp. 193–196; Shnizer, pp. 79–84. For Ibn Mas'ūd's *muṣḥaf* see in general *Faṣl*, pp. 135–144. For the Shī'ī predilection for Ibn Mas'ūd's codex see Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 272; Jeffery, p. 184.

<sup>241</sup> A search has yielded two citations in *Qummī* (I, p. 366 [to Q 13:36], p. 391 [to Q 16:108–109]), one in *Furāt* (I, p. 302, no. 407 [to Q 26:214]) and none in al-'Ayyāshī's *Tafsīr*. Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) maintains that he saw 'Alī's name in eight places in the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd; but he does not cite from it (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 > Bayāḍī, *Ṣirāt*, I, p. 279).

<sup>242</sup> It has been suggested that readings of the one have been attributed to the other (Jeffery, p. 116).

<sup>243</sup> And hardly any in other pre-Buwayhid texts; for a rare example see *Furāt*, II, p. 404, no. 540 (to Q 43:57).

<sup>244</sup> See the Notes to *KQ* nos. 35, 37, 46, 67, 100, 110, 112, 140, 148, 179, 192, 207, 210, 219, 243, 267, 268, 271, 287, 288, 311, 316, 317, 323, 328, 330, 338, 367, 369, 370, 386, 397, 412, 417, 423, 424, 439, 445, 456, 462, 519, 523, 540, 541, 565, 573, 574, 579, 591, 618, 623, 642, 652, 655, 714, 716.

It is doubtful whether al-Sayyārī's aim was to encourage his readers to recite the Qur'ān in accordance with the *qirā'āt* which he cited.<sup>245</sup> Instead, he must have seen his task as that of recording and preserving those readings which the Imāmī community regarded as reliable.<sup>246</sup>

*KQ* shows a marked affinity with the *Tafsīr* of Abū l-Naḍr Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī.<sup>247</sup> Only the first half of al-'Ayyāshī's work (covering Sūras 1–18) is known to have survived. This half has some eighty traditions in common with *KQ*, and it can reasonably be assumed that the total number of common traditions was about double. The extant text of al-'Ayyāshī is only available in a version in which the *isnāds* have been abridged, usually leaving only the name of the first (and occasionally also the second) transmitter of each tradition.<sup>248</sup> Where al-Sayyārī and al-'Ayyāshī cite the same tradition, and where al-Sayyārī cites this tradition with a complete *isnād*, it can be assumed that this was also the *isnād* in the original text of al-'Ayyāshī. *KQ* can thus be used to reconstruct some of al-'Ayyāshī's chains of transmission. Al-'Ayyāshī lived in the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th century,<sup>249</sup> making him a generation younger than al-Sayyārī. He may thus have drawn some of his material from al-Sayyārī, though it is just as likely that both authors depend on a common source.

Another relevant source is the *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf* by al-Sayyārī's teacher Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī. This work, also known as *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-taghyīr*,<sup>250</sup> is lost. Thirteen traditions from it are, however, preserved in *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī aḥkām al-a'imma al-hādīn* by the Zaydī Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān (d. 614/1217). This Imam is known to have ordered the collection or copying of a large number of works,<sup>251</sup> and al-Barqī's may well have been among them.<sup>252</sup> Most of the traditions from al-Barqī preserved in *al-'Iqd al-*

<sup>245</sup> In fact, he cites on occasion several readings of the same verse; see *KQ*, nos. 100/101, 102/114, 195/196, 313/314, 316/317, 464/466, 655/659, 665/666/667/668.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Bar-Asher, "Readings", pp. 45–47.

<sup>247</sup> For al-'Ayyāshī and his Qur'ān commentary see Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 56–63.

<sup>248</sup> See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 2; cf. Modarressi, *TS*, p. 185.

<sup>249</sup> His exact dates are not known (see Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 59).

<sup>250</sup> See Najāshī, II, p. 221, no. 899 > Quhpā'i, V, p. 206, *Dharī'a*, IV, p. 455, no. 2023. In these sources the title appears as *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-ta'būr*, which is an error. The correct title is given in *Faṣl*, p. 29, l. 8.

<sup>251</sup> See Madelung, *al-Qāsim*, p. 216; Schmidtke, "Encounter", p. 110.

<sup>252</sup> In the printed edition of *al-'Iqd al-thamīn* the title appears once as *al-Taḥrīf wa-l-tanzīl* and once as *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf* (see Manṣūr, *Iqd*, pp. 312, 313). The author's name appears both as al-Barqī (at p. 313) and erroneously as al-T-r-i-q-i (at p. 312).

*thamīn* are found in *KQ*, usually with the same *isnād*.<sup>253</sup> It is not clear, however, whether al-Sayyārī used al-Barqī's work.

To sum up: each of the titles by which al-Sayyārī's work is known underlines one of its distinctive features. The title *al-Tanzīl wa-l-tahrīf* reflects the belief that the text of the original Qur'ān had been tampered with. A number of works with similar titles are mentioned in the sources,<sup>254</sup> but none have survived. The title *al-Qir'āt* points more generally to the central role of readings in it. Works bearing such a title are known in both Sunnī and Imāmī literature.<sup>255</sup> The title *al-Tafsīr*—found only in some late manuscripts (see below)<sup>256</sup>—identifies the work as belonging to the genre of Qur'ānic exegesis.

## 6. The Edition

### 6.1. The Manuscripts

The edition of *KQ* is based on the following manuscripts:

(1) Mar'ashī no. 1455 (= ms. M), comprising 73 folios, 15 lines per page. At the upper left-hand corner of the first page there appears the title *Tafsīr-i Abū 'Abdallāh Sayyārī*, which was added by a later hand. The copyist is Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Yazdī (d. 1076/1666), a disciple of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī.<sup>257</sup> The date given in the colophon is 23 Sha'bān 1076/28 February 1666. Since al-Yazdī spent

<sup>253</sup> *KQ*, nos. 279, 286, 305, 311, 333, 390, 533.

<sup>254</sup> These are, in addition to al-Barqī's work, *Kitāb al-tanzīl min al-qur'ān wa-l-tahrīf* by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl al-Kūfī (fl. mid-3rd/9th century) (see Najāshī, II, p. 84, no. 674 > Quhpā'ī, IV, p. 182, *Dharī'a*, IV, p. 454, no. 2022); *al-Tahrīf wa-l-tabdīl* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣayrafi (see Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 183, no. 661 > Quhpā'ī, V, p. 190, *Dharī'a*, III, pp. 394–395, no. 1417; Khū'ī [XVI, p. 277, no. 10556] identifies the author with a Kūfan disciple of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq mentioned in Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 284, no. 58); *al-Tabdīl wa-l-tahrīf* by the above-mentioned 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d. 352/963) (see Najāshī, II, p. 96, no. 689 > Quhpā'ī, IV, p. 162, *Dharī'a*, III, p. 311, no. 1151), also known as *al-Radd 'alā ahl al-tabdīl* (see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 110, cf. the Notes to *KQ*, no. 620) or *al-Radd 'alā ahl al-tabdīl wa-l-tahrīf fīmā waqa'a min ahl al-ta'līf* (see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, p. 64, no. 436, *Dharī'a*, X, pp. 186–187). Cf. Kohlberg, "Qur'ān", p. 213; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 225 = *Divine Guide*, p. 90.

<sup>255</sup> For some examples see *GAS*, I, index; *Dharī'a*, XVII, pp. 52–53, nos. 285–287.

<sup>256</sup> And as part of the title given by Ibn Ṭāwūs to what may be the text of al-Sayyārī (see above, p. 36).

<sup>257</sup> See Majlisī, *Ijāzāt*, p. 219. For his death date see Ṭihirānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, p. 290.

the last year of his life in Mashhad,<sup>258</sup> it is there that the manuscript is likely to have been copied. The manuscript was collated with its exemplar (*aṣl*), dated 3 Jumādā II 453/25 June 1061, which in turn had been copied from a manuscript dated Dhū l-Qa‘da 328/Aug.–Sept. 940. The collation was undertaken by ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Khātūnābādī<sup>259</sup> and completed between the 20th and 30th (*al-‘aṣhr al-thālith*) of Ramaḍān 1076/26 March to 5 April 1666. In the manuscript, traditions are often separated by a full stop. Corrections usually appear in the text, and at times are indicated by *zā’* (for *al-zāhir*). *Ibn* is as a rule written without the initial *alif* even at the beginning of a sentence, and *mimman* is consistently written as *min man*. In several places there are errors which may indicate that at some stage in the transmission the text was read out to the copyist. These errors include *mā kān* for *makān* (*KQ*, no. 91), *‘adaka l-‘urjūn* for *‘ada ka-l-‘urjūn* (*KQ*, no. 442) and *innahā ulā’* for *inna hā’ulā’* (*KQ*, no. 500).

(2) Tehran University Mishkāṭ no. 842 (= ms. L), comprising 54 folios, 16 lines per page. Neither the name of the copyist nor the date is provided. At the upper left-hand corner of the first page there appears the title *Kitāb al-tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf li-Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī min al-qudamā’*. This was written by the manuscript’s owner, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī.<sup>260</sup> Underneath the title al-Nūrī noted that he had made a copy of this manuscript in 1282/1865–1866 (*istaktabtuhu li-naḥsī wa-anā al-mudhnib al-musī’ Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Ṭabrisī fī 1282*). Ms. L is the one from which he cites in his *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* and *Mus-tadrak al-wasā’il*.<sup>261</sup> Al-Nūrī, who describes this manuscript as defective,<sup>262</sup> added some marginal notes comprising emendations, references to parallel texts or comments on places where a Qur’ānic verse is not cited in the appropriate chapter. The beginning of each tradition is indicated by a line above the first words. The last word (or several words) of each folio are copied at the beginning of the following folio. This is not

<sup>258</sup> See Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, p. 290.

<sup>259</sup> I.e. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥusaynī al-Khātūnābādī (d. 1105/1693–1694), author of (*Tā’rīkh*) *waqā’i’ al-‘ayyām wa-l-sinīn wa-l-a’wām* (see *Dharr’a*, III, p. 295, no. 1093, XXV, p. 128, no. 738; Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, pp. 419–420; Pampus, p. 21).

<sup>260</sup> In the catalogue which al-Nūrī prepared of his library, the title likewise appears as *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf*; see Modarressi, “Fihrist”, p. 136.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 226, note 470 = *Divine Guide*, p. 205.

<sup>262</sup> *Kadhā fī nuskhatī wa-hiya saqīma* (*Faṣl*, p. 235, l. 3, p. 307, l. 7); *kadhā fī l-nuskha wa-lā takhlū min saqt* (*Faṣl*, p. 308, l. 17); *kadhā fī l-nuskha wa-hiya saqīma jiddan* (*Faṣl*, p. 350, ll. 1–2).

indicated in the apparatus. In the photocopy at our disposal, fol 38 is missing. This covers *KQ* no. 483 (from *wa-lā tahzanū*) to the end of *KQ* no. 494. Some passages at the beginning of the manuscript are misplaced. The correct order is: (a) fol 1a–2a l. 15 (= nos. 1–10); (b) fol 7a l. 2–8b l. 12 (= nos. 10–31); (c) fol 2a l. 15–5a l. 13 (= nos. 31–76); (d) fol 8b l. 12–11b l. 12 (= nos. 76–115); (e) fol 5a l. 13–7a l. 2 (= nos. 115–131); (f) fol 11b l. 12ff. (= nos. 131ff.). Presumably, the copyist (of ms. L or of an antecedent copy) used an exemplar in which the folios were misbound in the following sequence: 1; 7–8; 2–4; 9–12; 5–6; 13ff. The copyist was either unaware of the problem or unable (or unwilling) to set it right. Judging by the misplaced passages, in the misbound copy (as later in ms. L) the last word (or several words) of each folio were copied at the beginning of the following folio.

(3) Mar'ashī no. 12341 (= ms. T), comprising 66 folios, between 15 and 19 (mostly 17 or 18) lines per page. The title of the work is not recorded on the first page; instead, this page contains biographical notices on al-Sayyārī. At the beginning of the text a later hand added: *Kitāb al-tafsīr li-Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī 'alā mā wajadnāhu*. In the colophon the work is called *Kitāb al-tafsīr*. The manuscript was copied in 1311/1893–1894. The copyist is Muḥammad Bāqir al-Hamadānī.<sup>263</sup> His name is immediately preceded by that of Muḥammad al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī,<sup>264</sup> but the latter name is crossed out. This indicates that al-Hamadānī used a copy written by al-Khwānsārī. The copy in question is probably the Fayḍiyya-Qumm manuscript copied in Najaf in Rabī' II 1282/August–Sept. 1865 (unavailable to us; see below, p. 51). A peculiarity of ms. T is that the *thā'* in *mithluhu*, *mathalan* etc. often has two, or even three, teeth. Also, the final *hā'* is occasionally written with two dots above it, making it indistinguishable from a *tā' marbūṭa*. This

<sup>263</sup> I.e. Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Ja'far al-Bahārī al-Hamadānī, who in 1302/1884–1885 received an *ijāza* from al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī and died in Hamadān (Hamadhān) at the end of Sha'bān 1333/July 1915 (see *Dharī'a*, I, pp. 79–80, no. 379; Ṭihrānī, *Muṣaffā*, pp. 87–88; Kaḥḥālā, III, pp. 155–156). He is the author of a number of works, including *Abḥā al-durar fī takmilat 'iqd al-durar*, *al-Ḥjtināb* (in Persian, completed in 1307/1889–1890), *al-Durra al-najafīyya fī l-uṣūl al-dīniyya* and *al-Da'wa al-ḥusayniyya* (see *Dharī'a*, I, pp. 79–80, no. 379, p. 269, no. 1414, VIII, p. 113, no. 414, p. 207, no. 850).

<sup>264</sup> He is presumably Muḥammad Bāqir b. Zayn al-'Abidīn al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī (d. 1313/1895), author of *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* (see Ṭihrānī, *Muṣaffā*, p. 89). The editor of al-Ḥurr al-'Amilī's *Wasā'il* quotes a number of traditions (= *KQ* nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7) which Muḥammad al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī cited from *KQ* in the year 1287/1870–1871 (see *Wasā'il*, II/2, p. 822, note).



manuscript was collated with one or more other manuscripts. Variants are indicated (in the margin or in the text) by the letters *khā'*/*nūn khā'* (for *nuskha*) or *khā' lām* (for *nuskha badal*) and corrections, by the letter *zā'*. Some corrections are accompanied by the word “Muḥammad”, evidently the name of the copyist (e.g. at *KQ*, nos. 101, 128, 155, 160, 297, 421). The manuscript has the same misplacements as those of ms. L.

(4) Markaz Iḥyā' al-turāth al-islāmī (Qumm) no. 3889 (= ms. B), comprising 46 folios, mostly 18 lines per page. This is a xerox copy of a manuscript in a private collection in Najaf. The first page contains the following text: *Kitāb al-qirā'āt li-l-Sayyārī min maṣādir Mustadrak al-wasā'il wa-yuqāl lahu al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf fī khātimat al-Mustadrak* § 309. The name of the copyist is not recorded. The date given in the colophon is 3 Jumādā II 1319/17 Sept. 1901, i.e. less than two months after the completion of al-Nūrī's *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* referred to on the first page. The first word of each tradition is written in a larger script. The misplacements in mss. L and T are also found here. In addition, comments in the margins of ms. L are occasionally incorporated in the text of ms. B (see e.g. *KQ*, nos. 81, 87, 478, 494, 505, 592), making the latter a (direct?) descendant of ms. L. Names such as *Abī Ja'far* or *Abī Ḥamza* are at times written as one word, and several abbreviations are employed, e.g. *kk* for *kadhālika*. These are not noted in the apparatus.

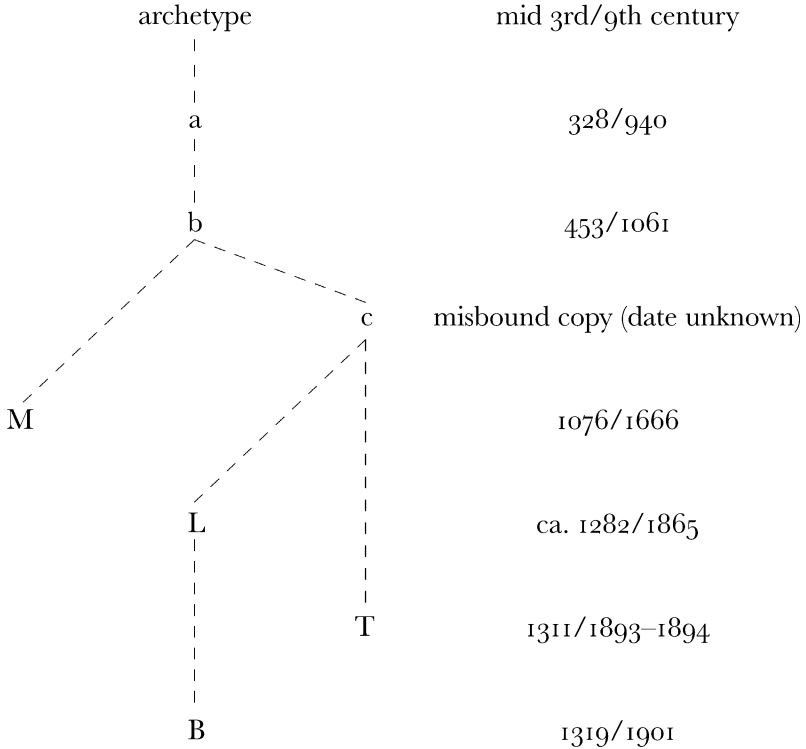
The fact that ms. M preserves the correct sequence of folios indicates that it does not derive from the misbound exemplar to which mss. L, T and B go back. At the same time, the four manuscripts have many errors in common.<sup>265</sup> In addition, the author's name appears in all four manuscripts in the same places and in the same form: at the beginning of the text (*KQ*, no. 1: *Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*), and at the opening of the chapters on Sūrat al-mā'ida (*KQ*, no. 162: *qāla Abū 'Abdallāh*), Sūrat al-tawba (*KQ*, no. 213: *al-Sayyārī qāl*) and Sūrat Ṭāhā (*KQ*, no. 337: *qāl Abū 'Abdallāh*).<sup>266</sup> The word *qāla*, presumably added by a scribe and referring to al-Sayyārī, likewise often appears in the same

<sup>265</sup> E.g. *wa-ātūhunna* for *wa-ātūhu* at *KQ*, no. 176; *yaqūl* for *taqūlū* at *KQ*, no. 193; *yajūz* for *taḥzan* at *KQ*, no. 221; the addition of *al-Umawī* at *KQ*, no. 298 and of *Mūsā* at *KQ*, no. 391; the omission of the latter half of *KQ*, no. 379; the omission of *basharan fa-ja'alahū* at *KQ*, no. 384 and the beginning of *KQ*, no. 568; *H-w-y-za* for *Juwayriya* at *KQ*, no. 460; *akhīhi* for *al-janna* at *KQ*, no. 532; *qawl* for *fu'ad* at *KQ*, no. 543; *farāsh* for *farāshan* at *KQ*, no. 547; the misplacement of *fī isnādihī* at *KQ*, no. 651; *wa-khilāfihim* for *wa-ḥālāfahum* at *KQ*, no. 715.

<sup>266</sup> The “Abū ‘Abdallāh” at *KQ*, no. 52 may also refer to him; see the Notes.

places.<sup>267</sup> All of this points to a common ancestor, of a later date than the archetype.

The transmission of the text may provisionally be given as follows:



## 6.2. Other Sources

In addition to the manuscripts, this edition is also based on quotations from *KQ* found in later sources. As already noted, these sources are:

(1) Ibn al-Juḥām, as cited in al-Najafī, *Taʿwīl al-āyāt al-ḥāhira* (= N) (see *KQ* nos. 305, 321, 333, 347, 378, 406, 428, 461, 482, 483, 490, 494, 497, 498, 505, 513, 542, 592, 595, 601, 605, 617, 651, 665, 668, 677, 678, 689, 693). There are two traditions which Ibn al-Juḥām cites from al-Sayyārī but which are not found in any of the manuscripts.<sup>268</sup>

<sup>267</sup> E.g. *KQ* nos. 175, 200, 225, 227, 232, 242, 253, 275, 279, 313, 345, 402, 409, 410, 465, 537, 549, 558, 588, 641, 664, 692, 725; cf. nos. 197, 651.

<sup>268</sup> See *KQ* apparatus to nos. 383, 572 = Najafī, p. 373, no. 5, p. 693, no. 4.

Some errors found in all four manuscripts<sup>269</sup> do not appear in Ibn al-Juḥām. Also, a number of traditions for which the manuscripts provide partial *isnāds* are cited in Ibn al-Juḥām with full *isnāds*. Ibn al-Juḥām evidently used a very early exemplar; he may even have had access to the archetype.

(2) Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar* (or *Muntakhab*) *baṣāʾir al-darajāt* (= H) (see *KQ* nos. 689–691).

(3) Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī, *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* (= F) (see *KQ* passim).

(4) Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* (= K) (see *KQ* nos. 3, 18–27, 30, 31, 33, 37, 43, 67, 68, 86, 91, 97, 121, 122, 127, 148, 157, 158, 160, 166, 172, 173, 176, 228, 310–312, 331, 360, 366–368, 372, 376, 390, 393, 444, 452, 460, 506, 518, 530, 555, 556, 559, 602, 614, 643, 650, 654, 660, 661, 699, 700, 705–712, 717, 719–722).

### 6.3. Further Manuscripts

We were unable to consult the following manuscripts:

(1) *Madrassa-i ḥihl sutūn*, *majmūʿa* 296, copied probably in the 11th/17th or 12th/18th century.

(2) *Tehran markazī* (University of Tehran Central Library), no. 7165, copied in the 12th/18th century.

(3) *Fayḍiyya-Qumm*, *tafāsīr* 36, no. 68, copied in Najaf in Rabīʿ II 1282/August–Sept. 1865 by Muḥammad al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī.<sup>270</sup>

(4) *Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Ḥakīm al-ʿamma* in Najaf, no. 462m, comprising 35 folios, copied in 1346/1927–1928.<sup>271</sup>

### 6.4. Principles of the Edition

#### 6.4.1. Text

The text incorporates material from all four manuscripts, as well as conjectural emendations and emendations based on other sources. Material from F, K, N and H is usually noted only when it is not found in any of the manuscripts.<sup>272</sup> Ms. M has been followed throughout as

<sup>269</sup> E.g. at *KQ* no. 542.

<sup>270</sup> For these three manuscripts see Ḥujjatī, *Kashshāf*, pp. 277–278.

<sup>271</sup> See *GAS*, IX, p. 114. This may be the manuscript which was in the possession of the scholar and poet Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (d. 1370/1950); see *Dharīʿa*, XVII, p. 52, no. 284.

<sup>272</sup> As already mentioned, al-Nūrī was the owner of ms. L, and it is from there that

regards the blessing formulas after the name of God, the archangel Gabriel, the prophets (including Muḥammad), Fāṭima and the Imams. Where no such formula appears in ms. M, none appears in the edition. Blessing formulas in the other manuscripts have not been noted. Where two different readings of the same Qur'ānic text are recorded, the reading of ms. M has been preferred,<sup>273</sup> except where this reading appears to be erroneous.<sup>274</sup>

As a rule, quotations from the Qur'ān are vocalized in accordance with the standard Egyptian text (which reproduces the reading of 'Āṣim in the recension of Ḥafṣ). Where it is unclear whether the text cited conforms to the Egyptian text, it has not been vocalized.<sup>275</sup> When a Qur'ānic verse that has an initial *wāw* or *fā'* is quoted without it, the form as it appears in the Qur'ān is given in the apparatus.<sup>276</sup> When the deviation from the text of the Qur'ān appears to be the result of an error, the correct form is provided in the text of *KQ* and the form as it appears in the manuscripts is given in the apparatus.<sup>277</sup> *Qirā'āt* are printed in colour. Where a *qirā'a* occurs, first the text of the 'Uthmānic codex and then the *qirā'a* are cited within square brackets. This practice is not followed when the *qirā'a* consists of an addition, or when both the 'Uthmānic codex and the variant reading appear in the

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all his quotations from *KQ* are taken. Yet F and K at times have independent value, mainly because they include emendations to the text of ms. L. These are of two kinds: first, emendations which al-Nūrī wrote down in the margin (or over a particular word) of ms. L and later incorporated in the text of F or K (see e.g. *KQ* nos. 57, 77, 87, 123, 136, 164, 173, 307, 328, 371); such emendations are always noted in the edition. Second, silent emendations which do not appear in the margin of ms. L (see e.g. *KQ* nos. 2, 17, 103, 119, 198, 282, 289, 311, 349, 380, 413, 464, 512, 559, 572, 584, 588, 602, 613, 653, 657). Such emendations are only noted in the edition when they do not conform to the text of any of the other three manuscripts.

<sup>273</sup> E.g. at *KQ* nos. 91, 132, 165, 166, 174, 434, 435.

<sup>274</sup> E.g. at *KQ* nos. 111, 277, 344, 379, 425, 511, 522.

<sup>275</sup> E.g. *yaṭṭawwafā* / *yaṭṭifā* at *KQ* no. 50, *yuzāḥirūn* / *yazḥāharūn* at *KQ* no. 566.

<sup>276</sup> For the omission of *wāw al-'atf* see *KQ* nos. 99, 101, 122, 123, 125, 186, 204, 235, 245, 248, 258, 263, 319, 343, 440, 482, 487, 496, 589, 592, 600, 603; for the omission of *wāw al-qasam* see *KQ* no. 672, cf. no. 641; for the omission of *fā' al-'atf* see *KQ* nos. 274, 320, 367, 371, 388, 666, 682.

<sup>277</sup> The following deviations appear in the manuscripts: (a) addition of *wāw al-'atf* (*KQ* nos. 93, 168, 374, 478, 592, 635); (b) addition of *fā' al-'atf* (*KQ* nos. 567, 635); (c) substitution of *wāw al-'atf* by *fā' al-'atf* (*KQ* nos. 123, 165, 407, 469, 499, 514); (d) substitution of *fā' al-'atf* by *wāw al-'atf* (*KQ* nos. 137, 475, 622); (e) substitution of *qad* by *wāw al-'atf* (*KQ* no. 582); (f) substitution of *wāw al-'atf* by *qad* (*KQ* no. 277); (g) omission of *wāw al-'atf* in mid-sentence (*KQ* no. 471); (h) omission of *fā' al-'atf* in mid-sentence (*KQ* no. 344).

text of *KQ*. *Shaddas* are provided throughout, except after sun letters. In the apparatus, *shaddas* are only given when they also appear in the manuscripts.

The following signs are used:

- < >       enclose an emendation or addition based either on sources other than the manuscripts or on conjecture.
- < ... >   indicates that something seems to be missing from the text.
- ...       indicates that a word or a passage from the Qur'ān has been omitted.

#### 6.4.2. Technical Apparatus

The manuscripts and other sources on which the edition is based are cited in the following order: ms. M, ms. L, ms. T, ms. B, F, K, N, H. Unless otherwise indicated, a note in the apparatus refers to a single word in the text. When this is not so, the relevant passage from the text is given between square brackets (or, in the case of emendations or additions, between angle brackets). Additions to the text are indicated by a plus sign (+); omissions, by the words *saqāṭa min*. An obscure or unclear passage in the manuscripts is indicated by a question mark within parentheses (?). When an emendation is based on another text, an abbreviated title of this text is given in the apparatus, the full reference being provided in the Notes.



## NOTES

Each note consists of one or more of the following elements, in the following order:

- A number in bold which refers to a paragraph in the Arabic text.
- References to works in which the tradition that appears in the Arabic text is cited from al-Sayyārī's *Kitāb al-qir'āt* (= *KQ*) (i.e. *Faṣl*; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*; *Mustadrak*; Najafī). These references are not preceded by “see” or “cf.”.
- References to other sources in which the tradition in question appears. Such references are preceded by “see” or “cf.”. Where no such references are given, this indicates that the tradition does not appear to be recorded elsewhere.
- Explication of the text. Cross-references to paragraphs in the Arabic text are indicated by a number in bold. Cross-references to entries in the Notes are indicated by a number in bold followed by an asterisk.
- Brief biographical details of persons named in the *isnād*. These details are provided when a name first appears in the text. References to Imāmī biographical works are for the most part restricted to Quhpā'ī and Ardabīlī.

**1** *Faṣl*, p. 212, ll. 8–11. For this tradition see Kulīnī, II, p. 630, no. 12 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, p. 53, Ḥuwayzī, I, pp. 167–168, no. 572; Ibn Bābawayh, *I'tiqādāt*, p. 100 (*wa-qāl al-Ṣādiq 'alayhi l-salām al-qur'ān wāḥid nazala min 'ind wāḥid 'alā nabī wāḥid wa-innamā l-ikhtilāf min jihat al-ruwāt*) = Fyze, p. 87; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 48. Cf. the statement ascribed to the third caliph 'Uthmān: *a-lā wa-inna l-qur'ān wāḥid jā'a min 'ind wāḥid* (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, first series, p. 2952). See **7**, **10**.

*Isnād*: AL-BARQĪ: Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (fl. early 3rd/9th century), a transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, Suppl., art. “al-Barqī” [Ch. Pellat]; Newman, *Formative Period*, index). In the manuscripts of *KQ*, al-Barqī appears as a direct authority of al-Sayyārī in over seventy traditions (see Introduction, p. 32). The number rises to over eighty traditions if *isnāds* cited via Ibn al-Juḥām are also

counted (see 347, 378, 406, 461, 490, 494, 513, 542, 595, 665, 677).—IBN ABĪ ‘UMAYR: Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr Ziyād b. ‘Īsā al-Azdī (d. 217/832), a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 384–386).—ŞAFWĀN B. YAḤYĀ: Abū Muḥammad Şafwān b. Yaḥyā al-Bajalī Bayyā‘ al-Sāburī (d. Medina 210/825–826), a transmitter from al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpā‘ī, III, pp. 216–222; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 413–417). A number of Imāmī transmitters were known as *bayyā‘ al-sāburī* (seller of Shāpūrī cloth) (see e.g. 72\*, 130\*, 503\*, 650\*, Modarressi, *TS*, p. 388).—AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ NAŞR: Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Abī Naşr Zayd al-Bazanī (d. 221/836–837), a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 384).—JAMĪL B. DARRĀJ: Jamīl b. Darrāj b. ‘Abdallāh (d. late 2nd/8th century), a transmitter from al-Şādiq and al-Kāẓim (Kohlberg, “Uşul”, p. 145; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 335–336; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 307–308).—ZURĀRA: Abū l-Ḥasan (or Abū ‘Alī) Zurāra b. A‘yan b. Sunsun (d. 148/765 or 149/766), the most distinguished member of the Āl A‘yan family and a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq (Kohlberg, “Barā’a”, pp. 158–161; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 321–330 and index, s.v.; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 404–405).

2 *Faṣl*, p. 212, ll. 11–13. See Kulīnī, II, p. 630, no. 13 > *Şāfi*, I, p. 53, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 168, no. 573; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 48. For the term *ahruf* as referring to Qur’ānic readings see Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 37; Gilliot, *Exégèse*, pp. 112–133; Shnizer, *Qur’ān*, pp. 96–99 and the references given there. For early Imāmī opposition to the notion of “seven readings” see Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 47–48; for the Sunnī material see Shnizer, *Qur’ān*, p. 131. Contrast Ibn Bābawayh, *Khīṣāl*, pp. 327–328, no. 44 > *Şāfi*, I, p. 53, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 822, no. 7638, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 65, no. 55, XCII, pp. 49–50, no. 11. Cf. 5, 6.

*Isnād*: ḤAMMĀD B. ‘ĪSĀ: Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā al-Juhanī al-Baṣrī (d. 209/824–825), a transmitter from al-Şādiq, al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā‘ī, II, pp. 228–231; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 273–276).—JĀBIR B. YAZĪD: Abū ‘Abdallāh (or Abū Muḥammad) Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith al-Ju‘fī (d. 128/745–746), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq (*ET*<sup>2</sup>, Suppl., art. “Djābir al-Dju‘fi” [W. Madelung]; Halm, *Gnosis*, pp. 96–112; Kohlberg, “Uşul”, pp. 145, 151, 154, 157; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 294–298 and index; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 86–102).



3 *Faṣl*, p. 239, ll. 18–21, *Mustadrak*, XVII, p. 335, no. 21515. For the ending cf. Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 311–312, no. 485 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 21, *Burhān*, III, p. 347, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 237–238, no. 6, XLVI, pp. 349–350, no. 2, *Ḥuwayzī*, IV, p. 332, no. 50; **186**.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Baṣrī al-Daylamī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpāʾī, V, pp. 219–220; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 120–122; for Sulaymān [Muḥammad's father] see Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 373–374).—HĀRŪN B. AL-JAHM: Hārūn b. al-Jahm b. Thuwayr b. Abī Fākhita (d. late 2nd/8th century), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 248–249).—MUḤAMMAD B. MUSLIM: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Rabāḥ al-Thaqafī al-Ṭaḥḥān (d. 150/767), a prolific Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Kohlberg, “Barāʾa”, pp. 159–160; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 344–345). For the *isnād* Muḥammad b. Sulaymān < Hārūn b. al-Jahm < Muḥammad b. Muslim see e.g. Kulīnī, I, p. 302, no. 3 > Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām*, p. 215; Kulīnī, VII, p. 266, no. 31.

4 See ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 16, no. 9 (al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 17, no. 21, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 96, no. 57; cf. *Baṣāʾir*, pp. 11–12, nos. 1–3; Kulīnī, I, pp. 398–399, no. 2 > *Bihār*, XLV, pp. 93–94, no. 34; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 11 (... *inna l-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī kallama rajulan fa-qāl: min ayy balad anta? qāl min al-Kūfa qāl law kunta bi-l-Madīna la-araytuka manāzil Jabraʾil min diyārīnā*).

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĪSĀ: probably Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī, chief of the Ashʿarī clan in Qumm and a transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpāʾī, VI, pp. 15–16; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 165–166; Newman, *Formative Period*, p. 41 and index).—ʿABDALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM AL-MADANĪ: probably ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAmr al-Ghifārī al-Muzanī al-Anṣārī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and the author of a *kitāb* which was transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Faḍḍāl (Quhpāʾī, III, pp. 255–256; Ardabīlī, I, p. 465). Like other members of the Muzayna, he resided in Medina. The *nisba* “al-Madanī” is however not attested elsewhere; it may be a corruption of “al-Muzanī”.—AL-ḤAKAM B. ʿUTAYBA: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba/ʿUyayna al-Kindī al-Kūfī (d. 114/732 or 115/733), a transmitter from Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʾī, II, pp. 219–221; Ardabīlī, I, p. 266). He is variously reported to have been a Sunnī, a Murjīʾī or a Batrī Zaydī (Kohlberg, “Muḥaddath”, pp. 45–46). His father's name was probably ʿUtayba (not ʿUyayna). This is how it appears in Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhīb* (II, p. 433) and in other Sunnī sources;

cf. also the editor's note at *Bihār*, XIV, p. 192. Al-Tustarī, however (*Rijāl*, III, p. 620), maintains that the correct form of the name cannot be established.

5 *Faṣl*, p. 212, ll. 13–15. Cf. 2, 6.

*Isnād*: AL-KHAYBARĪ: Abū Saʿīd (al-) Khaybarī b. ʿAlī al-Ṭaḥḥān, a Kūfan follower of Mufaḍḍal al-Juʿfī (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 314–315). There are a number of examples for the corruption of al-Khaybarī to al-Ḥimyarī; see e.g. Kulīnī, IV, p. 582, no. 9, note 1, p. 583, note 1 (the latter cited in Modarressi, *TS*, p. 314); 107.—AL-ḤUSAYN B. SAYF B. ʿAMĪRA: Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sayf b. ʿAmīra al-Nakhaʿī, author of two *kitābs*, one of which he transmitted from his older brother ʿAlī, who was a transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quhpāʿī, II, p. 180; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 242–244).—SAYF B. ʿAMĪRA AL-NAKHAʿĪ: a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 371). The string *Ibn Sayf ʿan akhihi ʿan abīhi* occurs some forty times in *KQ*.—YAḤYĀ B. ṢĀLIḤ: unidentified. He may be the person who appears in the *isnād* Muḥammad b. Jumhūr < Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ < ʿAlī b. Asbāṭ (Najafī, p. 868, no. 6 > *Bihār*, XXXIX, p. 289, no. 84). Alternatively, “Yaḥyā” may be a corruption of “Jamīl”; Jamīl b. Ṣāliḥ was a frequent transmitter from Abū Baṣīr.—ABŪ BAṢĪR: the two best known scholars bearing this *laqab* are Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Asadī (d. 149–150/766–767), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 395); and Abū Muḥammad Layth b. al-Bakhtarī al-Murādī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 331–332; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 315–316).

6 *Faṣl*, p. 212, ll. 15–17. Cf. 2, 5.

7 *Faṣl*, p. 212, ll. 17–18. See 1, 10.

8 *Faṣl*, p. 246, ll. 11–12. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 451 (the Prophet: *law anna l-nās qaraʿū l-qurʿān kamā anzala llāh mā ʾkhtalafa ʾthnān*).

*Isnād*: ABŪ BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD: there is some doubt as to whether the correct form of the name is Bakr b. Muḥammad (for whom see 237\*) or Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad (see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 290, note 2; *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 16–17). If the latter, then the person in question may be Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʿī, IV, p. 45; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 501–503, II, p. 369).

**9** *Faṣl*, p. 239, ll. 21–23. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 13, no. 4 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 37 (whence Lawson, “Approaches”, p. 183), al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Ithbāt*, III, p. 43, no. 686, *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 55, no. 24, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 12, no. 43; Muḥid, *Sarawijya*, p. 79 > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 74, *Faṣl*, p. 27, ll. 1–2 (al-Ṣādiq: *a-mā wa-llāhi law qurī’a l-qur’ān kamā unzila la-alfaytumūnā fīhi musammayna kamā summiya man kāna qablanā*); cf. *GdQ*, II, p. 98.

**10** *Faṣl*, p. 212, ll. 18–22. See **I**, 7.

*Isnād*: ABŪ BAKR B. AL-RABī‘ AL-ASADī: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Rabī‘ Ibn Abī al-Sammāl al-Asadī, whose sons Ibrāhīm and Ismā‘īl transmitted from al-Kāẓim and joined the Wāqifa after the Imam’s death (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 283–285).—AL-ḤASAN AL-ṢAYQAL: Abū l-Walīd al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Ṣayqal al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, II, p. 110; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 199–200).

**11** *Faṣl*, p. 247, ll. 8–10. See Hibarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 233; Furāt, I, pp. 46–47, no. 2; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 9, no. 1 (Abū l-Jārūd < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, pp. 22–23 (whence Lawson, “Approaches”, p. 182), *Burhān*, I, p. 21, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 114, no. 1; Nu‘mān, *Sharḥ*, III, p. 11, no. 937; Irbilī, I, p. 321; Najafī, p. 18, no. 1; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 288. Cf. Kulīnī, II, p. 628, no. 4; Muḥid, *Sarawijya*, p. 80 > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 74, *Faṣl*, p. 27, ll. 2–3; Ḥaskānī, I, pp. 43–45, nos. 57–60; Irbilī, I, p. 321; Bayāḍī, I, p. 249; ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 7; **227**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ ḤAMZA AL-THUMĀLī: Abū Ḥamza Thābit b. Dīnār al-Thumālī (d. between 148/765 and 150/767), a Kūfan transmitter from Zayn al-‘Abidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq and the author of a commentary on the Qur’ān (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 147; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 302–304; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 377–379).

**12** Two of the titles by which Sūra 47 is known are Muḥammad and Alladhīna kafarū (see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 552). In the manuscripts of *KQ*, these titles appear consecutively; one is probably an interpolation. The tradition emphasizes that in this Sūra passages dealing with believers alternate with passages dealing with unbelievers. This presumably refers to the first twelve verses, not to the entire Sūra. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 301 (the Prophet declares concerning Sūrat Muḥammad: *āya finā wa-āya fī a’dā’inā*) > Najafī, p. 583, no. 5 (*āya finā wa-āya fī ‘aduwwinā*), *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 21, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 27–28, no. 12; Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 27 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 32, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 25, no. 2; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 19 (‘Alī: *sūrat Muḥammad āya finā wa-āya fī banī Umayya*); Najafī, p. 582, no. 1 (> *Burhān*,

IV, p. 180, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 384, no. 84, XXXI, p. 643, no. 166), pp. 582–583, no. 2 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 180, no. 5, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 385, no. 85), p. 583, no. 3 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 180, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 385, no. 86).

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. JUMHŪR: Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥasan) b. Jumhūr al-‘Ammī al-Baṣrī (fl. first half of 3rd/9th century), described as an extremist (*ghālī*) supporter of al-Riḍā (Halm, “Schatten”, p. 242; Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, pp. 379–380, no. 642; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 23 and note 26; Newman, *Formative Period*, p. 56 and index). Ibn Jumhūr appears in a number of traditions as a direct authority of al-Sayyārī (see e.g. Barqī, II, p. 471, no. 464, p. 478, no. 499; Kulīnī, II, p. 190, no. 9, VII, p. 404, no. 8; Raḍī, *Khaṣā’is*, p. 34; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, p. 278, no. 763). In *KQ* he is one of the most frequently cited authorities, appearing in the *isnāds* of over thirty traditions. There are two noteworthy features about these traditions. First, all have incomplete *isnāds* that do not contain the name of any transmitter between Ibn Jumhūr and the Imam. Second, most of these traditions are not attested in any other source.

13 See *Aṣl ‘Āṣim b. Humayd*, p. 40; Furāt, I, pp. 187–188, no. 238, pp. 189–190, no. 242 (to Q 11:17) > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 391, no. 11. Cf. Ḥibārī, *Tafsīr*, p. 278; Baṣā’ir, pp. 132–133, no. 2, p. 139, no. 1 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, pp. 387–388, no. 5, XCII, p. 87, no. 22, p. 88, no. 25; Furāt, I, pp. 187–188, no. 238 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 391, no. 11; Raḍī, *Khaṣā’is*, p. 23; Ḥaskānī, I, pp. 281–282, no. 386; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, II, p. 287, VI, p. 137 (‘Alī: *mā aḥad jarat ‘alayhi l-mawāsī illā wa-qad anzala llāh fihi qur’ānan*). In these sources (all on the authority of ‘Alī) the word *mawāsī* (“razors”) appears in the plural. (For the expression *jarat ‘alayhi l-mawāsī* [“he reached puberty”] see Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, IV, p. 372, *Biḥār*, XIX, p. 167 [*bayān*].) The reading *mūsā* which appears in the manuscripts of *KQ* is also possible, since this word is regarded by some grammarians as feminine (see *Lisān*, s.v. *mws*).

14 *Faṣl*, p. 240, ll. 2–3. See Baṣā’ir, pp. 195–196, no. 6 (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar < al-Ṣādiq) > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, IX/1, p. 145, no. 33556; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 12, no. 10 (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar < al-Ṣādiq) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 37, *Burhān*, I, p. 20, no. 14, *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 55, no. 23, p. 95, no. 50, Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 12–13, no. 44 (the latter in connection with Q 25:28–29), ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 37; cited in Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 26.

*Isnād*: IBRĀHĪM B. ‘UMAR: Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar al-Ṣan‘ānī al-Yamānī, a

transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. Virtually all quotations from this author in Shīʿī works of Ḥadīth are through Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 291–293). The form “Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmayr al-Nakhaʿī” found in the manuscripts is incorrect. ʿUmayr is a corruption of ʿUmar. As for “al-Nakhaʿī”, this may have been inserted by a copyist who mistook the person in the *isnād* for the well-known Kūfan Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/714–715). The problem is that al-Nakhaʿī’s name is Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, not b. ʿUmayr. Alternatively, “al-Nakhaʿī” may be a corruption of “al-Yamanī”; here the problem is that Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar is consistently referred to as “al-Yamānī”, not “al-Yamanī”.

**15** *Faṣl*, p. 240, ll. 3–5. See ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 13, no. 6 (Muyassir < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 37 (whence Lawson, “Approaches”, p. 183), al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Ithbāt*, III, p. 43, no. 687, *Burhān*, I, p. 22, no. 5, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 55, no. 25, p. 115, no. 9, ʿĀmilī, *Mirʾāt*, p. 37.

*Isnād*: ʿALĪ B. AL-NUʿMĀN: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān al-Aʿlam al-Nakhaʿī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Riḍā and younger brother of Dāwūd b. al-Nuʿmān (for whom see **27**\*) (Quhpāʿī, IV, pp. 231–232; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 606–607). ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān transmitted from ʿAbdallāh b. Muskān directly (see e.g. **467**; Kulīnī, IV, p. 555, no. 6, VIII, p. 189, no. 216) and not via his father (who is unknown to the biographers). The words *ʿan abīhi* found in the manuscripts are probably an error.—ʿABDALLĀH B. MUSKĀN: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muskān, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim; predeceased al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 150–155). In one tradition, Ibn Muskān transmits directly from al-Bāqir (Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 250, no. 1080; idem, *Istibṣār*, III, p. 141, no. 508); but as noted by al-Khūʿī (XI, p. 351), the *isnād* is incomplete and should in fact be Ibn Muskān < ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān < al-Bāqir, as attested in a parallel tradition (Kulīnī, V, p. 448, no. 2). It may be assumed that in *KQ*, too, the name of the person from whom Ibn Muskān transmitted is missing.

**16** *Faṣl*, p. 235, ll. 1–3. The expression *ʿasharat alf* found in mss. M, L and T is grammatically wrong. Al-Nūrī points to two ways in which it may be emended: (i) *sabʿata ʿashara alf*. This is in conformity with the parallel tradition in Kulīnī, II, p. 634, no. 28 (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥakam < Hishām b. Sālim) > *Faṣl*, p. 234, ll. 19–21, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 206 = *Divine Guide*, p. 82; cf. Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 31; (ii) *thamāniyata ʿashara alf*. This is in conformity with a passage from *Kutāb Sulaym b. Qays* cited in Māzandarānī, XI, p. 87 > *Faṣl*, p. 234, l. 21–

p. 235, l. 1. (In the 1424/2003 edition of Sulaym's *Kūṭāb* the passage appears [on p. 146] without the reference to the number of verses.) Al-Nūrī prefers to emend the text of *KQ* in accordance with Kulīnī, since the *isnād* and the *matn* are identical in the two sources (see *Faṣl*, p. 235, ll. 3–5). He notes the two numbers in the margin of ms. L; in ms. B the number 18000 (presumably copied from ms. L) appears in the body of the text. According to Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991), if all traditions of divine origin that are not embodied in the Qur'ān (*al-wahy alladhī laysa bi-qur'ān*; often called *ḥadīth qudsī*) were to be collected, they would equal in length 17000 verses (*Itiqādāt*, p. 99 = Fyzee, p. 86). Ibn Bābawayh does not reveal the source of this statement, yet it is probably related to the tradition in Kulīnī. It may well have been Ibn Bābawayh's intention to interpret this tradition in a way that would conform to his view about the integrity of the 'Uthmānic codex (see Brunner, *Koranfälschung*, p. 7; idem, "Falsification", p. 10; cf. Kohlberg, "Qur'ān", p. 214; McDermott, *Theology*, p. 355). The Qur'ān consists of between 6000 and 6600 verses, depending on how it is divided into verses (cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, I, pp. 231–232). According to the Kūfans, it comprises 6236 verses; according to the Baṣrans, it comprises 6204 verses (Shahrastānī, *Maṣāṭīḥ*, p. 160; cf. Cook, *Koran*, p. 117). Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, p. 40) has preserved the titles of some twenty books which dealt with the number of verses in the Qur'ān.

*Isnād*: 'ALĪ B. AL-ḤAKAM: Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. al-Zubayr al-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī al-Ḍarīr, a transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpā'ī, IV, pp. 192–193; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 575–577).—HISHĀM B. SĀLIM: Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī al-Ju'fī, a *mutakallim* and transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 342–348 and index; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 269–271).

**17** *Faṣl*, p. 240, ll. 5–6. Cf. Kishshī, p. 247 > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 54, no. 21 (Ibn Faḍḍāl < Yūnus b. Ya'qūb < Burayd al-'Ijlī < al-Ṣādiq); Nu'mānī, *Ghayba*, p. 452, no. 5, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 209, note 423 = *Divine Guide*, p. 200.

*Isnād*: IBN FAḌḌĀL: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl al-Kūfī al-Taymulī (d. 224/838–839), a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, II, pp. 131–137; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 214–217).—DĀWŪD B. ABĪ YAZĪD: Dāwūd b. Abī Yazīd Farqad al-Kūfī al-'Aṭṭār, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 214). In the manuscripts of *KQ* the name appears as Dāwūd b. Zayd. A person of this name is listed by al-Ṭūsī (*Rijāl*, p. 120, no. 2 > Ardabīlī, I, p. 304) as

a disciple of al-Bāqir; yet it is Dāwūd b. Abī Yazīd who both transmitted from Burayd (see Ardabīlī, I, p. 117) and transmitted to Ibn Faḍḍāl (see Ardabīlī, I, p. 306).—BURAYD: Abū l-Qāsim Burayd b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿIjlī (d. 150/767), a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 331; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 213–214).

**18** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 166, no. 4393. See ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 19, no. 5 (Šafwān al-Jammāl < al-Šādiq) (ending: *ibtidāʿan li-l-ukhrā*) > Šāfiʿ, I, p. 70, *Burhān*, I, p. 42, no. 16, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 20, no. 10, XCII, p. 236, no. 29, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 6, no. 13. Cf. the statement (on the authority of Saʿīd b. Jubayr) that during the Prophet’s lifetime the Companions only knew that one Sūra had ended and another had begun when the *basmala* was revealed (see ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, II, p. 92, no. 2617; Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil*, II, p. 19, no. 381; Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 209; Sprenger, *Muḥammad*, III, p. xxv [citing Ibn Masʿūd]). Cf. Barqī, I, pp. 40–41, no. 49 > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 234, no. 17; Kulīnī, III, p. 313, no. 3 (*awwal kull kitāb nazala min al-samāʾ bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*) > Šāfiʿ, I, p. 70; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, pp. 26–27. The Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs hold that the *basmala* does not form a part of the Qurʾān but only serves as a mark of separation between consecutive Sūras. This view was rejected by the Imāmīs (see Haider, *Sectarian Identity*, pp. 37, 42, 59; *EQ*, art. “Basmala” [William H. Graham]; *DC*, art. “Basmala” [François Déroche]; cf. Zamakhsharī, I, pp. 24–25). Cf. **19**.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF: judging by the names of those from whom and to whom he transmitted (see Khūʿī, XVII, p. 79, no. 10734), he lived in the early 3rd/9th century. Al-Ardabīlī (II, p. 111) identifies him with the Imāmī *mutakallim* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Rāzī (for whom see Najāshī, II, p. 298, no. 1035); but al-Khūʿī (XVII, p. 80, no. 10735) regards al-Rāzī as a different person.—ŠAFWĀN AL-JAMMĀL: Abū Muḥammad Šafwān b. Mihrān b. al-Mughīra al-Jammāl, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 365).

**19** *Mustadrak*, IV, pp. 166–167, no. 4394. The words *illā wa-l-raḥmān mamdūda* hark back to the following Prophetic tradition (on the authority of Anas b. Mālik): *idhā kataba aḥadukum bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm fa-l-yamudda l-raḥmān* (“whenever any of you writes the words *bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* he should lengthen *al-raḥmān*”) (see Sahrī, *Tārīkh Jurjān*, p. 397; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Jāmiʿ*, I, p. 267; Shīrawayh, *Firdaws*, I, p. 296, no. 1168; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, VI, p. 213; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 32; al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Munya*, p. 180 > *Bihār*, XCII, pp.



34–35, *Mustadrak*, VIII, p. 433, no. 9914; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, X, p. 244, no. 29299). The same instruction is said to have been given by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz to his governors (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, VI, p. 213; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, IV, p. 182). What this means is that the scribe should draw a long stroke between two of the letters which make up the word *al-rahmān*, thus increasing the distance between them. According to al-Munāwī (*Fayḍ*, I, p. 554, no. 834), the letters in question are *mīm* and *nūn*. Al-Qalqashandī, in contrast (VI, p. 213), identifies them as *hā’* and *mīm*, adding that this convention was only followed by Maghribī scribes. This Maghribī feature is quite common; see for example Thomas, *Scribes*, pp. 94, 95 (photos of a Maghribī Qur’ān from Valencia dated 596/1199–1200); Schimmel, *Calligraphy*, p. 33 (photo of a 14th-century Qur’ān from Spain); Cook, *Koran*, p. 72 (photo of a Moroccan Qur’ān in the British Library [ms. Or. 1405]); see also an 8th/14th or 9th/15th century Qur’ān on display in the Musée d’art islamique at the Jardin Majorelle in Marrakesh. In contrast, the prevalent practice outside the Maghreb is to introduce the elongation between the *sīn* and *mīm* of *bi-sm* (see *DC*, art. “Basmala” [François Déroche]). Since the tradition cited in *KQ* does not deal with calligraphic matters, the final three words in it may be an interpolation. Cf. 18.

*Isnād*: ‘UBAYDALLĀH B. ABĪ ‘ABDALLĀH: all that seems to be known about him is that he was a direct authority of al-Sayyārī; see Barqī, II, p. 493, no. 585, *Baṣā’ir*, p. 69, no. 2 (for ‘Ubayd read ‘Ubaydallāh, cf. 202\*), Kulīnī, VI, p. 307, no. 13, p. 336, no. 4. In these sources (except Kulīnī, VI, p. 307) he is called “al-Fārisī”. See also Ardabīlī, I, p. 527; Khūṭī, XII, p. 70, nos. 7448, 7449.

20 *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 157, no. 4362. See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj*, p. 379 (al-Ṣādiq: *bi-sm allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm ism allāh al-akbar aw qāl al-a‘zam*). Ibn Ṭāwūs’s source is *Kitāb faḍl al-du‘ā’* of al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902–903) (cf. Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 159, no. 136). The claim that the *basmala* is the Greatest Name of God was also made by the poet Jāmī (see Schimmel, *Culture*, p. 194, note 128). Similarly, ‘Alī is said to have stated that the *basmala* is “closer to the Greatest Name of God than the black of the eye is to the white of the eye” (*aqrabu ilā ‘sm allāh al-a‘zam min sawād al-‘ayn ilā bayāḍihā*) (*Aṣl ‘Āṣim b. Ḥumayd*, p. 28). This statement is also ascribed to al-Riḍā (‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 21, no. 13; Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 573 > *Bihār*, X, p. 395; Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Uyūn*, II, p. 5; Ṭabrisī, I, pp. 38–39) and to al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (Ibn Shu‘ba, *Tuḥaf*, p. 361 > *Bihār*, LXXVIII, p. 371, no. 6; Irbilī, III, p. 216). See also 395 (*al-ism*



*al-a'zam*). For *al-mathānī* or *sab'an min al-mathānī* as referring to Sūrat al-fātiḥa see Rubin, "Exegesis", especially pp. 141–145; **30, 32, 33**.

**21** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 167, no. 4395. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 19, no. 4 (Abū Ḥamza < al-Bāqir: *saraqū akram āya fī kitāb allāh*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 70, *Burhān*, I, p. 42, no. 15, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 20, no. 10, XCII, p. 236, no. 28, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 6, no. 12. See also Abū Ḥatīm, *Ẓīma*, II, p. 2 (Ibn 'Abbās: *bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm āya min kitāb allāh saraqahā l-shayṭān*); Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, II, p. 50 (Ibn 'Abbās: *inna l-shayṭān istaraqa min ahl al-qur'ān a'zam āya fī l-qur'ān: bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*); Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ*, I, p. 211. Cf. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 19, no. 382; Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 76 (*dhakarū 'an Ibn 'Abbās annahu kāna yajharu bi-bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm fī l-ṣalāt wa-yaqūl: man tarakahā fa-qad taraka āyatan min kitāb allāh*); Tha'labī, I, p. 104. Cf. the account according to which Mu'āwiya, during his visit to Medina, omitted the *basmala* while leading the prayer; the Muhājirūn and Anṣār called out to him: "You have stolen (i.e. suppressed the recitation of) your prayer (*saraqta ṣalātaka*)! Where is *bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*?" (Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, II, pp. 49–50; see also 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, II, p. 92, no. 2618; Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, I, p. 212; Haider, *Sectarian Identity*, p. 49). All traditions in *KQ* dealing with *jahr* (**21–27**) endorse the position that the *basmala* should be recited audibly. For a comprehensive discussion of this and related issues see Haider, *Sectarian Identity*, chapter 2 (pp. 35–81); see also Lalani, *Thought*, pp. 122–123.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ: he is probably Abū Sumayna Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Ṣayrafi al-Kūfi (fl. mid-3rd/9th century), who came from Kūfa to Qumm, whence he was expelled by the Imāmī leader Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Ash'arī after being accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā'i, V, pp. 263–264; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 150–151; Halm, "Schatten", pp. 241–242; Kohlberg, "Barā'a", p. 165; idem, "Uṣūl", p. 151, note 133; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 23, note 26). There are two arguments in favour of this identification: first, Abū Sumayna is known to have transmitted from Muḥammad b. Sinān (Ardabīlī, II, p. 125); and the *isnād* Muḥammad b. 'Alī < Ibn Sinān is attested five times in *KQ*. Second, at two places (**378, 490**) the name as preserved in Najafi is Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣayrafi. Some uncertainty remains, however: in a tradition which is cited in a number of sources, al-Sayyārī transmits from Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Hamdānī/Hamād(h)ānī (Kulīnī, IV, p. 106, no. 5; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ilal*, p. 388, no. 1 > *Bihār*, XCVI, p. 290, no. 6; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, p. 263, no. 789). While

the Qummī traditionist Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Baṭṭa (fl. late 3rd/9th–early 4th/10th century) identifies this person with Abū Sumayna (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 173, no. 609), other Rijāl experts regard them as two different persons (see Khūʿī, XVII, p. 323, no. 11285; cf. Najāshī, II, pp. 216–217, no. 895, pp. 236–237, no. 929, p. 243, no. 940).—MUḤAMMAD B. AL-FUḌAYL AL-AZDĪ: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. (al-) Fuḍayl b. Kathīr al-Ṣayrafi al-Kūfi al-Azdi al-Azraq, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāzīm and al-Riḍā (Quhpāʿī, VI, p. 23; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 174–175). In *KQ*, the *isnād* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī < (Muḥammad) b. (al-) Fuḍayl < Abū Ḥamza occurs eleven times.

**22** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 167, no. 4396 and partially IV, pp. 185–186, no. 4447. See ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 20, no. 6 (Abū Ḥamza < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 42, no. 17, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 82, no. 24, XCII, p. 236, no. 30; *Kutub Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Sallām b. Sayyār al-Kūfi* (for which see Madelung, “Sources”, p. 35) > Nuʿmān, *Īdāh*, fol 124b (Abū Ḥamza < al-Bāqir). Cf. al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, pp. 757–758, no. 7387; **24**, **27**.

**23** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 167, no. 4397. See ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 20, no. 7 (al-Ḥasan b. Khurzād/Khurrazād < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 42, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 20, no. 10.

*Isnād*: SAHL B. ZIYĀD: Abū Saʿīd Sahl b. Ziyād al-Ādamī al-Rāzī, a transmitter from al-Jawād, al-Hādī and al-ʿAskarī, expelled from Qumm by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ashʿarī after being accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpāʿī, III, pp. 179–180; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 393–394; Kohlberg, “Barāʾa”, p. 166; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 23, note 26; Newman, *Formative Period*, pp. 101–102 and index). In *KQ* he appears twelve times as a direct authority of al-Sayyārī.

**24** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 186, no. 4448. See Qummī, I, p. 28 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 70, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 10, no. 34; ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 295, no. 86 (Zurāra < *aḥaduḥumā* [i.e. al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq]; *naḥarū wa-dhahabū* for *yanfirūn wa-yadhhabūn*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 423, no. 4, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 74, no. 3; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-ʿilal* (for which see *Dharīʿa*, XV, pp. 312–313, no. 1997) > *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 51, no. 43. Cf. **22**, **27**, **33**.

*Isnād*: IBN UDHAYNA: ʿUmar b. Udhayna, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 387).—FUḌAYL: Abū l-Qāsim Fuḍayl b. Yasār al-Nahdī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; predeceased al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 225–226).

**25** *Mustadrak*, IV, pp. 167–168, no. 4398. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 21, no. 12 (‘Īsā b. ‘Abdallāh < his father < his grandfather < ‘Alī) > *Burhān*, I, p. 42, no. 23; *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 21, no. 10, XCII, pp. 237–238, no. 36; *Kutub Abī ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sallām b. Sayyār al-Kūfi* > Nu‘mān, *Īdāh*, fol 125a (‘Īsā b. ‘Abdallāh < his father < his grandfather < ‘Alī).

*Isnād*: ‘ĪSĀ B. ‘ABDALLĀH: Abū Bakr ‘Īsā b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as Mubārak, a great-nephew of al-Šādiq, transmitted mostly from him and from his own father ‘Abdallāh, known as Dāfin (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 294–298). Both here and at **76**, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (i.e. Abū Sumayna) transmits from ‘Īsā; cf. Modarressi, *TS*, p. 295.

**26** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 186, no. 4449. See Ṭūsī, *Istibṣār*, I, pp. 310–311, no. 1154; idem, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 68, no. 246 > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 745, no. 7338, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 35; cf. Kulīnī, III, p. 315, no. 20. For the view that during silent prayers (i.e. the *ḡuhr* and the ‘*asr*) it is recommended (*mustaḥabb*) to recite the *basmala* audibly see Ṭūsī, I, p. 25; Ṭabrisī, I, p. 38; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 119 (*fa-in kānat al-ṣalāt mimma lā yujhar fihā ‘stuhibba l-jahr bi-bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*); Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā’ir*, I, pp. 218–220. See also the discussion in Haider, *Sectarian Identity*, pp. 59–65.

**27** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 186, no. 4450. See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 295, no. 87 (Manṣūr b. Ḥāzim < al-Šādiq; for *fa-yakhluḥu* read *fa-takhallafu*) > Ṣāfi, III, p. 196 (*fa-takhallafu*), *Burhān*, II, p. 423, no. 5 (*fa-yakhluḥu*), *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 74, no. 3 (*fa-takhallafu*). Cf. **22**, **24**.

*Isnād*: DĀWŪD B. AL-NU‘MĀN: Dāwūd b. al-Nu‘mān al-Anbārī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāzim and elder brother of ‘Alī b. al-Nu‘mān (for whom see **15**\*) (Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 293–294; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 309–310).—MANṢŪR B. ḤĀZIM: Abū Ayyūb Manṣūr b. Ḥāzim al-Bajalī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 317–318).

**28** See Barqī, I, p. 238, no. 213 (... *wa-l-mīm majd allāh wa-qāla ba‘duhum mulk allāh*); Qummī, I, pp. 27–28 > *Burhān*, I, pp. 43–44, no. 1, *Bihār*, XCII, pp. 228–229, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 19, no. 75; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 22, nos. 18–19 (‘Abdallāh b. Sinān < al-Šādiq) (... *wa-l-mīm majd allāh warawaw* [sic] *ghayruhu ‘anhu mulk allāh*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 69, *Burhān*, I, p. 45, no. 9; Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-‘ilal* > *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 51, no. 43; Abū Ḥātim, *Ẓima*, II, p. 3 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, p. 25, no. 2; Kulīnī, I, p. 114, no. 1 > *Burhān*, I, p. 44, no. 2; Samarqandī,

I, p. 14; Ibn Bābawayh, *Maʿānī*, p. 3, no. 1, idem, *Tawhīd*, p. 230, no. 2 (> Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 12, no. 47), both > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 69, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 231, no. 12. Similarly in the Ṣūfī tradition; see Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 6 (as a saying of al-Tustarī); Sulamī, *Ḥaqāʾiq*, I, p. 25 (as a Prophetic *ḥadīth*: *al-bāʾ bahāʾuhu wa-l-sīn sanāʾuhu wa-l-mūm majduhu*); cf. Nwyia, “Tafsīr”, p. 188, no. 4; Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif*, I, p. 44; Schimmel, *Culture*, p. 83 (where the three letters are said to represent the words *bahāʾ allāh*, *sanāʾ allāh* and *mamlakat allāh* respectively). Cf. also the interpretation ascribed to Jesus (Ṭabarī, I, p. 53; Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 213; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawdūʿāt*, I, p. 204; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 29). For the ending see Ṭabarī, I, p. 55 (*al-raḥmān bi-jamʿ al-khalq al-raḥīm qāl bi-l-muʾminīn*); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, p. 28, no. 20; Ṭūsī, I, p. 29; **485**. See **29**.

*Isnād*: YŪNUS: Abū ʿAlī Yūnus b. Yaʿqūb al-Duhnī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 399–400).—ʿALĪ B. ʿĪSĀ: ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Qammāṭ, a transmitter from disciples of al-Ṣādiq (Ardabīlī, I, p. 595). An *isnād* similar to the one recorded here is Yūnus b. Yaʿqūb < ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Qammāṭ < his paternal uncle < al-Ṣādiq (see Kulīnī, IV, p. 159, no. 10 > *Bihār*, XXVIII, p. 77, no. 36, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 65, no. 87, V, p. 621, no. 42).

## **29** See **28**.

*Isnād*: AL-QĀSIM B. YAḤYĀ: al-Qāsim b. Yahyā b. al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid al-Rāshidī, transmitted exclusively from his grandfather al-Ḥasan (Quhpāʾī, V, p. 53; Ardabīlī, II, p. 22; Khūʾī, XV, pp. 67–70, no. 9589).—AL-ḤASAN B. RĀSHID: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim who resided in Baghdād and was a client (*mawlā*) of the ʿAbbāsīd al-Manṣūr and an aide to his successors down to Hārūn al-Rashīd (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 255–256).—ʿABDALLĀH B. SINĀN: a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and a treasury official under a number of ʿAbbāsīd caliphs (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 334–335; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 157–161). The name ʿAlī b. Sinān appearing in ms. T is probably an error, since no-one of this name is attested elsewhere as a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq.

## **30** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 168, no. 4399. Cf. Kulīnī, III, pp. 312–313, no. 1; **20**, **32**, **33**.

*Isnād*: SAʿD B. ʿUMAR AL-JALLĀB: for this form of the name see Khūʾī, IX, p. 91, no. 5061. He is more usually known as Saʿīd Abū ʿAmr or Saʿd b. Abī ʿAmr (or Abī ʿUmar) al-Jallāb. He was a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʾī, III, p. 100; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 352–353).

**31** *Mustadrak*, VIII, p. 434, no. 9918. For the latter part of this tradition cf. Barqī, I, p. 204, no. 50; Ahwāzī, *Zuhd*, p. 52, no. 37; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 194, no. 120 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 337, *Burhān*, I, p. 305, no. 5, *Biḥār*, LXVIII, p. 232; Ibn Shu‘ba, *Tuḥaf*, p. 266 (as a saying of al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, LXXVIII, p. 244, no. 108 (item no. 52); Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 228 > Ṣāfi, I, p. 337, *Burhān*, I, p. 304, no. 1, *Biḥār*, LXX, pp. 291–292, no. 31, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 376, no. 299; Ṭūsī, II, p. 544; Ṭabrisī, IV, pp. 156–157; Warrām, *Tanbih*, II, p. 224; Ṭabrisī, *Mishkāṭ*, p. 50; Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 39. In all these sources the tradition is related to Q 3:102 (*ittaqu llāha haqqa tuqātihi*), which al-Ṣādiq (in Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī: the Prophet) glosses as “He should be obeyed and not disobeyed, remembered and not forgotten, thanked and not treated with ingratitude” (*yuṭā‘ fa-lā yu‘ṣā wa-yudhkar fa-lā yunsā wa-yushkar fa-lā yukfar*, or a variant thereof). This sentence is also ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd (see Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 79, no. 156, Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 303, Māturīdī, II, p. 443, all to Q 3:102), or is cited without attribution (see Muqātil, I, p. 184). It is quoted further in connection with Q 4:1 (*ittaqu rabbakum*); see Shaybānī, *Nahj*, II, p. 107 > *Burhān*, I, p. 335, no. 1.

**Title** *Fātiḥat al-kitāb* is an alternative name for *al-fātiḥa*.

**32** See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 21, no. 11 (Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī < al-Ṣādiq; ending: *qāl fātiḥat al-kitāb bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm al-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 42, no. 22, *Biḥār*, LXXXV, pp. 20–21, no. 10, XCI, p. 348, no. 10, XCII, p. 236, no. 25. Cf. **20**, **30**, **33**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ BAKR AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ: two persons are known by this name, both Kūfan transmitters from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq: (i) Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Shurayḥ (Quhpā’ī, V, p. 234; Ardabīlī, II, p. 130); (ii) ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 45; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 501–503, II, p. 369). As Muḥammad b. Shurayḥ transmitted to Sayf b. ‘Amīra, he may be the person referred to here.

**33** *Faṣl*, p. 253, ll. 2–3, *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 168, no. 4400. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 22, no. 17 (Muḥammad b. Muslim < al-Ṣādiq) > Ṭabrisī, I, p. 65, *Burhān*, I, p. 51, no. 29, *Biḥār*, XCII, pp. 238–239, no. 40. In all these sources (except Ṭabrisī), the reading of Q 1:7 is *wa-ghayr al-dāllīn*, for which see **35**. Cf. **20**, **24**, **30**, **32**, **36\***.

*Isnād*: ‘ALĀ’: ‘Alā’ b. Razīn al-Qallā’, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 180–181).

**34** *Faṣl*, p. 252, ll. 10–12. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 25, 220, 227, 240, 269 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Aswad [i.e. Abū ‘Amr al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī, a disciple of Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 75/694–695); see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 171, no. 796], ‘Ikrima, ‘Umar, Zayd b. ‘Alī; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 106, no. 567 (Ibn al-Zubayr); Qummī, I, p. 29 > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 20, no. 34, XCII, p. 230, no. 6, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 24, no. 106; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 50–51, 83 (‘Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr); Tha‘labī, I, p. 122 (‘Alī, al-Šādiq, ‘Amr b. al-Zubayr [the brother and opponent of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, II, p. 189; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr” (H.A.R. Gibb)]; Māwardī, I, p. 60 (‘Umar, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr); Ṭūsī, I, p. 43 (‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, the *ahl al-bayt*); Zamakhsharī, I, p. 69 (Ibn Mas‘ūd) > *Faṣl*, p. 138, ll. 18–19; Ṭabrisī, I, p. 60 (‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh [sic; the writer must have intended to refer either to ‘Amr b. al-Zubayr or to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr] al-Zubayrī, the *ahl al-bayt*); Qurṭubī, I, p. 149 (‘Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr); Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 42 (‘Umar); **35, 38–40**.

*Isnād*: MU‘ALLĀ B. KHUNAYS: Abū ‘Abdallāh Mu‘allā b. Khunays, a Kūfan confidant of al-Šādiq, executed in 133/750 by order of the ‘Abbāsid governor of Medina Dāwūd b. ‘Alī (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 320–321; Kohlberg, “Taqīyya”, pp. 355–357; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 326).

**35** *Faṣl*, p. 252, ll. 13–14. For this reading see Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 62 (when someone recites the version of the ‘Uthmānic codex al-Šādiq tells him to read *shirāt man an‘amta ‘alayhim ghayr al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim wa-ghayr al-ḍāllīn*); Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 90 (‘Alqama b. Qays [i.e. Abū Shibl ‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha‘ī, d. 62/681–682; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, II, p. 154; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, pp. 86–92, Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 516, no. 2135] and al-Aswad b. Yazīd); Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 42 (Ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Ikrima, al-Aswad); **38–40**. For the reading *man an‘amta ‘alayhim* see **34**. For the reading *wa-ghayr al-ḍāllīn* see Jeffery, pp. 117, 185, 220, 227, 240, 269, 332 (Ubayy, ‘Alī, al-Aswad, Ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Ikrima, al-Šādiq, ‘Umar); idem, “Variant Text”, pp. 161–162; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 105, no. 566, Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 51, Māwardī, I, p. 61, Qurṭubī, I, p. 84 (‘Umar); Qummī, I, p. 29 (al-Šādiq) > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 20, no. 35; ‘Ayyāshī (see **33\***); Tha‘labī, I, p. 123, Zamakhsharī, I, p. 73, Ṭabrisī, I, p. 60 (‘Umar, ‘Alī); Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa‘d*, p. 146; **36**.

*Isnād*: ḤARİZ: Abū Muḥammad (or Abū ‘Abdallāh) Ḥarīz/Ḥurayz b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdī al-Sijistānī (fl. first half of 2nd/8th century), a

Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, pp. 144, 149–150; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 244–247). Occasionally he is also reported to have transmitted from al-Bāqir (Ardabīlī, I, p. 183; Khū‘ī, V, pp. 441, 442; 432, 695). The main transmitter of Ḥarīz’s works was Ḥammād b. ‘Isā (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 245–246). In twenty-four traditions of *KQ* Ḥammād transmits from Ḥarīz.

**36** *Faṣl*, p. 253, ll. 1–2. For this reading see **35**, **38–40**; cf. Qummī, I, p. 29 (Ibn Abī ‘Umayr < Ibn Udhayna < al-Šādiq) (*fi qawlihi “ghayr al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim wa-ghayr al-ḍāllīn” qāl al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim al-nuṣṣāb wa-l-ḍāllīn al-shukkāk* [printed erroneously as *al-shukkāk wa-l-ḍāllīn*] *alladhīn lā ya’rifūn al-imām*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 47, no. 8, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 20, no. 35. For *al-shukkāk* as *alladhīn lā ya’rifūn al-imām* see also ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 24, no. 28 > *Burhān*, I, p. 52, no. 37, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 23, no. 12 (ending); cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 73; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 109. In mss. L, T and B the *ḍāllīn* are the Jews; cf. Qummī, I, p. 29 (*al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim al-nuṣṣāb wa-l-ḍāllīn al-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 47, no. 7, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 20, no. 34, XCII, p. 230, no. 6. More usually, it is the Jews who are said to be the *maghḍūb ‘alayhim*, while the Christians are the *ḍāllīn* (see e.g. **33**; Ṭabarī, I, pp. 79–80, 82–84; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, p. 31, no. 40; Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 173; Qurṭubī, I, p. 149; Suyūṭī, *Muḥḥamāt*, pp. 38–39 and the sources cited therein).

**37** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 220, no. 4541. For the reading *ṣirāṭa* (for *al-ṣirāṭa*) see Jeffery, pp. 117, 332 (Ibn ‘Umar, al-Šādiq, Ubayy); Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, I, p. 18 (al-Šādiq); **42**. These authorities must have vocalized the following word as *al-mustaqīmī*; cf. Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 90, no. 20, p. 182. In ‘Ayyāshī (I, p. 24, no. 25 [Dāwūd b. Farqad < al-Šādiq]) > *Burhān*, I, p. 52, no. 34, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 23, no. 12, XCII, p. 24, no. 45), Dāwūd b. Farqad cites al-Šādiq as follows: *ihdīnā l-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ya’nī amīr al-mu’minīn ṣalawāt allāh ‘alayhi*.

**38** *Faṣl*, p. 252, ll. 12–13. For this reading see **35**, **39**, **40**.

*Isnād*: AL-NAḌR B. SUWAYD: al-Naḍr b. Suwayd al-Šayrafi, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā‘ī, VI, pp. 179–180; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 292–293).—YAḤYĀ AL-ḤALABĪ: Yaḥyā b. ‘Imrān b. ‘Alī b. Abī Shu‘ba al-Ḥalabī, a nephew of both Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī and ‘Ubaydallāh al-Ḥalabī. He was a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq and his disciples (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 394–395).—‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD AL-ṬĀ‘Ī: ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ghawāḍ/Ghawwāḍ/‘Awwāḍ al-Ṭā‘ī, a Kūfan transmit-



ter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, IV, p. 69; Ardabīlī, I, p. 440; Māmaqānī, III, p. 136, no. 6307); executed by order of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Najāshī, II, p. 377, s.v. Murāzīm b. Ḥakīm).

**39** See Qummī, I, p. 29 > *Burhān*, I, p. 47, no. 7. See **35**, **36**, **38**, **40**.

*Isnād*: RIB'ī: Abū Nu'aym Rib'ī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd b. Abī Sabra al-Hudhalī, a Baṣran transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressī, *TS*, pp. 361–362). According to the manuscripts of *KQ* at **320** and **695**, Ḥarīz transmits from Rib'ī. This is probably an error: such a transmission is not mentioned by al-Khū'ī (V, p. 235); and the single such *isnād* adduced by al-Ardabīlī (I, p. 316, from Kulīnī) is in all likelihood an error (in the printed edition of Kulīnī [II, p. 182, no. 16], it is Ḥammād, not Ḥarīz, who transmits from Rib'ī). It is therefore likely that Ḥarīz 'an Rib'ī is an error for Ḥarīz wa-Rib'ī. For another example of the *isnād* Ḥammād < Ḥarīz and Rib'ī see Barqī, I, p. 272, no. 371 > *Bihār*, II, p. 170, no. 6; cf. **100**\*.

**40** See **35**, **38**, **39**. For the reading *wa-ghayr al-ḍāllīn* see **36**.

**41** Cf. **43**.

*Isnād*: MANṢŪR: he is perhaps Abū l-Ḥusayn Manṣūr b. al-'Abbās al-Rāzī (see **121**).—IBN QĀRIN: he is probably al-Ḥasan b. Qārin, a transmitter from al-Riḍā (Ardabīlī, I, pp. 219–220).—JA'FAR B. BASHĪR: Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Bashīr al-Bajalī al-Washshā' (d. 208/823–824), a transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, II, pp. 24–25; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 150–151).—ABĀN B. 'UTHMĀN: Abū 'Abdallāh Abān b. 'Uthmān al-Aḥmar, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and his disciples and the author of a work on the life of the Prophet (Kohlberg, "Uṣūl", p. 143; Jarar, "Sources", pp. 102–112; Modarressī, *TS*, pp. 129–131).—BUKAYR B. A'YAN: Abū l-Jahm (or Abū 'Abdallāh) Bukayr b. A'yan b. Sunsun al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; predeceased al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, I, pp. 279–280; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 129–130).

**42** For this reading see **37**. Translation: "I recited (Q 1:6 in the version of the 'Uthmānic codex) to the man (i.e. the Imam) and he faulted me for it (and recited): *ihdīnā ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*".

*Isnād*: ABŪ 'ALĪ B. RĀSHID: Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid, a Baghdādī transmitter from al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī. He was a financial agent (*wakīl*) of al-Hādī (Quhpā'ī, II, pp. 107–108, VII, p. 74; Ardabīlī,



I, p. 197, II, pp. 403–405; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 15, note 73). Al-Sayyārī cites from him directly (Kulīnī, VI, p. 303, no. 9).

**43** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 175, no. 4415. Shīʿī jurists reject the Sunnī practice (which they attribute to ʿUmar; see Kūfī, *Istighātha*, p. 61) of pronouncing *āmīn* after the leader of the prayer has finished reciting Sūrat al-fātiḥa. They prefer the formula *al-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn* (see Kulīnī, III, p. 313, no. 5 [*idhā kunta khalfā imām fa-qaraʿa l-ḥamd wa-faragha min qirāʾatihā fa-qul anta l-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn wa-lā taqul āmīn*] > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 25, no. 113; Ṭūsī, *Istibṣār*, I, pp. 318–319, nos. 1185–1188; idem, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 74, no. 275; Ṭabrisī, I, p. 65 > *Bihār*, LXXXVIII, p. 93, no. 60; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, pp. 752–753, nos. 7364–7369). *Al-ḥamd* is an alternative name for Sūrat al-fātiḥa (see e.g. Ṭabrisī, I, p. 35; Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 556). Cf. **41**.

**44** The interpretation of the *kitāb* of Q 2:2 as “the period of (the rising of) the Qāʾim” seems to be based on an understanding of *kitāb* as “an appointed term” (cf. *WKAS*, I, p. 42a). Cf. accounts in which the *ghayb* of Q 2:3 is taken to refer to the rising of the Qāʾim (Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 17; Ṭabrisī, I, p. 82).

*Isnād*: ʿABDALLĀH B. ʿĀṢIM: a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Ardabīlī, I, p. 494) who also transmitted from a contemporary of al-Riḍā, the *mutakallim* ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Mīthamī/Maythamī (Kulīnī, VI, p. 436, no. 9; cited in Ardabīlī, I, p. 559, Khūʾī, XI, p. 244, no. 6948; for ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl see **244**\*). It is not clear whether al-Sayyārī transmitted from him directly or via an intermediary.—BAKR B. ṢĀLĪḤ: Bakr b. Ṣālīḥ al-Rāzī al-Ḍabbī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpāʾī, I, pp. 274–275; Ardabīlī, I, p. 127).

**45** *Faṣl*, p. 138, ll. 19–20. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 25 (Ibn Masʿūd); Zamakhsharī, I, p. 112 (Ibn Masʿūd) > *Faṣl*, p. 138, ll. 19–20; Rāzī, II, p. 18. Cf. Q 32:1–2. This is the first of eleven readings from Ibn Masʿūd attested in *KQ* (see Introduction, p. 44).

**46** *Faṣl*, p. 261, ll. 19–21. This is the first of seven traditions providing readings of *āyat al-kursī* (Q 2:255). Shīʿī scholars refer to the original version of this verse as *āyat al-kursī ʿalā l-tanzīl*, “the verse of the throne as it was revealed” (see Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-ʿarūs* [for which see *Dharīʿa*, XV, pp. 253–254, no. 1633] > *Bihār*, LXXXIX, p. 355, no. 33, *Faṣl*, p. 260, ll. 17–21; Ṭabrisī, *Makārim*, p. 402 > *Bihār*,

XCV, p. 29, no. 12 [in the printed edition of Ṭabrisī, erroneously: *‘alā l-tartīb*; in *Bihār*: *‘alā l-tanzīl*]; Ṭabrisī, *Makārim*, p. 417 > *Bihār*, XCIV, p. 194, no. 3; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhajj*, p. 52 > *Faṣl*, p. 261, l. 6; the sources cited in *Faṣl*, p. 261, ll. 7–15). For *wa-mā taḥta l-tharā* see Q 20:6. For the reading *‘ālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* see 47, 82, 85. Cf. the readings *‘ālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda man dhā lladhī* (see Jeffery, p. 122 [Ubayy]) and *lahu mā fī l-samawāt wa-mā fī l-arḍ wa-mā baynahumā wa-mā taḥta l-tharā ‘ālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda fa-lā yuḥīru ‘alā ghaybihi aḥadan man dhā lladhī yashfa’u* etc. (Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-‘arūs* > *Faṣl*, p. 260, ll. 15–17). Cf. 48, 49, 83.

*Isnād*: ḤAMZA B. ‘UBAYD: he is mentioned twice in *KQ*, but otherwise only in a single tradition in Kulīnī (see 48\*; Khūṭī, VII, p. 286, no. 4050).—ISMĀ‘ĪL B. ‘ABBĀD AL-QAṢRĪ: a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā’ī, I, p. 214; Ardabīlī, I, p. 97).

47 *Faṣl*, p. 261, ll. 21–22. For this reading (with the addition of *wa-mā baynahumā* after *wa-mā fī l-arḍ*) see Qummī, I, p. 84 (> Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 261, no. 1043), Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 289–290, no. 437 (‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm < Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [i.e. al-Sayyārī?] < Muḥammad b. Khālīd < Muḥammad b. Sinān < Abū Jarīr al-Qummī *wa-huwa Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh wa-fī nuskha ‘Abdallāh* < al-Riḍā) (> *Bihār*, XCII, p. 57, no. 36), both > Ṣāfi, I, p. 259. For the reading *‘ālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* see 46, 82, 85. Cf. 48, 49, 83.

*Isnād*: IBN SINĀN: Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Zāhirī (d. 220/835), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā who was accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā’ī, V, pp. 222–231; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 123–128; Halm, “Schatten”, pp. 236–241; idem, *Gnosis*, pp. 242–243).—ABŪ JARĪR AL-QUMMĪ: three transmitters from al-Riḍā are referred to by this name: (i) Zakariyyā b. Idrīs b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sa’d al-Ash‘arī (Quhpā’ī, III, pp. 58–59; Ardabīlī, I, p. 332); (ii) Zakariyyā b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 61; Ardabīlī, I, p. 332); (iii) Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh/‘Abdallāh. This last name appears only in the above-mentioned tradition in Kulīnī (where the name may have been added by a copyist). According to al-Tustarī (*Rijāl*, IV, pp. 465–466, no. 2935), when the name appears as “Abū Jarīr al-Qummī”, the reference is throughout to Zakariyyā b. Idrīs. See also Quhpā’ī, VII, p. 14; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 371–372.

48 *Faṣl*, p. 262, ll. 5–6. The readings *wa-mā yuḥīṭūn min ‘ilmihi min shay’* and *wa-ṣallā llāh ‘alā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ahl baytihi* do not appear to

be recorded elsewhere. For *wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn* see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 290, no. 438 (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. Khālid < Ḥamza b. ‘Ubayd < Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād < al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, XCII, pp. 57–58, no. 37, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 262, no. 1049. For various interpretations of *wa-āyatayn ba‘dahā* in *KQ* and Kulīnī see *Faṣl*, p. 262, l. 10–p. 263, l. 5. Cf. 46, 47, 49, 82, 83, 85.

*Isnād*: in the parallel tradition in Kulīnī, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād transmits directly from al-Ṣādiq. Since Ismā‘īl is not known to have transmitted from this Imam (cf. 46\*), the assumption must be that a name is missing. This assumption is borne out by the *isnād* in *KQ*, in which ‘*an rajul*’ intervenes between Ismā‘īl and al-Ṣādiq. See al-Nūrī’s comment in *Faṣl*, p. 263, ll. 5–7.

49 *Faṣl*, p. 262, l. 7. Cf. 46–48, 82, 83, 85.

50 See ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 69–70, no. 131 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 187, *Burhān*, I, p. 170, no. 6, *Biḥār*, XCIX, pp. 236–237, no. 13; cf. Ṭabrisī, II, p. 45. Al-Bāqir’s reading does not appear to be recorded elsewhere, so it is not clear whether it was *an yaṭṭawwafa* (as in the ‘Uthmānic codex) or *an yaṭūfa*. Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ubayy are said to have read *an lā yaṭūfa* (with a pleonastic *lā*) (Jeffery, pp. 28, 120), while the reading of ‘Alī and Ibn ‘Abbās is given as *an lā yaṭṭawwafa* (Jeffery, p. 185) (though Ibn ‘Abbās’s reading is also said to have been *an lā yaṭūfa* [Jeffery, p. 195]). According to Ibn Jinnī (I, p. 115), the reading of ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy and others was *allā yaṭṭawwafa*; similarly Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 73 (*an lā yaṭṭawwafa* as the reading of Ibn ‘Abbās), Samarqandī, I, p. 106 (ascribing the reading *allā yaṭṭawwafa* to Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās and Anas b. Mālik), Māwardī, I, p. 213 (*an lā yaṭṭawwafa* as the reading of Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ibn ‘Abbās) and Abū Ḥayyān, I, p. 631 (stating that *an lā* was the reading of Anas and others and is also found in the codices of Ubayy and Ibn Mas‘ūd). All readings with *lā* are rejected by al-Ṭabarī (II, p. 51).

*Isnād*: IBN ABĪ NAJRĀN: Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Najrān ‘Amr b. Muslim al-Tamīmī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpā‘ī, IV, pp. 73–74, VII, p. 156; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 444–445, II, p. 429). Al-Sayyārī also transmits from him directly in Kulīnī, VI, p. 8, no. 5.—‘ĀṢIM B. ḤUMAYD AL-ḤANNĀṬ: Abū l-Faḍl ‘Āṣim b. Ḥumayd al-Ḥannāṭ, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and his disciples (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, pp. 143, 152, 164; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 210).

51 See Kulīnī, I, p. 418, no. 31 (*a-fa-kullamā jā'akum Muḥammad bi-mā lā tahwā anfusukum bi-muxwālāt 'Alī fa-'stakbartum fa-farīqan min āl Muḥammad kadhdhabtum wa-farīqan taqtulūn*) > Najafī, p. 76, no. 53 (*a-fa-kullamā ... istakbartum*), *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 374, no. 54 (without *a-fa-kullamā*, with *fa-'stakbartum*), XXIV, p. 307, no. 7 (*a-fa-kullamā ... istakbartum*), Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 99, no. 276 (without *a-fa-kullamā*, with *fa-'stakbartum*); tr. Amir-Moezzi, "Walāya", p. 723. Cf. 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 49, no. 68 (*dhālika tafsīruhā fī l-bāṭin*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 142, *Burhān*, I, p. 125, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 307, no. 8; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 206 > *Biḥār*, XXXIX, p. 262, no. 33; Bayāḍī, I, p. 289. It is not clear whether the absence of *a-fa-kullamā* and the addition of *fā'* before *istakbartum* point to the existence of a *qir'a* in which the sentence begins with *jā'akum*. The evidence in Kulīnī is inconclusive, as there are various versions of this text. Cf. the discussion in Māzandarānī, VII, pp. 68–69; *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 374.

*Isnād*: 'AMMĀR B. MARWĀN: 'Ammār b. Marwān al-Thawbānī al-Yashkurī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 198–199).—'UTHMĀN B. ZAYD: Abū 'Adī 'Uthmān b. Zayd b. 'Adī al-Juhānī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, IV, p. 131; Ardabīlī, I, p. 533). He also transmitted from Jābir al-Ju'fī (in addition to *KQ*, see *Baṣā'ir*, p. 404, no. 4; Qummī, II, pp. 111–112; Furāt, I, p. 291, no. 393). The form "'Alī b. Zayd" found in the manuscripts is an error. In the parallel tradition in Kulīnī, Munakhkhal appears instead of 'Uthmān b. Zayd. See similarly 87, 135.

52 According to the marginal note in ms. T, it is not unlikely that "Abū 'Abdallāh" is al-Sayyārī himself, and that this *kunya* was added by a copyist. If so, then the whole sentence *qāla Abū ... dhālika* must be an addition. This in turn would mean that the formula '*alayhi l-salām*' found (in all manuscripts) after "Abū 'Abdallāh" was inserted by a later copyist who took this *kunya* to refer to al-Ṣādiq. Cf. 54.

53 *Faṣl*, p. 255, ll. 15–16. For this reading see 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 51, no. 71 (Jābir < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 130, no. 2; Bar-Asher, "Readings", p. 52. In the Qumm, 1380/1960–1961 edition of 'Ayyāshī the Qur'ānic verse begins as follows: *wa-idhā qāla lahum mādhā anzala rabbukum fī 'Alī*; this version is reproduced in *Burhān*. Al-Nūrī states that it contains an error (*wa-fīhi sahw immā min al-nussākh aw min qalam al-'Ayyāshī*) and that the correct version is the one cited from 'Ayyāshī in the lithograph edition of the *Biḥār*; there the verse is reproduced as it appears in the 'Uthmānic codex, with the addition of *fī 'Alī* (*Faṣl*, p. 255, ll. 16–20).

The text of the *Biḥār* as reproduced in the printed edition (XXXVI, pp. 98–99, no. 38) mistakenly contains the words *min rabbikum* (*āminū bi-mā anzala llāh min rabbikum fi ‘Alī*).

**54** *Faṣl*, p. 257, l. 10. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 101, no. 290 (Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī < ‘Alī > *Burhān*, I, p. 205, no. 4, *Biḥār*, IX, pp. 189–190, no. 24, LXXV, p. 315, no. 37; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 289, no. 435 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 220, *Burhān*, I, p. 205, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 57, no. 34, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 204, no. 753, *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 7–10, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 210, with note 426 = *Divine Guide*, p. 201. According to al-Qummī (I, p. 71), this verse was revealed concerning *fulān* or, in the view of others, concerning Mu‘āwiya. The Najaf edition of al-Qummī’s *Tafsīr* was censored (see Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 39–45). The uncensored version is cited in *Burhān*, I, p. 206, no. 7; here *fulān* is replaced by *al-thānī*, i.e. ‘Umar. See also ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 100, no. 287 (al-Ḥusayn b. Bashshār < Abū l-Ḥasan) > *Burhān*, I, p. 205, no. 2 (*fulān wa-fulān*). Cf. **52**, **600\***.

*Isnād*: IBN MAḤBŪB: al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb al-Sarrād/al-Zarrād (d. 224/838–839), a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā‘ī, II, pp. 143–146; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 221–224).—MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN AL-AZDĪ: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Ammār al-Azdī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, V, p. 220; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 119–120).—ABŪ L-JĀRŪD: Abū l-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir al-Hamdānī al-Khārifi, leader of the Jārūdī branch of Zaydī Shī‘ism and a transmitter from al-Bāqir (Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 46–56; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 121–125).—ABŪ IṢHĀQ: he may be Abū Ishāq al-Hamdānī, a transmitter from ‘Alī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 64, no. 24). In the parallel tradition in ‘Ayyāshī the transmitter’s name is given as Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī. Now it is highly unlikely that the person usually known by this name transmitted directly from ‘Alī (see **71\***). Either of the following possibilities suggests itself: (i) the transmitter is the person usually known as Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī; he transmitted this tradition from ‘Alī via an intermediary, but the name of the intermediary was omitted by al-‘Ayyāshī (or by a copyist). The fact that in *KQ*, too, there is no intermediary renders this possibility problematic (unless al-‘Ayyāshī and al-Sayyārī drew from a common source; see Introduction, p. 45). (ii) The transmitter is ‘Alī’s disciple Abū Ishāq al-Hamdānī, who was also known as al-Sabī‘ī, Sabī‘ being a sub-tribe of Hamdān.

**55** *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 13–15. For this tradition, with a different *isnād*, see **66**. Cf. the reading in the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd: *wa-zulzilū thumma zulzilū wa-yaqūlu l-rasūl* (Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, I, p. 288, Qurṭubī, III, p. 35, Abū Ḥayyān,

II, p. 149). The context demands that the verb in *thumma zulzilū* (both in Ibn Mas‘ūd and in *KQ*) be vocalized in the passive. Jeffery (p. 30) adduces two versions of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reading: (i) *wa-zulzilū fa-zalzalū* (read: *fa-zulzilū*) (*wa*)-*yaqūl haqīqat* (sic) *al-rasūl* (see Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 57); (ii) *wa-zulzilū thumma zalzalū* (read: *zulzilū*) *wa-yaqūl*.

*Isnād*: ‘ALĪ B. ‘AṬIYYA: ‘Alī b. ‘Aṭiyya al-Ḥannāṭ al-Aṣamm, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and his disciples (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 187–188).—ABŪ L-‘ABBĀS: Abū l-‘Abbās al-Faḍl b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Baqbāq, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 220–221).

**56** The text of the ‘Uthmānic codex is *Jibrīl wa-Mikāl*. Al-Ṣādiq endorsed the reading *Jabra’īl* (see **78**); there seems to be no record of his reading of the second word. In the manuscripts of *KQ* the readings which were rejected by al-Ṣādiq appear as *Jabra’īl wa-Mikāl*; this is probably an error, since these words do not contain a *shadda*. The readings meant here are presumably those given in the edition. They are: (i) *Jabra’ill*. This is ascribed to ‘Āṣim (i.e. b. Abī l-Najūd) in the transmission of Abān (i.e. Abū Yazīd Abān b. Yazīd b. Aḥmad al-Baṣrī al-‘Aṭṭār al-Naḥwī, alive in 160/776–777; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 4, no. 2, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, pp. 101–102) (Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 104) and to the Baṣran Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar (d. 129/746; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, pp. 173–176; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, p. 381, no. 3873; Blachère, *Introduction*, p. 82; Sellheim, *Materialien*, I, pp. 43–44) (Ṭabarī, I, p. 437; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 97; Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, I, p. 183; Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 104; Abū Ḥayyān, I, p. 486). (ii) *Mikālill*. This *qirā’a* is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (I, pp. 437–438), who does not identify those who upheld it.

**57** *Faṣl*, p. 262, ll. 7–8. For this tradition (with the reading *al-ṭawāghūt*) see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 289, no. 436 (Sahl b. Ziyād < Ibn Maḥbūb < Ibn Rī‘āb < Ḥumrān b. A‘yan < al-Bāqir > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 262, *Bihār*, LXVII, p. 23, XCII, p. 57, no. 35. In *KQ* *al-ṭawāghūt* is attested only in the margin of ms. L as an emendation of al-Nūrī based on Kulīnī. For this reading see also Jeffery, p. 31 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, al-Ḥasan); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 131, Tha‘labī, II, p. 237, Abū l-Futūḥ, II, p. 332, Abū Ḥayyān, II, p. 294 (al-Ḥasan); ‘Ukbarī, p. 100 (*wa-qad qurī’a*). Cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107 (*wa-lladhīna kafarū bi-walāyat ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib awliyā’uhum al-ṭāghūt*, with the comment: *nazala Jabra’īl bi-hādhihi l-āya kadhā*) > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12. See in general Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, pp. 202–203; Hawting, *Idolatry*, pp. 55–56; *DC*, art. “Jibt et Ṭāghūt” (Meir M. Bar-Asher); cf. Kohlberg, “Barā’a”, pp. 148–149.

*Isnād*: IBN RI'ĀB: Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ri'āb/Rabāb al-Ṭaḥḥān al-Sa'dī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāzim and their disciples (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 382–383; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 189–191).—ḤUMRĀN: Ḥumrān b. A'yan al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī, brother of Zurāra and a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, II, pp. 233–237; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 278–279; van Ess, *TG*, index, s.v.; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 239). In the *isnāds* cited in *KQ*, Ḥumrān invariably transmits from al-Bāqir. In four of these *isnāds* (57, 258, 302, 434) he transmits to Ibn Ri'āb.

58 *Faṣl*, p. 256, l. 15. For this tradition see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 290, no. 440 (first part) (*bi-walāyat al-shayāṭīn*) > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 58, no. 39 (first part), *Faṣl*, p. 256, ll. 13–15, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 210, with note 425 = *Divine Guide*, p. 201. For an explication of *walāyat al-shayāṭīn* see Majlisī, *Mir'āt*, XXVI, pp. 316–317 > *Faṣl*, p. 256, ll. 15–23.

*Isnād*: IBN ASBĀṬ: Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Asbāṭ b. Sālīm al-Kindī Bayyā' al-Zuṭṭī al-Muqri' (d. ca. 250/864), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpā'ī, IV, pp. 165–166; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 554–557; Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, pp. 143, 156). Al-Sayyārī cites from him either directly (see e.g. Kulīnī, I, p. 543, no. 5, VI, p. 303, no. 4; Ibn Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl*, p. 12, no. 38; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, pp. 294–295, no. 820 [for Muḥammad b. Aḥmad read Aḥmad b. Muḥammad]) or via one transmitter.—'ALĪ B. ABĪ ḤAMZA: Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Ḥamza Sālīm al-Baṭā'inī (d. 201/816–817 or 202/817–818), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim and a leader of the Wāqifa, reportedly the first to suggest that al-Kāzim did not die and to oppose al-Riḍā's claim to the succession (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 143; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 183–187).

59 *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 3–4. See Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 290–291, no. 440 (second part) ('Alī b. Ibrāhīm < his father < 'Alī b. Asbāṭ < 'Alī b. Abī Ḥamza < Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 223, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 58, no. 39 (second part), *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 1–3, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 210–211, with note 427 = *Divine Guide*, p. 201. Cf. 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 103, no. 304 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 223, *Burhān*, I, p. 209, no. 2, *Bihār*, IX, p. 190, no. 26.

60 *Faṣl*, p. 136, ll. 12–13.

61 *Faṣl*, p. 255, ll. 12–13. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 50, no. 70 (towards the end; Jābir < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 146, *Burhān*, I, p. 129, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 98, no. 38; Kulīnī, I, p. 417, no. 25 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 146, *Faṣl*, p. 255, ll. 9–11, tr. Lawson, “Note”, p. 286; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*,



III, p. 107 (cf. I, p. 284) > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12. In all these sources the reading is *bi-mā anzala llāh fī ‘Alī* (for which see Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 51); and this appears to be the reading in *KQ* as well (with *allāh* omitted by the copyists). It is also possible, however, that *KQ* has preserved an otherwise unattested reading, namely *unzila fī ‘Alī*.

*Isnād*: AL-MUNAKHKHAL: (al-) Munakhkhal b. Jamīl al-Asadī al-Raqqī Bayyā‘ al-Jawārī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and especially from Jābir al-Ju‘fī (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 351–352). In *KQ* al-Munakhkhal appears in four traditions, in all of which he transmits from Jābir. According to Modarressi (*TS*, p. 352), exegetical traditions with an *isnād* as in this *ḥadīth* were included in al-Munakhkhal’s *Kitāb al-tafsīr*. See further 112\*.

62 Cf. Nu‘mān, *Sharḥ*, I, p. 240, no. 255, where Q 2:6 is glossed as *alladhīna kafarū bi-walāyat ‘Alī wa-awṣiyā’ rasūl allāh*.

63 *Faṣl*, p. 254, ll. 1–3. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 45, no. 49 (Zayd al-Shaḥḥām < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 121, *Burhān*, I, p. 104, no. 5, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 222, no. 8, *Faṣl*, p. 253, l. 23–p. 254, l. 1. Cf. Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (*wa-qāla l-zālimūn āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum ghayr alladhī qīla lahum fa-anzalnā ‘alā lladhīna ḡalamū āl Muḥammad rijzan min al-samā’ bi-mā kānū yafsuqūn*); Qummī, I, p. 48 (ending) > *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 174, no. 2. For this reading see also Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 51. See 64, 81.

*Isnād*: ZAYD AL-SHAḤḤĀM: Abū Usāma Zayd b. Yūnus al-Shaḥḥām, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 401–402).

64 *Faṣl*, p. 254, l. 3. See Kulīnī, I, pp. 423–424, no. 58 > Najafī, p. 63, no. 41, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Ithbāt*, II, p. 278, no. 59, *Burhān*, I, p. 104, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 224, no. 15, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 83, no. 214, *Faṣl*, p. 253, ll. 20–23, tr. Lawson, “Note”, p. 286; 63, 81. (At 81 the same *isnād* recurs, with the addition of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī as the transmitter to al-Sayyārī.)

65 *Faṣl*, p. 308, ll. 4–5. For this tradition see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 71, no. 4 (*ḥakadhā wa-llāhi unzilat ‘alā Muḥammad*) > *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 176, no. 7; Kulīnī, I, p. 416, no. 23 > Najafī, p. 319, no. 17, *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 323, *Burhān*, III, p. 45, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XI, pp. 195–196, no. 49, XXIV, p. 351, no. 66, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 400, no. 150; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 320 (*kadhā nazalat ‘alā Muḥammad*) > *Burhān*, III, pp. 45–46, no. 5, cited



in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 212, with note 434 = *Divine Guide*, p. 202; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 64. In most of these sources, *wa-‘Alī* is followed by *wa-Fāṭima*; thus Ibn Shahrāshūb cites this reading in the chapter on the merits of Fāṭima. A possible reason for the inclusion of Q 20:115 in the chapter on Sūrat al-baqara is the similarity in subject matter between the beginning of this verse and the beginning of Q 2:37 (*fa-talaqqā ‘Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt*). Could the words *fī Muḥammad ... wa-l-a’imma min dhurriyyatihim* have also been included as a reading of Q 2:37 (after *kalimāt*)? Cf. Kulīnī, VIII, p. 305, no. 472, where the Imam comments on the beginning of Q 2:37 by stating: *sa’alahu bi-ḥaqq Muḥammad wa-‘Alī wa-l-Ḥasan wa-l-Ḥusayn wa-Fāṭima*. Similarly Furāt, I, pp. 57–58, no. 16; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 124, no. 2.

*Isnād*: JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ‘UBAYDALLĀH: a transmitter from al-Riḍā and the author of a *kitāb* which was transmitted by Muḥammad al-Barqī (Quhpā’ī, II, p. 40; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 159–160; Khū’ī, V, pp. 83–85, no. 2280). The *isnād* Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Qummī < Muḥammad b. Sulaymān < ‘Abdallāh b. Sinān which is attested in the *Baṣā’ir* and in Kulīnī also appears in mss. T and B. According to mss. M and L and the variant reading of ms. T, Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Qummī transmitted from Sulaymān (i.e. Muḥammad’s father). At 339, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān transmits from his father who in turn transmits from ‘Abdallāh b. Sinān.

**66** *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 15–16. For this tradition (with the same *isnād*) see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 290, no. 439 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, p. 225, *Bihār*, LXVII, p. 198, XCII, p. 58, no. 38. See 55.

**67** *Faṣl*, p. 259, ll. 17–19, *Mustadrak*, III, p. 22, no. 2918. Cf. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ*, pp. 94–95 (possibly citing *KQ*; see Introduction, pp. 35–36). Commentators are divided over the meaning of *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* at Q 2:238 (see Paret, *Kommentar*, pp. 50–51; Gilliot, *Exégèse*, pp. 149–150). Many identify it with *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr* (see e.g. Ṭabarī, II, pp. 554–561, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, p. 448, no. 2374, Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 125, Ibn Abī Zamanīn, I, p. 84); others, including many (but not all) Shī‘ī exegetes, reject this identification and claim that *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* is the noon prayer (*ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*) (for this view see Ṭabarī, II, pp. 561–563; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, p. 448, no. 2373; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, pp. 313–315; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ*, pp. 93–95; see in general the discussion in *Bihār*, LXXXII, pp. 277–281). The claim that *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* and *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr* are two distinct prayers finds support in the reading *wa-l-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā*

*wa-ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* (but see al-Naḥḥās's counter-argument in his *Iʿrāb*, I, p. 321). *KQ* contains a number of traditions (67, 69, 70, 79) in which this reading is cited on the authority of al-Bāqir. In all of them the Imam states that this is how the Prophet recited the verse. For such a statement by al-Bāqir see also *Aṣl 'Alā' b. Razīn*, p. 156; 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 127, no. 415 (Muḥammad b. Muslim < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 246, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 237, no. 936; cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Tal*, pp. 354–355, no. 1 > *Biḥār*, LXXXII, p. 283, no. 3. In addition to the Prophet and al-Bāqir, those who read the verse with the words *wa-ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* are reported to have included (i) Ibn 'Abbās (see the references in 71\*); (ii) 'Ā'isha (see Jeffery, p. 232; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 83–85; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma'ānī*, pp. 313–314, nos. 2, 4 > *Biḥār*, LXXXII, p. 287, nos. 5–6; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 376 > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd*, p. 129; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Nāsikh*, p. 61); (iii) Ḥafṣa (see Jeffery, p. 214; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 109, nos. 577–578; Ṭabarī, II, pp. 563, 564; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 85–87; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma'ānī*, p. 314, no. 3 > *Biḥār*, LXXXII, p. 287, no. 7; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, I, p. 462); (iv) Umm Salama (see Jeffery, p. 235; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, pp. 87–88); (v) Ubayy (see Jeffery, p. 122); (vi) 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr (see Jeffery, p. 237; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 111, no. 583; Ṭabarī, II, p. 564); (vii) al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ*, p. 93 [where a line is missing] > *Biḥār*, LXXXII, p. 289, no. 17) and (viii) al-Ṣādiq (see 80; Qummī, I, p. 79 [the printed edition has *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* but this text as cited in *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 247, *Burhān*, II, p. 231 and *Faṣl*, p. 257, l. 19 has *wa-ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*]; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ*, p. 93). Cf. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 204 (on *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* vs. *wa-ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*).

68 *Faṣl*, p. 259, ll. 19–20, *Mustadrak*, III, p. 22, no. 2919. For a similar explication of *qānītīn* see 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 127, no. 416 (Zurāra < al-Bāqir) (*muṭī'in rāghibīn*) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 247, *Burhān*, I, p. 231, no. 5, *Biḥār*, LXXXV, p. 201, no. 14. See 67, 69–71, 79, 80.

69 *Faṣl*, p. 259, ll. 20–22. See 67, 68, 70, 71, 79, 80.

70 See 67–69, 71, 79, 80.

71 *Faṣl*, p. 259, l. 23–p. 260, l. 1. For the ascription of this reading to Ibn 'Abbās see Jeffery, p. 196; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 77; Ṭabarī, II, p. 564; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, I, p. 463; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 376 > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd*, p. 129. For another tradition going back to Ibn 'Abbās see 626. Both traditions are unusual in that they are not cited on the authority of an Imam. See 67–70, 79, 80.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-MALIK B. ḤUSAYN: Abū Mālik ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥusayn al-Nakha‘ī al-Wāsi‘ī (see Mizzī, XXXIV, pp. 247–249, no. 7599 and the references given by the editor). Al-Ṭūsī (*Rijāl*, p. 233, no. 166) lists him as a disciple of al-Ṣādiq. Although ‘Abd al-Malik (assuming he lived to a great age) could conceivably have transmitted directly from Hubayra b. Yarīm (d. 66/685–686), he is nowhere said to have done so. Instead, he is known to have transmitted from Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī (see Mizzī, XXXIV, p. 248), who in turn was reportedly the sole transmitter from Hubayra b. Yarīm (see idem, XXII, pp. 110–111, XXX, p. 151). It can be taken that Abū Ishāq’s name was omitted by a copyist.—ABŪ ISHĀQ: ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī Abū Ishāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī al-Kūfī (d. between 126/743–744 and 129/746–747), a Successor (*tābi‘ī*) and a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, II, p. 167; Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 246, no. 375; Mizzī, XXII, pp. 102–113, no. 4400, s.v. ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ubayd/‘Alī and the references given by the editor; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 46). Birth-dates given for him are 29/649–650 (Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, VII, p. 70), two years before the death of the caliph ‘Uthmān (i.e. 33/653) (Mizzī, XXII, p. 103), or the night of ‘Alī’s murder (i.e. 19 Ramaḍān 40/26 Jan. 661) (Mufid, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 79). See 54\*.—HUBAYRA B. YARĪM: in the manuscripts, the name of the transmitter from Ibn ‘Abbās is given as ‘Alī b. Maryam. This is probably an error. In other sources, the person who transmits Ibn ‘Abbās’s reading of Q 2:238 is ‘Umayr b. Yarīm (see Tabarī, II, p. 564 [for Maryam read Yarīm]; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 77) or Hubayra b. Yarīm (see Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, I, p. 463). Only the latter name is known to the Rijāl experts; see e.g. Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, pp. 170–171; Mizzī, XXX, pp. 150–151, no. 6552 and the references given by the editor. He is probably identical with Hubayra b. Maryam (sic) al-Ḥimyarī whom al-Ṭūsī (*Rijāl*, p. 61, no. 2) mentions as a disciple of ‘Alī.

72 *Faṣl*, p. 256, ll. 1–4. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 56, no. 78 (‘Umar b. Yazīd < al-Ṣādiq > *Burhān*, I, p. 140, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 208, no. 10. For the reading without *aw* see also Qummī, I, p. 58 (the word *minhā* is missing from the printed edition but appears in *Faṣl*, p. 256, ll. 4–5). Al-‘Ayyāshī’s text contains a final sentence (missing from *KQ*) in which the inner meaning of this reading is explained. See also the discussion in *Faṣl*, p. 256, ll. 5–13.

*Isnād*: ‘AMR B. ‘UTHMĀN: Abū ‘Alī ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī al-Khazzāz/al-Kharrāz, a Kūfan transmitter from disciples of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Quhpā‘ī, IV, p. 289; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 624–626).—‘AB-

DALLĀH B. ḤAMMĀD B. ‘ABDALLĀH: this name is not attested elsewhere. Perhaps the reference is to ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 279; Ardabīlī, I, p. 482; Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 143).—‘UMAR B. YAZĪD: there are two Kūfan transmitters from al-Šādiq by that name: (i) Abū l-Aswad ‘Umar b. (Muḥammad b.) Yazīd Bayyā’ al-Sāburī, who also transmitted from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’ī, IV, pp. 264–265, 267; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 637, 638–639; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 388); (ii) Abū Mūsā ‘Umar b. Yazīd b. Dhubyān al-Šayqal (Quhpā’ī, IV, pp. 267–268; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 639–640).

**73** *Faṣl*, p. 263, ll. 9–11. This tradition appears to conform to the view of a number of Sunnī commentators, who explain the *ghayra ikhrāj* as a circumstantial clause (*ḥāl*) in the sense of *ghayra mukhrajāt*; see Zamakhsharī, I, p. 377; Bayḍāwī, p. 54; Qurṭubī, III, p. 228; Jalālayn, I, p. 39; Abū l-Su‘ūd, I, p. 276. Al-Nūrī assumed that *mukhrajāt* was a *qirā’a*, but this is unlikely. It may be that the tradition is incomplete, and that the original text was similar or identical to the one at **96**.

*Isnād*: ‘UMAR B. ḤANẒALA: Abū Ṣakhr ‘Umar b. ḤanẒala al-‘Ijlī al-Bakrī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 257; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 633–634).

**74** The sentence *wa-naḥnu lahu muslimūn* also occurs at Q 3:84, 29:46. *KQ* contains six traditions that include Qur’ānic references to *muslimūn* (**74**, **76**, **120**, **129**, **361**, **363**) and a seventh (**285**) that includes a Qur’ānic reference to *muslimīn*. In all of these traditions the Shī‘ī reading is presumably *musallimūn* or *musallimīn* respectively. This is based on the following considerations: at **74** and **76** ms. T has a *shadda* over the *lām*; at **120** the reading *musallimūn* is supported by other sources, as is the reading *musallimīn* at **285**; at **129** ms. L has a *shadda* over the *lām*; at **361**, **363** there is strong evidence in support of *musallimūn* (see the notes to the relevant traditions). The reading *musallimūn*/*musallimīn* reflects the Shī‘ī adherence to the concept of *tastīm* (for which see Kohlberg, “Community”, p. 34; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin* [= *Divine Guide*], index, s.v.). Cf. further **107**.\*

**75** Since no *qirā’a* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing. In a tradition going back to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan/al-Ḥusayn < his father < al-Šādiq, the Imam interprets the sentence *hiya mawāqīt li-l-nās wa-l-ḥajj* (“they [i.e. the new moons] are appointed times for the people and for the pil-

grimage”) as referring to “their fast, their breaking of the fast and their pilgrimage” (*li-ṣawmihim wa-fiṭrihim wa-ḥajjihim*) (Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, p. 166, no. 472 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, p. 208, al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, IV/2, pp. 186–187, no. 13364). This may be the content of the text that is missing here.

*Isnād*: ʿAMR B. SHAMIR/SHIMR: Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿAmr b. Shamir/Shimr b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and Jābir al-Juʿfī (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 204–205).

**76** See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 95 (*li-walāyat ʿAlī*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 156, no. 2 (*bi-walāyat ʿAlī*); Najafī, p. 79, no. 59 (*bi-walāyat ʿAlī*) > *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 371, no. 48, XXXV, p. 341, no. 11. Cf. **25\***, **74**, **120**, **129**, **285**, **361**, **363**.

**77** *Faṣl*, p. 257, ll. 5–7. See ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 71, no. 136 (Ibn Abī ʿUmayr < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 170, no. 1, *Bihār*, II, p. 76, no. 53; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107 (*inna lladhīna yaktumūn mā anzalnā min al-bayyināt fi ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*; the Imam adds: *nazala Jabraʾīl bi-hādhihi l-āya hākadhā*) > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12. In the version cited by Ibn Shahrāshūb the word *wa-l-hudā* is missing, as it also is in the manuscripts of *KQ* (it is attested only in the margin of ms. L as an emendation of al-Nūrī). It is not clear whether the text without *al-hudā* is a Shīʿī reading or the result of a copyist’s error.

*Isnād*: YAʿQŪB B. YAZĪD: Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Yazīd b. Ḥammād al-Kātib al-Anbārī al-Sulamī, secretary to the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Muntaṣir (r. 247–248/861–862) and a transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpāʾī, VI, pp. 276–277; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 349–350).

**78** The reading *Jibrīl* conforms to the ʿUthmānic codex (at Q 2:97, 2:98, 66:4). “Jabraʾīl” was the *qirāʾa* of Tamīm, Qays and most Kūfan readers (see Ṭabarī, I, p. 436), including Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī and ʿĀṣim in the transmission of Abū Bakr (i.e. Shuʿba b. ʿAyyāsh al-Asadī al-Ḥannāṭ al-Kūfī, d. 193/808–809 or 194/809–810; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 325–327, no. 1421) (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 167). Cf. Abū Ḥātim, *ʿIlm*, II, pp. 164–165; **56**.

*Isnād*: ʿUTHMĀN: Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā al-ʿĀmirī al-Kilābī al-Ruwāsī, a leading Wāqifi and a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpāʾī, IV, pp. 133–135; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 534–536). He transmitted Samāʿa b. Mihrān’s *kitāb* (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 370).—SAMĀʿA: Samāʿa b. Mihrān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bayyāʿ al-Qazz, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim and their disciples (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 369–370).

79 *Faṣl*, p. 260, ll. 1–2. See 67–71, 80.

80 *Faṣl*, p. 260, l. 3. See 67–71, 79.

81 *Faṣl*, p. 254, ll. 3–4. See 63, 64.

82 *Faṣl*, p. 261, l. 23–p. 262, l. 1. For the reading *‘alim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda al-rahmān al-rahīm* see 46, 47, 85. Cf. 48, 49, 83.

*Isnād*: MANṢŪR B. YŪNUS: Abū Yaḥyā Manṣūr b. Yūnus Buzurj al-Sarrāj, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim. One of the transmitters of his *kitāb* was Ibn Abī ‘Umayr (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 318–319). For Ibn Abī ‘Umayr < Manṣūr b. Yūnus see also 290.

83 *Faṣl*, p. 262, ll. 1–2. The words *‘alim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda al-‘azīz al-ḥakīm* constitute the final verse of Sūrat al-taghābun (Q 64:18). They do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a reading of *āyat al-kursī*. Cf. 46–49, 82, 85.

*Isnād*: AL-MINQARĪ ‘AN JĀBIR B. RĀSHID: Jābir b. Rāshid is only known from a single *isnād*: Abū Ja‘far al-Muqri’ *imām maṣjid al-Kūfa* < Jābir b. Rāshid < al-Ṣādiq (Ibnā Bisṭām, *Ṭibb*, p. 146 > *Bihār*, LXXVI, p. 298, no. 33, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 394, no. 82). Perhaps this is also the *isnād* in *KQ*; if so, then “al-Minqarī” is probably a corruption of “al-Muqri’”.

84 *Faṣl*, p. 282, ll. 2–3. Scholars dealing with the word which in the ‘Uthmānic codex (at Q 5:95) takes the form *dhawā* focus inter alia on the following points: (i) The reading *dhū* (occasionally spelled with a “separating *alif*” [*al-alif al-fāṣila*, cf. Wright, I, p. 11]). This reading is ascribed to al-Bāqir (‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 343–344, nos. 197–198), to al-Ṣādiq (Jeffery, pp. 270, 332; Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 35; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 645), to al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 219; Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 193; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 313) or to the *ahl al-bayt* (Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im*, I, p. 306), as well as to ‘Ikrima (Jeffery, p. 270). Al-Bayḍāwī (p. 162) and al-‘Ukbarī (p. 204) do not identify the reader(s); al-‘Ukbarī calls this reading *shādhdh* (lit. “anomalous, irregular”), i.e. lacking a sufficient number of authoritative chains of transmitters and therefore not generally accepted (for this term see Beck, “Arabiyya”, pp. 221–222; Gilliot, *Exégèse*, pp. 145–152; Kinberg, *Lexicon*, p. 376; *EQ*, art. “Readings of the Qur’ān” [Frederik Leemhuis]). (ii) The identity of *dhū ‘adl*. He is said to be the Imam (Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 344, no. 198 [> *Burhān*, I, p. 504, no. 19, *Bihār*, XCIX,

p. 157, no. 47, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 676, no. 375]; Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, p. 306; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 645 [*wa-qīl arāda l-imām*]), the Prophet and, following him, the Imam ('Ayyāshī, I, pp. 343–344, no. 197 [Ḥarīz < Zurāra < al-Bāqir] [> *Burhān*, I, p. 504, no. 18, *Bihār*, XCIX, pp. 156–157, no. 46, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 676, no. 374]; Kulīnī, IV, p. 396, no. 3, p. 397, no. 5, both > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 88), the Prophet and, following him, the *ulū l-amr* (i.e. the Imams) (Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 194 > *Faṣl*, p. 282, ll. 12–13), or someone appointed by the Imam (*man aqāmahu l-imām*) (Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, p. 306). Al-Zamakhsharī (I, p. 645) and al-Bayḍāwī (p. 162) state that *dhū 'adl* refers either to the category of just persons or to the Imam, while al-'Ukbarī (p. 204) only gives the former explanation (*wa-l-murād bihi l-jins*). (iii) The explanation of the dual form *dhawā* as arising from a scribal error ('Ayyāshī, I, pp. 343–344, no. 197; Kulīnī, IV, p. 396, no. 3, p. 397, no. 5, VIII, p. 205, no. 247 [*hādhā mimma akhta'at bihi l-kuttāb*] > *Burhān*, I, p. 503, nos. 9–11, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 676, nos. 371–373). According to Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (*Ṣāfi*, II, p. 88), the error arose when a final *alif* (i.e. the *alif al-fāṣila*) was introduced after the *wāw* of *dhū*. This was misconstrued as a dual form and was vocalized as *dhawā*. For scribal errors of this kind see Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 31–32. All three points are found in *KQ*: the reading *dhū* (ascribed to al-Ṣādiq at 84 and to al-Bāqir at 167; the form *dh-w-y* given in the manuscripts is probably an error); the identity of *dhū 'adl* (at 84); the explanation of the form *dhawā* (at 167).

*Isnād*: ABŪ JAMĪLA: Abū Jamīla (al-) Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ al-Nakhkhās (d. late 2nd/8th century), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq. He transmitted the *kitāb* of Zayd al-Shahḥām (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 333).

**85** *Faṣl*, p. 262, ll. 2–5. For the reading *'ālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* see 46, 47, 82. The word *wa-l-arḍ* (for *wa-mā fī l-arḍ*) recorded in ms. M appears to be the result of a scribal error (due perhaps to the fact that *lahu mā fī l-samawāt wa-l-arḍ* is found elsewhere [at Q 2:116]). Cf. 48, 49, 83.

*Isnād*: 'UMAR B. YAḤYĀ AL-QASRĪ/AL-TUSTARĪ: this could refer to either of the following transmitters from al-Ṣādiq, all mentioned in al-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl*: the Kūfan 'Umar/'Amr b. Yaḥyā (b.) Zādhān al-Nakha'ī (p. 248, no. 404, p. 253, no. 476); 'Amr b. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā al-Kūfī (p. 247, no. 387); 'Amr b. Yaḥyā b. Sālim al-Kūfī (p. 250, no. 431). None is known as al-Qasrī/al-Tustarī.—ḤAMMĀD B. 'UTHMĀN: Ḥammād b. 'Uthmān al-Nāb/Dhū l-Nāb (d. 190/805–806), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāzīm and al-Riḍā (Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 223, no. 280; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 239).



**86** *Mustadrak*, III, p. 455, no. 3978. Cf. Barqī, II, pp. 609–610, nos. 11–15 (*bāb al-bunyān*) > *Biḥār*, LXXVI, p. 151, nos. 18–21; Kulīnī, VI, pp. 528–529 (*bāb tashyīd al-binā*); Ibn Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl*, p. 379, no. 8 > *Biḥār*, LXXVI, p. 149, no. 5; Ṭabrisī, *Makārim*, pp. 126–127 (*fi miqdār samk al-bayt*) > *Biḥār*, LXXVI, p. 154, no. 34; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/1, pp. 566–567, nos. 6641–6644 (*bāb istiḥbāb kitābat āyat al-kursī dūran ʿalā raʾs thamāniyat adhruʾ min al-jidār idhā zāda ʾrtifāʾuhu ʿanhā wa-law kāna masjidan*).

**87** *Faṣl*, p. 253, l. 20. See Kulīnī, I, p. 417, no. 26 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (> *Burhān*, I, p. 70, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12); tr. Lawson, “Note”, pp. 285–286; referred to in Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 51.

*Isnād*: in mss. M, L and T, the name of one of the transmitters is given as Ḥammād b. Marwān (i.e. Ḥammād b. Marwān al-Bakrī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq [Ardabīlī, I, p. 276]). Al-Nūrī emended the Ḥammād of ms. L to ʿAmmār (i.e. ʿAmmār b. Marwān, for whom see 51\*), and this reading is incorporated in ms. B. Al-Nūrī may well be right: ʿAmmār b. Marwān transmitted to Ibn Sinān and appears in the *isnād* of the parallel tradition in Kulīnī.

**88** The interpretation of the suffix pronoun in *ḥubbihi* as referring to ʿAlī (“out of love for ʿAlī”) is unusual. Elsewhere, this pronoun is said to refer to the *māl* (of which the righteous gives despite his love for it), to the act of giving or to God (the righteous gives of his possessions because he loves to do so, or out of love for God; see e.g. Ṭabarī, II, pp. 95–97; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 330; Ṭabrisī, II, pp. 96–97; Qurṭubī, II, p. 242).

**89** Ibn Masʿūd was also known as Ibn Umm ʿAbd after his mother, Umm ʿAbd bint ʿAbd Wadd b. Sawāʾ b. Quraym b. Ṣāhila of the tribe of Hudhayl (see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, p. 151; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, p. 197; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, p. 987, no. 1659; cf. Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, pp. 601–602, IV, p. 371, no. 5416; Jeffery, p. 20). Of the six readings attributed to him here, only two appear to be recorded on his authority elsewhere: (i) *bi-shayʾāṭinihim* (Q 2:14); see Jeffery, p. 25 (also ascribed to Ubayy and al-Shaʿbī [idem, p. 117]; cf. the discussion in Ṭabarī, I, pp. 130–131); (ii) *Wa-thūmihā* (for *wa-fūmihā* [Q 2:61], *thūm* being a dialectal variation of *fūm*, and both meaning “wheat”; see Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 156, Lane, s.v. *thūm*); see Sprenger, *Muḥammad*, III, p. xxxviii, note 2;



*GdQ*, III, p. 61; Jeffery, p. 26; Ṭabarī, I, p. 312; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, pp. 54, 55; Māturīdī, I, p. 481; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 88; Samarqandī, I, p. 57; Thaʿlabī, I, p. 205; Māwardī, I, p. 129; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 285; Abū l-Futūḥ, I, p. 205; Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 77; *Lisān*, s.v. *fewm*; Abū Ḥayyān, I, p. 395; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 141. This reading is also ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās (Jeffery, p. 26; Ṭabrisī, I, p. 271; Rāzī, III, p. 93), to Ubayy (Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 77) and to ʿAlqama (Jeffery, p. 26; cf. Rāzī, III, p. 93 [*ʿan ʿAlqama ʿan Ibn Masʿūd*]).

**90** Cf. ʿAskarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 586 (*mā ajraʾahum ʿalā ʿamal yūjib ʿalayhim ʿadhāb al-nār*); Ṭabarī, II, p. 92 (... *maʿa ʿilmihim bi-anna dhālika mūjib lahum sukkḥ allāh wa-alīm ʿiqābihi*); Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 167 (*mā ajraʾahum ʿalā l-ʿamal alladhī yudkḥiluhum al-nār*); Ayyāshī, I, p. 75, no. 157 > *Burhān*, I, p. 175, no. 2; Kulīnī, II, pp. 268–269, no. 2 (al-Ṣādiq on Q 2:175: *mā aṣbarahum ʿalā fiʿl mā yaʿlamūn annahu yuṣayyiruhum ilā l-nār*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 195, *Burhān*, I, p. 175, no. 1; Thaʿlabī, II, p. 48; Māwardī, I, p. 224; *Lisān*, s.v. *ṣbr* (*fa-mā aṣbarahum ʿalā l-nār ay mā ajraʾahum ʿalā aʿmāl ahl al-nār*). This is the only tradition in *KQ* explicitly transmitted on the authority of a Sunnī (*baʿḍ al-ʿamma*).

**91** *Mustadrak*, VII, p. 386, no. 8486. The reading preserved in ms. M may be rendered *yūṭawwaqūnahu* or *yattawwaqūnahu*; both are attested (see Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 118; Thaʿlabī, II, p. 64; Ibn ʿAṭīyya, I, p. 252; Abū l-Futūḥ, II, p. 56; Qurṭubī, II, pp. 286–287; Abū Ḥayyān, II, p. 41; Lane, s.v. *ṭawwaga*; for the former reading see also Ṭabarī, II, pp. 132, 137, 138 [Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid]; Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 161 [Abū Bakr, Ibn ʿAbbās]; idem, *Nawāsikh*, p. 64 [Ibn ʿAbbās]; ʿUkbarī, p. 77 [*wa-qurʾa*]; the word is unvocalized in Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil*, II, pp. 106–107, nos. 569–570). ʿĀʾisha's reading is given as either *yūṭawwaqūnahu* (Ṭabarī, II, p. 138, Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 118) or *yattawwaqūnahu* (Abū Ḥayyān, II, p. 41); in the printed edition of Samarqandī (I, p. 122) her reading is given as *yatūqūnahu*, but it is not clear whether the vocalization was provided by al-Samarqandī or by the editor. The reading *yūṭawwaqūnahu* was rejected by al-Ṭabarī (II, pp. 132, 141) and by Ibn al-Jawzī (*Nawāsikh*, p. 65: *hādhihi l-qirāʾa lā yultafatu ʾilayhā*). See the discussion in Brockett, “Value”, pp. 39–43. The tradition specifies several categories of persons who are required to feed a needy person for every day on which they do not fast. These categories include those who have reached an extreme old age (*al-fānī*), those afflicted by *ʾuṭāsh* (a disease that causes insatiable thirst) and young persons too weak to

partake of the *saḥūr* (the last meal before daybreak). See in general al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, IV/2, pp. 149–158, nos. 13243–13272. Cf. Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 175 (*kāna rukhkhīṣa fihā li-l-shaykh al-kabīr wa-l-ʿajūz al-kabīra idhā kānā lā yuṭīqān al-ṣawm an yuṭīrā wa-yuṭʿimā makān kull yawm miskīnan*).

**92** For the Shīʿa as *ulū l-albāb* (“those possessed of understanding”) see *Baṣāʾir*, pp. 54–56 (*bāb fī l-aʿimma annahum hum ... wa-shiʿatuhum ulū l-albāb*) (most of these traditions are cited in *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 119–121); Kulīnī, I, p. 212, nos. 1–2 (*wa-shiʿatunā ulū l-albāb*); Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 512, nos. 3–4. For ʿAlī and the other Imams as the gate (*al-bāb*) (or as the gates leading to God, *abwāb allāh*) see e.g. *Baṣāʾir*, pp. 61–62, nos. 1, 2, 9 (in the chapter entitled *fī l-aʿimma annahum ḥujjat allāh wa-bāb allāh*); Kulīnī, I, p. 193, no. 2 (in the chapter entitled *inna l-aʿimma khulafāʾ allāh fī arḍihi wa-abwābuhu llatī minhā yuʿtā*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 190, no. 2; Ibn Bābawayh, *Iʿtiqādāt*, p. 103 = Fyzee, p. 96 (*annahum abwāb allāh*) > *Bihār*, XXVI, p. 262, no. 46; Ibn Shādhān, *Miʿat manqaba*, p. 94 (*manqaba* no. 41) (ʿAlī as the *bāb*) > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Yāqīn*, p. 244 > *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 263, no. 84; ʿĀmilī, *Mirʾāt*, p. 91; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin* (= *Divine Guide*), index, s.v. *bāb* (*Allāh*). The concept of the Imams as *abwāb* is at times associated with Q 2:189 (*wa-ʿtū l-buyūt min abwābihā*); see e.g. ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 86, no. 210 (Saʿd < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 190, no. 5, *Bihār*, II, p. 104, no. 60; Ibn Jabr, *Nahj*, p. 343. A connection between Q 2:269 and ʿAlī as the *bāb* appears to be recorded only in *KQ*. It is probably based on the phonetic similarity between *al-albāb* and *al-bāb*. See 340\*, 472.

**93** *Faṣl*, p. 263, ll. 7–8. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 31, 343 (Ibn Masʿūd, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif [i.e. the Successor Abū Muḥammad (or Abū ʿAbdallāh) Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb al-Hamdānī al-Yāmī al-Kūfī, d. 112/730–731; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, I, table 229, II, p. 555; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, XIII, p. 478; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 343, no. 1488; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, pp. 25–26]; Abū Ḥayyān, II, p. 347 (Ibn Masʿūd). According to Abū ʿUbayd (*Faḍāʾil*, II, p. 112, no. 588), in Ibn Masʿūd’s reading the words *yawm al-qiyyāma* appeared at the end of the verse. In Samarqandī (I, p. 182), Thaʿlabī (II, p. 282), Māwardī (I, p. 348) and Ṭabrisī (II, p. 359), *yawm al-qiyyāma* is an exegetical gloss on *lā yaqūmūna*; similarly in Abū l-Futūḥ, II, p. 397 (*rūz-i qiyāmat*).

**94** *Faṣl*, p. 263, ll. 8–9. Cf. Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, I, p. 355 > Qurṭubī, III, p. 304: *wa-qad yūjad fī sunbul al-qamḥ mā fīhī mi’at ḥabba wa-ammā fī sār al-ḥubūb fa-akthar* (“at times, an ear of wheat contains one hundred grains; in other cereals there are more”).

**95** Cf. Qummī, I, p. 95 (to Q 2:285–286); ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 159–160, no. 531; Najafī, p. 98, no. 90. According to these accounts, the Prophet received the last two verses of Sūrat al-baqara directly from God during the night of the *mi’raj*. In *KQ* this point is underscored by the statement that “there was no messenger (i.e. angel) between them”. On the merits of reciting these two verses see e.g. Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā’il*, pp. 83–84, nos. 161–163, p. 85, no. 167; Qurṭubī, III, pp. 433–434; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, pp. 668–669 and the sources cited therein; Saleh, *Formation*, p. 103, note 5. The final two (or three) verses are occasionally referred to as the *khātima* (or *khawātīm*) of Sūrat al-baqara; see e.g. Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā’il*, p. 86, no. 173; Samarqandī, I, p. 191; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 409; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 669; *DC*, art. “Prières dans le Coran” (Michel Cuypers). For *mushāfaha* see also **542**.

**96** *Faṣl*, p. 260, ll. 3–4. For *mukhrajāt* see **73**. According to this tradition, the beginning of Q 2:240 concerning the testament (*waṣiyya*) was abrogated by the “inheritance verse(s)” (*āyat al-mawārith* or *āyat al-farā’id*, i.e. Q 4:11–12 or Q 4:176), while the next part, concerning the “provision for a year”, was abrogated by Q 2:234, which prescribes four months and ten nights as the waiting period (*’idda*) of the widow. See also Muqātil, I, p. 127; Ibn Wahb, *Ḥāmi’/’Ulūm*, p. 250 (fol 14a l. 8–fol 14b l. 1); Ṭabarī, II, pp. 579–580; Samarqandī, I, p. 158; Tha’labī, II, p. 201; Ṭabrisī, II, pp. 266–267; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, II, p. 171; *Lisān*, s.v. *mt’* (from al-Azharī); Abū Ḥayyān, II, pp. 253–254; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, III, p. 73. Cf. Nu’mānī, *Tafsīr*, pp. 6–7 and the discussion in Powers, *Studies*, pp. 155–157, 179–182. For the view that (part of) Q 2:240 was abrogated by Q 2:234 see also Zuhri, *Nāsikh*, pp. 20–21; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Nāsikh*, p. 44; Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 225; Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 67; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, p. 452, no. 2391; Naḥḥās, *Nāsikh*, pp. 69–70; Hibat Allāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 26; Māwardī, I, p. 303; Abū l-Futūḥ, I, p. 4, II, pp. 251–252; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, pp. 82–83. Some exegetes comment on the fact that Q 2:234 (the abrogating verse) appears at an earlier point in the text than Q 2:240 (the abrogated verse). Thus Hibat Allāh (*Nāsikh*, p. 26) and Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī (*Nāsikh*, p. 37) note that this is one of only two such occurrences in the Qur’ān; and al-Ṭabrisī observes that Q 2:234

abrogates Q 2:240 “even though it precedes the latter in the recitation” (*wa-in kānat mutaqqaddima fī l-tilāwa ‘alayhi*) (II, p. 251; similarly Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 225, Māturīdī, II, p. 185 [*wa-in kānat muqaddama fī l-dhikr*], Abū l-Futūḥ, II, p. 252). Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh cites these two verses in a chapter in which he argues that the original arrangement (*ta’līf*) of the Qur’ān followed a chronological order, and that the Qur’ān as we have it deviates from this order. The fact that Q 2:234 precedes Q 2:240 proves that the present position of these verses is different from what it was in the original text (*Nāsikh*, pp. 66–67; similarly Ṣāfi, I, pp. 44, 45, 248. ‘Alī’s copy of the Qur’ān is reported to have followed the chronological order [*fā-minhum man rattabahā ‘alā l-nuzūl wa-huwa muṣḥaf ‘Alī*]; see Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, I, p. 216; idem, *Tanāsūq*, p. 68; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, III, p. xlv, note 1; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 272–273; Jeffery, pp. 182–183). Cf. 654\*.

97 *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 97, no. 16190, p. 143, no. 16328. The sentences which include a citation of Q 2:181 and Q 2:182 may be an interpolation. For the beginning see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 77, no. 167 (Ibn Muskān < Abū Baṣīr < *aḥaduhumā*, i.e. al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq) > *Bihār*, CIII, p. 200, no. 33; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 78, no. 173 (Yūnus < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 179, no. 11. For the abrogation of the “bequest verses” (Q 2:180, 2:240) by the “inheritance verse(s)” see Coulson, *Succession*, p. 213; Powers, *Studies*, pp. 143–188. See also Zuhri, *Nāsikh*, p. 20; Muqātil, I, p. 95 (Q 2:180 abrogated by Q 4:11); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Nāsikh*, pp. 80–83 (with Burton’s commentary, pp. 146–148 of the English section); Ṭabarī, II, pp. 116–120 (citing views for and against abrogation); Māturīdī, II, pp. 17–18; Naḥḥās, *Nāsikh*, p. 21 (Mujāhid states that Q 2:180 is abrogated by Q 4:11); Samarqandī, I, p. 120; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 334; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, III, p. 73. Al-Ṭabrisī (II, p. 105) defends the position that Q 2:180 is not abrogated (*wa-huwa l-ṣāḥiḥ ‘inda l-muḥaqqiqīn min aṣḥābinā*); and this is also the position of al-Rāwandī (*Fiqh*, II, pp. 299–300, 306), Ibn Idrīs (*Sarā’ir*, III, p. 186), Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī (*Nāsikh*, pp. 30–31) and al-Ardabīlī (*Ḍubda*, pp. 469–470). Al-Barā’ b. Ma’rūr, who died one month before the Prophet emigrated to Medina, asked to be buried facing the Prophet (see Ibn Bābawayh, *Ilal*, p. 301, no. 1). He also bequeathed to him one third of his estate (see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “al-Barā’ b. Ma’rūr” [K.V. Zetterstéen]; Powers, *Studies*, p. 129), and this became the accepted custom (*sunna*) (Kulīnī, III, pp. 254–255, no. 16; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqīh*, IV, p. 137, no. 479; idem, *Khiṣāl*, p. 175, no. 267 > *Bihār*, LXXXI, pp. 231–232, no. 4). The term *ṣāḥib ḥādthā l-amr* may refer to the Imam (as in the tradition cited here).

or to the Mahdī (though he is more usually known as *ṣāhib al-amr*). The Imam is said to be entitled to a maximum of one third of the estate, the minimum being either one ninth (*thulth al-thulth*; see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 77, no. 168 [Samā’a < al-Ṣādiq] > *Bihār*, CIII, p. 200, no. 34) or one sixth (*adnāhu l-suds wa-aktharuhu l-thulth*; see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 76, no. 163 [‘Ammār b. Marwān < al-Ṣādiq] > *Bihār*, CIII, p. 199, no. 30). Translation of the final sentence: “The minimum (to which the Imam is entitled) is one third of one third (i.e. one ninth) of the estate; the rest is disposed of according to the wishes of the testator (up to the limit of one third of the estate)”.

**98** Cf. *Baṣā’ir* (missing from the printed edition) > *Burhān*, I, p. 273, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 323, no. 69; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 166, no. 19 > *Burhān*, I, p. 273, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 323, no. 67. In these sources the words *qā’iman bi-l-qisṭ* are said to refer to the Imam.

**99** Since no *qirā’a* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing. The original text may well be identical with *Baṣā’ir*, p. 203, no. 4, which has the same *isnād* as *KQ*; here the *rāsikhūn fī l-‘ilm* (those firmly rooted in knowledge) are the Prophet and the Imams. For similar traditions (in all of which Burayd b. Mu‘āwiya cites the Imam’s interpretation of Q 3:7) see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 204, no. 8 (Burayd b. Mu‘āwiya < *aḥaduhumā* [i.e. al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq]) > *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 199, no. 33; Qummī, I, pp. 96–97 > *Burhān*, I, p. 271, no. 8; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 164, no. 6 (Burayd b. Mu‘āwiya < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 271, no. 13; Kulīnī, I, p. 213, no. 2 > *Burhān*, I, p. 270, no. 4. See further Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 100.

**100** *Faṣl*, p. 268, ll. 12–13. Cf. Qummī, I, p. 122 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 348, *Bihār*, XIX, p. 243, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 387, no. 338; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 196, no. 135 (Rib’ī and Ḥarīz [not b./‘an Ḥarīz; cf. **39**]) < al-Ṣādiq] > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 348, *Burhān*, I, p. 310, no. 4, *Bihār*, XIX, p. 284, no. 23. For the reading *wa-antum du‘afā’* see also Jeffery, p. 125 (Ubayy); Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63; Ṭabrisī, IV, p. 188 (*ba’d al-ṣādiqīn*); Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 284; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 54, with notes 52, 53; idem, *Scripture*, p. 167; Kohlberg, “Praise”, p. 150, note 11. Cf. the reading *wa-la-qad naṣarakum allāh bi-Badr bi-sayf ‘Alī wa-antum adhillā* which Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940) cites from an anonymous “deviator from the community” (*zā’igh zāgha ‘an al-milla*) (Qurtubī, I, pp. 81, 82). See **101**.

**101** See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 196, nos. 133 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) (> Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 387, no. 339), 134 (‘Abdallāh b. Sinān < al-Ṣādiq), both > Ṣāfi, I, pp. 348–349, *Burhān*, I, p. 310, nos. 2–3, *Biḥār*, XIX, p. 284, no. 22. For the reading *wa-antum qalīl* see also Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 54, with note 52; Kohlberg, “Praise”, p. 150, note 11. See **100**.

**102** *Faṣl*, p. 267, l. 15. For this reading see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 60; Qummī, I, pp. 10, 110 > Ṣāfi, I, pp. 44–45, 342, *Burhān*, I, p. 308, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, I, pp. 382–383, no. 327; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 195, no. 128 (Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq, as *qirā’at ‘Alī*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 342, *Burhān*, I, p. 309, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 153, no. 1; Nu’mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 26; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 282–283; Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”, p. 212; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 53; idem, *Scripture*, p. 102; Cook, *Commanding Right*, p. 261. Cf. **114**.

**103** *Faṣl*, p. 269, ll. 3–4. Cf. Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 61, where al-Ṣādiq declares that God revealed the verse as follows: *laysa laka min al-amr shay’ an yatūba ‘alayhim aw tu’adhdhibahum fa-innahum ḡālimūn*. In ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 198, no. 141 (al-Jarmī < al-Bāqir) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 350, *Burhān*, I, p. 314, no. 4, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 389, no. 349, al-Bāqir recites the verse as follows: *laysa laka min al-amr shay’ an yatūba / tatūba ‘alayhim aw yu’adhdhibahum / tu’adhdhibahum* (variant: *in yatub ‘alayhim aw tu’adhdhibhum / yu’adhdhibhum*) *fa-innahum ḡālimūn*. In contrast, the version in Nu’mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 27 > *Faṣl*, p. 269, ll. 8–9 is identical with the ‘Uthmānic codex, but with the addition of *li-‘āl Muḥammad* after *ḡālimūn*. See **125**.

*Isnād*: ‘ALĪ AL-JARMĪ: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāṭarī al-Jarmī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’ī, IV, pp. 183–184; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 568–569; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 87, note 184).

**104** *Faṣl*, p. 264, ll. 7–8. For this reading see ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 169–170, no. 35 (Abū ‘Amr al-Zubayrī < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 279, no. 14, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 331, no. 109; Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, I, p. 306 (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad < al-Ṣādiq: *hākadhā unzilāt*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 277, no. 1; Ṭabarī, *Bishāra*, p. 197; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 52–53. Cf. Tisdall, p. 234 (“... and the family of Mohammed and his seed”). Tisdall’s readings (given in translation only) are based on a manuscript of the Qur’ān discovered in Bankipur in 1912 (see idem, p. 228). See **106**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ KHĀLID AL-QAMMĀṬ: Abū Khālid Yazīd al-Qammāṭ, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 399).

**105** *Faṣl*, p. 264, ll. 9–10. Cf. *Furāt*, I, p. 78, no. 52 (Ḥumrān < al-Bāqir) (*udkhila ḥarf makān ḥarf*; referred to in Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”, p. 212); ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 168, no. 30 (Hishām b. Sālim < al-Ṣādiq: *fā-waḍa’ū ‘sman makāna ‘sm*) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 305, *Burhān*, I, p. 278, no. 9. For this reading see also Jeffery, p. 32 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Tha‘labī > *Faṣl*, p. 136, ll. 13–16 (the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd; in the printed edition of Tha‘labī [III, p. 53], the verse is cited as in the ‘Uthmānic codex); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 53 (“Some sources read *wa-āl Muḥammad* instead of *wa-āl ‘Imrān*”). Cf. Ḥaskānī, I, pp. 118–119, nos. 165–167; Modarressi, “Debates”, pp. 25, 31. According to anon., *Alqāb* (p. 212), al-Ṭūsī (II, p. 441) and al-Ṭabrisī (III, p. 62 > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 330, no. 107), the reading of the *ahl al-bayt* was *wa-āl Muḥammad ‘alā l-‘ālamīn*; it is not clear whether the reading to which they refer is the one with *wa-āl ‘Imrān* (as in **104**, **106**) or without it (as in **105**).

**106** *Faṣl*, p. 264, ll. 10–12. For this tradition see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 169, no. 34 (Ayyūb < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 305, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Ithbāt*, III, p. 46, no. 695 (Abū Ayyūb < al-Ṣādiq), *Burhān*, I, p. 279, no. 13, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 227, no. 48; cf. Qummī, I, p. 100 (*fā-asqaṭū āl Muḥammad min al-kitāb*) > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 330, no. 104. See **104**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ AYYŪB AL-KHARRĀZ: Abū Ayyūb Ibrāhīm b. ‘Īsā/‘Uthmān/Ziyād al-Kharrāz/al-Khazzāz, a Kūfān transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 285–286). In ms. L, al-Nūrī corrected the name to Ayyūb al-Ḥurr (for whom see Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 212–213), and quoted this latter name in the *Faṣl*. Two considerations may have led him to make this emendation: (i) he clearly realized that “al-Ḥ-rām” in ms. L is an error; (ii) he may have relied on the parallel tradition in ‘Ayyāshī, which is cited in most versions on the authority of Ayyūb. Both points are, however, problematic: (i) according to ms. M (which was not available to al-Nūrī), “al-Ḥ-rām” is an error for al-Kharrāz, not for al-Ḥurr; (b) in the version of ‘Ayyāshī cited in the *Ithbāt*, the name appears as Abū Ayyūb, and this may well be the correct form. This possibility is reinforced by the fact that Abū Ayyūb is known to have transmitted to Dāwūd b. al-Nu‘mān (see e.g. Ardabīlī, I, p. 26), and this is probably also the case in the tradition cited by al-Sayyārī.

**107** Cf. al-Bāqir’s explication of *ghayr al-islām* as *ghayr al-taslīm li-wa-lāyatīnā* (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 283 > *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 358, no. 12). For the replacement of the fourth form of the root *slm* by the second form see **74**\*



*Isnād*: ‘UMAR b. ‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ: Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Yasār known as Zuḥal, a Baṣran transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 262; Ardabīlī, I, p. 635).—YŪNUS: Yūnus b. Ḍabyān, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā’ī, IV, pp. 291–293; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 355–356; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 89). Khaybarī and Yūnus b. Ḍabyān are recorded as transmitting jointly from al-Ṣādiq (Kulīnī, I, p. 537, no. 2). More usually, however, Khaybarī transmits from Yūnus b. Ḍabyān (Ardabīlī, I, p. 299); the text of *KQ* should therefore perhaps be emended to *al-Khaybarī ‘an Yūnus*. For the corruption of al-Khaybarī to al-Ḥimyarī (as in the manuscripts of *KQ*) see 5\*.

**108** *Faṣl*, p. 269, l. 10.

**109** *Faṣl*, p. 263, ll. 13–14. Al-Kishshī (pp. 481–485 > Quhpā’ī, I, pp. 54–58, *Bihār*, L, pp. 319–323, no. 16) has preserved a lengthy rescript (*tawqī’*) which the eleventh Imam al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī sent to his disciple Ishāq b. Ismā’īl al-Nisābūrī (cf. Hussain, *Occultation*, p. 96; **342\***). In this text (partially quoted in Ibn Shu’ba, *Tuḥaf*, pp. 359–361 > *Bihār*, LXXVIII, pp. 374–377, no. 2; Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, pp. 249–250, no. 6 > *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 99–100, no. 3), the Imam cites Q 2:85 and Q 47:38 in the versions recorded at **109** and **515** respectively (Kishshī, p. 482 > Quhpā’ī, I, p. 55, *Bihār*, L, p. 320 [Q 2:85]; Kishshī, p. 483 > Quhpā’ī, I, p. 56, *Bihār*, L, p. 321 [Q 47:38, without *ilayhi* in the *Bihār*]; Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, p. 250 [Q 47:38]; in the text as recorded in Ibn Shu’ba [at p. 360], only Q 2:85 is cited in its Shī’ī version). Each of these two traditions in *KQ* carries the *isnād*: *Ishāq b. Ismā’īl ‘anhu*, where ‘*anhu*’ appears to refer to the Imam mentioned in the previous tradition, namely al-Ṣādiq (this is in fact how al-Nūrī interprets it, incorporating al-Ṣādiq’s name in the text of the *Faṣl*). As can be seen from Kishshī, however, the Imam in question is al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī. Since the eleventh Imam is never cited in *KQ*, the possibility that **109** and **515** are interpolations cannot be ruled out. In Kishshī, the sentence *tamām al-ni’ma dukhūl al-janna* (“the perfection of [God’s] favour is entry to Paradise”) appears towards the beginning of the rescript (with *dukhūluka* instead of *dukhūl*), considerably earlier than the citation of Q 2:85 and without any connection to it. Al-‘Ayyāshī (I, p. 293, no. 23 [Hishām b. Sālim < al-Ṣādiq] > *Burhān*, I, p. 444, no. 17, *Bihār*, XXXVII, p. 138, no. 29 [ending]) reproduces this utterance as a commentary on Q 5:3 (*al-yawm akmaltu lakum dīnakum wa-atmamtu ‘alaykum ni’matī*). The Prophet



is similarly said to have defined *tamām al-ni'ma* as *al-khalāṣ min al-nār wa-dukhūl al-janna* (Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma'ānī*, p. 218, no. 1).

*Isnād*: ISHĀQ b. ISMĀ'IL: Ishāq b. Ismā'īl al-Nīsābūrī, a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (Quhpā'ī, I, p. 185; Ardabīlī, I, p. 80).

**110** *Faṣl*, p. 269, ll. 10–12. Cf. Jeffery, p. 125 (*sa-yuṭawwaqūn min al-zakāt* [sic] as the reading of Ubayy; the words *mā bakhilū bihi* should be added after *sa-yuṭawwaqūn*); Kulīnī, III, p. 502, no. 1, p. 504, no. 10 (*min al-zakāt* appears as a gloss) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 373, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 414, no. 449 (and see al-Nūrī's comment at *Faṣl*, p. 269, ll. 12–13); Ibn Bābawayh, *Iqāb*, p. 278, no. 1 (*'iqāb māni' al-zakāt*). Ibn Bābawayh reproduces a longer version of the tradition in *KQ* with the *isnād*: Sa'd b. ʿAbdallāh < Ya'qūb b. Yazīd < Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmayr < ʿAbdallāh b. Muskān < Muḥammad b. Muslim < al-Bāqir. Here, however, *min al-zakāt* is a gloss.

**111** *Faṣl*, p. 269, ll. 13–15. In the ʿUthmānic codex the words *bi-l-bayyināt wa-l-zubur* appear in the following verse, that is, *Q* 3:184.

*Isnād*: ABŪ ṬĀLIB: Abū Ṭālib al-Azdī al-Sha'rānī, a Baṣran transmitter from students of al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 376).—YŪNUS: he is probably Yūnus b. Bakkār (for whom see Khū'ī, XXI, p. 200, no. 13853). He appears in a single tradition in Kulīnī (I, p. 417, no. 28 > *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 373, no. 52: ... al-Barqī < his father < Abū Ṭālib < Yūnus b. Bakkār < his father < Jābir < al-Bāqir).

**112** *Faṣl*, p. 270, ll. 2–3. See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Radj'a” (E. Kohlberg). Cf. Jeffery, p. 344, where some authorities ascribe the reading *wa-manshūra* (read thus for *mansūra*) to Ubayy. A longer version of this tradition (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Khaṭṭāb < Muḥammad b. Sinān < ʿAmmār b. Marwān < al-Munakhkhal b. Jamīl < Jābir b. Yazīd < al-Bāqir; see **61**) is recorded in Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 17 > *Biḥār*, LIII, p. 64, no. 55. See **113**.

**113** *Faṣl*, p. 269, l. 22–p. 270, l. 2. For this tradition see Sa'd b. ʿAbdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 > *Faṣl*, p. 270, ll. 3–5; Ayyāshī, I, p. 210, no. 169 (but with the *isnād* Muḥammad b. Yūnus < unidentified transmitter < al-Bāqir) > *Biḥār*, VI, p. 188, no. 26 (for *wa-mabshūra* read *wa-manshūra*), *Burhān*, I, p. 329, no. 5, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 418, no. 465. See **112**.

**114** *Faṣl*, p. 267, ll. 11–14. Both *antum khayr a'imma* and *kuntum khayr a'imma* (see **102**) are attested as Shī'ī readings. In the Qumm, 1380/1960–1961 edition of 'Ayyāshī (I, p. 195, no. 129 [Abū Baṣīr]), the reading given is *kuntum khayr a'imma*, and this is also the reading in al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Ithbāt*, III, p. 47, no. 699 and Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 383, no. 328, both citing 'Ayyāshī; yet the reading cited from 'Ayyāshī in *Ṣaḥīḥ* (I, p. 342), in *Burhān* (I, p. 209, no. 3), in *Bihār* (XXIV, p. 153, no. 2) and in *Faṣl* (p. 267, ll. 5–7) is *antum khayr a'imma*. In these sources, there is no discussion of the reasons for reading either *antum* or *kuntum*. Scholars (both Sunnī and Shī'ī) who adhere to the 'Uthmānic codex naturally reject the reading *antum*, while offering various explanations as to why the text has *kuntum* and not *antum*. See Māwardī, I, p. 416; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, pp. 360–361; 'Ukbarī, p. 133; cf. Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq*, pp. 216–222; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mutashābih*, II, p. 271. See also Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 77.

*Isnād*: IBN ASLAM: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aslam al-Jabalī al-Ṭabarī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Riḍā. His *kitāb* was transmitted by Muḥammad b. 'Alī (Quhpā'ī, V, pp. 149–150; Ardabīlī, II, p. 67). On occasion al-Sayyārī transmits from him directly (e.g. **493**; Ibn Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl*, p. 227, no. 113; Ṭūsī, *Istibṣār*, I, p. 483, no. 1871).

**115** *Faṣl*, p. 266, l. 3. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 180, no. 73 (Ḥabīb al-Sijistānī < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, pp. 294–295, no. 5, *Bihār*, XV, p. 179, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 358, no. 212; partially cited in *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, p. 37, 'Āmilī, *Mir'āt*, p. 37. Elsewhere, al-Ṣādiq is said to have added the word *umam* as an exegetical gloss (Ṭūsī, II, p. 514; Ṭabrisī, III, p. 130; idem, *Jawāmi'*, I, p. 198). Cf. Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 141 (... *fa-kāna khiṭāb al-anbiyā' bi-mā yajūz dukhūl umamihim ma'ahum fihī khiṭāban li-l-umam ma'ahum*); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mutashābih*, I, p. 9 (*bal yakūn ma'nāhu akhadha mūthāq umam al-nabiyyīn*); Rāzī, VIII, p. 102. A different reading is recorded on the authority of Ibn Maṣ'ūd: *wa-idh akhadha llāh mūthāq alladhūna ūtū l-kitāb* (Jeffery, p. 34; Ṭabarī, III, p. 331; Māturīdī, II, p. 416; Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 140; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 441); this was also the reading of Ubayy, Mujāhid and al-Rab' b. Khuthaym (Jeffery, pp. 124, 277, 288; Ṭabarī, III, p. 331; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 441 [Ubayy]) (cf. Q 3:187). Mujāhid is said to have maintained that Q 3:81 as recorded in the 'Uthmānic codex is a result of scribal error (*huwa khaṭa' min al-kātib*) (Ṭabarī, III, p. 331, Māturīdī, II, p. 416); this is reminiscent of al-Bāqir's statement in *KQ*. See in general *DC*, art. "Pacte prééternel" (Geneviève Gobillot). Cf. **116**, **117**.

*Isnād*: The name Ibrāhīm b. Maḥbūb found in the manuscripts is unknown; in contrast, the *isnād* Ibn Maḥbūb (i.e. al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, for whom see 54\*) < Hishām b. Sālim is quite common. “Ibrāhīm” was probably inserted by a copyist.—ḤABĪB AL-SIJISTĀNĪ: Ḥabīb b. al-Mu‘allā al-Sijistānī, a Khārījī who embraced Imāmī Shī‘ism and was a transmitter from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, II, pp. 79, 82; Ardabīlī, I, p. 178).

**116** Cf. Qummī, I, p. 106, ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 181, no. 76, both > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 325; Najafī, pp. 116–117, nos. 29–30, partially cited in ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 26. The words *bi-Muḥammad wa-la-taṣṣurunna ‘Alīyyan* do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā’a*; they may be a gloss. For the expression *wa-la-yuḥsharunna ... li-amīr al-mu’mīnīn* cf. Q 27:17 (*wa-ḥushira li-Sulaymān junūduhu*). *Al-karra* is synonymous with *al-raj’a* (cf. *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Radj’a” [E. Kohlberg]). Cf. **115**, **117**.

**117** *Faṣl*, p. 266, ll. 3–4. The word *min* found in the manuscripts would only make sense as a reading of Q 3:81 if it were preceded by *al-mūthāq* or *mūthāqan*; no such reading is recorded. Alternatively, *min umam* could be an otherwise unattested variant reading of Q 33:7 (*wa-idh akhadhnā min al-nabiyyīn mūthāqahum*). Yet it seems best to assume that *min* is a copyist’s error for *mūthāq*. Such an error could have arisen by *mūthāq* being written without an *alif* (as in the standard Egyptian text) and without diacritical marks. Cf. **115**, **116**.

**118** This is evidently an exegetical tradition on Q 3:103, the verse itself having been omitted from the manuscripts. Translation: “By God, it is through us that He saved you from it (i.e. from Hell), so do not throw yourselves into it by your sins”. For a Shī‘ī *qirā’a* of this verse see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 183, no. 208 (*fa-anqadhakum minhā bi-Muḥammad*).

**119** *Faṣl*, p. 266, ll. 11–12. For this tradition see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 184, no. 84 (Yūnus b. Ḍabyān < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 328, *Burhān*, I, p. 297, no. 3, *Bihār*, XCVI, p. 145, no. 19, *Faṣl*, p. 266, l. 13; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 183, no. 209 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 328, *Burhān*, I, p. 297, no. 1, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 57, no. 32, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 363, no. 233, *Faṣl*, p. 266, ll. 12–13; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d*, p. 121 (from a *mujallad ‘atīq*; see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 277, no. 420) > *Faṣl*, p. 266, ll. 8–11. The transmitter in all of these sources is Yūnus b. Ḍabyān, and the reading is *lan tanālū l-birr ḥattā tunfiqū mā tuḥibbūn*; *al-khayr* for *al-birr* is only attested in ms. M (cf. Q 33:25: *lam*

*yanālū khayran*). For *al-birr* glossed as *al-khayr alladhī yustaḥaqqu bihi l-ajr* see Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 341 (from Abū Rawq). Cf. Jeffery, pp. 34, 124 (Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy read *baʿḍ mā* for *mimmā*).

**120** *Faṣl*, p. 266, l. 21. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 193–194, no. 119 (al-Ḥusayn b. Khālīd < Abū l-Ḥasan al-Awwal [i.e. Mūsā al-Kāẓim]) (but reading *thumma l-imām* for *wa-l-a’imma*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 337, *Burhān*, I, pp. 304–305, no. 4, *Biḥār*, II, p. 206, no. 93, LXVIII, p. 232, LXX, pp. 269–270. For this reading (but with *thumma l-imām*) see Ṭūsī, II, pp. 544–545 > *Faṣl*, p. 266, ll. 22–23; Ṭabrisī, IV, p. 157; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 53. In *KQ* the *qirā’at* ‘*Alī*’, representing the correct text, is contrasted with *qirā’at* *Ẓayd*, which is here identical with the ‘Uthmānic codex. For a similar juxtaposition between the readings of ‘*Alī* and *Zayd* (i.e. *Zayd* b. ‘*Alī*) see **293\*** (to *Q* 16:90); noted by Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 53, note 50, p. 62, note 66. Cf. **74, 76, 129, 285, 361, 363**.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤUSAYN B. KHĀLID: al-Ḥusayn b. Khālīd al-Ṣayrafi, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (*Quhpā’ī*, II, p. 174; *Ardabīlī*, I, pp. 238–239).

**121** *Mustadrak*, VIII, p. 12, no. 8933. Cf. ‘*Alī* b. Ja’far, *Masā’il*, p. 263, no. 634; Kulīnī, IV, pp. 265–266, no. 5; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, V, p. 16, no. 48 (all going back to al-Kāẓim); Ṣāfi, I, p. 335. Cf. Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, III, p. 715, no. 3871; Samarqandī, I, p. 232; Raḍī, *Ḥaqā’iq*, pp. 195–196. Cf. **122**.

*Isnād*: MANṢŪR B. AL-‘ABBĀS: Abū l-Ḥusayn Manṣūr b. al-‘Abbās al-Rāzī, a Baghdādī (or Kūfan) transmitter from al-Jawād and al-Hādī (*Quhpā’ī*, VI, p. 144; *Ardabīlī*, II, p. 267).—AMR B. SA’ĪD: ‘*Amr* b. Sa’īd al-Madā’inī al-Sābāṭī, a transmitter from al-Riḍā (*Quhpā’ī*, IV, p. 286; *Ardabīlī*, I, pp. 621–622).—ABŪ ‘UBAYDA AL-MADĀ’INĪ: a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (*Ardabīlī*, II, p. 401).—SULAYMĀN B. KHĀLID: he may be Abū l-Rabī‘ al-Aqṭa‘ Sulaymān b. Khālīd b. Dihqān b. Nāfila, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq who participated in *Zayd* b. ‘*Alī*’s revolt against the Umayyads in 122/740 and lost an arm in the fighting (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 374–375). The problem is that Sulaymān predeceased al-Ṣādiq and so could hardly have addressed al-Kāẓim (unless it is assumed that the conversation took place before al-Kāẓim succeeded his father as Imam). Alternatively, the reference could be to Sulaymān b. Khālīd al-Khaṭṭāb/Ḥaṭṭāb, whom al-Ṭūsī mentions as a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (*Rijāl*, p. 351, no. 14). No *isnād* with his name appears to be attested.

**122** *Mustadrak*, VIII, pp. 12–13, no. 8934. See Kulīnī, IV, p. 266, nos. 6, 8 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, V, pp. 10–11, nos. 14133, 14135. Ibn Bābawayh maintains that people of means (*ahl al-jida*) are under an obligation (*farāda*) to go on the pilgrimage annually (*ʿIṭal*, p. 405, no. 5); al-Ṭūsī holds a different view (see *Tahdhīb*, V, pp. 16–17). For a definition of *mudmin al-ḥajj* (“addicted to the pilgrimage”) similar to that found in *KQ* see Kulīnī, IV, p. 542, no. 9: “a pilgrimage addict is someone who goes on a pilgrimage whenever he finds a way there, just as a wine addict is someone who imbibes wine whenever he finds it” (*mudmin al-ḥajj alladhī idhā wajada l-ḥajja ḥajja kamā anna mudmin al-khamr alladhī idhā wajadahu sharibahu*). According to another definition, *mudmin al-ḥajj* is a person who goes on a pilgrimage for three consecutive years, whether or not he subsequently goes on a fourth *ḥajj* (see Kulīnī, IV, p. 542, no. 9; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḡh*, II, p. 139, no. 603; idem, *Khiṣāl*, p. 113, no. 100; Fattāl, *Rawḍa*, p. 359). Cf. **121**.

*Isnād*: ʿALĪ B. MAHZIYĀR: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī, a transmitter from al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī (Quhpāʾī, IV, pp. 226–230; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 604–605; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 15, note 73).

**123** *Faṣl*, p. 264, ll. 21–23. Cf. ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 173, nos. 47–48 > *Burhān*, I, p. 283, nos. 15–16, *Bihār*, XIV, p. 192, no. 2. In *KQ*, *wa-ʾrkaʿ* of the ʿUthmānic codex is attested only in the margin of ms. L as an emendation of al-Nūrī. The version of Q 3:43 given in *KQ* (whether with *wa-ʾrkaʿ* or without it) does not appear to be attested elsewhere. ʿAyyāshī’s text is *wa-ʾsjudi wa-ʾrkaʿ shukran li-llāh* (> Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 336, no. 127); Qummī, I, p. 102 (> *Burhān*, I, p. 281, no. 1) has *wa-ʾrkaʿ wa-ʾsjudi*, while Ubayy’s reading is recorded as *wa-ʾrkaʿ shukran li-llāh maʿa l-rākiʿin* (Jeffery, p. 124). *Shukran li-llāh* may in fact be an exegetical gloss (cf. Ṭabrisī, III, p. 77: *wa-qīl maʿnāhu wa-ʾsjudi li-llāh shukran*). Al-Nūrī (*Faṣl*, p. 264, l. 23–p. 265, l. 1) raises the possibility that the words *ʿinda wilādatihā* in *KQ* constitute a reading of Q 3:44 but, on the basis of the parallel tradition from ʿAyyāshī, tends to conclude that they are a gloss.

*Isnād*: ZIYĀD B. SŪQA: Abū l-Ḥusayn Ziyād b. Sūqa al-Bajāli al-Jarīrī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʾī, III, pp. 68–69; Ardabīlī, I, p. 336).

**124** *Faṣl*, p. 265, ll. 7–8. Cf. the tradition in Shaybānī, *Nahj*, II, p. 37 > *Faṣl*, p. 265, ll. 13–14: *wa-ruwiya fī akhbārīnā ʿan aʾimmatinā ʿalayhim al-salām: innī rāfiʿuka ilayya wa-mutawaffika baʿda nuzūlika ʿalā ʿahd al-qāʾim min ʿāl Muḥammad* (“After you have come down to earth, [which you will do]

during the time of the Qā'im, the descendant of Muḥammad, I will raise you up and take you [to myself]"). Al-Nūrī takes the words *innī rāfi'uka ilayya wa-mutawaffika* to be a Shī'ī *qirā'a*, and maintains (*Faṣl*, p. 265, ll. 8–10) that it is supported by a tradition in which al-Riḍā states that Jesus was raised from earth alive, died between earth and heaven, was transported to heaven, and was then brought back to life (cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn*, I, p. 170. Al-Riḍā, however, cites Q 3:55 as it appears in the 'Uthmānic codex [ibid.]). See also Nu'aym, *Fitan*, p. 394, no. 1337 (where *innī rāfi'uka ilayya wa-mutawaffika* appears as a *ḥadīth qudsī*). Those who adhere to the reading of the 'Uthmānic codex yet maintain that the raising (*rāfi'uka*) preceded the gathering (*mutawaffika*) put forward various explanations, for example that this verse is an instance of *taqdīm wa-ta'khīr* ("preposition and postposition", see Versteegh, *Grammar*, pp. 104–105); see Muqātil, I, p. 172; Ṭabarī, III, p. 291; Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 286 (*wa-fihā taqdīm ay rāfi'uka wa-mutawaffika ba'da mā tanzilu*); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, p. 661, no. 3583; Māturīdī, II, pp. 382–383; Samarqandī, I, p. 218; Tha'labī, III, p. 81; Māwardī, I, p. 397; Ibn 'Aṭīyya, I, p. 444; Ṭabrisī, III, p. 95; Abū l-Futūḥ, III, p. 56; Ibn al-Jawzī, I, p. 322; 'Ukbarī, p. 125 (*wa-l-taqdīr rāfi'uka ilayya wa-mutawaffika*); Abū Ḥayyān, II, p. 497; Zarkashī, III, p. 244; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, III, p. 38 (Qatāda); Versteegh, *Grammar*, pp. 124, 141. See the discussion in Robinson, *Christ*, pp. 117–126.

**125** *Faṣl*, p. 269, ll. 4–8. Translation: "I recited the following verse in the presence of Abū 'Abdallāh (i.e. al-Šādiq): 'Nothing is in your hand'. The Imam said: 'Yes indeed, by God, many things (are in the Prophet's hand); the rule in its entirety belongs to him. The verse was in fact revealed (as follows): "Nothing is in your hand (concerning the next world); they are evil-doers (who are destined to Hell) regardless of whether you forgive them or punish them (in this world)"'. For the first part see **103**. For the beginning of this tradition cf. 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 197, no. 139 (*balā wa-llāhi inna lahu min al-amr shay'an wa-shay'an wa-shay'an*) > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 388, no. 347. Cf. also 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 197, no. 139 > Ṣāfi, I, p. 350 and the discussion in Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq*, pp. 229–237. For the ending cf. Ṭabarī, V, p. 177, where Ibn Zayd adduces both Q 4:80 and Q 42:48 as verses which preceded the order to fight the unbelievers. The sentence *fa-mā arsalnāka 'alayhim ḥafīẓan* occurs in both verses; the Qur'ānic text cited in *KQ* might thus be the result of a conflation. For Q 59:7 cf. **204**, 567.

**126** For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 35, 255 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif). Translation: "They are the ones who assert that the Imam is in need of (the *khums*) that they bring him (because God is poor and cannot support the Imam)". These appear to be presented as the words of people who have to pay the obligatory fifth to the Imam, but would rather not do so. Cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 48 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 373, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 416, no. 456: *al-Bāqir qāl: hum (Ṣāfi and Ḥuwayzī: + alladhīna) yaz'umūn anna l-imām yaḥtāj minhum ilā mā yaḥmilūn ilayhi*. Cf. also Qummī, I, p. 127.

**127** *Mustadrak*, XI, p. 282, no. 13024. For the beginning cf. Qummī, I, p. 129 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 380, *Burhān*, I, p. 334, no. 6, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 426, no. 499; 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 212, nos. 179–180 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 380, *Burhān*, I, p. 335, nos. 10–11, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 217, no. 9, p. 218, no. 12, pp. 378–379, no. 105; Kulīnī, II, p. 81, no. 3 > al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Wasā'il*, VI/2, p. 205, no. 20448, *Burhān*, I, p. 334, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 221, no. 22, LXXI, p. 195, no. 3 (with al-Majlisī's explication at pp. 195–196); Nu'mānī, *Ghayba*, p. 42 > Baḥrānī, *Mahajja*, p. 52. The statement *minnā l-murābiṭ wa-minhum al-murābiṭ* ("some of us persevere in fighting and some of them persevere in fighting") is said to refer to the future struggle between 'Alids and 'Abbāsids; see Qummī, II, p. 23 (to Q 3:200) > *Ṣāfi*, I, pp. 380–381; 'Ayyāshī, II, pp. 305–306, no. 129 (ending) (Abū l-Ṭufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthila < al-Bāqir < Zayn al-'Ābidīn) > *Burhān*, II, p. 433, no. 10, *Bihār*, XLII, pp. 149–150, no. 14 (all on the authority of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn).

**128** This refers to accounts according to which 'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa brought about the Prophet's death by administering poison to him. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 200, no. 152 ('Abd al-Ṣamad b. Bashīr < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 359, *Burhān*, I, p. 320, no. 10, *Bihār*, XXII, p. 516, no. 23, XXVIII, pp. 20–21, no. 28, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 401, no. 390, Jazā'irī, *Nūr*, p. 66; Kohlberg, "Shahīd", pp. 58–59. Cf. Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 44–45; 590\*.

*Isnād*: 'ABD AL-ṢAMAD B. BASHĪR: 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Bashīr al-'Urāmī al-'Abdī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 176–177).

**129** Cf. 74, 76, 120, 285, 361, 363.



**130** *Faṣl*, p. 330, l. 21. In addition to al-Bāqir (see Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 45 > *Faṣl*, p. 330, l. 20) and al-Šādiq (in *KQ*), this is also recorded as the reading of ‘Āṣim (Ṭabarī, XXVI, p. 62) in the transmission of Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 601; Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, V, p. 121; Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 45; Abū l-Futūh, X, p. 195) and al-Mufaḍḍal (i.e. Abū Muḥammad al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘lā al-Ḍabbī al-Kūfī, d. 168/784–785; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, p. 307, no. 3639) (Tha‘labī, IX, p. 38), and as the reading of Ibn Miqṣam (i.e. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Miqṣam al-‘Aṭṭār, d. 354/965; see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, Suppl., art. “Ibn Miqṣam” [G.H.A. Juynboll]) (see Jeffery, “Ibn Miqṣam”, p. 26). It might be suggested that Q 47:31 (which includes the verb *la-nabluwannakum/la-yabluwannakum*) was incorporated in the chapter on Sūrat āl ‘Imrān as a result of a confusion with Q 3:152 (which includes the verb *li-yabtaliyakum*).

*Isnād*: IBN SĀLIM: there are a number of transmitters from al-Šādiq called Ibn Sālim, including Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī, Ḥafṣ b. Sālim Bayyā‘ al-Sāburī and his brother ‘Umar, and Asbāṭ b. Sālim. None is recorded as transmitting to Sayf. The name according to ms. M is Abū Sālim; for the Kūfan Abū Sālim Ṭālib b. Hārūn b. ‘Umayr al-Nakha‘ī, a disciple of al-Šādiq, see Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 222, no. 10. No *isnād* with his name appears to be attested.

**131** Q 3:140 is usually taken to refer to the battle of Uḥud; the tradition in *KQ* relates the verse more specifically to ‘Alī’s role in it. For ‘Alī’s bravery in the battle see e.g. Furāt, I, pp. 94–96, no. 78; Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 318–322, no. 502; Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 43–49; Ṭabrisī, *I‘lām*, pp. 191–193. Translation: “He (i.e. the Imam) said: ‘This verse was revealed concerning ‘Alī during the battle of Uḥud’. He went on: ‘God brought a temporary setback upon Himself’. I (i.e. the disciple) said: ‘He brought a temporary setback upon Himself?’ He replied: ‘God brought a temporary setback upon His friend (*walī*) (by bringing about the Muslim defeat); by bringing a temporary setback upon His friend, God also brought a temporary setback upon Himself”.

**132** *Faṣl*, p. 273, ll. 12–15. For a longer version of this tradition see ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 246–247, no. 153 (Burayd b. Mu‘āwiya < al-Bāqir) (*fa-in khiftum tanāzu‘an fī l-amr fa-‘rjū ilā llāh wa-ilā l-rasūl wa-ulī l-amr minkum*, adding: *hākadhā nazalat*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 384, no. 16, *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 289–291, no. 17, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 506, no. 351, and (with slight modifications) Fayḍ, *Uṣūl*, p. 114. For this reading see also Kulīnī, I, p.



276, no. 1 (*fa-in khiftum tanāzu‘an fi amr fa-ruddūhu ilā llāh wa-ilā l-rasūl wa-ilā ulī l-amr minkum*, adding: *kadhā nazalat*) > Najafī, p. 134, no. 12, *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 430, *Burhān*, I, p. 381, no. 4, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 506, no. 352; Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 184–185, no. 212 (*fa-in khiftum tanāzu‘an fi l-amr fa-‘rji‘ūhu ilā llāh wa-ilā l-rasūl wa-ilā ulī l-amr minkum*) > *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 302, no. 60. The version of Q 4:59 in Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 combines the text of the ‘Uthmānic codex and the Shī‘ī reading (*fa-in tanāza‘um fi shay’ fa-‘rji‘ūhu ilā llāh wa-ilā l-rasūl wa-ilā ulī l-amr minkum*); similarly Qummī, I, p. 141 > *Burhān*, I, p. 383, no. 12, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 506, no. 353. Cf. Jeffery, p. 126 (*fa-‘rji‘ū* for *fa-ruddūhu* as the reading of Ubayy); Tisdall, p. 235. See further Lalani, *Thought*, pp. 63–64. Cf. 147.

**133** The expression *yā ayyuhā l-nās* first occurs at Q 2:21. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidīn is recorded as stating that those addressed are “all legally competent human beings” (*sā’ir al-mukallaḥīn min wuld Ādam*) (‘Askarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 135, no. 68 > *Burhān*, I, p. 66, no. 1). This view is endorsed in Ṭabrisī, I, p. 130 (to Q 2:21) ([*hādhā l-khiṭāb mutawajjih ilā*] *jami‘ al-nās mu‘minihim wa-kāfirihim illā man laysa bi-mukallaḥ min al-atfāl wa-l-majānīn*), V, pp. 8 (to Q 4:1) ([*wa-huwa khiṭāb li-*] *l-mukallaḥīn min jami‘ al-bashar*), 298 (to Q 4:170) ([*khiṭāb li-*] *jami‘ al-mukallaḥīn*), 306 (to Q 4:174) ([*wa-huwa khiṭāb li-*] *l-mukallaḥīn min sā’ir al-milal alladhīna qaṣṣa qīṣṣatahum fi hādhīhi l-sūra*); similarly Abū l-Futūḥ, III, p. 303, IV, p. 76; Rāzī, II, pp. 75–77, IX, p. 128. According to al-Samarqandī (I, pp. 33, 278), *yā ayyuhā l-nās* at times addresses the Meccans and at times—as in Q 2:21 and Q 4:1—mankind in general. Al-Ṭabrisī (V, p. 298, to Q 4:170) cites a view (*wa-qīl*) according to which *al-nās* are the unbelievers. Yaḥyā b. Sallām (d. 200/815) mentions eleven meanings which *al-nās* has in the Qur’ān (*Taṣāwīf*, pp. 168–171); the tenth is *al-nās kulluhum*, and it applies inter alia to Q 4:1 (*Taṣāwīf*, p. 171).

**134** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 223, no. 38 > *Burhān*, I, p. 346, no. 8; Kulīnī, V, p. 128, no. 1 > *Burhān*, I, pp. 345–346, no. 1; Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Iqāb*, pp. 277–278, no. 2 > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 447, no. 73; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqīh*, III, p. 373, no. 1759 (*ya’nī [bi-dhālīka]: li-yakhsha an akhlufahu fi dhurriyyatihi kamā ṣana‘a [huwa] bi-hā’ulā’ al-yatāmā*). Translation: “He (i.e. the guardian) who replaces a father of orphans possessing some property should know (or: should fear) that I will replace him with regard to his own offspring in like manner: if he treated (the orphans) well I will treat (his offspring) well, and if he treated them badly I will treat (his offspring) badly”.

**135** *Faṣl*, p. 272, ll. 6–8. For the reading *fī ‘Alī* see Furāt, I, p. 105, no. 97; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 245, no. 148 > *Burhān*, I, p. 374, no. 4; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 55. The reading *anzalnā* (for *nazzalnā*) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere; ‘Ayyāshī has *anzaltu*.

*Isnād*: See **51\***.

**136** *Faṣl*, p. 279, ll. 3–4. Cf. Furāt, I, p. 116, no. 120 (*qad jā’akum burhān min rabbikum wa-anzalnā ilaykum nūran mubīnan fī ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*); Kulīnī, I, p. 417, no. 27 (*yā ayyuhā lladhīna ūtū l-kitāb āminū bi-mā nazzalnā fī ‘Alī nūran mubīnan*, a conflation of Q 4:47 and Q 4:174) > *Burhān*, I, p. 373, no. 1.

**137** Al-Bāqir’s reading is said to have been: ... *wa-lā yajidū fī anfusihim ḥarajan mimma qadā Muḥammad wa-āl Muḥammad wa-yusallimū taslīman* (‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 256, no. 186 [Jābir < al-Bāqir] > *Bihār*, II, p. 206, no. 94). Cf. Tisdall, p. 235; **141**, **143**, **144**.

**138** For this reading see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (with al-Bāqir’s statement: *hākadhā nazala bihi Jabra’īl ‘alā Muḥammad*); Qummī, I, p. 159 > *Ṣāfi*, I, pp. 45, 484, *Burhān*, I, p. 428, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 576, no. 684; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 285, no. 307 (middle) (Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 484, *Burhān*, I, p. 428, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 99, no. 39; Kulīnī, I, p. 424, no. 59 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (> *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12), *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 484, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 576, no. 685; Tisdall, p. 236; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 56.

**139** *Faṣl*, p. 278, l. 23–p. 279, l. 3. For this reading see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 285, no. 307 (ending) (Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī < al-Bāqir: *qad jā’akum al-rasūl bi-l-ḥaqq min rabbikum fī walāyat ‘Alī fa-āminū* [without *bi-walāyatihi*] *khayran lakum wa-in takfurū bi-walāyatihi* etc.) > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 484, *Burhān*, I, p. 428, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 99, no. 39; cf. Kulīnī, I, p. 424, no. 59 (*qad jā’akum al-rasūl bi-l-ḥaqq min rabbikum fī walāyat ‘Alī fa-āminū khayran* [variant: *khayr*] *lakum wa-in takfurū bi-walāyat ‘Alī* etc.) > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, pp. 106–107 (> *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12), *Faṣl*, p. 278, ll. 20–22 (but with the ending *wa-in takfurū bi-walāyatihi*); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 56.

**140** *Faṣl*, p. 276, l. 6. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 256, no. 188 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 392, no. 4; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 184, no. 210 (first part) > *Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 3–6. In the version cited in Kulīnī, unlike that of

*KQ* and ‘Ayyāshī, the word *wa-sallimū* is added before *li-l-imām taslīman*, a fact noted by al-Nūrī (*Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 6–7). Al-Majlisī, referring to the version in Kulīnī, understands this tradition as indicating that *wa-sallimū li-l-imām taslīman* was part of the Imams’ *qirā’a*, yet he does not rule out the possibility of an exegetical gloss (*Mir’āt*, XXVI, p. 75 > *Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 7–8). The reading *qalīlan* attested in the manuscripts of *KQ* was upheld by a number of early authorities, including Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Mas’ūd, Ubayy (see Jeffery, pp. 37, 126, 216) and Zayd (see Jeffery, “Zaid b. ‘Alī”, p. 222); it is also the reading of Ibn ‘Amir and was recorded in the Syrian codices (*maṣāḥif ahl al-Shām*) (see Ṭabarī, V, p. 161, Ibn Mujāhid, p. 235, Dānī, *Muqni’*, pp. 103, 111, Ṭabrisī, V, p. 148, Abū l-Futūḥ, III, p. 432). The parallel traditions in ‘Ayyāshī and Kulīnī contain the canonical reading *qalīl*. In his *Muqaddimāt ‘ilm al-qur’ān*, Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Ruhnī (fl. early 4th/10th century; see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 285, no. 441; Ja’fariyān, “Shadharāt”, p. 11) includes a list of the differences between the Medinese codex and the codices sent by ‘Uthmān to a number of major centres. *Qalīlan* (for *qalīl*) appeared in the codex which ‘Uthmān sent to Syria (cited in Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d*, p. 280; cf. 499\*, 652\*). See further Beck, “Kodizesvarianten”, pp. 369–370 (noting that Sībawayh probably did not know the reading *qalīlan*); Cook, “Stemma”, p. 92. For a different Shī’ī reading of the latter part of Q 4:66 see Kulīnī, I, p. 424, no. 60 (*wa-law annahum fa’alū mā yū’azūn bihi fi ‘Alī*) > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12, cited with further sources in Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 55.

**141** *Faṣl*, p. 275 (in the margin). See Kulīnī, VIII, p. 184, no. 210 (ending; the text has *min amr al-wālī*, as in three of the manuscripts of *KQ*) > *Faṣl*, p. 275, ll. 15–17 (with *fī amr al-walāya*), cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 211–212, with note 431 = *Divine Guide*, p. 201; cf. **137**, **143**, **144**.

**142** *Faṣl*, p. 273, ll. 1–3. For this reading see Tisdall, p. 235. For the identification of those who are the object of jealousy (Q 4:54) with the Imams (*naḥnu [l-nās] al-maḥsūdūn*) see e.g. Sulaym, *Kitāb*, p. 306 (*naḥnu l-nās wa-naḥnu l-maḥsūdūn*); Aṣl Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, p. 88 (*naḥnu l-nās al-maḥsūdūn*); *Baṣā’ir*, p. 35, no. 3; Furāt, I, p. 106, no. 99; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 247, no. 155 (Abū l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kinānī < al-Ṣādiq); Kulīnī, I, p. 206, nos. 2, 4; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, p. 132, no. 367; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, p. 173; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, I, p. 285, IV, pp. 180, 215; ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, p. 219; Najafī, p. 130, nos. 3–4.

*Isnād*: DĀWŪD AL-RAQQĪ: Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd b. Kathīr/Kuthayr al-Raqqī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim, accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā'ī, II, pp. 289–291; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 307–309; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 22, note 26).

**143** *Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 1–2. See **144**; cf. **137**, **141**.

*Isnād*: see also **226**.—SULAYMĀN B. IṢḤĀQ: he may be Sulaymān b. Iṣḥāq b. Dāwūd al-Muhallabī who came to Baṣra in 267/880–881 and transmitted the *Tafsīr* of Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī (Najāshī, I, p. 290, s.v. Thābit b. Abī Ṣafiyya).—YAḤYĀ B. AL-MUBĀRAK: a transmitter from al-Riḍā, as well as from 'Abdallāh b. Jabala (Quhpā'ī, VI, p. 264; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 338–339).—'ABDALLĀH B. JABALA: Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Jabala b. Ḥayyān al-Kinānī (d. 219/834), a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā'ī, III, pp. 270–271; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 476–478).—IṢḤĀQ B. 'AMMĀR: Abū Ya'qūb Iṣḥāq b. 'Ammār b. Ḥayyān al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim; predeceased al-Kāẓim (Kohlberg, "Uṣūl", p. 140, note 89, p. 145; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 299).

**144** See **143**; cf. **137**, **141**.

**145** *Faṣl*, p. 275, ll. 10–11. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 255, no. 183 (Muḥammad b. 'Alī < Abū Junāda al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Mukhāriq ... al-Salūlī < al-Kāẓim); Kulīnī, VIII, p. 184, no. 211 (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid < Abū Junāda al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Mukhāriq ... al-Salūlī < al-Kāẓim) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, p. 432, *Burhān*, I, pp. 387–388, no. 3, *Faṣl*, p. 275, ll. 1–4, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 211, with note 430 = *Divine Guide*, p. 201. Al-Majlisī, referring to the version in Kulīnī, understands this tradition as indicating that the sentence *fa-qad sabaqat 'alayhim kalimat al-shaqā' wa-sabaqa lahum al-'adhāb* formed part of the verse, but he does not rule out the possibility that it is an exegetical gloss (*Mir'āt*, XXVI, p. 76 > *Faṣl*, p. 275, ll. 4–7). Cf. 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 255, no. 182, Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 334–335, no. 526, where Q 4:63 is said to refer to *fulān wa-fulān*, i.e. Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

*Isnād*: ABŪ JUNĀDA AL-ḤUṢAYN B. MUKHĀRIQ B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. WARQĀ' B. ḤUBSHĪ B. JUNĀDA AL-SALŪLĪ: a Kūfan (probably Zaydī) transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 275–276).

**146** *Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 17–19. Cf. Jeffery, pp. 37, 197 ([*fa-min nafsika*] *wa-innamā qaḍaytuhā 'alayka* ascribed by some to Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn 'Abbās); Ibn Wahb, *Ḍamī'*/*Tafsīr*, p. 188 (fol 21b ll. 5–6), Abū 'Ubayd,

*Faḍā'il*, II, p. 116, no. 603 (Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd read *fa-min nafsika wa-anā katabtuhā 'alayka*); Māturīdī, III, pp. 265–266 (*wa-ruwīya fī ḥaṭf Ibn Mas'ūd qāl: wa-anā qadartuhā 'alayka*); Samarqandī, I, p. 320 (*wa-anā qaḍaytuhu 'alayka* as a gloss on *min nafsika*); Ibn 'Aṭīyya, II, p. 82 (*wa-fī muṣḥaf Ibn Mas'ūd: fa-min nafsika wa-anā qaḍaytuhā 'alayka, wa-qara'a bihā Ibn 'Abbās, wa-ḥakā Abū 'Amr annahā fī muṣḥaf Ibn Mas'ūd: wa-anā katabtuhā, wa-ruwīya anna Ubayyan wa-Ibn Mas'ūd qara'ā: wa-anā qadartuhā 'alayka*); Abū Ḥayyān, III, p. 313; Tha'ālibī, II, p. 267 (*fa-min nafsika wa-anā qaḍaytuhā 'alayka* in the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd); Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, p. 331. Al-Qurṭubī (V, pp. 286–287) maintains that *wa-anā katabtuhā 'alayka* is an exegetical gloss which was only regarded as part of the Qur'ānic text by one (or some) heretics (*fa-hādhihi qirā'a 'alā l-tafsīr wa-qad athbatahā ba'd ahl al-zaygh min al-qur'ān*). In Muqātil (I, p. 243), the reading in the codices of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy is given as *fa-bi-dhanbika wa-anā katabtuhā 'alayka*. The text in the manuscripts of *KQ* appears to be the only instance in which the words *fa-min nafsika* are omitted (and are not replaced by a similar phrase, as in Muqātil). It is not clear whether this omission is the result of a scribal error or whether *KQ* preserves an otherwise unattested *qirā'a*. The former possibility is implied by ms. M (*wa-anā qaḍaytuhā*); the latter is implied by mss. L, T and B (*fa-anā qaḍaytuhā*).

**147** *Faṣl*, p. 273, ll. 16–17. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 254, no. 178 (latter half) ('Amir b. Sa'īd al-Juhanī < Jābir < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 386, no. 28, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 294, no. 32. Cf. **132**.

*Isnād*: 'AMIR B. SA'ID AL-JUHANĪ: unidentified.

**148** *Faṣl*, p. 271, l. 23–p. 272, l. 2, *Mustadrak*, XIV, pp. 447–448, no. 17243. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 36, 126, 197, 246, 255, 288 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy, Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym); *Aṣl 'Āṣim b. Ḥumayd*, p. 24 ('Alī); Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 116, no. 602, Samarqandī, I, p. 294 (Ibn 'Abbās); Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 (al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, CIII, p. 305, no. 12; Qummī, I, p. 136 (cited by al-Ṣādiq, possibly as a gloss) > *Biḥār*, CIII, p. 314, no. 13; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 53, 77, 81, Rāzī, X, p. 43 (> *Faṣl*, p. 144, ll. 17–19) (Ubayy, Ibn 'Abbās); 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 233, no. 85 (Ibn 'Abbās) > *Burhān*, I, p. 360, no. 8, *Biḥār*, CIII, p. 314, no. 15, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 467, no. 174; 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 234, nos. 87–88 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir, 'Abd al-Salām < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, I, pp. 360–361, nos. 10–11, *Biḥār*, CIII, pp. 314–315, nos. 17–18, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 468, nos. 176–177; Ṭabarī,

V, pp. 12–13, Māwardī, I, p. 471 (Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās, Sa‘īd b. al-Jubayr, al-Suddī); Kulīnī, V, p. 449, no. 3 (al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, I, p. 406, *Burhān*, I, p. 360, no. 2, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 467, no. 172; Tha‘labī, III, p. 286 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, the codex of Ubayy) > Ṭabrisī, V, p. 72 > *Faṣl*, p. 144, ll. 15–17; Ṭūsī, III, p. 166, Suyūrī, II, pp. 150–151 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ubayy, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr); Ṭabrisī, V, p. 72 (some Companions, including Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās and Ibn Mas‘ūd); Abū l-Futūḥ, III, p. 358; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, II, p. 105; Tisdall, p. 236; Burton, *Collection*, pp. 178–180; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 43–44, with note 20, p. 54, with note 55; Gribetz, *Bedfellows*, pp. 11, 51–52 (analysing instances where Shī‘īs, in discussing *mut‘a*, cite the ‘Uthmānic codex as against instances where they cite the Shī‘ī version of the verse). See also Gleave, “Exegesis”, pp. 80–95 (includes a survey of earlier scholarly literature). See 149. For *mut‘a* see also 372, 452.

149 See 148.

150 *Faṣl*, p. 277, ll. 10–12. For this reading see Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (al-Bāqir); Qummī, I, p. 159 > *Šāfi*, I, pp. 45, 483; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 285, no. 307 (beginning) (Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 428, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 99, no. 39; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 285; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 55.

151 *Faṣl*, p. 277, ll. 5–7. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 285, no. 305 (Zurāra and Ḥumrān < al-Bāqir) > *Šāfi*, I, p. 482, *Bihār*, XVI, p. 325, no. 18, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 573, no. 670. Al-Majlisī suggests that this was either the reading of the Imams, or that it reproduces the meaning (rather than the exact wording) of the verse (*naql li-l-āya bi-l-ma’nā*).

*Isnād*: AL-QĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD: al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Jawharī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim; author of a *kitāb* which was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (Quhpā‘ī, V, pp. 50–51; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 20–21).—MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤALABĪ: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Shu‘ba al-Ḥalabī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq; predeceased al-Šādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 337–338).

152 *Faṣl*, p. 275, ll. 12–13. For this reading see Tisdall, p. 235.

*Isnād*: YŪNUS: where this is the first name in an *isnād* that appears in *KQ*, the reference is often (but not always; see e.g. 28\*) to Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. This statement is based on a number of considerations:

first, at 566 the name appears in full. Second, Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is known to have transmitted from ‘Alī b. Abī Ḥamza (see Ardabīlī, I, p. 548; cf. 426, 657). Third, the *isnād* Yūnus < *rajl* < al-Šādiq is attested elsewhere, with Yūnus standing for b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (Ardabīlī, II, p. 358; cf. 335). Abū Muḥammad Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qummī mawlā āl Yaqtīn (d. 208/823–824) was a *mutakallim* and a transmitter from al-Kāzīm and al-Riḍā (Quhpā’ī, VI, pp. 293–307; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 356–359; Kohlberg, “Barā’a”, pp. 161–162; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 387–392 and index).—ḤAMZA B. AL-RABī: he is not mentioned in the classical works of Rijāl. A person of this name appears in the *isnād* of a tradition cited in Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, pp. 16–17, no. 1; idem, *Tawḥīd*, p. 168, no. 1 > *Bihār*, IV, pp. 64–65, no. 5. Al-Khū’ī (VII, p. 296, no. 4074) gives the name as Ḥamza b. al-Murtafi’, which may be an error for Ḥamza b. al-Rabī.—‘ABD AL-SALām B. (AL-) MUTHANNĀ: ‘Abd al-Salām is the name of nine disciples of al-Šādiq mentioned by al-Ṭūsī (*Rijāl*, pp. 233, 267); none, however, is called ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muthannā.

153 *Faṣl*, p. 278, ll. 16–17. For this tradition see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 268, no. 242 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Šādiq) > *Burhān*, I, p. 406, no. 1. According to Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (*Šāfi*, I, p. 448) and al-Majlisī (*Bihār*, LXVIII, p. 234), al-‘Ayyāshī ascribed the reading *al-salām* to al-Šādiq. This conforms to the text of the ‘Uthmānic codex. Among the Seven Readers, *al-salām* was adopted by Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, al-Kisā’ī and ‘Āṣim (in the transmission of Abū Bakr and Ḥafṣ), with the rest reading *al-salam* (except for *al-silm* in Abān b. Yazīd’s transmission from ‘Āṣim) (see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 236, Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 96, Ibn al-Jawzī, II, p. 102, Abū Ḥayyān, III, p. 342; cf. Abū Ḥātim, *Ẓīna*, II, pp. 68–69). Mss. T and B have *al-salām*, while mss. M and L, as well as ‘Ayyāshī and *Faṣl*, have *al-s-l-m*, which can be read as either *al-salām* or *al-salam/silm*. For the reading *mu‘manan* (“given protection”) see Jeffery, p. 37 (Ibn Mas‘ūd and al-Bāqir [erroneously identified as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya]); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 28 (Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [i.e. al-Bāqir], Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās); Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī as cited in Ṭūsī, III, p. 297, Ṭabrisī, V, p. 198 (al-Bāqir); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 96 (Abū Ja‘far b. al-Qa‘qā’, Abū Ḥamza and al-Yamānī); Ṭabrisī, V, p. 198 (Abū Ja‘far al-Qārī’ and al-Bāqir) > *Faṣl*, p. 278, ll. 17–19; Ibn al-Jawzī, II, p. 102 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, Abū l-‘Āliya, Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar, Abū Ja‘far [probably al-Bāqir]); ‘Ukbarī, p. 171; Abū Ḥayyān, III, pp. 342–343 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, Abū l-‘Āliya, Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar). Al-Šādiq’s reading of this word does not



appear to be recorded elsewhere and cannot be known with certainty from *KQ* since the word is not vocalized in the manuscripts. It can only be assumed that al-Ṣādiq followed his father in reading *mu'manan*.

**154** The criticism is directed at those among al-Ḥasan's Kūfan followers who clamoured for battle after being ordered to desist following al-Ḥasan's abdication in favour of Mu'āwiya. Some two decades later, when summoned to join al-Ḥusayn on the battlefield, they sought excuses to avoid fighting. Cf. 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 258, no. 196 (to Q 4:77) > *Biḥār*, XLIV, p. 217, no. 2; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 235, no. 48 (to Q 14:44) > *Burhān*, I, p. 395, no. 5, II, p. 321, no. 2, *Biḥār*, LII, p. 132, no. 35; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 330, no. 506 > Baḥrānī, *Mahajja*, p. 60, *Burhān*, I, p. 394, no. 2. For a somewhat different understanding of Q 4:77 see *Nawādir 'Alī b. Asbāt*, p. 122 > *Biḥār*, XLIV, p. 220, no. 14.

**155** The manuscripts are unvocalized, but the reading being cited is evidently *wa-Ḥasanun*. Such a reading is not attested elsewhere. It alludes to the second Imam, but without affecting the meaning of the sentence ("good companions they!"). Cf. Ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman, pp. 149–150; **333**.

*Isnād*: Cf. **333**.—IBN ŪRAMA: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ūrama al-Qummī, a transmitter from al-Riḍā, suspected and then cleared of charges of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā'ī, V, pp. 160–162; Ardabīlī, II, p. 78; Khū'ī, XVI, pp. 124–128, no. 10314; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 35, note 100, p. 36, note 101).

**156** *Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 19–20. See Kulīnī, I, p. 421, no. 45 (*in talwū l-amr aw tu'riḍū 'ammā umirtum bihi*) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 472, *Faṣl*, p. 276, ll. 20–22.

**157** *Mustadrak*, XVII, p. 155, no. 21020. See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 222, no. 34 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq), p. 223, no. 36 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 393, al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Wasā'il*, VIII/2, p. 420, no. 32490, *Burhān*, I, p. 345, nos. 1, 2, *Biḥār*, CIV, pp. 366–367, nos. 2, 4; 'Ayyāshī, I, pp. 222–223, no. 35 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > Ṣāfi, I, p. 393, al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Wasā'il*, VIII/2, pp. 420–421, no. 32491, *Biḥār*, CIV, p. 367, no. 3. For the question of whether the *āyat al-farā'id* (or *āyat al-mawārith*, cf. **96**, **97**) abrogates Q 4:8 see Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' / 'Ulūm*, pp. 235–236 (fol 20a l. 20–fol 20b l. 1); Ṭabarī, IV, pp. 263–266; Ibn Muḥakkam, I, p. 351; Naḥḥās, *Nāsikh*, pp. 91–93; Nu'mānī, *Tafsīr*, pp. 10–11 > *Mustadrak*, XVII, p. 155, no. 21019 (Q 4:8 is abrogated by Q 4:11); Hibat Allāh, *Nāsikh*, pp. 31–



32; Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Nāsikh*, p. 87; Ṭabrisī, V, pp. 27–28; Abū l-Futūḥ, III, pp. 323–325; Shaybānī, *Nahj*, II, pp. 120–121; Suyūrī, II, p. 337; Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 39; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, III, p. 74; Powers, *Studies*, pp. 147, 194–195. See **158**.

**158** *Mustadrak*, XVII, p. 155, no. 21021. See **157**.

**159** Q 4:15 affirms that women found guilty of “abomination” (*fāḥisha*) are to be confined in their houses until death or until God “provides a way for them” (*sabīl*). According to *KQ*, the way (out of confinement) is through marriage. Of those who advocated this interpretation of *sabīl*, some regarded the *fāḥisha* of Q 4:15 as referring to illicit heterosexual relations (see e.g. Bayḍāwī, p. 106; Ardabīlī, *Ḍubda*, p. 658; *Bihār*, LXIX, p. 125), whereas the Mu‘tazilī exegete Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Ḥṣfahānī (d. 322/934) took this term to refer to lesbianism (*hiya l-mar’a takhlū bi-l-mar’a fī l-fāḥisha al-madḥkūra ‘anhunna, ‘aw yaj’al allāh lahunna sabīlan*” *bi-l-tazwīj wa-l-istighnā’ bi-l-ḥalāl/bi-l-nikāḥ*) (Ṭūsī, III, p. 143; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, II, p. 368; cf. Gimaret, *Lecture*, p. 214; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Siḥāḳ” [G.H.A. Juynboll]; *EQ*, art. “Homosexuality” [Everett K. Rowson]). The final three words (*ka-dhālika ruwiya ‘anhum*) appear to be out of place. Al-Nūrī assumed that *kadhālika* was the last word of the tradition, and that the next tradition began with the words *ruwiya ‘an Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl*. He therefore placed a line above *ruwiya ‘anhum* in ms. L and, in the margin, corrected the *‘anhum* to *‘an*.

**160** *Mustadrak*, X, p. 400, no. 12255. See ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 276, no. 274 (Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Rāzī < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq; *mankūḥan* for *ma’būnan*) > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, V/3, pp. 469–470, no. 19900, *Burhān*, I, p. 416, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVII, pp. 331–332, no. 70, Ḥuwayzī, I, pp. 551–552, no. 569. Cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 55 (*wa-lam yujawwiz aṣḥābunā an yutlaq hādhā l-lafẓ li-ghayrihi min al-a’imma wa-qāla rajul li-l-Ṣādiq: yā amīr al-mu’minīn fa-qāl mah fa-innahu lā yardā bi-hādhīhi l-tasmiya aḥad illā ‘btuliya bi-balā’ Abī Ḥahl* [i.e. passive homosexuality]) > *Bihār*, XXXVII, p. 334, no. 73; Ibn Jabr, *Nahj*, p. 470. ‘Abd ‘Alī al-Huwayzī (d. 1112/1700–1701), author of the *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, is said to have written a book in which he argued (presumably on the basis of Q 4:117) that Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd caliphs who called themselves *amīr al-mu’minīn* were all afflicted with *ubna* (the condition of being passive partners in a homosexual relationship); see Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, IV, p. 210.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL: Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Rāzī (as in the parallel tradition in ʿAyyāshī), a transmitter from al-Jawād (Ardabīlī, II, p. 76). He is probably identical with Abū ʿAbdallāh (or Abū Jaʿfar) Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. Bashīr al-Barmakī Ṣāhib al-ṣawmaʿa who lived in Qumm but did not originate there (Quhṭāʾī, V, pp. 150, 158). In an *isnād* recorded in Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, p. 389, no. 1, al-Sayyārī transmits from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Rāzī, who in turn transmits from al-Jawād. Elsewhere, al-Sayyārī transmits from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Anṣārī (*Baṣāʾir*, p. 125, no. 4), who may be identical with Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Rāzī.

**161** For *aṣḥāb al-ṣaḥīfa* see Kohlberg, “Ṣaḥāba”, pp. 154–155. Elsewhere this verse is said to refer to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ (see ʿAyyāshī, I, pp. 274–275, nos. 267–269 [ʿĀmir b. Kathīr al-Sarrāj < ʿAṭāʾ al-Hamdānī < al-Bāqir; ʿUmar b. Saʿīd < Abū l-Ḥasan; ʿUmar b. Ṣāliḥ; all to Q 4:108] > *Burhān*, I, p. 414, nos. 2–4; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 334, no. 525 > *Burhān*, I, p. 414, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXX, p. 271, no. 141); all three were among the *aṣḥāb al-ṣaḥīfa*.

**162** *Faṣl*, p. 279, ll. 8–9. See Qummī, I, p. 160 (Ibn Abī ʿUmayr < Abū Jaʿfar al-Thānī, reading *awfū bi-l-ʿuqūd allatī ʿuqīdat ʿalaykum li-amīr al-muʾminīn*) > Najafī, p. 144, no. 1, *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 5, *Burhān*, I, p. 431, no. 9, *Bihār*, XXXVI, pp. 92–93, no. 20, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 583, no. 9, *Faṣl*, p. 279, ll. 5–8; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 56. See also *Kitāb tafsīr al-qurʾān wa-taʾwīlihi* etc. (possibly *KQ*; see Introduction, p. 36) (Ḥafṣ [perhaps Ḥafṣ al-Marwazī, a transmitter from al-Hādī; see Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 413, no. 9] < ʿAbd al-Salām al-Iṣfahānī < Abū Jaʿfar [i.e. al-Thānī]) > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, p. 121 > Najafī, p. 145, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 191. Here, as in ms. M, the additional words are treated as a gloss (*awfū bi-l-ʿuqūd yaʿnī llatī ʿuqīdat ʿalayhim li-ʿAlī amīr al-muʾminīn*). One of the “ten places” (*ʿasharat mawāṭin*) mentioned in the tradition is probably Ghadīr Khumm (cf. 437).

*Isnād*: ABŪ ʿUMAR/ABŪ ʿAMR AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ/AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ: unidentified. The name ʿAbd al-Salām al-Iṣfahānī found in the parallel tradition in Ibn Ṭāwūs is likewise unknown. The only disciple of al-Jawād with the *nisba* “al-Iṣbahānī” recorded by al-Ṭūsī is Ibrāhīm b. Shayba al-Iṣbahānī (*Rijāl*, p. 398, no. 12).

**163** The manuscripts are unvocalized, but the reading being cited is in all likelihood *wa-arjulikum*, conforming to the Shī'ī practice of wiping (rather than washing) one's feet before prayer. For further references and discussion see Bar-Asher, "Readings", pp. 56–57, with note 58; Madelung, "Ibn 'Abbās", pp. 14–15 (showing that this was the reading of Ibn 'Abbās); Lalani, *Thought*, pp. 120–121. For *wa-arjulikum* see also Ibn Mujāhid, pp. 242–243 (Ibn Kathīr, Ḥamza, Abū 'Amr, 'Āṣim in the transmission of Abū Bakr); Ṭabarī, VI, p. 128 (some Ḥijāzī and 'Irāqī readers; this is the reading which al-Ṭabarī himself prefers [VI, pp. 130–131]); Māturīdī, III, p. 470 (*qara'ū bi-l-naṣb wa-qara'ū bi-l-khaḍ*); Samarqandī, I, p. 372 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū 'Amr, Ḥamza, 'Āṣim in the transmission of Abū Bakr); Raḍī, *Talkhūs*, p. 280; Tha'labī, IV, p. 27; Dānī, p. 98; Karājakī, I, pp. 152–154; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Nāsikh*, p. 116 (Anas, Abū Ja'far [i.e. Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā?], 'Āṣim, al-A'mash, Ḥamza, Ibn 'Āmir); Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 34; Rāzī, XI, pp. 127–128; 'Ukbarī, p. 188; Qurṭubī, VI, p. 91 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū 'Amr, Ḥamza); Ardabīlī, *Ḍubda*, p. 18; *Faṣl*, p. 280, ll. 2–14.

**164** *Faṣl*, p. 282, ll. 20–21. See Kulīnī, VIII, p. 205, no. 248 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 91, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 681, no. 403 (in Ḥuwayzī, without *lam tubda lakum*). Al-Majlisī leaves open the possibility that *lam tubda lakum* is a gloss (Majlisī, *Mir'āt*, XXVI, p. 120 > *Faṣl*, p. 282, ll. 21–22). This however is rejected by al-Nūrī as far-fetched (*wa-lā yakhfā bu'duhu*) (*Faṣl*, p. 282, l. 22).

**165** *Faṣl*, p. 281, ll. 18–20. According to both Sunnī and Shī'ī authorities, this verse was revealed during the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage to Mecca in the year 10/632 (see Modarressi, "Debates", p. 25). For the reading *fī 'Alī* see Qummī, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 201 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 45; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 59 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 55, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 654, no. 298; Jazā'irī, *Nūr*, p. 66; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 285; Bar-Asher, "Readings", pp. 57–58; tr. Amir-Moezzi, "Walāya", p. 724. Another Imāmī reading includes the words *fī 'Alī* and in addition replaces the sentence *wa-in lam taf'al fa-mā ballaghta risālatahu* with *wa-in lam taf'al 'adhdhabtuka 'adhāban alīman* ("if you do it not, I will afflict you with a painful punishment") (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107 > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12). Cf. Jeffery, p. 40 (giving Ibn Mas'ūd's reading as *min rabbika inna 'Aliyyan mawlā l-mu'minīn*; this reading is reproduced in Irbīlī, I, p. 326 > *Burhān*, I, p. 491, no. 12; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, p. 528 [from Ibn Mardawayh] [*kunnā naqra' 'alā 'ahd rasūl allāh* etc.] > *Bihār*, XXXVII, pp. 189–190); Tisdall, p. 237;

Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 25. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bayāḍī al-‘Āmilī (d. 877/1472–1473) cites a Sunnī claim according to which the Imāmīs hold that *fī ‘Alī* formed part of the original verse but was omitted by the Sunnīs (*asqaṭahā ahl al-sunna*). Al-Bayāḍī (who was himself an Imāmī) rejects this claim: “no Imāmī upholds it; in fact, the Imāmīs unanimously agree that whoever recites this addition in his prayer has his prayer nullified (*man qara’a bi-tilka l-ziyāda fī ṣalātihi baṭalat*). We only say that it is ‘Alī concerning whom this verse was revealed” (Bayāḍī, I, p. 259). Al-Bayāḍī’s view is in line with that of Imāmī scholars who deny that the original text of the Qur’ān has been altered (see Introduction, pp. 27–28). Yet he did not refrain from citing traditions with an Imāmī reading (see e.g. Bayāḍī, I, p. 291; 301\*). The words *fī ‘Alī* (or *fī faḍl ‘Alī*) appear as a gloss (on the authority of al-Bāqir) in Tha’labī, IV, p. 92 > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarā’if*, p. 152 (> *Bihār*, XXXVII, p. 189, no. 73), Bayāḍī, I, p. 259. The reading *risālātihi* (Q 5:67) adduced in ms. M conforms to the *qirā’a* of Nāfi’, Ibn ‘Āmir, ‘Āṣim in the transmission of Abū Bakr (see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 246) and Ibn Miqsam (see Jeffery, “Ibn Miqsam”, p. 13; cf. 190). See also Naḥḥās, *I’rāb*, II, p. 31 (*risālātihi* as the reading of the Medinese); Tha’labī, IV, p. 92; ‘Ukbarī, p. 199.

**166** *Mustadrak*, XV, p. 413, no. 18669, p. 419, no. 18693, p. 420, no. 18698. The reading *ahālīkum* (not *ahāliyakum*) recorded in ms. M is often ascribed to al-Šādiq (Jeffery, p. 332; Ibn Jinnī, I, pp. 217–218; Tha’labī, IV, p. 104; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 640 [*bi-sukūn al-yā’* ... *li-l-takḥfif*]; Ibn ‘Atīyya, II, p. 230; Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 181; Qurṭubī, VI, p. 279; Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 13 [*bi-sukūn al-yā’*]). For this tradition cf. Ṭūsī, IV, pp. 13–14; idem, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, p. 297, no. 1098 > Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā’ir*, III, p. 629; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, II, p. 227. The ending is a commentary on the continuation of Q 5:89 (*aw kiswatuhum aw taḥrīr raqaba*); cf. *Aṣl ‘Āṣim b. Ḥumayd*, p. 24.

**167** *Faṣl*, p. 157, ll. 11–13. See 84.

**168** *Faṣl*, p. 282, l. 22–p. 283, l. 1. The reading *hal rabbuka yastaṭī’u* (“is it your Lord who is able”) appears to be attested only in *KQ*. The better known reading of Q 5:112 is *hal tastaṭī’u rabbaka* (“are you able to call on your Lord”). It is recorded on the authority of various early authorities (see Ṭabarī, VII, p. 129) including the Prophet (see Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 53, Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 616, no. 2989, Qurṭubī, VI, p. 365), ‘Ā’isha (see Māturīdī, III, p. 650, Ibn Abī Zamanīn, I, p. 216), Ibn

‘Abbās (see Māturīdī, III, p. 650) and ‘Alī (see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, p. 1243, no. 7015, Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 58) and was adopted by al-Kisā’ī (see Kisā’ī, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 128, Ibn Mujāhid, p. 249, Nahḥās, *I‘rāb*, II, p. 50, Samarqandī, I, p. 429, Tha‘labī, IV, p. 124, Māwardī, II, p. 82, Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 235, Abū l-Futūḥ, IV, p. 369, Rāzī, XII, p. 107, Ibn al-Jawzī, II, p. 277, Qurṭubī, VI, p. 364, Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 58, Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, pp. 904–905); see further Ibn Khālawayh, *Hujja*, pp. 109–110; ‘Ukbarī, p. 208. It is also attested in Shī‘ī texts; see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 350, no. 222 (Yaḥyā al-Ḥalabī) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 97, *Burhān*, I, p. 511, no. 1, *Bihār*, XIV, p. 248, no. 34, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 689, no. 430, *Faṣl*, p. 283, ll. 2–9. See further Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 23. Cf. **169**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ YA‘QŪB: he may well be Ishāq b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Abū l-Safātij (for whom see **195**\*). There are three other transmitters from al-Ṣādiq having this *kunya*: Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq b. Yazīd al-Ṭā‘ī al-Kūfī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 149, no. 146); Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Azdī al-‘Aṭṭār al-Kūfī (idem, *Rijāl*, p. 150, no. 151); Abū Ya‘qūb al-Asadī imām Banī l-Ṣaydā’ (printed erroneously as Banī l-Ṣayd) al-Kūfī (idem, *Rijāl*, p. 339, no. 25).

**169** For the explication of *yastatī‘* (at Q 5:112) as *yaqdir* (to be able) see e.g. Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 237; Qurṭubī, VI, p. 364. Cf. **168**.

**170** Cf. Māwardī, II, p. 31, Ṭūsī, III, p. 500, Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 77, all citing an anonymous view according to which the *ghurāb* of Q 5:31 was an angel in the form of a raven. In contrast, ‘Alī (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, II, p. 384 > *Bihār*, X, p. 85, no. 5) and al-Bāqir (Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 329 > *Bihār*, XLVI, p. 352, no. 5) are said to have adduced the raven as an example of a messenger (*mab‘ūth/rasūl*) who was neither a *jinn* nor a human being, neither an angel nor a devil. Cf. Mufid, *Ikhtisās*, p. 44 (*masā’il ‘Abdallāh b. Salām*).

**171** For this tradition see Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, X, pp. 183–184, no. 718 (al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd < Faḍāla < Abān < Zurāra < al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq) > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 636, no. 220. The view that the beginning of Q 5:45 (the verse of *lex talionis*) is *muḥkam* (effective/not abrogated; cf. **189**) is held *inter alia* by al-Ṭūsī (*Tahdhīb*, X, pp. 183) and al-Rāwandī (*Fiqh*, II, pp. 415–416: *lā khilāf anna dhālika thābit fī shar‘inā ... wa-lā yathbutu naskhuhu lā qur‘ānan wa-lā sunnatan fa-innahu yajibu l-‘amal bihi*). The opposing view is espoused by al-Qummī (I, pp. 13, 169), for whom the beginning of Q 5:45 is abrogated by Q 2:178. This view is shared

by al-Nu'mānī (*Tafsīr*, p. 9), who maintains that the ruling at Q 5:45 does not distinguish between men, women and slaves (since it allows mutual retaliation among them). Al-Qummī (at I, p. 169), al-Nu'mānī and Ibn al-Jawzī (*Nawāsikh*, pp. 50–51) point out that the ruling cited in Q 5:45 is that of the *tawrāt* (see Q 5:44–45 [*innā anzalnā l-tawrāt ... wa-katabnā 'alayhim fihā*; cf. Exodus 21:23–24, Leviticus 24:17–21, Deuteronomy 19:21]); and al-Nu'mānī adduces Q 2:178 as an instance of a verse abrogating a Biblical ruling (*fa-nasakha llāh ta'ālā mā fī l-tawrāt*). Abū 'Ubayd (*Nāsikh*, p. 47; cf. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 192) mentions two views: according to the Medinese, Q 5:45 and Q 2:178 are both valid; according to the 'Irāqīs, Q 2:178 is abrogated by Q 5:45 (see similarly Qurṭubī, II, p. 246). See further *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ḳiṣās”, at V, p. 177b (J. Schacht); *EQ*, art. “Retaliation” (Khaled Abou El Fadl); Adang, *Writers*, pp. 221–222.

**172** *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 434, no. 17202. This paragraph comprises three different traditions, all dealing with the *ahl al-kitāb*: (i) A tradition describing a discussion between Imam and disciple on the issue of marriage with scripturaries. For this issue see in general Friedmann, *Tolerance*, pp. 160–193 (chapter five: interfaith marriages). For Q 5:5 being abrogated by Q 60:10 see 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 296, no. 38 (Ibn Sinān < al-Ṣādiq); Kulīnī, V, p. 358, no. 8; Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, II, pp. 249–250, no. 942; Ṭūsī, *Istibṣār*, III, p. 179, no. 3; idem, *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 298, no. 1245; Ṭabrisī, VI, p. 33; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, II, p. 135; Suyūrī, II, pp. 196–197. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, p. 207 (citing a view according to which Q 60:10 was abrogated by Q 5:5; this view is rejected by Ibn al-'Arabī [*Nāsikh*, p. 214]). Another verse said to have abrogated Q 5:5 is Q 2:221. The *naskh* in both cases is problematic since Sūra 5 is traditionally said to have been revealed after both Sūra 2 and Sūra 60. For Q 2:221 see Friedmann, *Tolerance*, p. 192; Maghen, *Hardship*, pp. 33–34, adducing conflicting views as to whether Q 2:221 abrogated Q 5:5 or was abrogated by it. Cf. Ibn al-'Atā'iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 35 (the view that Q 2:221 is abrogated by Q 5:5 is problematic [*wa-fī l-kull naẓar*]). (ii) An exegetical tradition on Q 5:21. For God rescinding (*maḥā*) His decree granting the Holy Land to the Children of Israel see 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 304, no. 69 (to Q 5:21) (Zurāra, Ḥumrān, Muḥammad b. Muslim, all < al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 25, *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 180, no. 11, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 606, no. 108; 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 304, no. 72 (Mas'ada b. Ṣadaqa < al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 181, no. 14, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 606, no. 111. For the context see Rubin, *Bible*, pp. 61–63. (iii) An exegetical

tradition on Q 5:106. According to this verse, a will (*waṣīyya*), to be valid, has to be drawn up or dictated in the presence of two trustworthy witnesses (see Powers, *Studies*, pp. 11, 107, 211). These witnesses must under normal circumstances be Muslims. If, however, a Muslim is in the company of non-Muslims, feels that his end is near, makes a will and then dies, the question arises as to whether the testimony of the non-Muslims is admissible. This was a moot point among Sunnīs (see Friedmann, *Tolerance*, pp. 35–36). Most Imāmī scholars answered the question in the affirmative, and supported their position by interpreting the words “two others not from among you” (*ākharān min ghayrikum*) as referring to non-Muslims (see Baṣā’ir, p. 534, no. 1; Qummī, I, p. 189; ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 348–349, nos. 216–219; Kulīnī, VII, pp. 3–6, nos. 1, 3, 6, 7; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IX, pp. 178–181, nos. 715–718, 724–725; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 417). The tradition in *KQ* is in keeping with this position.

**173** *Mustadrak*, XII, pp. 238–239, no. 13989. Cf. Barqī, I, p. 232, nos. 182–183 ([*dhālika*] *ta’wīluhā l-a’zam*) > *Burhān*, I, pp. 463–464, nos. 5, 7, *Biḥār*, II, pp. 20–21, nos. 57–58; Qummī, I, p. 167 > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 618, no. 147; ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 312–313, no. 84 > *Biḥār*, CIV, p. 374, no. 24; ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 313, no. 87 > *Biḥār*, II, p. 21, no. 60; Kulīnī, II, pp. 210–211, no. 2 (*dhāka ta’wīluhā l-a’zam*) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 31, *Burhān*, I, pp. 463–464, no. 5, *Biḥār*, LXXIV, p. 403, no. 49, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 619, no. 154; Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, I, p. 230 > *Burhān*, I, p. 464, no. 6; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 251 (*wa-li-l-ihyā’ fī hādihā l-mawḍi’ ta’wīl fī l-bāṭin laysa ka-ẓāhirihī wa-huwa man hadāhā*); *DC*, art. “Abel et Caïn” (Meir M. Bar-Asher); the discussion in Kohlberg, “*Taqiyya*”, p. 377. Cf. also the expression *ta’wīluhu l-a’zam* in Mufīd, *Ikhtisās*, p. 123 > *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 399, no. 126, ‘Amilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 26.

**174** Those who read *tanfa’* are said to have included the Prophet (see Ibn ‘Adī, *Du’afā’*, IV, p. 1495), Abū l-‘Āliya (i.e. the Baṣran Rufay’ b. Mihrān al-Riyāhī, d. 90/708–709) (see Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 236; Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, p. 667), Ibn Sīrīn (see Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭab*, II, p. 109; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 42; Zamakhsharī, II, p. 64; Qurṭubī, VII, p. 148; Abū Ḥayyān, IV, pp. 259, 260) and Ibn ‘Umar (see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 42; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 367). For a grammatical explication of this reading see Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭab*, II, p. 109 > Qurṭubī, VII, p. 148; Ibn Jinnī, I, pp. 236–237; ‘Ukbarī, p. 238; Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 259.



**175** The doctrine that God's will (*irāda*) regarding His own acts is identical with their creation is typical of the Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs; see Madelung, *al-Qāsim*, pp. 165–166. The words *mi'at manqaba* appearing in the margin of ms. T are evidently a later addition. The purpose of this addition is not clear; it cannot be a reference to the work by Ibn Shādhān bearing this title, since the tradition in question is not included in it.

**176** *Mustadrak*, VII, p. 93, no. 7736. Both *ḥaṣād* and *ḥiṣād* mean “harvest” or “reaping”. Among the Seven Readers, *ḥaṣādihi* was adopted by 'Āṣim, Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir, with the rest reading *ḥiṣādihi* (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 271; Ibn al-Jawzī, III, p. 104; Qurṭubī, VII, p. 104; Bayḍāwī, p. 193; cf. Ibn Khālawayh, *Ḥujja*, p. 127; Ahwāzī, *Ibn Muḥayṣin*, p. 234; Ṭabrisī, VII, p. 213; Abū l-Futūḥ, V, p. 75; Rabin, *West-Arabian*, p. 99). According to one report, when a disciple read Q 6:141 to al-Riḍā, the Imam told him to open his mouth (*iftatiḥ/iftaḥ al-fam*) while pronouncing the *ḥā'* (Ḥimyarī, pp. 215–216 > *Burhān*, I, p. 556, no. 10, *Bihār*, XCVI, p. 94, no. 6, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 771, no. 307). Muḥsin al-Fayḍ takes this to mean that the disciple had read *ḥiṣādihi* and had been put right by the Imam (*Ṣāfi*, II, p. 162). This assumption is borne out by the tradition in *KQ*, where al-Riḍā endorses the reading *ḥaṣādihi*. For the text of the tradition cf. 'Ayyāshī, I, pp. 377–380, nos. 97–114, particularly nos. 97, 103, 104, 108; Kulīnī, III, pp. 564–566 (*bāb al-ḥaṣād wa-l-jadād*).

**177** *Faṣl*, p. 283, ll. 22–23. See Qummī, I, p. 199 > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 709, no. 42, *Faṣl*, p. 283, ll. 20–22; cf. Kulīnī, VIII, p. 287, no. 432 (where *bi-walāyat 'Alī* is a gloss) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 113, *Burhān*, I, p. 520, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 709, no. 43.

**178** This tradition properly belongs in the chapter on Sūrat al-mā'i-da, where the word *al-masīḥ* occurs five times, at verses 17 (twice), 72 (twice) and 75. For the possible derivation of *masīḥ* from the Aramaic *meshīḥā* see Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, p. 265. In *KQ muthaqqal* occurs four times: the meaning here is “with a long final vowel written with mater lectionis (*mamdūda*)”. At **348** it denotes “with a longer ('heavier') pronunciation”, and at **180** and **343** it denotes “with a double consonant (*shadda*)”. *Mukhaffaf* occurs five times: at **180**, **181**, **260** and **261** it denotes “without a double consonant (*shadda*)”; at **325** it denotes “without a vowel” (i.e. with a *sukūn*). See in general Versteegh, *Grammar*, index, s.vv. *muthaqqal*, *mukhaffaf*.



**179** *Faṣl*, p. 284, ll. 22–23. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 131 (Ubayy); Qummī, I, pp. 221–222 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 173, *Biḥār*, VI, p. 313, no. 18, LXVII, p. 32, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 782, no. 361. Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 has *kasabat*, but al-Nūrī cites Sa’d’s text as *iktasabat* (*Faṣl*, p. 284, l. 23–p. 285, l. 2).

*Isnād*: MU‘ALLĀ B. ‘UTHMĀN: Abū ‘Uthmān (al-) Mu‘allā b. ‘Uthmān al-Aḥwal al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, VI, p. 112; Ardabīlī, II, p. 251).

**180** *Faṣl*, p. 283, ll. 14–15. For *yukdhibūnaka* as the reading of ‘Alī (as at **181**) see Nahḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, II, p. 417; Tha‘labī, IV, p. 145; Ṭabrisī, VII, p. 48 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 116, *Faṣl*, p. 283, ll. 18–20; Abū l-Futūḥ, IV, p. 417. For *yukdhibūnaka* as the reading of al-Ṣādiq see Jeffery, p. 332. Of the Seven Readers, Nāfi‘ and al-Kisā’ī read *yukdhibūnaka* and the rest, *yukadhdhibūnaka* (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 257; Samarqandī, I, p. 444; Tha‘labī, IV, p. 145; Abū l-Futūḥ, IV, p. 417; Ibn al-Jawzī, III, pp. 23–24; Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 116; cf. Ṭabarī, VII, pp. 180–181; Māturīdī, IV, p. 70; ‘Ukbarī, p. 215). Translation: “They will not bring anything which will render a lie that which you (i.e. Muḥammad) bring”.

**181** *Faṣl*, p. 283, ll. 15–16. For this tradition cf. Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 66 (ending: *lā ya’tūna bi-ḥaqq yubṭilūna bihi ḥaqqaka*); Qummī, I, p. 196 (where al-Ṣādiq’s reading is erroneously given as *lā ya’tūnaka*; the correct version [*lā yukdhibūnaka*] is found in *Biḥār*, IX, p. 202, no. 66); ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 359, no. 20 (ending: *lā ya’tūna bi-bāṭil yukdhibūna bihi ḥaqqaka*) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 116, *Burhān*, I, p. 523, no. 3, *Biḥār*, IX, p. 202, no. 65, XVIII, pp. 231–232, no. 72; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, p. 1283, no. 7238; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 200, no. 241 (ending as in ‘Ayyāshī) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 116; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, p. 18; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, p. 599, no. 4834 (‘*an ‘Alī annahu kāna yaqra’u hādhā l-ḥarf fa-innahum lā yukdhibūnaka mukhaffafa qāl lā yajī’ūna bi-ḥaqq huwa aḥaqq min ḥaqqika*). See **180**.

*Isnād*: YĀ‘QŪB B. SHU‘AYB: Abū Muḥammad Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb b. Mītham/Maytham b. Yahyā al-Tammār al-Asadī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 398).—‘IMRĀN B. MĪTHAM/MAYTHAM: ‘Imrān b. Mītham/Maytham b. Yahyā al-Tammār al-Asadī, paternal uncle of Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb, a transmitter from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 273; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 644–645).—‘ABĀYA AL-ASADĪ: ‘Abāya b. ‘Amr b. Rib‘ī al-Asadī, a transmitter from ‘Alī and al-Ḥasan (Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, p. 127; Quhpā’ī, III, p. 253; Ardabīlī, I, p. 435).

**182** *Faṣl*, p. 284, ll. 16–17. See Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 205–206, no. 249 > Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 761, no. 254, *Faṣl*, p. 284, ll. 14–16. Cf. Q 7:137 (*wa-tammat kalimat rabbika l-ḥusnā ‘alā banī isrā’īl*).

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. MARWĀN: several transmitters from al-Šādiq bearing this name are recorded by al-Ṭūsī: (i) Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Baṣrī, who was also a transmitter from al-Bāqir (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 136, no. 18, p. 301, no. 332); (ii) Abū ‘Abdallāh (or Abū Yaḥyā) Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Dhuhlī al-Baṣrī (d. 161/777–778) (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 301, no. 333; he may be identical with (i)); (iii) Muḥammad b. Marwān b. ‘Uthmān al-Madanī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 301, no. 331).

**183** For this reading see Tisdall, p. 236.

**184** For the identification of the *qawm* of Q 6:45 as the Umayyads see also ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 359, no. 22 (Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad [i.e. the Imam al-Hādī]) > *Burhān*, I, p. 526, no. 6, *Bihār*, LXVII, pp. 199–200, LXXX, pp. 315–316, no. 6; Kishshī, pp. 70–71 > *Bihār*, XLII, pp. 135–136, no. 16, LXVII, pp. 199–200. Elsewhere the *qawm* are said to be the ‘Abbāsids (‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 360, no. 23 > *Šāfi*, II, p. 121, *Burhān*, I, p. 526, no. 7, *Bihār*, XXXI, pp. 523–524, no. 23, Ḥuwayzī, I, p. 719, no. 86) or the Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids—the former were punished unawares (*baghtatan*) and the latter will be punished openly (*jahratan*) (‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 360, no. 24 [Manṣūr b. Yūnus < unidentified transmitter < al-Šādiq, to Q 6:44–47] > *Burhān*, I, p. 526, no. 8, *Bihār*, XXXI, p. 524, no. 24). Translation: “It is the last remnant of the Umayyads to which reference is made in the verse: ‘of the people who did wrong the last remnant was cut off’ (Q 6:45). The downfall of one of them is tantamount to the downfall of many”.

**185** For this verse see in general Gramlich, “Urvertrag”; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 132–133; DC, art. “Pacte prééternel” (Geneviève Gobillot). For the tradition see Ibn Maḥbūb, *Kitāb al-mashyakha* > Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 169 (but reading *dhurriyyatahum*; *isnād*: al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb < ‘Alī b. Rī‘āb < Abū Baṣīr < al-Šādiq); its ending is a paraphrase of Q 3:81. The reading *dhurriyyātihim* was adopted by three of the Seven Readers (Nāfi‘, Abū ‘Amr and Ibn ‘Āmir) (see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 298; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 475; Ibn al-Jawzī, III, p. 217; cf. Tha‘labī, IV, p. 304, Ṭabrisī, IX, p. 59) and was also followed by Ibn Miqsam (see Jeffery, “Ibn Miqsam”, p. 15). It is further attested in ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 41–42, no. 116 (al-Aṣbagh b. Nubāta < ‘Alī) > *Burhān*, II, p. 51, no. 34 (but reading *dhurriyyatahum*),

*Biḥār*, V, p. 258, no. 62 (*dhurriyyatahum*); Ibn al-Juḥām > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Yaqīn*, p. 283; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 55. Al-Ṭabarī (IX, pp. 111–117) adduces numerous traditions on Q 7:172, in all of which the form *dhurriyyātihim* is recorded. Cf. 193, 195–197, 405.

**186** In this tradition, a man asks ‘Alī about an apparent contradiction between two verses: according to the first (Q 37:24), the unbelievers will be questioned on the Day of Judgment; according to the second (Q 3:77), “God will neither speak to them nor look upon them”. ‘Alī replies that on that day people (here evidently meaning the unbelievers) will pass through various places; at some they will be stopped and questioned, at others they will be turned away (or: sent off to be punished) without being either stopped or questioned. A similar reply is ascribed to ‘Ikrima (see Qurṭubī, X, p. 61, XVII, p. 174; idem, *Tadhkira*, p. 344). Commentators discuss other pairs of verses with similar apparent contradictions, for example Q 37:24 vs. Q 55:39 (see Karājākī, II, p. 189; Ṭūsī, VI, pp. 65–66; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 98) or Q 7:6 vs. Q 28:78 (see Ṭūsī, IV, pp. 349–351). For the final sentence cf. 3.

**187** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 365, no. 42 (*arāda ghayr alladhī qāl*) > *Burhān*, I, p. 535, no. 15, *Biḥār*, XI, p. 88, no. 13. See further Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh*, pp. 20–23; Ṭabrisī, VII, p. 112.

**188** This exegesis on Q 6:84–85 is quoted to show that just as Jesus’s position as a descendant (*dhurriyya*) of Abraham is not affected by the fact that this descent is through his mother, so too al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn’s position as descendants of the Prophet is not affected by the fact that this descent is through their mother. The connection between the two cases (Jesus to Abraham via Maryam, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn to the Prophet via Fāṭima) is said to have been pointed out by the Baṣran Qur’ān scholar Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar when he was brought before al-Ḥajjāj (see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 367, no. 53 [on the authority of Abū l-Ḥarb b. Abī l-Aswad] > *Burhān*, I, p. 539, no. 9, *Biḥār*, XCVI, p. 243, no. 9; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, p. 1335, no. 7554 > Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 155, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, p. 51; Nu‘mān, *Sharḥ*, III, pp. 92–96, no. 1021; Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, pp. 564–565; Kūfī, *Manāqib*, p. 224, no. 688; Karājākī, I, pp. 357–360 > *Biḥār*, X, pp. 147–149, no. 1, XXV, pp. 243–246, no. 26; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, p. 174), and by Mūsā al-Kāẓim when he addressed Hārūn al-Rashīd (see Ibn Shu‘ba, *Tuḥaf*, pp. 298–299 [*inna llāh nasaba l-masīḥ ‘Īsā b. Maryam ilā khalīlihi Ibrāhīm bi-ummihi*]).

*Maryam* etc.]; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, I, p. 69, no. 9; Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 50 > *Bihār*, XLVIII, p. 122, no. 1). Cf. Kulīnī, VII, p. 90, no. 4 (citing al-Faḍl b. Shādhān [*fa-jaʿala ʿĪsā min dhurriyyat Ādam*]), VIII, pp. 317–318, no. 501 (*fa-jaʿala ʿĪsā b. Maryam min dhurriyyat Nūḥ*); Abū l-Futūḥ, IV, p. 479; Ganjī, *Kifāya*, p. 340 (... *wa-fṭ hādhā ākad dalīl anna awlād Faṭīma dhurriyya li-l-nabī*); Ṣāfi, II, p. 137; **278**.

**189** For the beginning of this tradition see ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 383, no. 123 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > Ṣāfi, II, p. 170, *Burhān*, I, p. 562, no. 1, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 275, no. 7 (in the chapter *Faḍāʾil sūrat al-anʿām*); for the ending see Qummī, I, p. 221 > *Burhān*, I, p. 563, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 13, no. 9; cf. **378**. The view that verses Q 6:151–153 are *muḥkamāt* (effective, not abrogated; cf. **171**) is ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās (Ṭabarī, VIII, pp. 86–87, Ṭabrisī, VII, p. 235, Rāzī, XIV, p. 4) and al-Suddī (Ṭabarī, VIII, p. 87); it is also mentioned in Muqātil, I, pp. 157, 378. Al-Qurṭubī (VII, p. 132) cites the view of an unnamed authority according to which these verses incorporate the Decalogue (cited in Günther, “Commandments”, p. 40; see further idem, pp. 33–36).

**190** Cf. Muqātil, I, p. 369. Elsewhere, the verse which came down in reply to Quraysh is said to have been either Q 28:68 (see e.g. Muqātil, II, pp. 503–504, Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 174, Ṭabrisī, XX, p. 314) or Q 43:32 (see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXV, p. 66, Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuḥaf*, p. 344 [> *Bihār*, V, p. 74, no. 1], Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 83). *Unzila* (at Q 43:31) is also attested in Qummī, II, p. 310. It is not clear whether this is a *qirāʾa* or a scribal error. For *yaʿlamu* (at Q 6:124) see Kulīnī, III, p. 500, no. 11; Kishshī, p. 125; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 201 > *Bihār*, X, p. 158, no. 8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, IX, p. 86 (year 87/706). The reading *risālātihi* (at Q 6:124) adduced in ms. M was adopted by Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿAmir, ʿĀṣim (in the transmission of Abū Bakr), Abū ʿAmr, Ḥamza and al-Kisāʾī (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 246; Ṭabrisī, VII, p. 185; Abū l-Futūḥ, V, p. 53; Ibn al-Jawzī, III, p. 91; Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 219; cf. **165**), and was also followed by Ibn Miqsam (Jeffery, “Ibn Miqsam”, p. 13).

**191** See Kulīnī, I, p. 416, no. 21, p. 424, no. 61 (both from Mālik al-Juhanī) > Najafī, p. 162, no. 1, *Burhān*, I, p. 519, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 190, no. 8. Cf. ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 356, no. 13 > Ṭabrisī, VII, p. 25 (> *Bihār*, IX, p. 85), Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 180, Ṣāfi, II, p. 112, *Burhān*, I, p. 520, no. 3, *Bihār*, IX, pp. 201–202, no. 64.

*Isnād*: MĀLIK AL-JUHANĪ: Abū Manṣūr (or Abū Muḥammad) Mālik b.

A'yan al-Juhanī, a Kūfan (Başran, according to Kishshī, p. 189) transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq (Quhpā'ī, V, pp. 88–89; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 36–37). He was also a poet (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 82, notes 52, 53).

**192** *Faṣl*, p. 285, ll. 10–12. Al-Ṭabrisī records an anonymous account (*wa-ruwīya*) according to which Ibn Mas'ūd and Sālim (i.e. Sālim b. Ma'qil mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba) read the verse as follows: *wa-idhā qulibat abṣāruhum tilqā' aṣḥāb al-nār qālū rabbanā 'ā'idhan bika an taj'alānā ma'a l-qawm al-ẓālimīn* (VIII, p. 67 > *Bihār*, VIII, p. 332, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 36, no. 142, *Faṣl*, p. 136, ll. 20–22, p. 285, ll. 12–14). Another anonymous account cited by al-Ṭabrisī attributes this reading to al-Şādiq (VIII, p. 67). For the reading *qulibat* see Jeffery, pp. 43, 132, 234, 318 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy, Sālim, al-A'mash); Māturīdī, IV, p. 433 (Ubayy); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 81 (al-A'mash). Cf. **194**.

*Isnād*: AL-QĀSIM B. 'URWA: Abū Muḥammad (al-) Qāsim b. 'Urwa, a resident of Baghdād and a transmitter from disciples of al-Şādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 359–360).—AL-ḤUSAYN B. ABĪ L-'ALĀ': Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Abī L-'Alā' al-Khaffāf al-A'war, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq (Kohlberg, "Uṣūl", pp. 144, 150; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 274–275).

**193** Of the Seven Readers, Abū 'Amr read *yaqūlū* and the rest, *taqūlū*; this latter reading is also recorded in a tradition having Yahyā al-Ḥalabī in its *isnād* (see Qummī, I, pp. 246–247 > *Burhān*, II, pp. 47–48, no. 12, *Bihār*, V, p. 236, no. 12). The word *yaqūl* recorded in the manuscripts is evidently an error. Since no *qirā'a* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing. Cf. **185**, **195–197**, **405**.

**194** *Faṣl*, p. 285, l. 12. Cf. **192**.

**195** *Faṣl*, p. 285, ll. 15–17. For *dhurriyyātihim* see **185**. Cf. Furāt, I, pp. 145–147, nos. 180–184 > *Faṣl*, p. 285, l. 19–p. 286, l. 12 (traditions with the reading *a-lastu bi-rabbikum* [variant: + *qālū balā*] *wa-anna Muḥammadan* ['*abdi wa-*] *rasūlū wa-anna 'Alīyyan amīr al-mu'minīn*); 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 41, nos. 113–114 (*wa-ashhadahum 'alā anfusihim a-lastu bi-rabbikum wa-anna Muḥammadan rasūl allāh nabiyyukum* [variant: *wa-anna Muḥammadan nabiyyakum rasūl allāh*] *wa-anna 'Alīyyan amīr al-mu'minīn*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 50, nos. 31–32, *Bihār*, XXXVII, p. 332, no. 72, Ḥuwayzī, II, pp. 98–99, no. 363, tr. Amir-Moezzi, "Walāya", p. 724; Kulīnī, I, p. 412, no. 4 > Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 171, Najafī, p. 180, no. 19, *Burhān*, II, p. 47, no. 10,

Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 92, no. 336; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 58–59. Cf. **185**, **193**, **196**, **197**, **405**.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Bazī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād, died during the imamate of al-Jawād (Quhpāʿī, V, pp. 151–154; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 69–76). For an example of his transmission from Muḥammad b. Sinān see Ibn Shādhān, *Kitāb al-qāʿim* > Ḥillī, *Muḥtaḍar*, p. 5 > *Bihār*, XXVII, p. 308, no. 13 (Ibn Shādhān < Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl < Muḥammad b. Sinān < ʿAmmār b. Marwān).—MANŠŪR: he may well be Manšūr b. Yūnus (for whom see **82**\*; cf. the *isnād* Manšūr b. Yūnus < Abū l-Safātij < Jābir al-Juʿfī [Najafī, p. 327, no. 10 > *Burhān*, III, p. 57, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 91, no. 10]).—ABŪ L-SAFĀTIJ: Abū Yaʿqūb Ishāq b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Abū l-Safātij al-Bazzāz, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʿī, I, pp. 187–188, VII, p. 49; Ardabīlī, I, p. 82, II, p. 390; see **168**\*).—ABŪ L-RABĪʿ AL-QAZZĀZ: al-Māzandarānī (VII, p. 50 > *Faṣl*, p. 287, ll. 9–10) describes him as *majhūl*. He is only mentioned in this tradition as recorded in *KQ* and Kulīnī. Perhaps he is to be identified with Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Khālid b. Dihqān al-Aqṭaʿ (see **121**\*); yet this person is nowhere called “al-Qazzāz”.

**196** *Faṣl*, p. 285, l. 19. Cf. **185**, **193**, **195**, **197**, **405**.

**197** Translation: “The people of the right said: ‘yes (we will acknowledge ‘Alī as legatee)’; the people of the left acknowledged the two *shahādas* (i.e. God’s unicity and Muḥammad’s prophethood), but when they wanted to acknowledge *amīr al-muʿminīn* (as legatee), the Second (i.e. ʿUmar) indicated with his eye that they should not (do so); they refused to acknowledge (ʿAlī as legatee) and were therefore cursed”. For *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* see Q 56:27, 38, 90, 91, Q 74:39; for *aṣḥāb al-shimāl* see Q 56:41; in general Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin* (= *Divine Guide*), index, s.v. *aṣḥāb al-yamīn/aṣḥāb al-shimāl*. Cf. **185**, **193**, **195**, **196**, **405**.

*Isnād*: ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ʿABDALLĀH: there are a number of transmitters from al-Ṣādiq called ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, but none of them is known as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAbdallāh (or Abī Ṭālib). Perhaps ʿan Abī ʿAbdallāh was written down twice, the first ʿan subsequently being changed to *bn*.

**198** *Faṣl*, p. 287, ll. 17–18. See **199**.

*Isnād*: ḤUMAYD: he may be Ḥumayd b. al-Sarī al-ʿAbdī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʿī, II, p. 135; Ardabīlī, I, p. 284) and

a member of the ‘Abd al-Qays, the tribe to which Jābir al-‘Abdī also belonged.—JĀBIR AL-‘ABDĪ: he is mentioned in a single tradition in Kulīnī, I, p. 410, no. 1 (*isnād*: Ibn Maḥbūb < Ḥammād [i.e. b. ‘Īsā] < Ḥumayd < Jābir al-‘Abdī [in the printed edition: Ḥumayd wa-Jābir al-‘Abdī, which appears to be an error] < ‘Alī) > *Biḥār*, XL, p. 336, no. 17.

**199** The readings at **198–199**, when taken together, closely resemble the following *qirā’a* attributed to ‘Alī: *akhrāja li-‘ibādihī min al-quṭn wa-l-kattān wa-l-ṭayyibāt min al-rizq al-ḥalāl qul hiya li-lladhīna āmanū yashrakuhum fihā l-kuffār fī l-dunyā khālīṣatan lahum yawm al-qiyāma* (see Jeffery, p. 186). For *al-ḥalāl* as a gloss on *al-ṭayyibāt min al-rizq* see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, V, p. 1467, no. 8397 (Qatāda). Cf. **200\***.

**200** Cf. Ṭabrisī, *Mishkāṭ*, p. 269 (from Abān b. ‘Uthmān). For *ashrakakum ma‘ahum* cf. the reading *yashrakuhum fihā l-kuffār* at **199**.

*Isnād*: AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ: he may be Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Muqri’, who transmitted from ‘Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā b. Mūsā al-‘Absī al-Kūfī, himself a transmitter from al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 126; Ardabīlī, I, p. 530; for the *isnād* cf. Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IX, p. 348, no. 1251).

**201** See Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 458; idem, *Tawḥīd*, p. 118, no. 22 > *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 223, no. 16 (Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Mutawakkil < ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa’dābādī < Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abdallāh al-Barqī < his father Muḥammad b. Khālīd < Aḥmad b. al-Naḍr < Muḥammad b. Marwān < Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib < Abū [al-] Šālīḥ < ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās *fī qawlihi* ‘azza wa-jalla: *fa-lammā afāqa qāl subḥānaka tubtu ilayka wa-anā awwal al-mu’minīn* [Q 7:143] *qāl yaqūl: subḥānaka tubtu ilayka min an as’alaka ru’yatan wa-anā awwal al-mu’minīn bi-annaka lā turā*). Cf. Muqātil, I, p. 414 (*awwal al-muṣaddiqīn bi-annaka lan turā fī l-dunyā*); Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, pp. 113–114, no. 291; Ṭabarī, IX, p. 55 (Mujāhid: [*tubtu ilayka*] *an as’alaka l-ru’yā*); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, V, pp. 1561–1562, no. 8950; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn*, I, pp. 159–160 > *Burhān*, II, pp. 33–34, Ḥuwayzī, II, pp. 64–65, no. 248; Tha’labī, IV, p. 279 (*wa-anā awwal al-mu’minīn bi-annaka lā turā fī l-dunyā*); Māwardī, II, p. 259 (*awwal al-mu’minīn bi-annahu lā yarāka shay’ min khalqika*); Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 429; Vajda, “Vision”, pp. 34, 38–43, 52–53; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 124–125 = *Divine Guide*, p. 48.

**202** For the beginning cf. *Baṣā’ir*, p. 69, no. 2 > *Šāfi*, II, p. 235, *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 224, no. 19, XXVI, p. 342, no. 12, LIX, p. 184, no.



26, Ḥuwayzī, II, pp. 63–64, no. 245 (*wa-rawā ba'd aṣḥābinā 'an Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī qāl wa-qad sami'tu anā min Aḥmad b. Muḥammad qāl ḥaddathanī Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd* [read: 'Ubaydallāh: cf. 19\*] b. Abī 'Abdallāh al-Fārisī *wa-ghayruhu rafa'ūhu ilā Abī 'Abdallāh 'alayhi l-salām qāl: inna l-karūbiyyīn qawm min shi'atinā min al-khalq al-awwal ja'alahum allāh khalfā l-'arṣ law qusima nūr wāḥid minhum 'alā ahl al-arḍ la-kafāhum thumma qāl: inna Mūsā lammā sa'ala rabbahu mā sa'ala amara wāḥidan min al-karūbiyyīn fa-tajallā li-l-jabal fa-ja'alahu dakkān*); Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā'ir*, III, p. 569 (< *Kitāb al-Sayyārī*, probably al-Sayyārī's *Nawādir*; see Introduction, p. 35). For the ending cf. the title of chapter 29 of al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Fuṣūl* (p. 60): *inna llāh subḥānahu lā yūṣaf bi-ḥaraka wa-lā 'ntiqāl*. Translation: "It was one of the cherubs (not God) who became manifested to the mountain. (The mountain) turned to dust, and Moses fell down senseless. God is too great and majestic to be described as moving or changing from one state to another". For the *karūbiyyūn* see in general Abū Ḥātim, *Ẓīna*, II, p. 168; *WKAS*, I, pp. 115b, 556a–b.

**203** The *kafarū* of the manuscripts is evidently a scribal error; cf. Q 4:56 (*inna lladhīna kafarū bi-āyātīnā*). The *aṣḥāb al-jamal* are 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and their supporters, who fought against 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel (36/656). For the tradition cf. Qummī, I, p. 230 > Najafī, p. 171, no. 4, *Burhān*, II, p. 15, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXII, p. 106, no. 76 (*nazalat ḥādhihi l-āya fī Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-l-jamal jamaluhum*); 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 17, no. 40 > *Burhān*, II, p. 15, no. 2.

**204** For this tradition cf. *Baṣā'ir*, pp. 378–379, no. 3 (in the chapter entitled *al-tafwīd ilā rasūl allāh*) > *Biḥār*, XVII, pp. 7–8, no. 10; *Baṣā'ir*, p. 379, nos. 4, 5, the latter > *Biḥār*, XVII, p. 8, no. 11; Kulīnī, I, pp. 266–267, no. 4 (beginning) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 208, *Biḥār*, XVII, pp. 4–5, no. 3. The reading *wa-'mur bi-l-ma'rūf* recorded in mss. L and B is attested in a number of sources; see e.g. Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IX, p. 397, no. 1417; Fattāl, *Rawḍa*, pp. 369, 422; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, II, p. 42. Al-Ṭabarī does not give this reading but equates the *urf* of Q 7:199 with *ma'rūf* (IX, p. 156, cited in Cook, *Commanding Right*, p. 26); similarly Ibn Abī Ḥātim, V, p. 1638, no. 8684; Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, II, p. 170. For Q 59:7 cf. 125, 567.

**205** See *Baṣā'ir*, p. 33, no. 2 (Abū Wahb < Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr < 'Abd Ṣāliḥ [i.e. al-Kāzim]) > *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 301, no. 7; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 16, no. 36 (Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr < 'Abd Ṣāliḥ) > *Burhān*, II, p. 13, no. 4, cited in Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 123; Kulīnī, I, p. 374, no. 10 > Najafī,



pp. 170–171, no. 3, *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 194, *Burhān*, II, p. 13, no. 2; Nu‘mānī, *Ghayba*, p. 186, no. 11 > *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 189–190, no. 10; ‘Amilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 6.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ABDALLĀH: he may be Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Mihrān, an immediate authority of al-Sayyārī (Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, p. 606, no. 81) and a transmitter from al-Jawād and al-Hādī. He was accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā‘ī, V, pp. 249–250; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 144–145; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 23, note 26). His *nisba* is given both as al-Karkhī and al-Kūfī (for the latter see Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, pp. 384, 606); “al-Kūfī” may be a corruption of “al-Karkhī”.—ABŪ WAḤB: he is only known as a transmitter from Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (Ardabīlī, II, p. 204).—MUḤAMMAD B. MANṢŪR: Ardabīlī (II, p. 204) suggests that the Muḥammad b. Manṣūr who transmitted to Abū Wahb is the Kūfan Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Yūnus Buzurj (for whom see Quhpā‘ī, VI, p. 57).

**206** Many commentators see in Q 7:175 an allusion to Bal‘am; see e.g. Muqātil, I, p. 424; Qummī, I, pp. 248–249 > *Bihār*, XIII, pp. 377–378; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 42, no. 118 (Sulaymān al-Labbān < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, II, p. 51, no. 2, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 379; Ṭabarī, IX, pp. 119–121; Ibn Muḥakkam, II, pp. 58–59; Māturīdī, V, pp. 88–89; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 601; Tha‘labī, IV, pp. 305–306; Abū l-Futūḥ, V, p. 329; Qurṭubī, IX, pp. 319–320; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, pp. 265–268; idem, *Muṣḥamāt*, p. 96; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Bal‘am b. Ba‘ūr(ā)” (G. Vajda). The form “Bul‘ūm” (for Bal‘am/Bal‘ām) does not appear to be attested elsewhere.

**207** *Faṣl*, p. 288, ll. 6–7. For this reading see *GdQ*, III, p. 67, Ṭabarī, IX, p. 174, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 48, Abū l-Futūḥ, V, p. 366 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Jeffery, pp. 44, 133, 256, 270, 286, 333 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, Ṭalḥa, ‘Ikrima, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Ṣādiq); idem, “Zaid”, p. 260 (Zayd b. ‘Alī); Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (al-Ṣādiq) > *Faṣl*, p. 288, ll. 15–16; Qummī, as cited in *Bihār*, XCVI, p. 213, no. 19 (in the printed edition of Qummī, at I, p. 254, the words *qāla nazalat yas‘alūnaka l-anfāl* are missing); ‘Ayyāshī, as cited in *Bihār*, XCVI, p. 211, no. 11, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 120, no. 19 (in the printed edition of ‘Ayyāshī, at II, p. 48, no. 17 > *Burhān*, II, p. 62, no. 39, the words *qāla yas‘alūnaka l-anfāl* are missing); Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭab*, II, p. 175, idem, *Ma‘ānī*, III, pp. 127–128 (Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās); Nu‘mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 46 (the reading with ‘an is a falsification [*taḥrīf*]); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 272, Ṭabrisī, IX, p. 98 (> *Bihār*, XIX, p. 211, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 117, no. 4, *Faṣl*, p. 136, l. 23) (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Sa‘d b. Abī

Waqqaš, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif; Ṭabrisī: also Zayd b. ‘Alī); Mufīd, *Sarawīyya*, p. 83; Tha‘labī, IV, p. 326 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, ‘Ikrima); Ṭūsī, V, p. 72 (*qirā’at ahl al-bayt*); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 496, Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 453 (Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāš, Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Bāqir, Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Šādiq, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, ‘Ikrima, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, ‘Aṭā’); Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 249 (Ibn Mas‘ūd and *qirā’at ahl al-bayt*); *Faṣl*, p. 23, l. 23 (the reading with ‘an as an example for the addition of a word to the text of the Qur’ān). See **208**, **211**.

*Isnād*: SHU‘AYB: Abū Ya‘qūb Shu‘ayb b. Ya‘qūb al-‘Aqarqūfī, a nephew of Abū Baṣīr Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Asadī and a transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 146; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 371).

**208** *Faṣl*, p. 288, ll. 7–8. See **207**, **211**.

*Isnād*: AL-WĀSIṬĪ: he may well be Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Wāsiṭī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq who transmitted to Abān b. ‘Uthmān (Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, I, p. 465, no. 1524 > *Biḥār*, XII, p. 117, no. 53). Al-Wāsiṭī does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere as Abān’s paternal uncle. He is to be distinguished from his namesake, a transmitter from al-Jawād (Quhpā’ī, V, p. 195; Ardabīlī, II, p. 96; cf. Khū’ī, XVI, p. 283, no. 10574).

**209** *Faṣl*, p. 289, ll. 15–16. For this reading see Ḥaskānī, I, p. 205, no. 268, citing the anonymous *al-Tafsīr al-‘atīq* (*ruwīya ‘an Yūnus b.* [read: ‘an] *Bakkār ‘an abīhi ‘an Abī Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī fī qawlihi ta‘ālā: yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū lā takhūnū llāh wa-l-rasūl wa-takhūnū amānātikum fī āl Muḥammad wa-antum ta‘lamūn*); Tisdall, p. 237.

*Isnād*: BAKKĀR: Bakkār b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, I, p. 272; Ardabīlī, I, p. 125).—ḤASSĀN: he may be Abū ‘Alī Ḥassān b. Mihrān b. al-Mughīra al-Jammāl, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 94–95; Ardabīlī, I, p. 187; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 257–258).

**210** *Faṣl*, p. 289, ll. 7–8. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 44, 133, 187, 225 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, ‘Alī, Zayd b. Thābit); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 49 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Zayd b. Thābit, Abū l-‘Āliya); Ibn Jinnī, I, pp. 277–278, Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 516, Ṭabrisī, IX, p. 127 (> *Šāfi*, II, p. 290, *Biḥār*, V, p. 282, XXV, p. 92, no. 68, LXX, p. 335, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 143, no. 62) (‘Alī, Zayd b. Thābit, al-Bāqir, al-Rabī‘ b. Anas, Abū l-‘Āliya, Ibn Jammāz [i.e. Sulaymān b. Muslim b. Jammāz al-Zuhrī, d. after 170/786–787;

see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 315, no. 1387]; Ibn Jammāz is not mentioned in Ṭabrisī); ‘Ukbarī, p. 263 (*wa-qur’ā fī l-shādhdh*); Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 478 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī, Zayd b. Thābit, al-Bāqir, al-Rabī b. Anas, Abū l-‘Āliya); Tha‘ālibī, III, p. 125 (‘Alī). Ibn Jinnī (I, p. 277, cited in Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 516) maintains that the *alif* of the *lā* (in *lā tuṣībanna*) was omitted due to *takhfīf* (shortening of the pronunciation), and that the meaning is not affected.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-RAḤĪM AL-QAṢĪR: he may well be ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Rawḥ al-Qaṣīr al-Asadī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 86; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 455–456).—THA‘LABA: Abū Ishāq Tha‘laba b. Maymūn al-Naḥwī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and his disciples (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 380).

**211** *Faṣl*, p. 288, ll. 8–10. *Wa-lī-rasūlihi* is also attested in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, III, p. 368. It is not clear whether this is a genuine *qirā’a* or a scribal error (cf. Q 63:8: *wa-lī-llāh al-‘izza wa-lī-rasūlihi*). See **207**, **208**.

*Isnād*: KHALAF: Khalaf b. Ḥammād b. Yāsir/Nāshir al-Asadī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Kāzīm (Quhpā’ī, II, p. 271; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 297–298).—ABŪ L-MAGHRĀ’: Abū l-Maghrā’ Ḥumayd b. al-Muthannā al-‘Ijlī al-Ṣayrafī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, pp. 124–125, no. 58; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 273–274).

**212** Of the Seven Readers, only Abū ‘Amr read *usārā* (rather than *asrā*) (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 309, Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 436, Samarqandī, II, p. 33); this was also the reading of Zayd (Jeffery, “Zaid b. ‘Alī”, p. 224). See also Tha‘labī, IV, p. 374 (Abū Muḥammad, Abū Ja‘far); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, II, p. 554 (Abū ‘Amr, Abū Ja‘far, Qatāda, Naṣr b. ‘Āṣim, Ibn Abī Ishāq); Ṭabrisī, IX, p. 180, Abū l-Futūḥ, V, p. 441 (Abū Ja‘far, Abū ‘Amr); Abū Ḥayyān, IV, p. 516 (Abū Ja‘far, Ibn Abī Ishāq, Naṣr b. ‘Āṣim, Abū ‘Amr). The tradition refers to two events relating to al-‘Abbās: first, the ransom which he paid for himself, for his nephew(s) and for his ally after his capture at Badr (see e.g. Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, pp. 13–16; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 202, no. 244; Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 52; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, pp. 369–370; Landau-Tasseron, “Alliances”, p. 160); second, the annuity he was given from the produce of Khaybar (see e.g. Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, p. 18; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib” [W. Montgomery Watt]). For Q 9:128 see **226**, **227**.

**213** For this reading see Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 66; Qummī, I, p. 297 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 383, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 277, no. 385; Ṭabrisī, X, pp.

156–157 (al-Riḍā) > *Burhān*, II, p. 168, no. 2; Ibn Jabr, *Nahj*, p. 580; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 60; idem, *Scripture*, p. 167. See **214**.

**214** Cf. the account in which al-Šādiq recites the Shīʿī *qirāʾa* of Q 9:117; his disciple Abān b. Taghlib observes that this is not how the Sunnīs (*al-ʿamma*) read the verse, and then cites the version of the ʿUthmānic codex. To this al-Šādiq responds: “What sin did the Prophet commit for which God forgave him? Indeed, it was through him that God forgave his community” (*fa-ʾayy dhanb kāna li-rasūl allāh ṣ ḥattā tāba llāh ʿalayhi ʿanhu/minhu*) *innamā tāba llāh bihi ʿalā ummatihi*) (Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 76 > *Šāfiʿ*, II, p. 383, *Biḥār*, XXVIII, p. 192, no. 2, Ḥuwayzī, II, pp. 277–278, no. 386, all > *Faṣl*, p. 290, ll. 15–22). The text of *KQ* should perhaps be emended accordingly to read: *mā kāna li-l-nabī dhanb fa-yatūba ʿalayhi minhu*. See **213**; cf. **508**, **517**.

**215** *Faṣl*, p. 292, ll. 12–13. For this tradition see Qummī, I, p. 297 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 279, no. 390. For the reading *khālafū* see (in addition to the references given at **217**\*) Jeffery, pp. 187, 319, 333 (ʿAlī [according to some], al-Aʿmash, al-Šādiq); idem, “Zaid”, p. 261 (Zayd b. ʿAlī); Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, III, p. 265, Thaʿlabī, V, p. 105, Zamakhsharī, II, p. 218, Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 282 (al-Šādiq); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 55 (Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, ʿAlī [i.e. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn?], al-Šādiq); Ibn Jinnī, I, pp. 305–306 (ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī); Ṭūsī, V, p. 316 (*qirāʾat ahl al-bayt*); Ṭabrisī, X, pp. 153 (Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq), 157 (*qirāʾat ahl al-bayt*) > *Šāfiʿ*, II, p. 386, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 278, no. 387, *Faṣl*, p. 292, ll. 14–15; Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 133; Ibn al-Jawzī, III, p. 387 (Abū Razīn [i.e. the Companion Abū Razīn Laqīṭ b. ʿĀmir al-ʿUqaylī; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, I, table 104, II, p. 376; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, p. 1657, no. 2952], Abū Mijlaz, al-Shaʿbī, Ibn Yaʿmar); Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 112 (Abū Zayd, Abū Mijlaz, al-Shaʿbī, Ibn Yaʿmar, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayd b. ʿAlī, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 60–61. See **216**, **217**.

*Isnād*: ʿUMAR B. YAZĪD: of the two transmitters from al-Šādiq bearing this name (see **72**\*), the reference here is probably to Abū Mūsā ʿUmar b. Yazīd b. Dhubyān al-Šayqal, since in a similar *isnād* he is called al-Šayqal (Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr < Thaʿlaba < ʿUmar b. Yazīd al-Šayqal < al-Šādiq; see Ibnā Bisṭām, *Ṭibb*, p. 41 > *Biḥār*, XCV, p. 54, no. 15).

**216** *Faṣl*, p. 292, ll. 13–14. See **215**, **217**.

**217** *Faṣl*, p. 292, ll. 11–12. For this tradition see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 115, no. 152 (Fayḍ b. al-Mukhtār < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 386, *Burhān*, II, p. 169, no. 7, *Bihār*, XXI, p. 237, no. 22, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 278, no. 388; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 377, no. 568 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 386, *Burhān*, II, p. 169, no. 2, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 58, no. 40 and the commentary in Māzandarānī, XII, pp. 542–543. ‘Uthmān’s two companions (*ṣāhibāhu*) are Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; the three of them disobeyed (*khālāfū*) the Prophet during the expedition to Tabūk in the year 9/630 (see Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 61, note 65). See **215**, **216**; cf. **667**.

*Isnād*: FAYḌ B. AL-MUKHTĀR: (al-) Fayḍ b. al-Mukhtār al-Ju‘fī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Quhpā‘ī, V, pp. 40–42; Ardabīlī, II, p. 14). He was reportedly the first to hear from al-Ṣādiq that al-Kāẓim would be the next Imam (Kishshī, p. 302; cf. Mufid, *Irshād*, pp. 288, 289.)

**218** *Faṣl*, p. 289, l. 23–p. 290, l. 1. For this reading see ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 88–89, no. 58 (‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāl < al-Riḍā, Zurāra < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 344, *Burhān*, II, pp. 128–129, no. 14, *Bihār*, XIX, p. 80, no. 33, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 220, nos. 160–161; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 378, no. 571 (al-Riḍā: *hākadhā naqra’uhā wa-hākadhā tanzīluhā*) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 344, *Burhān*, II, p. 128, no. 13, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 220, no. 158, *Faṣl*, p. 289, ll. 21–22, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 212, with note 432 = *Divine Guide*, p. 201; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, I, p. 535, Ṭurayhī, II, p. 860 (al-Ṣādiq); ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, p. 243; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 59, with note 63; idem, *Scripture*, p. 103. As noted by Bar-Asher, this reading is meant to clarify beyond any doubt that it was the Prophet, not Abū Bakr, who received divine revelation during their sojourn in the cave while fleeing from Mecca. Cf. Q 48:26; **220**.

**219** *Faṣl*, p. 291, l. 14. See Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Mukhtaṣar al-baṣā’ir* as cited in Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 21 > *Bihār*, LIII, p. 71, no. 70; ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 112–113, no. 140 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 273, no. 362; Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 377–378, no. 569 > *Ṣāfi*, II, pp. 380–381, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 59, no. 41, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 274, no. 368, all > *Faṣl*, p. 291, l. 14–p. 292, l. 4. For this reading see also Jeffery, pp. 45, 134, 319 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, al-A‘mash); Farrā’, I, pp. 16, 453, Naḥḥās, *I‘rāb*, II, p. 238, Tha‘labī, V, p. 98 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqīh*, II, p. 141, no. 63; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 305; Samarqandī, II, p. 92 (‘Āṣim

[presumably Ibn Abī l-Najūd]); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 216 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy) > *Faṣl*, p. 137, l. 2; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, III, p. 88, Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 271 (the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ṭabrisī, X, p. 146 (Ubayy, Ibn Mas‘ūd, al-A‘mash, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, II, p. 380, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 274, no. 367; Abū l-Futūh, VI, p. 125 (the codices of Ubayy and Ibn Mas‘ūd); Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 106 (Ubayy, Ibn Mas‘ūd, al-A‘mash); *Faṣl*, p. 24, ll. 5–6.

**220** *Faṣl*, p. 290, ll. 1–3. The reading *bi-rūḥ minhu* (or, according to mss. L, T and B: *bi-rūḥ al-qudus minhu*) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. It is stated in the Qur‘ān that God supports the believers with His spirit (*wa-ayyadahum bi-rūḥ minhu*) (Q 58:22) and supports Jesus with the holy spirit (*rūḥ al-qudus*) (Q 2:87, 2:253, 5:110). Cf. **218**.

**221** *Faṣl*, p. 290, ll. 13–14. For this reading see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mathālib* > *Faṣl*, p. 290, l. 14; Tisdall, p. 237. The addition of *waylaka* (“woe unto you”) reinforces the Shī‘ī interpretation of Q 9:40 as critical of Abū Bakr (cf. Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 84–85, 102–103).

**222** *Faṣl*, p. 291, ll. 7–9. For this reading see Ṭabarī, XI, p. 34, Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 312, Zamakhsharī, II, p. 216 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; rejected by al-Ṭabarī himself [XI, p. 35] on the ground that it is not recorded in the “codices of the Muslims” [*maṣāḥif al-muslimīn*]); Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 444, Ṭūsī, V, p. 303, Ibn al-Jawzī, III, p. 380 (Ya‘qūb [i.e. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī al-Baṣrī, one of the Ten Readers, d. 205/820–821]); Tha‘labī, V, p. 96, Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 266 (al-Ḥasan, Ya‘qūb, Abū Ḥātim [i.e. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī’s student Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Sijistānī, d. 255/869; see EI<sup>2</sup>, art. “Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī” (B. Lewin), Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 320–321, no. 1403]); Ṭabrisī, X, p. 138 (Ya‘qūb, Sahl, al-Ḥasan, Qatāda, al-Jahḍarī [i.e. Abū l-Mujashshir ‘Āṣim b. Abī l-Šabbāḥ al-Jahḍarī al-Baṣrī, d. ca. 128/745–746; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 349, no. 1498] and others, *wa-rawāhu l-Barqī ‘an Abī ‘Abdallāh* [i.e. al-Šādiq]) > *Faṣl*, p. 291, ll. 9–11; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, I, p. 559 (al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, II, p. 380; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 105 (Ḥasan, Mujāhid, Qatāda, Ya‘qūb). According to al-Nu‘mānī (*Tafsīr*, p. 32), *illā an* has the same meaning as *ilā an*.

**223** *Faṣl*, p. 291, ll. 6–7. Cf. Furāt, II, p. 423, no. 560 (*immā yu‘adhdhibuhum wa-immā an yatūba ‘alayhim*); *Biḥār*, XX, p. 114, no. 44, citing Kulīnī (*immā an yu‘adhdhibahum wa-immā yatūbu ‘alayhim*; in the printed edition of

Kulīnī [II, p. 407, no. 1 > *Burhān*, II, p. 160, no. 1] the text of the ‘Uthmānic codex is cited).

*Isnād*: AL-AZRAQ: Šabbāḥ b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Azraq al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 209; Ardabīlī, I, p. 410).—ISMĀ’ĪL b. JĀBIR: Ismā’īl b. Jābir al-Ju‘fī/al-Khath‘amī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 332; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 305–306). According to al-Tustarī (*Rijāl*, II, pp. 33–37), the correct *nisba* is “al-Khath‘amī”, and “al-Ju‘fī” was introduced as the result of a confusion with Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ju‘fī. In contrast, al-Khū’ī maintains (IV, p. 34, no. 1310) that Ismā’īl b. Jābir’s *nisba* is “al-Ju‘fī”, and that “al-Khath‘amī” is a scribal error.

**224** All four manuscripts of *KQ* reproduce the text of *Q* 9:19 as it is recorded in the ‘Uthmānic codex. It appears from the context, however, that a reading is being cited here, presumably *suqāt al-ḥājī wa-‘amarat al-masjid al-ḥarām* (“those who slake the pilgrims’ thirst and keep the holy mosque in repair”). This reading is not attributed elsewhere to Ibn Mas‘ūd but is ascribed to a number of early authorities; see Jeffery, p. 228 (Ibn al-Zubayr); Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭab*, II, p. 207 (Abū Wajza [i.e. Abū Wajza al-Sa’dī Yazīd b. (Abī) ‘Ubayd al-Madanī, d. 130/747; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, p. 382, no. 3879, *GAŚ*, II, pp. 428–429]); Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, III, p. 192; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 285, Ṭabrisī, X, p. 30 (al-Bāqir; Ibn al-Zubayr, Abū Wajza al-Sa’dī, Abū Ja‘far al-Qārī’ [i.e. Yazīd b. al-Qa‘qā’, one of the Ten Readers]); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 52 (Abū Wajza al-Sa’dī, Yazīd b. al-Qa‘qā’); Samarqandī, II, p. 47 (*qirā’a shādhda*); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 180 (cf. Lane, *Commentary*, p. 337), Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 91 (Ibn al-Zubayr, Abū Wajza); Bayḍāwī, p. 250; Lane, s.v. *siqāya*; Rabin, *West-Arabian*, p. 143. The Imam seems to distinguish between those in charge of the office of providing water for the pilgrims (*ahl al-siqāya*) and those who perform the actual service (*al-suqāt*). There appears to be no report stating that the Imams were *ahl al-siqāya*; ‘Abbās, however, is often reported to have been in charge of the office (see e.g. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib” [W. Montgomery Watt], art. “Ka’ba” [A.J. Wensinck (J. Jomier)], at IV, p. 320; Kūfī, *Manāqib*, I, pp. 134–135, no. 74; Ḥaskānī, I, pp. 248–251, nos. 335–339; Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 91), so the reference here might be to the Hāshimīs and not specifically to the Imams. The ending of the tradition may be corrupt; a possible emendation would be *annahum ahl al-siqāya* (for *fī aṣl qiyāmihim bi-l-siqāya*).

*Isnād*: IṢḤĀQ b. IBRĀHĪM: Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuḍaynī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpā’ī, I, pp.



184, 198; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 79, 88). Judging by the *isnād* in *KQ*, he also transmitted from al-Hādī.

**225** The sentence *jāhid al-kuffār wa-l-munāfiqīn* (“fight the unbelievers and the hypocrites”) occurs twice, at Q 9:73 and Q 66:9. Exegetes attempt to square this with accounts in the *Sīra* literature according to which Muḥammad did not take up arms against the hypocrites. According to one Shīʿī tradition, when the verse came down and the Prophet pledged to fight both the unbelievers and the hypocrites (*la-ujāhidanna l-ʿamāliqa yaʿnī l-kuffār wa-l-munāfiqīn*), the archangel Gabriel told him: “either you or ‘Alī (will fight them)” (Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, II, p. 116 > *Bihār*, XXXII, p. 292, no. 247; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 196 > *Bihār*, XXIX, p. 423, no. 7). ‘Alī is indeed said to have fought both the unbelievers (during the Prophet’s lifetime) and the hypocrites (after the Prophet’s death) (see **585**). Another view is that Muḥammad fought the unbelievers and, before his death, instructed ‘Alī to complete the mission by fighting the hypocrites (i.e. ‘Alī’s enemies at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn and al-Nahrawān) (cf. Nuʿmān, *Sharḥ*, I, p. 114, II, p. 73; Mufīd, *Ukbariyya*, p. 116). A different way of resolving the issue is based on the Shīʿī reading *jāhid al-kuffār bi-l-munāfiqīn* (“fight the unbelievers by means of the hypocrites”) (see Ṭūsī, V, p. 260, X, p. 52; Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 70, XI, p. 202; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 342). The explanation for this *qirāʾa* is that the Prophet, rather than fighting the hypocrites, courted their friendship (*kāna yataʿallafuhum*) (thereby aiming to weaken the unbelievers) (see **584**; Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 66; Ṭabrisī, X, p. 100 [to Q 9:73] > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 358, *Bihār*, XIX, pp. 155–156, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 241, no. 237; Ṭabrisī, XXVIII, p. 128 [to Q 66:9] > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 197, *Bihār*, XIX, p. 163, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 241, no. 238, V, p. 375, no. 37; cf. Qummī, I, p. 301 [to Q 9:73] > *Burhān*, II, p. 145, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 242, no. 239). See further Kohlberg, “Jihād”, pp. 70–71. The tradition cited in *KQ* is also recorded in Qummī, II, p. 377, to Q 66:9 (*isnād*: ... Yaʿqūb b. Yazīd < Sulaymān al-Kātib < an unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq) (> *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 358, V, p. 197, *Burhān*, IV, p. 357, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIX, p. 426, no. 16, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 242, no. 241). In Qummī the Qurʾānic verse is followed by the words *hākadhā nazalat*. This is evidently erroneous, as the version cited there is that of the ʿUthmānic codex (and the tradition would not make sense otherwise).

*Isnād*: SULAYMĀN KĀTIB ʿALĪ B. YAQTĪN: he is Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn Kātib ʿAlī b. Yaqtīn, who transmitted from ʿAlī b. Yaqtīn (for whom see

**484<sup>\*</sup>**) and transmitted to Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd (Qūhpā‘ī, IV, p. 240; Khū‘ī, IX, p. 252, no. 5433).

**226** *Faṣl*, p. 292, ll. 21–22. For this tradition see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 378, no. 570 > *Burhān*, II, p. 175, no. 1, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 59, no. 42, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 287, no. 429, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 212, with note 433 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 201–202; Majlisī, *Mir’āt*, XXVI, p. 566 (*wa-yadullu ‘alā anna muṣṣafahum ‘alayhim al-salām kāna mukhālīfan li-mā fī aydi l-nās fī ba‘d al-ashyā’*) > *Faṣl*, p. 292, ll. 22–23. For this reading see also ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 118, no. 166 (‘Abdallāh b. Sulaymān < al-Bāqir; but with *bi-shī‘atinā* for *bi-l-mu‘minīn*) > *Burhān*, II, pp. 175–176, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 329–330, no. 50, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 286, no. 427. A different reading of this verse is *min anfasikum* “the most excellent among you” (for *min anfusikum*). It is ascribed to a number of early authorities, including the Prophet (see Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 619, no. 2999, Zamakhsharī, II, p. 223), Fāṭima (see Ṭabrisī, X, p. 167) and ‘Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ al-Makkī (see Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 306). Cf. **212**, **227**.

*Isnād*: YAḤYĀ B. AL-MUBĀRAK AL-QURASHĪ: the *nisba* “al-Qurashī” is not mentioned elsewhere. For the *isnād* see **143**.

**227** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 118, no. 165 (Tha‘laba < al-Šādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 175, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 329, no. 49; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 118, no. 166 (‘Abdallāh b. Sulaymān < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, II, pp. 175–176, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 329–330, no. 50. In these traditions it is stated that the three expressions *min anfusikum/anfusinā*, *mā ‘anittum/anitnā*, *ḥarīṣ ‘alaykum/alaynā* refer to the Imams, while *bi-l-mu‘minīn/bi-shī‘atinā* refers to their followers. This clarifies the final sentence in *KQ* (“three quarters concern us and one quarter concerns our *shī‘a*”; cf. **11**). For the reading of *Q* 9:128 given here cf. **212**, **226**.

**228** *Mustadrak*, XIII, p. 188, no. 15058, XIV, p. 28, no. 16015. For this tradition (without the ending) see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 101, no. 93 (Abū l-Jārūd < al-Šādiq) > *Ṣūfī*, II, p. 362, *Burhān*, II, p. 148, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVIII, p. 306, no. 6; Irbilī, II, p. 272. Translation: “‘Alī went and offered himself as a hireling, stipulating that for every bucket of water that he drew he would receive a date of his choosing; in this way he collected a *mudd* (of dates) which he brought to the Prophet. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, who was at the door, slandered and disparaged him (by casting doubts on his motives for giving charity)”. In contrast to this negative image of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, non-Shī‘ī accounts present

him as a virtuous Companion who generously gave to charity only to be slandered by some *munāfiqūn*; see e.g. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, pp. 372–373, Ibn Wahb, *Jāmiʿ/Ṭafsīr*, p. 168 (fol 26b ll. 15–20), Ṭabarī, X, pp. 194–197, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VI, pp. 1850–1851, nos. 10504, 10506–10508, Māturīdī, V, p. 434 (to Q 9:79). For the beginning of Q 9:80 being immediately followed by the ending of Q 9:125 see also ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 102, no. 95 > *Burhān*, II, p. 149, no. 5, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 250, no. 265. Similarly, in some traditions the beginning of Q 9:54 is immediately followed by the ending of Q 9:125; see Barqī, I, p. 166, no. 123 > *Bihār*, LXVIII, p. 103, no. 14; Kulīnī, II, p. 464, no. 3 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 226, no. 182; *Bihār*, LXVIII, p. 266, no. 23, citing al-Ṭabrisī’s *Ihtijāj* (however, in the printed edition of the *Ihtijāj*, at p. 248, Q 9:54 is cited in its entirety, and is not followed by Q 9:125). Al-Majlisī offers several explanations for the combination of Q 9:54 and Q 9:125, one being that this is a Shīʿī *qirāʾa* of Q 9:54 (*Bihār*, LXVIII, pp. 103–104, 267–268). These explanations are also applicable for the combination of Q 9:80 and Q 9:125.

*Isnād*: ḤUSAYN B. MUKHTĀR: Abū ‘Abdallāh Ḥusayn b. (al-) Mukhtār al-Qalānisī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim. His *kitāb* was transmitted by Ḥammād b. ‘Isā (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 277).

**229** Cf. Qummī, I, p. 310 > *Burhān*, II, p. 180, no. 2, *Bihār*, IX, p. 213, no. 90, XXXVI, pp. 79–80, no. 2, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 296, no. 27. The version given in Qummī, *Bihār* and Ḥuwayzī is *illā mā yūḥā ilayya ya’nī fī ‘Alī*, making *fī ‘Alī* a gloss. In the *Burhān* this passage appears as *illā mā yūḥā ilayya min walāyat ‘Alī*. See also Furāt, I, p. 177, no. 227 (*illā mā yūḥā ilayya min rabbī fī ‘Alī*) > *Bihār*, XXXVI, pp. 138–139, no. 98. None of these sources contains the words *yā Muḥammad*. The reading *in attabi’u illā mā yūḥā ilayya fī ‘Alī* is attested for Q 46:9; see Najafī, p. 578, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 172, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 320, no. 30 (*hākadhā unzilāt/nazalat*).

*Isnād*: AYYŪB AL-BAZZĀZ: Ayyūb b. Rāshid al-Bazzāz al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 138–139 [in the entry on Ayyūb’s son ‘Abdallāh]).

**230** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 120, no. 11 > *Burhān*, II, p. 180, no. 5, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 148, no. 125; Kulīnī, I, p. 419, no. 37 (*aw baddil ‘Aliyyan*) > Najafī, pp. 213–214, no. 2, *Burhān*, II, p. 180, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 210, no. 15, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 296, no. 29, ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 54.

**231** *Faṣl*, p. 293, ll. 16–18. For this reading see Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 61; Qummī, I, pp. 8, 324 (a rearrangement of the original word order [*taqdīm wa-ta’khīr*] as an instance of falsification) > Najafī, p. 225, no. 8, *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 45, II, p. 437, *Burhān*, II, p. 212, no. 1, *Bihār*, IX, p. 214, no. 92, XXXV, p. 387, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 345, no. 38; Nu‘mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 27 (*fā-ḥarrafū ... fā-qaddamū ḥarfan ‘alā ḥarf*); Shaybānī, *Nahj*, I, p. 36 (as an instance of *al-muqaddam wa-l-mu’akhkhar*), all > *Faṣl*, p. 293, ll. 8–16, 19–22; *Faṣl*, p. 24, ll. 13–15; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 43. According to this account, the phrase (*ḥarf*) *wa-min qablihi kitāb Mūsā* was (wrongly) placed between *shāhid minhu* and *imāman wa-rahmatan*. This change in the word order leads to a significant shift in meaning: for if, in the original text, the “example and (source of) mercy” (*imāman wa-rahmatan*) is the *shāhid* (generally taken to be a ‘Alī; see 507\*), in the rearranged text of the ‘Uthmānic codex it is rather the book of Moses. Cf. Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 172. See 507.

*Isnād*: Both BUKAYR AL-ḤASSĀNĪ and ‘ABDALLĀH AL-BASSĀMĪ are unidentified.

**232** *Faṣl*, p. 293, l. 2. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 46, 199 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās); Ṭabarī, XI, p. 97 (Shahr b. Ḥawshab < Ibn ‘Abbās); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 56 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Ḥawshab); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 229, Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 166, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, p. 541 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 137 (Shahr b. Ḥawshab, al-A‘mash, the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd).

**233** Cf. Tisdall, p. 237 (“Certainly thou art a warner, and ‘Alī is a guide to every people”). For the Prophet as *al-mundhir* and ‘Alī as *al-hādī* see e.g. *Aṣl ‘Āsim b. Ḥumayd*, p. 41; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 204, nos. 7–9 (Ḥanān b. Sadīr/Sudayr, Burayd b. Mu‘āwiya, Jābir, all < al-Bāqir); Ṭabarī, XIII, p. 108 (from Ibn ‘Abbās); Ḥaskānī, I, pp. 293–303, nos. 398–416; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 147; Ibn Shādhān, *Mī‘at manqaba*, p. 44 (*manqaba* no. 4); Ḥillī, *Nahj*, pp. 180–181; Irbilī, I, p. 321. The string *tahrīf al-jāhilīn wa-ta’wīl al-mubṭilīn wa-’ntihāl al-dāllīn* (“the falsification of the ignorant, the [erroneous] interpretation of the vain-doers, the [false] profession of belief by those who go astray”) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere; the usual formulation is *tahrīf / ta’wīl al-ghāṭīn wa-’ntihāl al-mubṭilīn wa-ta’wīl al-jāhilīn*, for which see e.g. Ḥimyarī, p. 52, Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 215 (both > *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 30, no. 46), Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 31, Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, I, p. 245 (as a Prophetic tradition); Baṣā‘ir, pp. 10–11, nos. 1, 3, Mufid, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p.

3 (as an utterance of al-Šādiq). Cf. Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im*, I, p. 81: *tahrīf al-jāhilīn wa-’ntihāl al-mubtīlīn wa-ta’wīl al-ghālīn* (as a Prophetic tradition). For the entire tradition cf. Ḥimyarī, p. 52; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 215. Cf. 270.

**234** *Faṣl*, p. 294, ll. 22–23. See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 161, no. 70 (Ḥammād < Ḥarīz < al-Šādiq). In the printed edition (as also in the version cited in *Bihār*, VIII, p. 349, no. 10 [second part]) the word is *majdhūdh*, as in the ‘Uthmānic codex. However, it appears as *majdūd* in ‘Ayyāshī as cited in *Burhān*, II, p. 234, no. 12 and *Faṣl*, p. 294, l. 23. Al-Majlisī assumes that the reading in the codex of the Imams (*fi muṣṣaḥḥihim*) was *majdūd* and points out that this does not affect the meaning, since both words mean “cut off” (*Bihār*, VIII, p. 349). See 235.

**235** *Faṣl*, p. 294, ll. 21–22. See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 160, no. 69 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir). In the printed edition (as also in the version cited in *Burhān*, II, p. 234, no. 11, Huwayzī II, p. 399, no. 226, *Faṣl*, p. 294, ll. 19–21) the word is *majdhūdh*. However, it appears as *majdūd* in ‘Ayyāshī as cited in *Bihār*, VIII, p. 349, no. 10 (first part). The first exception (*istithnā*) referred to in *KQ* is the sentence *khālīdīn fihā ... illā mā shā’a rabbuka* which occurs at Q 11:107; the second exception is this sentence as it occurs at Q 11:108. In the version cited in *KQ*, the words *illā mā shā’a rabbuka* of Q 11:108 are missing; yet they appear in all available versions of the parallel tradition in ‘Ayyāshī. Al-Majlisī (*Bihār*, VIII, p. 349) assumes that there was a Shī‘ī reading of Q 11:108 in which the words *illā mā shā’a rabbuka* were omitted, that this reading was included in the original text of al-‘Ayyāshī, and that the words *illā mā shā’a rabbuka* were added by a scribe. The text of *KQ* confirms al-Majlisī’s assumption. Such a *qirā’a* is consistent with the Shī‘ī doctrine that all believers will remain in Paradise forever. See 234.

*Isnād*: SA‘DĀN: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim al-‘Āmirī, known as Sa‘dān, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāzīm (Quhpā‘ī, III, p. 110; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 357–358, 454; Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 146). For other examples of Sa‘dān transmitting from ‘Alī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭā’inī see 236; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil*, p. 535, no. 824 > *Bihār*, CII, p. 299, no. 23.

**236** *Faṣl*, p. 294, ll. 18–19. For this tradition see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 158, no. 58 (‘Alī b. Abī Ḥamza < al-Šādiq) (with *fa-asrī*, as in the ‘Uthmānic codex and in mss. L and B) > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 462, *Burhān*, II, p. 231,

nos. 28–29, *Biḥār*, XII, p. 170, no. 31. The reading *fā-ʾsluk* attested in ms. M does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. It is synonymous with *fā-sir*, which is also adduced as a reading of this verse (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 61). Cf. Q 23:27 (*fā-ʾsluk fīhā*); Q 10:27 (*qīṭaʿan min al-layl muẓliman*).

**237** *Faṣl*, p. 293, l. 23–p. 294, l. 1. The manuscripts are unvocalized, but the reading being cited is evidently *ibnaha*. See Ḥimyarī, p. 29 > *Burhān*, II, p. 220, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XI, p. 316, no. 12. Cf. Qummī, I, p. 328 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 447, *Burhān*, II, p. 220, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XI, p. 337, no. 65; ʿAyyāshī, II, pp. 148–149, no. 31 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 447, *Biḥār*, XI, p. 337, no. 66, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 363, no. 113; Ṭabarī, XII, p. 50 (al-Bāqir: *wa-nādā Nūḥ ibnaha qāl hādhihi bi-lughat Ṭayyiʾ lam yakun ibnahu kāna ibn imraʾatihi*); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VI, p. 2034, no. 10894 (al-Bāqir: *wa-nādā Nūḥ ibnaha qāl yaʿnī bi-lughat Ṭayyiʾ ibn imraʾatihi*); Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, III, p. 352 (ʿUrwa); Samarqandī, II, p. 156 (for *bi-ḍamm al-alif* read *bi-naṣb al-hā*); Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 226 (ʿAlī, ʿUrwa, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq; Suyūfī, *Durr*, III, p. 603. The form *ibnaha* is allowed by some authorities either as an instance of *takhfīf* (see Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭiṣṣāt*, II, p. 284; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 322; Ṭabrisī, XII, pp. 154, 165; ʿUkbarī, p. 293), or because of a reluctance to alter the consonantal skeleton of the ʿUthmānic codex (*karāhat mā yukhālīf al-muṣḥaf*; see Tūsī, V, p. 495). For the reading *ibnaha* see further Jeffery, p. 333 (al-Ṣādiq; it is also ascribed to ʿAlī and to ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, though some say that the latter two read *ibnahā*, see Jeffery, p. 187); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 322, Ṭabrisī, XII, p. 151 (> Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 363, no. 115) (ʿAlī, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 60 (Hishām b. ʿUrwa); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 270; Rāzī, XVII, p. 185 (al-Bāqir, ʿUrwa); ʿUkbarī, p. 293 (*wa-yuqraʾu bi-faṭḥ al-hā min ghayr alif*); Qurtubī, IX, p. 38. See further *GdQ*, III, p. 141. According to the statements cited here and at **238**, **240**, in the dialect of Ṭayyiʾ (i) the suffix pronoun of the third feminine singular is *-ha*, not *-hā*; and (ii) the word *ibn* stands for “a son born by a woman/wife”, apparently as opposed to “a son fathered by a man/husband”. For (i) cf. Vollers, *Völkssprache*, p. 148 (who does not however refer to Ṭayyiʾ). Statement (ii) is only attested in connection with Q 11:42, where it is used to buttress the argument that the *ibn* was the son of Noah’s wife, but that Noah was not his real father (cf. Kohlberg, “Antediluvian”, p. 61).

*Isnād*: BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD: Abū Muḥammad Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmīdī al-Azdī, a Kūfan transmitter

from al-Šādiq, al-Kāzim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, I, pp. 277–278; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 128–129; Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 144). See further **8\***.

**238** *Faṣl*, p. 294, l. 1. See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 148, no. 30 (Muḥammad b. Muslim < al-Bāqir > *Burhān*, II, p. 222, no. 17, *Bihār*, XI, p. 316, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 363, no. 112. In all of these sources the text reads *bi-naṣb al-alif* except for the version in the *Bihār*, where the text appears correctly as *bi-naṣb al-hā* (“with a *fatḥa* over the *hā*”). Cf. **237**, **240**.

**239** *Faṣl*, p. 293, ll. 7–8. Translation: “Save those who persevered in the face of what you did to him (i.e. to ‘Alī) after (the death of) their prophet”.

*Isnād*: ABŪ JUNĀDA AL-MAKFŪF: he may well be Abū Junāda al-A‘mā (for whom see **615\***).

**240** *Faṣl*, p. 294, ll. 8–10. This reading is ascribed to ‘Alī (see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 60; Ṭūsī, V, p. 495; Zamakhsharī, II, p. 270; Rāzī, XVII, p. 185; Qurṭubī, XI, p. 321; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 227; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, p. 603; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, p. 600, no. 4838; *Bihār*, XI, p. 316) and to ‘Urwa (see Jeffery, p. 187; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 322). See further Samarqandī, II, p. 156 (*wa-qara’a ba‘duhum ibnahā ya’nī ibn imra’atihi*); ‘Ukbarī, p. 293 (*wa-yuqra’u ibnahā ya’nī ibn imra’atihi ka-annahu tuwuhhima idāfatuhu ilayhā dūnahu li-qawlihi: innahu laysa min ahlika*) and the discussion in *Faṣl*, p. 294, ll. 10–16. See **237**, **238**.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABĪ ḤAMMĀD: Abū l-Qāsim (or Abū Muḥammad) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥammād, a Kūfan who moved to Qumm, where he was the landlord (*ṣāhib dār*) of Aḥmad al-Barqī; accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā'ī, IV, p. 71; Ardabīlī, I, p. 442).

**241** Among the Seven Readers, two readings of Q 11:46 are recorded: (i) *‘amila ghayra ṣāliḥin* (al-Kisā'ī). See Ibn Mujāhid, p. 334; Samarqandī, II, p. 158; Ṭabrisī, XII, p. 161; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 88; Qurṭubī, IX, p. 46. This reading is also ascribed to the following: the Prophet (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 54, Samarqandī, II, p. 158, both on the authority of Umm Salama; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 54, Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 239, Ibn Abī Zamanīn, I, p. 364 [vocalized incorrectly by the editors], all on the authority of Asmā' bint Yazīd al-Anṣāriyya; Māturīdī, VI, p. 136; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 620, no. 3001, on the authority of ‘Ā'isha; Ibn ‘Abbās (Ṭabarī, XII, p. 53); Umm Salama, ‘Ikrima (according to some authorities) and others (see Jeffery, pp. 235, 271); Ya‘qūb (i.e. al-



Ḥaḍramī (Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 458) and Sahl (Ṭabrisī, XII, p. 161); the Kūfans (Thaʿlabī, V, p. 172); Ibn Miqṣam (see Jeffery, “Ibn Miqṣam”, p. 16). It is generally understood to mean that Noah’s son committed unrighteous deeds (see e.g. Ibn Khālawayh, *Ḥujja*, p. 162). (ii) *ʿamalun ḡhayru ṣāliḥin* (six of the Seven Readers, including ʿAṣim in the transmission of Ḥafṣ). See Ibn Mujāhid, p. 334; Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 458; Ṭabrisī, XII, p. 161; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 87 (citing five readers); Qurṭubī, IX, p. 46; cf. ʿUkbarī, p. 294. Al-Ṭabarī (XII, pp. 52–53) records it on the authority of “most readers of the provincial cities (*amṣār*)”, while al-Māturīdī (VI, pp. 136–137) ascribes it to Ibn Maṣʿūd. This reading was given several interpretations, one of them being: “He (i.e. the person reputed to be Noah’s son) is (the offspring of) an unrighteous deed” (i.e. of illicit intercourse). This interpretation is ascribed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see Ṭabarī, XII, p. 53, Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 230, Qurṭubī, IX, p. 46), to Mujāhid and to Ibn Jurayj (see Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh*, p. 18). Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (*Amālī*, II, pp. 145–146, *Tanzīh*, pp. 18–19) maintains that while reading (ii) is better known, reading (i) also makes sense. The available evidence on the reading of the Imams is inconclusive. This evidence may be summarized as follows: (a) An account of a discussion between al-Riḍā and his disciple al-Washshāʾ. In this account al-Riḍā wishes to know how people recite Q 11:46. Al-Washshāʾ mentions the two readings, and al-Riḍā reacts by declaring: “They are lying; he is (indeed) his (i.e. Noah’s) son, but God removed him from Himself (or: from Noah’s religion) when he opposed His religion” (*kadhabū huwa ʾbnuhu wa-lākinna llāh naḡḡahu ʾanhu ḥin khālafahu fī dīnihi*) (see ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 151, no. 41 [al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Washshāʾ < al-Riḍā]; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, pp. 30–31 > *Biḥār*, XI, p. 320, no. 26; cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, II, pp. 74–75, no. 3 > *Ṣāfi*, II, pp. 450–451, *Burhān*, II, p. 219, no. 18, *Biḥār*, XI, p. 320, no. 24, Ḥuwayzī, II, pp. 368–369, no. 139). In insisting that the person in question really is Noah’s son, the Imam rejects the interpretation of Q 11:46 ascribed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and others, an interpretation that only fits reading (ii). Rejecting this particular interpretation of reading (ii) does not, however, necessarily entail a rejection of that reading (see al-Majlisī’s discussion [*Biḥār*, XI, pp. 320–321]). (b) The tradition in *KQ*. Since the manuscripts are unvocalized, there is only the Imam’s comment (*ḍaʿhā ʿalā ashadd dhālīka*) to go by. This comment is however rather obscure (the text may in fact be corrupt). If it means: “adhere to (the reading reflecting) the more severe (meaning)” (i.e. that Noah’s *ibn* was not his own offspring), then it is reading (ii) that is being endorsed.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ʿIMRĀN: there are a number of persons of this name, including some transmitters from al-Šādiq (Quhpāʾī, VI, p. 13; Ardabīlī, II, p. 165; Khūʾī, XVIII, pp. 85–89, nos. 11504–11517). The *isnād* in *KQ* does not help in identifying which transmitter is meant here.

**242** Cf. *Kitāb Durust*, p. 160 (a Prophetic tradition); Barqī, I, pp. 108–109, no. 100 (al-Bāqir); idem, I, p. 185, no. 196 (al-Šādiq) > *Bihār*, V, p. 287, no. 13; ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 148, no. 27 (Ibrāhīm < al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, II, p. 445, *Burhān*, II, p. 222, no. 15, *Bihār*, XI, p. 336, no. 63; Kulīnī, V, p. 355, no. 5 (al-Bāqir); Ibn Bābawayh, *Iqāb*, p. 311, no. 9 (al-Bāqir) > *Bihār*, V, p. 285, no. 6; Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, p. 166 (a Prophetic tradition); Kohlberg, “Walad zinā”, p. 238, with note 6.

**243** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 2–3. See ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 159, nos. 63–64 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, II, p. 471, *Burhān*, II, p. 233, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 394, no. 205. For the reading *qāʾiman wa-ḥaṣīdan* see also Jeffery, pp. 137, 333 (Ubayy, al-Šādiq). In the edition, the word *bi-l-naṣb* recorded in ʿAyyāshī has been preferred over *bi-l-sayf*. This latter word, however, also makes sense (“[mowed down] with the sword”).

**244** See Qummī, II, p. 388 (to Q 71:27) > *Šāfi*, V, pp. 232–233, *Burhān*, IV, p. 390, no. 1, *Bihār*, XI, p. 315, no. 9, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 350, no. 65 (in Qummī, read al-Rassān for al-Rassām, as in *Burhān*, *Bihār* and Ḥuwayzī); cf. ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 144, no. 18 > *Šāfi*, II, p. 442, *Bihār*, XI, p. 331, no. 53; Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 282–283, no. 424 > *Šāfi*, II, p. 442; Ṭabrisī, XII, p. 148.

*Isnād*: ʿALĪ B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-MĪTHAMĪ/MAYTHAMĪ: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Shuʿayb b. Mītham/Maytham b. Yahyā al-Tammār al-Asadī, a *mutakallim* and transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quhpāʾī, IV, p. 167; Ardabīlī, I, p. 559; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 43).—FUḌAYL: al-Fuḍayl b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī al-Rassān, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Quhpāʾī, V, p. 34; Ardabīlī, II, p. 9).—ŠĀLIḤ B. MĪTHAM/MAYTHAM: Šāliḥ b. Mītham/Maytham b. Yahyā al-Tammār al-Asadī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Quhpāʾī, III, p. 208; Ardabīlī, I, p. 409; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 42, note 7).

**245** This Qurʾānic sentence recurs at Q 23:27. Cf. ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 145, no. 19 (ending) > *Burhān*, II, p. 221, no. 6, *Bihār*, XI, pp. 331–332, no. 54 (with al-Majlisī’s comment at p. 332), Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 354, no. 74.

**246** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 6–7. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 333 (al-Ṣādiq; Ṭabarī, XII, p. 200 (Abū Rajā' [i.e. the Baṣran 'Imrān b. Taym/Milḥān al-'Uṭaridī, d. ca. 105/723–724; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 604, no. 2469]); Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 264 (*ba'dhum*); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 339 ('Alī, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, Abū Rajā' and others); Tha'labī, V, p. 216, Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 374 (Abū Rajā' al-'Uṭaridī, al-Sha'bī, al-A'raj [i.e. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-Madanī, d. 117/735; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 381, no. 1622]); Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 330 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); idem, *Ibn Muḥayṣin*, p. 255, Māwardī, III, p. 30 (Ibn Muḥayṣin); Ibn 'Aṭīyya, III, p. 237 (Abū Rajā', al-A'raj, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan [according to some authorities], Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar, Qatāda [according to some authorities] and others); Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 49 ('Alī, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and others) > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 423, no. 55, *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 8–10; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, pp. 164–165 ('Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Mujāhid, Ibn Muḥayṣin, Ibn Abī 'Ubla [i.e. the Successor Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Ubla Shamir b. Yaḳẓān b. 'Abdallāh, d. ca. 152/769; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, pp. 142–143; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 19, no. 72; Lane, *Commentary*, p. 358]); 'Ukbarī, p. 305 (*wa-yuqra'u*). For the meaning of *sha'afahā/shaghafahā ḥubban* see Lane, s.vv. *sha'afa*, *shaghafa*. See **247**.

*Isnād*: IBN BUKAYR: Abū 'Alī 'Abdallāh b. Bukayr b. A'yan al-Shaybānī, a nephew of Zurāra b. A'yan, a *mutakallim* and transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 324, 328; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 140–141).

**247** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 7–8. See **246**.

**248** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 13–14, 16–17. For the reading *sanābil* see Jeffery, pp. 49, 333 (Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Ṣādiq); 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 179, no. 33 (Ibn Abī Ya'fūr < al-Ṣādiq) > Ṣāfi, III, p. 23, *Bihār*, XII, p. 303, no. 107, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 429, no. 82. For both *sanābil* and *qarrabtum* (as readings of al-Ṣādiq) see Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65; Qummī, I, p. 345 > Ṣāfi, III, pp. 23, 24, *Bihār*, XII, pp. 232–233, no. 6; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 64 (for *qara'tum* read *qarrabtum*) > *Bihār*, XII, p. 234; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi'*, I, p. 645. Al-Ṣādiq is also reported to have read *ta'kulna* for *ya'kulna* (see Jeffery, p. 333; cf. Wright, I, p. 56). See **249**.

*Isnād*: for Mu'allā b. 'Uthmān < Mu'allā b. Khunays see Barqī, I, p. 235, no. 198, II, p. 458, no. 396, p. 561, no. 947, p. 575, no. 28; Kulīnī, VI, p. 272, no. 8.

**249** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 14, 17. See **248**.

**250** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 197, no. 85 (Ibn Abī ‘Umayr < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq) (first half) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 48, *Burhān*, II, p. 272, no. 21, *Biḥār*, XII, p. 319, no. 145. For this meaning of ‘arsh see e.g. Ṭabarī, XIII, pp. 67–68; Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 287; Abū Ḥātim, *Ẓīna*, II, p. 154; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 120.

*Isnād*: ASAD B. ISMĀ‘ĪL: a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, I, p. 200; Ardabīlī, I, p. 89).

**251** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 10–11. For this reading see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 177, no. 25 (Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 20, *Burhān*, II, p. 254, no. 50 (giving two variants of the transmitter’s name: Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb and Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr), *Biḥār*, XII, p. 302, no. 101, *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 11–13 (Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb). The printed edition of ‘Ayyāshī has *ta’kulu l-ṭayr minhā* for *minhu*; yet in all the sources citing ‘Ayyāshī, *minhu* is retained.

**252** See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 189, no. 63 (al-Fuḍayl b. Yasār < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 264, no. 7, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 453, no. 157. Nāfi‘ is said to have read all suffix pronouns of the first person singular in Sūrat Yūsuf as *-iya* (Ibn Mujaḥid, p. 353; cf. Vollers, *Volkssprache*, p. 147). Ibn ‘Āmir read five words in Sūrat Yūsuf in this way. One of them was *wa-ḥuzniya* at Q 12:86 (Ibn Mujaḥid, p. 354; cf. Dānī, p. 131).

**253** For Joseph’s brothers selling him for twenty dirhams see Muqātil, II, p. 143; Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 138, no. 388; Qummī, I, p. 341 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 11, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 418, no. 32; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 172, no. 11 (al-Ḥasan < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 11, *Burhān*, II, p. 247, no. 11, *Biḥār*, XII, p. 300, no. 90, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 418, no. 36; Ṭabarī, XII, pp. 172–173; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2116, nos. 11424–11425; Samarqandī, II, p. 192 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ibn Bābawayh, *Khīṣāl*, p. 563 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 418, no. 31; Tha‘labī, V, p. 205; Māwardī, III, p. 18; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 33 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 418, no. 33; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 151; Qurṭubī, IX, p. 155. Cf. Genesis 37:28 (“they sold him for twenty pieces of silver”). *Thaman al-kalb* is the price to be paid as compensation for the slaying of a hunting dog. That this amounts to twenty dirhams is stated in ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 172, no. 12 (al-Riḍā) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 11, *Burhān*, II, p. 247, no. 12, *Biḥār*, XII, p. 300, no. 91; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 172, no. 15 (al-Riḍā) > *Burhān*, II, p. 248, no. 15, *Biḥār*, XII, p. 300, no. 94, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 419, no. 39; Qummī, I, p. 341 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 11.

**254** *Faṣl*, p. 295, ll. 3–4. The reading of *h-y-(ʾ)-t* is uncertain: ms. M has *h-y-t*, mss. L, T and B have *h-y-ʾ-t*; none is vocalized. *Faṣl* has *huyyiʾat* (vocalized), presumably an error for *huyyiʾtu*. ‘Alī appears to be the only Imam whose reading of this word is recorded. His reading is said to have been *hūtu* (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 63; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 294), *hiʾtu* (Jeffery, p. 187; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 337; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 37 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 419, no. 40), *hā anā* (Jeffery, p. 187) or *huyyiʾtu* (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 63). This last reading (meaning “I have prepared myself”) is also ascribed to Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn al-Samayfiʿ (i.e. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Samayfiʿ al-Yamānī, who is said by some to have studied with Nāfiʿ; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, pp. 161–162, no. 3106), Ibn Yaʿmar and al-Jaḥdarī (Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 155). *Hiʾtu* (in the sense of *tahayyaʾtu*) is given as the reading of Ibn ‘Abbās (Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, VII, p. 2121, no. 11466; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 154) and Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (Ṭabarī, XII, p. 180; Thaʿlabī, V, p. 208). There are various views on whether *hayta* (as the word appears in the ‘Uthmānic codex) is of Arabic or foreign origin. Those who espouse the latter view differ as to the identity of the original language: some say it is Coptic; for others it is Syriac, Hebrew, or the language (or dialect, *lugha*) of Ḥawrān (Ṭabarī, XII, pp. 179, 180; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, II, pp. 140–141; cf. Lane, s.v. *hayta*).

**255** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 173–174, no. 18 > *Burhān*, II, p. 248, no. 18, *Bihār*, XII, pp. 300–301, no. 96, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 420, no. 46; Māwardī, III, p. 25. See the discussion in Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 162–164.

**256** *Bāqillan* (also *bāqilan*, *bāqilāʾ*, “beans”) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a gloss on the *biḍāʿa muzjāt* (“poor merchandise” or “transported goods”) of Q 12:88. Abū Ṣāliḥ glosses these words as “pine-cones and green seeds” (*al-ṣanawbar wa-l-ḥabba al-khaḍrāʾ*) (Ṭabarī, XIII, p. 51; Māturīdī, VI, p. 281; Māwardī, III, p. 73; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 213).

**257** *Muql* is the fruit of the Theban palm, often consumed as *sawīq* (porridge); see Lane, s.vv. *ḥatī*, *sawīq*, *muql*. Cf. Qummī, I, pp. 346–347 > *Bihār*, XII, p. 236, no. 8 (Joseph’s brothers stayed in a desert in which *muql* grew; they took some of it to Egypt to exchange it for food); ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 192, no. 67 (*kānat al-muql wa-kānat bilāduhum bilād al-muql wa-hiya l-biḍāʿa [al-muzjāl]*) > Ṣāfi, III, p. 40, *Burhān*, II, p. 266, no. 11, *Bihār*, XII, p. 314, no. 131, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 458, no. 175; Thaʿlabī,

V, p. 251, Māwardī, III, p. 73, Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 112, Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 213, Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 336 (al-Ḍaḥḥāk glosses *bidā'a muzjāt* as *sawīq al-muql*).

**258** Since no *qirā'a* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing.

**259** *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 2–4. For this tradition cf. Qummī, I, pp. 345–346 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 25, *Bihār*, XII, p. 233, no. 6; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 180, no. 35 (Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣayrafi < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 255, no. 60, *Bihār*, XII, p. 304, no. 109, *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 4–5; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 180, no. 36 ('Alī b. Mu'ammār < his father < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 255, no. 61, *Bihār*, XII, p. 304, no. 110, *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 5–6. For the reading *yu'ṣarūn* see also Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 61 > *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 6–10; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2155, no. 11683 (as the reading of 'Īsā b. 'Umar al-Thaqafi [i.e. Abū 'Umar al-Thaqafi al-Naḥwī al-Baṣrī, d. 149/766; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 613, no. 2498]); Nu'mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 27 (the Imam objects to the reading *ya'ṣirūn* as it could refer to the pressing of wine); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 64, Tha'labī, V, p. 228 (al-A'raj, 'Īsā b. 'Umar); Ibn Jinnī, I, pp. 344–345, Ibn 'Aṭiyya, III, p. 251, Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 315 ('Īsā, al-A'raj, al-Ṣādiq); Samarqandī, II, p. 203, Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 395 (an anonymous reader); Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 181 (Sa'īd b. Jubayr); *Faṣl*, p. 24, l. 7; Lane, s.v. 'aṣara. According to Jeffery (p. 333), al-Ṣādiq's reading was *tu'ṣarūn* (cf. 'Ukbarī, p. 307: *wa-yuqra'u bi-damm al-tā' wa-fath al-ṣād*); but al-Ṭabrisī (XIII, p. 64 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 429, no. 87) concurs with *KQ* in maintaining that the Imam's reading was *yu'ṣarūn*. Al-Ṭabarī (XII, p. 233) ascribes the reading *yu'ṣarūn* (erroneously vocalized in the Cairo, 1388/1968 edition as *ya'ṣirūn*) to a Kūfan reader (or to a number of Kūfan readers [*ba'd*]), and states that it contradicts the position of most readers of the provincial cities (*amṣār*) and should therefore not be used when reciting the Qur'ān.

**260** *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 10–11. For this tradition see 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 201, no. 102 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq) (but reading *istay'asa*) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 54, *Burhān*, II, p. 276, no. 3, *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 261, no. 14, *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 11–12; cf. Qummī, I, p. 358 > *Burhān*, II, p. 276, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 478, no. 248 (... *fā-zannū anna l-shayātīn qad tamaththalat* [in the *Burhān*: *anna l-shayātīn tamaththala*] *lahum fī ṣūrat al-malā'ika*). Of the Seven Readers, *kudhibū* was the reading of the three Kūfan readers, while the

rest read *kudhḏhibū* (Ibn Mujāhid, pp. 351–352; Samarqandī, II, p. 222; Dānī, p. 130; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 347). *Kudhḏhibū* is also ascribed to ‘Alī, to ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq and others (Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 452), or to the Imams in general (Ṭabrisī, *Ḥawāṣi*, I, p. 663 > *Faṣl*, p. 296, ll. 12–13). See further Ibn Wahb, *Ḥawāṣi* / *‘Ulūm*, p. 253 (fol 13a ll. 10–11) (*kudhḏhibū* as the reading of Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraẓī); Ṭabarī, XIII, p. 86 (Ibn Mas‘ūd: *mukhaḥḥafa*); Ibn Muḥakkam, II, pp. 290–291; Tha‘labī, V, pp. 264–265; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 130 (*bi-l-takḥḥif*); ‘Ukbarī, p. 312. See **261**, **262**.

**261** See **260**, **262**.

*Isnād*: ‘ALĪ b. ḤADĪD: ‘Alī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm / Ḥukaym al-Madā’inī al-Azdī al-Sābāṭī, a resident of Kūfa and a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 175; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 563–564).

**262** See **260**, **261**.

**263** See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 197, no. 85 (Ibn Abī ‘Umayr < unidentified transmitter < al-Šādiq) (latter half: *kāna sujuduhum dhālika ‘ibādatan li-llāh*) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 48, *Burhān*, II, p. 272, no. 21, *Bihār*, XII, p. 319, no. 145. Cf. Qummī, I, p. 356 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 49, *Bihār*, XII, pp. 250–251, no. 16; Māwardī, III, p. 82; Qurṭubī, IX, p. 264; *Lisān*, s.v. *sjd* (*wa-qīl kharrū lahu sujḡadan ay kharrū li-llāh sujḡadan*).

**264** *Faṣl*, p. 297, l. 23–p. 298, l. 1. This reading is vocalized in ms. L. For this *qir’a* see also Jeffery, p. 334 (al-Šādiq, al-Ḥasan, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ya‘qūb); ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 230, no. 30 (al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, II, p. 318, no. 1; Ṭabarī, XIII, pp. 226–227 (al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, Qatāda); Māturīdī, VI, p. 397, Fārisī, II, p. 352, Samarqandī, II, p. 255, Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 333, ‘Ukbarī, p. 321 (readers not identified); Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, III, p. 534 (al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Ḥasan); Ibn Khālawayh, pp. 60, 68 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, al-Šādiq, ‘Āṣim [according to one transmission], Sallām / Salām Abū [in the text, erroneously, ibn] al-Mundhir [i.e. Abū l-Mundhir Sallām / Salām b. Sulaymān al-Ṭawīl al-Muzanī al-Baṣrī thumma l-Kūfī, d. 171/787–788; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 309, no. 1360]); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 363 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq, ‘Amr b. Fā’id [i.e. Abū ‘Alī al-Uswārī al-Baṣrī; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 602, no. 2462], Ya‘qūb); Tha‘labī, V, p. 320, Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 29 (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Sallām); Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 342 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, III, p. 340 (al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, al-Ḥasan, Qatāda,



Sallām); Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 221 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, ‘Amr b. Fā’id, Ya‘qūb [i.e. al-Ḥaḍramī] in the transmission of Zayd [i.e. Abū ‘Alī Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, nephew of Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 296, no. 1303]) > *Šāfi*, III, p. 88, *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 1–2; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 278 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū Razīn, al-Ḥasan, ‘Ikrima, Qatāda, ‘Aṣim in the transmission of Abān, Ya‘qūb in the transmission of Abū Ḥātim); Qurṭubī, IX, p. 367 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Qatāda); Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 416 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq and others).

*Isnād*: ABŪ HĀRŪN AL-MAKFŪF: Abū Hārūn al-Makfūf Mūsā b. ‘Umayr al-Qurashī al-Ja’dī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 355–356).

**265** *Faṣl*, p. 297, ll. 15–16. For the reading *yatabayyan* see *GdQ*, III, pp. 3, 56; Jeffery, pp. 51, 187, 200, 271, 334 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, al-Šādiq); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 123, nos. 623, 624 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Abī Mulayka [i.e. the Successor Abū Bakr ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Mulayka al-Taymī al-Makkī, d. 117/735; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 430, no. 1806; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, pp. 306–307]); Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (*yatabayyan alladhīna*); Ṭabarī, XIII, p. 154 (*yatabayyan alladhīna*) (‘Alī [read: *anna ‘Aliyyan raḍiya llāh ‘anhu kāna yaqra’u*], Ibn ‘Abbās) > Ṭūsī, VI, p. 255; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 67 (‘Alī, al-Šādiq, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās); Māwardī, III, p. 112; Zamakhsharī, II, p. 360 (Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Alī and a group of Companions and Successors); Abū l-Futūḥ, VI, p. 493 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Qurṭubī, IX, p. 320 (Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Alī, Ibn Abī Najīḥ); Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 383, Tha‘ālibī, III, p. 370, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 118 (Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Alī and others). It is further recorded as the reading of ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Jaḥdarī (see Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 174 > *Šāfi*, III, p. 71; Jeffery, “Zaid”, p. 264) and others (Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 357; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 174 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 507, no. 140). Ibn ‘Abbās is reported to have assumed that the copyist had written *yay’as* in a state of drowsiness (*wa-huwa nā’is*); see Ṭabarī, XIII, p. 154; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 67; Samarqandī, II, p. 238; Tha‘ālibī, V, p. 293; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 253; Qurṭubī, IX, p. 320; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 118; idem, *Itqān*, II, p. 327; Lane, s.v. *ya’isa*. This assumption is rejected by al-Zamakhsharī (II, pp. 360–361). According to some, Ibn ‘Abbās’s reading was *yatabayyan li-lladhīna* (see Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, III, p. 497), conforming to the reading in mss. L, T and B.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ‘İL: there are a number of transmitters of this name (see e.g. **160\***, **195\***); it cannot be established which of

them is referred to here.—MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN: ditto.—KATHĪR/KUTHAYR B. SAʿĪD: unidentified.

**266** Since no *qirāʾa* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing. The missing sentence may be *fa-qāl naḥnu dhurriyyat rasūl allāh*; cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 214, no. 53 > Ṣāfi, III, p. 73, *Burhān*, II, p. 297, no. 5, *Bihār*, XXV, p. 219, no. 16; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 81, no. 38 > *Burhān*, II, p. 297, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 509, no. 147; Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, I, p. 143 > Najafī, pp. 237–238, no. 18, *Burhān*, II, p. 297, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXVII, p. 165, no. 22, LXVIII, pp. 20–21, no. 34, C, p. 393, no. 24.

**267** *Faṣl*, p. 297, ll. 6–8. See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 197 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 486, no. 39. In this version it is Ḥumrān himself (not an unidentified person) who recites the verse in its canonical version and is corrected by the Imam. For this reading (*min khalḥiḥi ... bi-amr allāh*) see also Qummī, I, pp. 10, 360 > Ṣāfi, I, p. 45, III, p. 60, *Burhān*, II, p. 283, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 486, no. 40, pp. 486–487, no. 41; Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 148 (as the *qirāʾa* of al-Ṣādiq). Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 205, no. 15 (*lahu raqīb min bayn yadayhi wa-muʿaqqibāt min khalḥiḥi yahfazūnahu bi-amr allāh*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 283, no. 3 (without *innamā ... khalḥiḥi*), Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 486, no. 37; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 205, no. 16 > *Burhān*, II, p. 283, no. 4, *Bihār*, XCIII, p. 144, no. 7. For the reading *bi-amr allāh* see Jeffery, pp. 187, 200, 271, 334 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, al-Ṣādiq); Ṭabarī, XIII, p. 118 (as an anonymous reading) (*fī baʿḍ al-qirāʾāt*) > Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 90; Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 355, Zamakhsharī, II, p. 352 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Ṣādiq); Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 148 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, Zayd b. ‘Alī). Further readings are: *wa-ruqabāʾ min khalḥiḥi min amr* (or *bi-amr*) *allāh yahfazūnahu* (Jeffery, p. 200, Qurṭubī, IX, p. 293 [Ibn ‘Abbās]); *lahu muʿaqqibāt min khalḥiḥi wa-raqīb min bayn yadayhi* (Jeffery, p. 279 [Mujāhid], Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 364 [Ibn ‘Abbās]); *lahu muʿaqqibāt min bayn yadayhi wa-raqīb min khalḥiḥi* (Jeffery, p. 139, Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 297 [the codex of Ubayy]); *lahu raqīb min bayn yadayhi wa-raqīb min khalḥiḥi* (Jeffery, p. 345 [al-Ṣādiq and Muḥammad al-Bāqir; in Jeffery, erroneously, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya]).

*Isnād*: Ibn Bukayr (i.e. ‘Abdallāh b. Bukayr, see **246\***) transmitted from Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan and transmitted to al-Qāsim b. ‘Urwa (Ardabīlī, I, pp. 279, 473).

**268** *Faṣl*, p. 297, ll. 20–21. For the reading ‘*alā llāh*’ see Jeffery, p. 139 (Ubayy). For *aw jahara* see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2228, no. 12175 (al-Ḥasan).

**269** See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 211, no. 43 (Muḥammad b. al-Haytham < unidentified transmitter < al-Ṣādiq (with the ending: *ya‘nī l-shuhadā*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 291, no. 9, *Bihār*, VIII, p. 142, no. 60. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 345 (al-Ṣādiq and Muḥammad al-Bāqir; in Jeffery, erroneously, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya). Elsewhere, ‘*alā l-faqr fī l-dunyā*’ is cited as a gloss on *bi-mā ṣabartum* (Q 13:24) (Māwardī, III, p. 109, Qurtubī, IX, p. 312 [both citing Abū ‘Imrān al-Jawnī], Suyūfī, *Durr*, IV, p. 109 [Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Ḥārithī]) or on *bi-mā ṣabarū* (Q 25:75) (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VIII, p. 2744, no. 15497, Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, IX, p. 339, both citing al-Bāqir).

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. AL-HAYTHAM: Muḥammad b. al-Haytham b. ‘Urwa al-Tamīmī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq via one intermediary; his father transmitted from al-Ṣādiq directly (Quhpā’ī, VI, p. 68; Ardabīlī, II, p. 213).

**270** Cf. *Baṣā’ir*, p. 228, no. 3 > *Burhān*, II, p. 37, no. 2, p. 379, no. 3, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 242, no. 49, XVII, p. 145, no. 34; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 265; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 109 > *Bihār*, XL, p. 212, no. 12; Bursī, *Mashāriq*, p. 103. For the ending cf. **233**; for Q 36:12 cf. **451**.

**271** *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 3–4. For this tradition (with the reading *rabbī ‘ghfir lī wa-lī-waladayya*) see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 234, no. 45 (Ḥarīz b. ‘Abdallāh < unidentified transmitter < *aḥaduhumā* [i.e. al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq]) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 95, *Burhān*, II, p. 321, no. 2, *Bihār*, XII, p. 74, no. 23, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 552, no. 124; cf. Qummī, I, pp. 371–372 (with the reading *wa-lī-waladayya*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 321, no. 5, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 552, no. 122; *Faṣl*, p. 24, ll. 3–4. In all of these sources, as also in **278**, Ya‘qūb is not mentioned, only Ismā‘īl and Ishāq; both appear (in this order) two verses earlier, at Q 14:39. The dual *waladayya* precludes the possibility that all three are meant. The fact that in *KQ* Ishāq precedes Ya‘qūb while Ismā‘īl appears in third place implies that Ismā‘īl is a later addition. (We owe this observation to Mr. Joseph Witztum.) Ya‘qūb’s presence may be related to certain Qur’ānic verses in which he seems to be considered as a son rather than a grandson of Ibrāhīm; see Q 6:84, Q 19:49, Q 29:27 (*wahabnā lahu* [i.e. Ibrāhīm] *Ishāq wa-lā‘qūb*); cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ibrāhīm” (R. Paret), “Ya‘qūb” (R. Firestone), *EQ*

art. “Jacob” (Andrew Rippin), *DC*, art. “Jacob” (Jean-Louis Déclais). Al-Nūrī mistakenly assumed that “Ismā‘īl” belonged to the following tradition; he therefore added a *wāw* before *Muḥammad b. ‘Alī* in ms. L; in *Faṣl* this appears as *wa-‘an Ismā‘īl wa-Muḥammad b. ‘Alī*. Similarly, ms. T has *wa-Ismā‘īl wa-Muḥammad b. ‘Alī*. For the reading *wa-li-waladayya* see also Jeffery, pp. 52, 140 (Ibn Mas‘ūd and—according to some authorities—Ubayy); idem, “Zaid”, p. 264 (Zayd b. ‘Alī, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, al-Zuhrī, members of the *ahl al-bayt*); Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (as referring to Ismā‘īl and Ishāq), Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 225, both > *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 8, 13–14; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 69 (read *wa-li-waladayya* for *wa-li-wālidayya*); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 365 (al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, al-Zuhrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, al-Bāqir); Samarqandī, II, p. 257 (*ba‘duhum*); Māwardī, III, p. 139, Qurṭubī, IX, p. 375 (Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar; for *wa-li-wālidayya* in Māwardī read *wa-li-waladayya*); Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 281 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, al-Nakha‘ī, al-Zuhrī). It is not clear whether *rabbī* (for *rabbānā*) in both *KQ* and ‘Ayyāshī is a reading or the result of a conflation with Q 7:151 or Q 38:35. See 272, 278; cf. 604\*.

**272** *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 4–5. Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 235, no. 47 (*ya’nī Ismā‘īl wa-Ishāq, wa-l-Ḥasan wa-l-Ḥusayn wa-llāhi ‘bnā rasūl allāh*; the canonical *li-wālidayya* is said to be the result of a scribal error [*kalima ṣaḥḥafahā l-kuttāb*]) > *Burhān*, II, p. 321, no. 4, *Bihār*, XII, p. 74, no. 24, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 552, no. 126. See 271, 278.

**273** *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 15–17. Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 234, no. 44 (with *min shay’* for *sha’n shay’*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 321, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 552, no. 119, *Faṣl*, p. 298, l. 17.

*Isnād*: AL-SINDĪ: he may be Khallād al-Sindī/al-Sarī/al-Suddī al-Bazzāz al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, II, p. 270; Ardabīlī, I, p. 296).

**274** For this reading see Jeffery, p. 334 (al-Ṣādiq, Mujāhid, Abū Rajā’, Zayd b. ‘Alī); idem, “Zaid”, p. 264 (Zayd b. ‘Alī); Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, III, p. 536, Qurṭubī, IX, p. 373 (Mujāhid); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 69, with note 2 (al-Ṣādiq, Mujāhid, al-Yamānī); Ibn Jinnī, I, p. 364 (‘Alī, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq); Ṭabrisī, XIII, p. 225 (‘Alī, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, Mujāhid) > Najafī, p. 246, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 551, no. 112; Ibn al-Jawzī, IV, p. 280 (*ba‘duhum*); ‘Ukbarī, p. 321 (*wa-yuqra’u*); *Lisān*, s.v. *huy*; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 422 (‘Alī, Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, Mujāhid). Al-Bāqir alludes to

this reading when he addresses Qatāda b. Dīʿāma (see Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 311–312, no. 485 > *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 237–238, no. 6). Cf. 275.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤAJJĀL: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Muzakhrif al-Ḥajjāl, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quh-pāʾī, IV, p. 46; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 503–504).—ASBĀṬ B. SĀLIM: Abū ʿAlī Asbāṭ b. Sālim Bayyāʿ al-Zuṭṭī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 143; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 209–210).

**275** The reading here is presumably *tahwā*, as at **274** (though it should be borne in mind that in the four manuscripts of *KQ* there is usually no distinction between a final *yā*ʾ and an *alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat yā*ʾ). Cf. Sulaym, *Kitāb*, p. 408 (*fā-īyyānā ʿanā bi-dhālīka khāṣṣatan*); Furāt, I, p. 223, no. 299 > *Bihār*, XXVII, p. 178, no. 25; ʿAyyāshī, II, pp. 233–234, no. 41 (*amā innahu lam yaqul al-nās kulluhum*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 320, no. 13, *Bihār*, LXVIII, pp. 86–87, no. 11; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 160 > *Bihār*, XXXII, p. 97, no. 67. Cf. further Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 157, no. 465.

**276** *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 17–19. This reading (“you have turned away from the legatee/friend”) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. For the ending see Qummī, I, pp. 368–369 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 534, no. 47 (*wa-qāla l-shayṭān lammā quḍiya l-amr ay lammā furigha min amr al-dunyā; \*qāla ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ʿan Abī Jaʿfar ʿalayhi l-salām: kull mā fī l-qurʾān “wa-qāla l-shayṭān” yurīdu bihi l-thānī*”; in the printed edition of Qummī, the words between the asterisks are missing); ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 223, no. 8 (Ḥarīz < unidentified transmitter < al-Bāqir, to Q 14:22) > Ṣāfi, III, p. 84, *Burhān*, II, p. 310, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXX, p. 232, no. 98, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 534, no. 48. In the Qurʾān, the word *al-shayṭān* is quite common, whereas *wa-qāla l-shayṭān* is attested only at Q 14:22. The Imam’s statement (as given in *KQ*, Qummī and ʿAyyāshī) would thus make better sense without *wa-qāla*: “whenever (the word) *al-shayṭān* occurs in the Qurʾān it refers to *al-thānī* (i.e. ʿUmar)”. Al-Ṣādiq is said to have interpreted the *jinn wa-l-īns* of Q 41:29 as referring to “the two of them”; he then added: “so-and-so (i.e. ʿUmar) was called *shayṭān* (and Abū Bakr was called *al-īns*)” (Kulīnī, VIII, p. 334, no. 523 [> *Burhān*, IV, p. 109, no. 1], with the comment in Fayḍ, *Wāfi*, III, p. 936, no. 1628). Cf. Kohlberg, “Ṣaḥāba”, p. 166, note 140; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 43–44, 84, 109; Hakim, “Satan”, p. 52; **725**<sup>\*</sup>.

**277** *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 19–20.

**278** *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 5–7. For early Murjīʿī opposition to some Shīʿī doctrines see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Murdjī’a” (W. Madelung). For the later identification of the Murjī’a with the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā’a* see Crone-Zimmermann, *Sālim*, p. 243. See **271**, **272**; cf. **188**.

**279** Cf. Kulīnī, I, p. 465, no. 5 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, p. 273; Ibn Bābawayh, *Maʿānī*, p. 202, no. 1 (ending) > *Bihār*, XI, p. 77, no. 4; Maṣṣūr, *Iqd*, p. 314, citing al-Barqī’s *al-Tanzīl wa-l-tahrīf*. In these traditions only al-Ḥusayn is mentioned.

**280** Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 184, no. 49 > *Bihār*, II, pp. 206–207, no. 99; Kulīnī, II, pp. 341–342, no. 17, p. 343, no. 22, VIII, p. 100, no. 70, p. 369, no. 559 (*mā kāna saqīman wa-mā kadhaba*); Ibn Bābawayh, *Maʿānī*, pp. 201–202, no. 1 > *Bihār*, XI, pp. 76–77, no. 4. See in general Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh*, pp. 23–27.

**281** For the beginning of this tradition see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 17, no. 13 > *Bihār*, XXII, p. 331, no. 42, XXV, p. 12, no. 22; cf. Kohlberg, “Muḥad-dath”, p. 42. For the ending cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 244. See in general *EI*<sup>2</sup>, Suppl., art. “Salmān al-Fārisī” (G. Levi Della Vida).

**282** *Faṣl*, p. 299, ll. 6–7. The word ‘*Aliyyin*’ is vocalized in *Faṣl*. For this tradition see Kulīnī, I, p. 424, no. 63 (Hishām b. al-Ḥakam < al-Ṣādiq, reading: *hādha ṣirāṭ ‘Alī mustaqīm*) > Najafī, pp. 247–248, no. 1 (adding: *ya’ni ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*), *Burhān*, II, p. 344, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 23, no. 49, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 15, no. 51. For this reading (without the substitution of *wa-inna* for *qāla*) see also *Baṣā’ir*, p. 512, no. 25 > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 363, no. 2; Furāt, I, p. 225, no. 302 > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 372, no. 18; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 242, no. 15 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 113, *Burhān*, II, p. 344, no. 4, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 15, no. 52; Madelung-Walker, p. 29 (Arabic) = p. 85 (English: “This is the straight path of ‘Alī”); Ḥaskānī, I, p. 60, no. 92; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 68; *Faṣl*, p. 24, l. 7; Blachère, *Introduction*, pp. 184–185. For an attack on this *qirā’a* see Qurṭubī, I, p. 82 (from Ibn al-Anbārī); Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā’ir*, VII, p. 216, cited in al-Qāḍī, “Tawḥīdī”, pp. 149–150. Contrast the reading *hādha ṣirāṭun ‘aliyyun mustaqīm* (“this is a sublime and straight path”) ascribed to Qatāda, Mujāhid, Ibn Sīrīn, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Miqdam and others (see Farrā’, II, p. 89; Ṭabarī, XIV, p. 34; Abū Ḥātim, *Ṣīna*, II, p. 215; Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, IV, p. 27; Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 3; Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 349; Samarqandī, II, p. 268; Ibn Ghalbūn, II, pp. 485–486; Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 346; Ṭūsī, VI, p. 337; Zamakhsharī,

II, p. 391; Ṭabrisī, XIV, p. 26; Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 61; Jeffery, “Ibn Miqṣam”, pp. 17, 36). Qatāda (d. 118/736) reports that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī used to interpret the verse as referring to the path and religion of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Muḥammad b. Mu’min al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb nuzūl al-qur’ān fī sha’n amīr al-mu’minīn* > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarā’if*, pp. 96–97 > *Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 23–24, no. 50, XXXV, p. 373, no. 24, XXXVI, p. 167, no. 152; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, pp. 74, 107 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 59, no. 12). Cf. *GdQ*, II, p. 99, with note 4; **286**.

*Isnād*: HISHĀM B. AL-ḤAKAM: Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795–796), a prominent *mutakallim* and a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Hishām b. al-Ḥakam” [W. Madelung]; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 349–379 and index; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 259–268). Ibn Abī ‘Umayr (for whom see **1\***) is the most frequent transmitter from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 260).

**283** Cf. Qummī, I, p. 377 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 117; Ṭabarī, XIV, p. 44; Ṭabrisī, XIV, p. 37. In these sources, *la-‘amruka* (Q 15:72) is glossed as (*ay*) *wa-ḥayātika yā Muḥammad*; in Māwardī, III, p. 166 the gloss is *wa-ḥayātika* and in Samarqandī, II, p. 272, (*ay*) *bi-ḥayātika yā Muḥammad*. See **284**.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SULAYMĀN AL-HĀSHIMĪ: for this form of the name see Barqī, II, p. 421, no. 200 > *Biḥār*, LXVI, p. 343, no. 8. He may well be identical with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Salmān/Sulaymān al-Anṣārī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq who transmitted to Abān (probably Abān b. ‘Uthmān) (Ardabīlī, I, p. 451; Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 79).

**284** See **283**.

**285** For this reading see Jeffery, p. 334 (al-Ṣādiq, Ibn Qays, Ibn Dharr [i.e. the Murjī’ī Abū Dharr ‘Umar b. Dharr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Murhibī al-Kūfī, d. ca. 153/770; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, pp. 444–445; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, I, table 231, II, p. 571; Crone-Zimmermann, *Sālim*, pp. 234, 242], Abū ‘Imrān [i.e. the Successor Abū ‘Imrān ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Azdī/al-Kindī al-Baṣrī, d. ca. 128/745–746; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, pp. 388–389]); ‘Askarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 242 > *Burhān*, II, p. 325, no. 4 (*bi-faṭḥ al-sīn wa-tashdīd al-lām*); Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 71 > *Burhān*, II, p. 325, no. 3, III, p. 107, no. 2, *Faṣl*, p. 298, ll. 20–23 (*musallimīn* vocalized). Cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 215 > *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 574, no. 3 (*yawaddu lladhīna kafarū law kānū musallimīn li-walāyat amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām*); **74, 76, 120, 129, 361, 363**.



**286** *Faṣl*, p. 75, ll. 19–21, p. 299, ll. 7–10. See Ibn Shādhān, *Miʿat manqaba*, pp. 139–140 (*manqaba* no. 85) (*isnād*: Jaʿfar b. Qūlawayh < ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Naḥwī < Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [i.e. al-Sayyārī?] < al-Manṣūr b. Abī [sic] al-ʿAbbās < ʿAlī b. Asbāṭ < al-Ḥakam b. Buhlūl < Abū Hammām < ʿAbdallāh [read: ʿUmar?] b. Udhayna < Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad < his father < ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn < his father; in the *matn*, ʿUmar appears instead of *al-thānī*) > *Faṣl*, p. 299, ll. 13–15; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107 > *Bihār*, XXXV, pp. 58–59, no. 12, *Faṣl*, p. 299, ll. 10–12; Manṣūr, *ʿIqd*, p. 314, citing al-Barqī’s *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf*. For the Prophetic tradition “Your rank compared to mine is like that of Aaron compared to that of Moses” (known as *ḥadīth al-manzila*, “the tradition of the rank”) see Kohlberg, “Rāfiḍa”, pp. 677–678; Friedmann, *Prophecy*, pp. 58–59; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 156–157. Cf. **282**, **345**\*.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤAKAM B. BUHLŪL: al-Ḥakam b. Buhlūl al-Anṣārī, a transmitter from disciples of al-Šādiq (Khūʿī, VII, p. 174, no. 3852).—ABŪ HAMMĀM: Abū Hammām Ismāʿīl b. Hammām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī mawlā Kinda, a transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quhpāʿī, I, pp. 227–228, VII, p. 108; Ardabīlī, I, p. 104, II, p. 423).

**287** *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 3–4. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 140 (Ubayy); Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (*fā-atā* [read thus for *fā-inna*] *llāh baytahum*, followed by *hākadhā nazalat*); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 72 (al-Bāqir; for *b-y-n-hum* read *baytahum*); Ṭabrisī, XIV, p. 65 (*qirāʿat ahl al-bayt*; for *biny-atahum* read *baytahum*, as in Ḥuwayzī) > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 50, no. 67; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 471 [Jaʿfar [i.e. al-Šādiq]; for *b-y-n-hum* read *baytahum*). ʿAyyāshī has a tradition (II, p. 258, no. 19 > *Burhān*, II, p. 367, no. 3) with the canonical reading (*fā-atā llāh bunyānahum*), followed by another with *bunyānahum* or *baytahum* (depending on the manuscript) (II, p. 258, no. 20 > *Šāfi*, III, p. 132, *Burhān*, II, p. 367, no. 4). In the next two traditions (ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 258, nos. 21, 22 > *Burhān*, II, p. 367, nos. 5, 6) *bunyānahum* is corrected to *baytahum*, and in a fifth tradition (II, p. 258, no. 23) the reading *baytahum* appears without comment (though when it is cited in *Burhān*, II, p. 367, no. 7, *bunyānahum* recurs). See **288**, **289**.

**288** *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 4–5. Some authorities ascribe the reading *wa-lam yaʿlam alladhīna āmanū* to Ubayy (see Jeffery, p. 140). This *qirāʿa* is incorporated in ʿAyyāshī, II, p. 258, no. 22 (al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Šayqal < al-Šādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 367, no. 6, *Bihār*, XCIII, p. 144, no. 13, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 49, no. 63. See **287**, **289**.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤASAN B. MŪSĀ: Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥasan/al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Sālīm al-Ḥannāt/al-Khayyāt al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq; Ibn Abī Naṣr transmitted from him (Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 156–157, 200; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 227, 256).

**289** *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 6–7. Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 258, nos. 20 (Abū l-Safātīj < al-Ṣādiq), 23 (Muḥammad b. Muslim < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 132, *Burhān*, II, p. 367, nos. 4, 7, *Biḥār*, XIV, p. 458, no. 12, XCIII, pp. 144–145, nos. 11, 14, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 49–50, nos. 64–65. See **287**, **288**.

**290** *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 21–23. There are two versions of the Shī‘ī reading of Q 16:92: (i) *an takūna a’immatun hiya azkā min a’immatikum* (“[you propose to break the covenant] because you do not wish there to be [true] Imams [who are] more excellent than your [erring] leaders”). See Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, pp. 60–61; Qummī, I, p. 389 > Najafī, pp. 262–263, no. 22, *Burhān*, II, pp. 382–383, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 82–83, no. 210; ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 268–269, no. 64 (Zayd b. al-Jahm < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 383, no. 5, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, pp. 148–149, no. 126, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 81, no. 207; Kulīnī, I, p. 292, no. 8 > Najafī, p. 262, no. 21, *Burhān*, II, p. 382, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 81, no. 208; Nu’mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 27 (this text as cited in the *Biḥār* is *hiya arbā min a’imma*; what is probably the correct version is cited from Nu’mānī in *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 4–5); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 62. See the commentary in Māzandarānī, VI, p. 127 > *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 13–15; Majlisī, *Mir’āt*, III, p. 268 > *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 9–13. (ii) *an takūnū a’immatan* etc. (“so that you would be leaders who are more excellent than your [true] Imams”). This reading is only recorded in *Faṣl*, where it is given as the version of Qummī (see *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 12–14) and Kulīnī (see *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 14–21). Al-Nūrī also records this version from *KQ* when citing **294**. For *ayy shay’ arbā* (“what does *arbā* mean?”) see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 60, Qummī, I, p. 389 (*wayḥaka mā arbā*), Kulīnī, I, p. 292, no. 8 (*mā arbā*). See **294**.

*Isnād*: ZAYD B. JAHM AL-HILĀLĪ: Zayd b. (al-) Jahm/Juhaym al-Hilālī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 77; Ardabīlī, I, p. 341).

**291** This reading (“some of you deviate [from the right course]”) is ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd (see *GdQ*, III, p. 69; Jeffery, p. 53; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I/2, p. 354; Ṭabarī, XIV, p. 84; Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 362; Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, IV, p. 58; Samarqandī, II, p. 279; Tha‘labī, VI, p. 9; Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 88; Qurṭubī, X, p. 82 [the codex of Ibn

Mas'ūd]; Abū Ḥayyān, V, p. 463; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 209) and to 'Alī (see Jeffery, p. 188; Naḥḥās, *Ma'ānī*, IV, p. 58; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 72; Qurṭubī, X, p. 82; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 209; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, p. 600, no. 4839).

**292 Cf. 293.**

*Isnād*: KULAYB B. MU'ĀWIYA: Abū Muḥammad Kulayb b. Mu'āwiya b. Jabala al-Ṣaydāwī al-Asadī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 315).

**293** *Faṣl*, p. 301, ll. 7–9. A longer version of this tradition is recorded in 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 267, no. 60 (Ismā'īl al-Jarīrī/Jurayrī < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 152, *Burhān*, II, p. 381, no. 5, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 189, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 79–80, no. 204; cited in Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 62. Here al-Ṣādiq corrects Ismā'īl's reading of Q 16:90 by telling him to add the word *ḥaqqahu* after *dhī l-qurbā*. When Ismā'īl notes that this is not how Zayd read the verse the Imam tells him that it is the *qirā'a* of 'Alī (and should therefore be followed). Cf. **120, 292**.

*Isnād*: ISMĀ'ĪL AL-JARĪRĪ/JURAYRĪ: unidentified. If his *nisba* was “al-Jarīrī”, this might be because he was a follower of the Zaydī Sulaymān b. Jarīr (fl. latter half of 2nd/8th century, see Madelung, *al-Qāsim*, pp. 61–66), whose supporters were known as Jarīriyya or Sulaymāniyya (see the references in Shahrastānī, *Religions*, p. 468, note 75). This would explain Ismā'īl's reference to *qirā'at Zayd*.

**294** *Faṣl*, p. 301, l. 23–p. 302, l. 1. Cf. 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 269, no. 65 (where the woman is identified as 'Ā'isha) > *Burhān*, II, p. 383, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXXII, p. 286, no. 238, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 83, no. 211. For 'Ā'isha's nickname “al-Ḥumayrā” (“little red one” or “little one of fair complexion”) see e.g. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, p. 1250; *Lisān*, s.v. *ḥmr* (the Prophet sometimes called 'Ā'isha “Ḥumayrā”, a diminutive of *ḥamrā* “of fair complexion”); Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 221; Madelung, *Succession*, p. 173, note 157 (noting that this was a pet name given her by Muḥammad and later used by her enemies as her nickname). For 'Alī as the person through whom God puts people to the test (*innamā yablūkum allāh bihi* [Q 16:92]) see Ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, pp. 162–163; **481**. See **290**.

**295** See 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 183, no. 80 (Ṣāliḥ b. Mitham/Maytham < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, I, p. 296, no. 3, *Bihār*, LIII, p. 50, no. 21. This tradition alludes to 'Alī's role during the *raǧ'a*. In the version cited in 'Ayyāshī, II,

p. 259, no. 27 (‘Abdallāh b. Šālih b. Mītham/Maytham < al-Bāqir), the words *hīn yaqūlu ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām anā awlā l-nās* are missing, as in the four manuscripts of *KQ*.

**296** *Faṣl*, p. 303, ll. 6–8. For this reading see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63; Qummī, II, p. 21 > *Šāfi*, III, p. 200, *Burhān*, II, p. 425, no. 12, *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 514, no. 10 (with al-Majlisī’s comment: *ay kāna fī l-qur’ān: li-ya’mahū fihā*), *Faṣl*, p. 303, ll. 4–6 (in *Burhān* and *Faṣl*, however, the canonical *li-l-nās* is retained and *lahum* is dropped, as in the version cited at **298**); Ayyāshī, II, p. 297, no. 93 (Ḥarīz < unidentified transmitter < al-Bāqir) > *Šāfi*, III, p. 200, *Burhān*, II, p. 424, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 525, no. 26, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 179, no. 276; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 62–63. For the reading *fitnatan lahum* see Jeffery, p. 55 (Ibn Mas’ūd); for *wa-li-ya’mahū* (read: *li-ya’mahū?*) *fihā* after *li-l-nās* see idem, “Zaid”, p. 266 (Zayd b. ‘Alī, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir). See **297–299**.

**297** *Faṣl*, p. 303, l. 8. See **296, 298, 299**.

**298** *Faṣl*, p. 303, ll. 9–11. Furāt records four traditions in which al-Bāqir confirms to Zayd b. Salām al-Ju’fī that exegetical traditions which Khaythama transmitted from al-Bāqir did in fact come from the Imam (Furāt, I, p. 191, no. 246 [to Q 11:17]; idem, I, pp. 191–192, no. 247 [to Q 11:40] > *Biḥār*, LXVIII, p. 56, no. 101; Furāt, I, pp. 314–315, no. 422 [to Q 28:5] > *Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 171–172, no. 10; Furāt, I, pp. 319–320, no. 433 [to Q 29:49] > *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 193, no. 18). See **296, 297, 299**.

*Isnād*: ḤAFṢ AL-A’WAR: Ḥafṣ b. ‘Īsā al-A’war al-Kunāsī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 209–210; Ardabīlī, I, p. 263). “Al-Umawī” of the manuscripts was probably produced after the (graphically similar) “al-A’war” was mistakenly written down twice, its second occurrence then being corrupted into “al-Umawī”.—SALĀM AL-JU’FĪ: Salām b. al-Mustanīr al-Ju’fī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 137; Ardabīlī, I, p. 370). His son Zayd is only mentioned in Furāt.—KHAYTHAMA: the only person of this name mentioned as a transmitter from al-Bāqir is Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khaythama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ju’fī al-Kūfī, who also transmitted from al-Šādiq (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, II, p. 339; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, pp. 286–287; Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 275–276; Ardabīlī, I, p. 299).

**299** The *fulān wa-fulān* whom the Prophet saw in his dream (or rather, his nightmare) are identified elsewhere as Zurayq and Zufar (‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 297, no. 95 [al-Ḥalabī < Zurāra, Ḥumrān, Muḥammad b. Muslim < the Imam (name not given; evidently al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq)] > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 199, *Burhān*, II, p. 425, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXXI, pp. 525–526, no. 28, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 180, no. 278), presumably Abū Bakr and ‘Umar (though normally both appellations refer to ‘Umar; see Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, index, s.vv.; but cf. **672\***). For *al-shajara al-mal’ūna* as referring to the Umayyads see Qummī, II, p. 21 > *Burhān*, II, p. 425, no. 12, *Bihār*, XXX, p. 165, no. 23, XXXI, p. 514, no. 10; ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 297–298, nos. 93–95 > *Burhān*, II, pp. 424–425, nos. 1–3, *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 200, *Bihār*, XXXI, pp. 525–526, nos. 26–28, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 179–180, nos. 276–278; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 276; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 266–267; idem, *Muslim Studies*, II, pp. 111–112; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 63, note 67; idem, *Scripture*, p. 207. See **296–298**; cf. **598\***.

**300** *Faṣl*, p. 304, ll. 9–11. For this tradition see Ibn al-Juḥām (*isnād*: [Aḥmad b.] Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī < Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ṣayrafī < Ibn Fuḍayl < Abū Ḥamza < al-Bāqir) > Najafī, p. 290, no. 28 > *Burhān*, II, p. 443, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 225, no. 16. The Shī‘ī reading appears as *al-ẓālimūn āl Muḥammad haqqahum* (*Burhān*) or as *ẓālimū āl Muḥammad haqqahum* (Najafī, *Bihār*). For the reading *al-ẓālimūn āl Muḥammad haqqahum* see also Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 315, no. 155 (Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥamza < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 213, *Burhān*, II, p. 443, no. 2; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 63. An additional reading of this verse is *al-ẓālimūn li-āl Muḥammad*; see Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 290, no. 29 > *Burhān*, II, p. 443, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 226, no. 17. See also Tisdall, p. 237. The words *min rabbika* (in the manuscripts: *rabbika*, which is probably an error) do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā’a* of Q 17:82; they may be a gloss. The expression *rahma min rabbika* occurs six times in the Qur’ān.

*Isnād*: AL-WASHSHĀ’: he is perhaps Ja’far b. Bashīr (see **41\***) or Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ziyād al-Khazzāz/al-Kharrāz al-Washshā’, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 128–130; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 210–212).

**301** *Faṣl*, p. 304, ll. 18–19. For this reading see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, pp. 64–65; ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 317, no. 166 (Abū Ḥamza < al-Bāqir; *walāya* for *bi-walāya*) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 216, *Burhān*, II, p. 445, no. 4, *Bihār*,

XXXVI, p. 105, no. 50 (in all three sources: *bi-walāya*), tr. Amir-Moezzi, “Walāya”, p. 724; Kulīnī, I, pp. 424–425, no. 64 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (> *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12), Najafī, p. 291, no. 32, *Burhān*, II, p. 445, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 379, no. 66 (*fā-abā akthar al-nās bi-walāyat ‘Alī illā kufūran*), Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 221, no. 445; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 291, no. 31 > *Burhān*, II, p. 445, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 381, no. 71 (contrast Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 290, no. 30, where the canonical version is cited); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 63–64. Cf. Ḥaskānī, I, p. 352, no. 482, citing the anonymous *al-Tafsīr al-‘atīq*; Bayāḍī, I, p. 291 (*fā-abā akthar al-nās illā kufūran bi-walāyat ‘Alī qāl: wa-hākadhā nazalat*; cf. **165\***). The tradition in *KQ* (without al-Washshā’ in the *isnād* and with practically the same *matn*) is cited by al-Najafī (pp. 375–376, no. 11 > *Burhān*, III, p. 169, no. 1) in his commentary on Q 25:50 (a verse having the same ending as Q 17:89).

**302** *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 19–20. Cf. the reading ‘*abīdan lanā*, which is ascribed to ‘Alī (Jeffery, p. 188; Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 14; Ṭabrisī, XV, p. 13 > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 138, no. 79; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, I, p. 744 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 178), to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 75; Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 353), to al-Ḥasan and Zayd b. ‘Alī (Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 9), or to an unidentified reader or readers (*wa-qurī’a*) (Zamakhsharī, II, p. 438). The reading ‘*alayhim* (for *alaykum*) is cited in *Bihār*, LX, p. 216, no. 40 from al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qummī’s *Kitāb ta’rīkh Qumm* (composed in 378/988–989; see *Dharī’a*, III, pp. 277–278, no. 1027). The Arabic original of this work was not available to al-Majlisī (and appears to be lost); instead he used a Persian translation, rendering some passages back into Arabic (see *Bihār*, I, p. 42). The Persian translation at al-Majlisī’s disposal could well have been the one made in 865/1460–1461 by Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Qummī; yet in Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī’s edition of this translation, Q 17:5 is cited as it appears in the ‘Uthmānic codex (without the word *lanā*) (see Qummī, *Ta’rīkh*, p. 100). Cf. **303**.

**303** *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 20–21. For the connection between this verse and the return of al-Ḥusayn and his followers during the *raǧ’a* see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 281, no. 20 (Ṣāliḥ b. Sahl < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 407, no. 6, *Bihār*, LI, p. 56, no. 46; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 206, no. 250 > Najafī, pp. 277–278, no. 7, *Burhān*, II, p. 406, no. 1, *Bihār*, LIII, pp. 93–94, no. 103, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 138, no. 77; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil*, pp. 133–134, no. 153 > *Burhān*, II, p. 407, no. 3, *Bihār*, XLV, p. 297, no. 5; Ḥillī,

*Mukhtaṣar*, p. 48. In all of these sources the verse is cited as it appears in the ‘Uthmānic codex. See in general Crow, “Ḥusayn”, pp. 66–68. Cf. **302**.

**304** *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 22–23. The copyist of ms. L erroneously placed a full stop after *wa-huwa* (the penultimate word of **303**) and a line above the next two words (al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥajjāl), indicating that these form the beginning of the next tradition. Al-Nūrī compounded the error by adding “ibn” between “al-Ḥusayn” and “al-Ḥajjāl”, resulting in a fictional “al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥajjāl”. Among the Seven Readers, only al-Kisā’ī read *li-nasū’a* (see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 378; Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 497; Samarqandī, II, p. 317; Tha’labī, VI, p. 85; Ṭabrisī, XV, p. 13; Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 211; Qurṭubī, X, p. 223). According to some, this was also the reading of ‘Alī (see Kisā’ī, *Ma’ānī*, p. 181, Tha’labī, VI, p. 85, Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 10), though the readings *la-nasū’anna* and *la-yasū’anna* are also ascribed to him (see Jeffery, p. 188, Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 10). Jeffery (p. 334) records the reading of al-Ṣādiq as *la-nasū’anna*. This is also reported as the reading of Ubayy (Jeffery, p. 141; Qurṭubī, X, p. 223), though elsewhere he is said to have read *la-nasū’an* (Farrā’, II, p. 117; Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭab*, II, p. 416; Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 15; Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 211). See **309**.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABĪ ḤAMMĀD AL-MUQRI’: he is not listed in Shī’ī biographical works, but appears in some *isnāds* (e.g. Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, II, p. 68). He is possibly the person mentioned in **240**. In this case he cannot have transmitted directly from al-Ṣādiq, and it must be assumed that in *KQ* a name is missing from the *isnād* (cf. the *isnād* al-Ḥajjāl < ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥammād < Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth < al-Ṣādiq [Rāwandī, *Qiyās*, p. 155, no. 168]). Alternatively, though less likely, he may be ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥammād Shukayl al-Muqri’ al-Kūfī (d. 203/818–819), who transmitted the readings of Ḥamza (see Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-islām*, XIV, p. 229; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 369–370, no. 1572).

**305** *Faṣl*, p. 303, ll. 13–14, Najafī, p. 284, no. 20. For this reading see Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, pp. 284–285, no. 21 > *Burhān*, II, pp. 433–434, no. 1; Manṣūr, *‘Iqd*, p. 314, citing al-Barqī’s *al-Tanzīl wa-l-tahrīf*; Tisdall, p. 237. See **307**.

**306** This reading of Q 17:99 does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. For the reading of Q 25:8 cited here see also **378**.



**307** *Faṣl*, p. 303, ll. 15–16. See **305**.

*Isnād*: see also **494**, **498**.

**308** *Fī ṣalātika* does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a reading; it could be a scribal error for *bi-ṣalātika*. See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 319, no. 176 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) (but reading *bi-ṣalātika*) > Ṣāfi, III, p. 122, *Burhān*, II, p. 356, no. 5, p. 453, no. 10, *Bihār*, IX, p. 219, no. 103, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 32, no. 125, p. 234, no. 484. The view that Q 17:110 was abrogated by Q 15:94 is recorded not only in *KQ* and ‘Ayyāshī, but also by Ibn al-Jawzī on the authority of Ibn al-Sā’ib (presumably Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī [d. 146/763] or ‘Aṭā’ b. al-Sā’ib [d. ca. 136/753–754]) (see Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 74; idem, *Nawāsikh*, pp. 169–170). Ibn al-Jawzī, however, rejects it as unlikely (*wujūd al-naskh hāhunā ba’d*) (Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 74). Elsewhere, those who regard Q 17:110 as *mansūkh* identify the abrogating verse as either Q 7:55 or Q 7:205. For the former view see Zamakhsharī, II, p. 470; Rāzī, XXI, p. 60 (adding: “this is unlikely” [*wa-huwa ba’d*]). For the latter view see Zuhri, *Nāsikh*, p. 30, Hibat Allāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 61, Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 58; it is rejected by al-Naḥḥās (*Nāsikh*, pp. 180–181), by Ibn al-‘Arabī (*Nāsikh*, p. 162) and by Ibn al-Jawzī (*Nawāsikh*, p. 170).

**309** *Faṣl*, p. 302, ll. 21–22. See **304**.

**310** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 280, no. 4702. Al-Nūrī cites this *ḥadīth* in a chapter devoted to the recitation of the Qur’ān. The statement that al-Ṣādiq “disliked the *hamz*” is in line with what is known about Quraysh suppressing the glottal stop (cf. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 19–21). Cf. **375**.

**311** *Mustadrak*, IV, pp. 279–280, no. 4700. Cf. Maṣṣūr, *Iqd*, p. 314, citing al-Barqī’s *al-Tanzīl wa-l-tahrīf*. For the reading *Nūḥā* see Jeffery, pp. 160 (with the correction at p. 360), 336 (Ubayy, al-Ṣādiq); **454**, **457**. For the ending cf. **460**.

**312** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 280, no. 4701. This tradition is cited in Khū’ī, *Bayān*, p. 228, no. 8 (with an analysis at p. 229). Al-Khū’ī does not reveal the source of his citation. However, the fact that he mentions al-Sayyārī somewhat earlier (at p. 226) and reproduces the name of Tha’laba as Q-ṭ-b-a suggests that he consulted a manuscript of al-Sayyārī’s work. He cites the text with the variant *yuharrifūn kalām allāh*, which shows that the manuscript he used was not M. The criticism of *aṣḥāb al-‘arabiyya*

which finds expression in this tradition may be related to the fact that some early grammarians accepted only those *qirā'āt* which conformed to specific criteria (see Baalbaki, "Treatment", pp. 12–14). Baalbaki's statement that "religious orthodoxy failed to accept the validity of grammatical criteria in matters relating to *qirā'āt*" ("Treatment", p. 16) also applies in the case of the Shī'a. Indeed, the Shī'i scholar Ibn al-Haytham, referring to the grammarians' rejection of some Shī'i readings or interpretations of Qur'ānic verses, declares that "the rules of grammar are whatever conveys the truth ... These people claim to be reading the letters of the language correctly grammatically, and yet they are ignorant of what God intended in regard to meanings, applications, and examples" (Madelung-Walker, p. 30 [Arabic] = p. 86 [English]). See also Introduction, pp. 15–16; **460\***.

*Isnād*: 'ABD AL-A'LĀ: he is probably 'Abd al-A'lā mawlā āl Sām al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq who transmitted to both Tha'laba b. Maymūn and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (cf. **566**) (Quhpā'i, III, p. 254; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 436–437). Al-Ardabīlī assumes that he is identical with 'Abd al-A'lā b. A'yan al-'Ijlī (for whom see Ardabīlī, I, pp. 435–436).

**313** For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 55, 293, 334 (Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym, al-Šādiq). Cf. **314**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ DĀWŪD: Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Sufyān al-Munshid al-Mustariqq (d. 231/845–846), a Kūfan transmitter from disciples of al-Šādiq and a transmitter (*rāwīya*) of the poetry of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (Quhpā'i, III, pp. 166–167, VII, p. 39; Ardabīlī, I, p. 380, II, p. 384).

**314** Cf. *wa-lākin ja'alahu qayyiman* which al-Ṭabarī (XV, p. 190) and Abū l-Futūḥ (VII, p. 299) adduce as an anonymous reading and Abū Ḥayyān (VI, p. 94) cites from *ba'd maṣāḥif al-ṣaḥāba*. For *ba's shadīd* ("great violence") as referring to 'Alī see 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 321, no. 2 (al-Barqī < unidentified transmitter(s) < Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 230, *Burhān*, II, p. 455, no. 2; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 291, no. 1 > *Burhān*, II, p. 455, no. 1. Cf. **313**.

**315** See 'Ayyāshī, II, pp. 328–329, no. 39 (Muḥammad b. Marwān < al-Bāqir) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 246, *Burhān*, II, pp. 471–472, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXX, pp. 234–235, no. 101, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 268, nos. 120–121; cf. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarā'if*, p. 119 (part of a polemic against those who uphold the merits of 'Umar). In these sources (as also in the manuscripts of *KQ*) the Qur'ānic verse is not vocalized. *Al-muḍillayn* (for *al-muḍillīn*) is however

adduced in a late Sunnī text as a reading of the Rāfiḍa referring to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar (see Afandī-Zādah [d. 1167/1754], *Shawādh*, p. 72). Since the tradition cited here also refers to two persons (in this case, Abū Jahl and ‘Umar) the dual form would seem to be appropriate. This possibility is reinforced in ‘Ayyāshī (II, p. 329), where *wa-mā kuntu muttakhidh al-m-d-l-y-n ‘aḍudan* is glossed as *ya’nūhimā*. According to the tradition recorded in *KQ*, the Prophet asked God to strengthen Islam through Abū Jahl or ‘Umar. Al-Ṣādiq appears to have accepted this tradition, but is recorded as declaring that he found this request by the Prophet harder to bear than decapitation (*kāna ‘alayya ashadd min ḍarb al-‘unuq*; see ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 329, no. 40 [Muḥammad b. Marwān < al-Ṣādiq] > *Burhān*, II, p. 472, no. 3). Al-Bāqir, in contrast, is said to have denied that the Prophet had ever uttered such a request (Ḥalabī, *Taqrīb*, p. 246 > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 382, no. 165). This is also the position of ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d. 352/963), who regards this tradition as a forgery and fiercely attacks those who propagate it (Kūfī, *Istighātha*, pp. 189–190). The Companion Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān did not explicitly pronounce himself on the issue of the tradition’s reliability but is reported to have declared that God strengthened His religion through Muḥammad and through no one else (Kūfī, *Manāqib*, p. 421, no. 904; Ṭabarī, *Bishāra*, p. 209). For Abū Jahl see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

*Isnād*: As Ibn Muskān is not known to have transmitted from al-Bāqir (see **15**<sup>\*</sup>), the Imam from whom he transmits here is probably al-Ṣādiq.

**316** *Faṣl*, p. 305, ll. 19–20. For this reading see *GdQ*, III, p. 69, Māwardī, III, p. 333 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Jeffery, pp. 57, 200, 334 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ṣādiq); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, pp. 52–53, no. 460 (Abū Mijlāz, Ubayy); idem, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 118, no. 608, p. 124, no. 628, Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, IV, p. 277 (‘Uthmān); Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 282 (*Kitāb al-tafsīr*); Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (al-Ṣādiq); Qummī, II, p. 39 (within a lengthy tradition, with the comment: *kadhā nazalat*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 475, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 280, no. 1; ‘Ayyāshī, II, pp. 335–336, no. 54 (Ḥarīz < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, II, p. 478, no. 14, *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 310, no. 40 (*ṣāliḥa* omitted), Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 285, no. 161; Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 2, Zamakhsharī, II, p. 495, Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, I, p. 792 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy); Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 474, Ibn Abī Zamanīn, I, p. 493 (*fī ba’d al-qir’a*); Kishshī, p. 126 (al-Ṣādiq tells Zurāra b. A‘yan: *hādha l-tanzīl min ‘ind allāh*; the reading *kull safīna ṣāliḥa* is found in al-Kishshī’s text as cited in *Faṣl*, p. 306, l. 3; in the printed edition, the word *ṣāliḥa* is missing); Samarqandī, II, p. 376, Tha‘labī, VI, p. 187 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Ibn

al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 34 (Ibn Shanabūdh) > Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, V, p. 115; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 624, no. 3013 (the Prophet, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās); Ṭabrisī, XV, p. 182 ('Alī, al-Bāqir, al-Šādiq) > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 285, no. 285; Qurṭubī, XI, p. 34 (Ibn 'Abbās, 'Uthmān); Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 145 (Ubayy, Ibn 'Abbās); al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, p. 608, no. 4873 (the Prophet, on the authority of Ubayy). Cf. the discussion in Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 203. As can be seen, some sources ascribe this reading to Ubayy; others say he read *ṣaḥīḥa* (see Jeffery, p. 143). Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn 'Abbās are likewise cited for both readings. See **317**.

**317** *Faṣl*, p. 306, l. 4. For this reading see Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 2 (citing *ba'd al-qirā'āt*); Ṭūsī, VII, p. 80 (Ubayy, Ibn Mas'ūd); Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 132 (Ubayy); Qurṭubī, XI, p. 34 (Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Jubayr). See **316**.

**318** *Faṣl*, p. 306, ll. 10–11. For this reading see Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 53, no. 461; Ibn Muḥakkam, II, p. 474 (*ba'duhum*). Cf. the reading *wa-ammā l-ghulām fa-kāna kāfiran wa-abawāhu* (or: *wa-kāna abawāhu*) *mu'minayn* ascribed to Ubayy (Māwardī, III, p. 334, Ibn 'Aṭīyya, III, p. 536), to Ibn 'Abbās (Jeffery, pp. 144, 200, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2371, no. 12875, Naḥḥās, *Ma'ānī*, IV, p. 277) and to al-Šādiq (Ṭabrisī, XV, pp. 182, 194 > *Šāfi*, III, p. 255, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 285, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 285, no. 164; in Ibn Abī Zamanīn, I, p. 493, this is cited without attribution). Cf. **320**.

**319** *Faṣl*, p. 306, ll. 12–13. For the reading *yā Mūsā* see Ṭabrisī, *Ja-wāmi'*, I, p. 793 ('Alī). The reading *tastaṭi'* (for *tastī'*) is ascribed to a certain unidentified group (*firqa*) (see Qurṭubī, XI, p. 39). *Tastaṭi'* is also recorded in ms. M; here, however, it appears to be a scribal error, the result perhaps of a confusion with *lam tastaṭi'* of Q 18:78.

**320** *Faṣl*, p. 306, l. 10 (in the margin). See 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 336, no. 55 (Ḥarīz < unidentified transmitter < al-Bāqir or al-Šādiq) (*wa-kāna abawāhu mu'minayn fa-ṭubī'a kāfiran*) > *Šāfi*, III, p. 255, *Burhān*, II, p. 478, no. 15, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 310, no. 41 (all: *wa-ṭubī'a*), Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 285, no. 165 (*fa-ṭubī'a*). For this reading see also Qummī, II, p. 39 (in the tradition referred to at **316**\*: *wa-ammā l-ghulām fa-kāna abawāhu mu'minayn wa-ṭubī'a kāfiran kadhā nazalat*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 475, no. 4, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 280, no. 1; Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (*wa-kāna abawāhu mu'minayn wa-ṭubī'a kāfiran*). Cf. **318**.

*Isnād*: see **39**\*.

**321** *Faṣl*, p. 305, ll. 5–6, Najafī, p. 292, no. 2. For this reading see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 (without *fi walāyat ‘Alī*); Qummī, II, p. 35 (*ya’nī walāyat ‘Alī*; without *haqqahum*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 466, no. 6 (with *haqqahum*), Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 258, no. 71 (with *haqqahum*); ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 326, no. 28 (Abū Ḥamza < al-Bāqir) (*nazala Jabra’l bi-hādhihi l-āya hākadhā ‘alā Muḥammad*, without *fi walāyat ‘Alī*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 466, no. 5; Kulīnī, I, pp. 424–425, no. 64 (*li-l-ẓālimīn āl Muḥammad nāran*, with the comment: *nazala Jabra’l bi-hādhihi l-āya hākadhā*) > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (*li-l-ẓālimīn li-āl Muḥammad nāran*) (> *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12), *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 241, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Ithbāt*, II, p. 278, no. 61, *Burhān*, II, p. 465, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 258, no. 70; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 292, no. 2 (*li-l-ẓālimī*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 466, no. 2 (*li-l-ẓālimīn*), *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 226, no. 18 (*li-l-ẓālimī*); Tisdall, p. 238 (without *fi walāyat ‘Alī*); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 64.

**322** *Faṣl*, p. 306, ll. 13–15. Al-Nūrī regards the additions as readings; yet they could also be explanatory glosses. Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 342, no. 79 (within a lengthy tradition on Dhū l-Qarnayn which al-Aṣbagh b. Nubāta cites from ‘Alī: *ammā man ẓalama wa-lam yu’min bi-rabbihi fa-sawfa nu’adhdhibuhu fi l-dunyā bi-’adhāb al-dunyā thumma yuraddu ilā rabbihi fi marj’ihi fa-yu’adhdhibuhu ‘adhāban nukran*) > *Burhān*, II, p. 483, no. 25, *Bihār*, XII, pp. 198–199, no. 29. Cf. **621**.

*Isnād*: ‘ABDALLĀH B. GHĀLIB: Abū ‘Alī ‘Abdallāh b. Ghālib b. al-Hudhayl al-Asadī, a Kūfan poet and transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. His *kitāb* was transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 141–142).—SA’D B. ṬARĪF: Sa’d b. Ṭarīf/Zarīf al-Iskāf, a Kūfan preacher (*qāṣṣ*) in the late Umayyad period and a transmitter from al-Bāqir (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 118–121). For the *isnād* Sa’d < Aṣbagh < ‘Alī see idem, *TS*, pp. 61–62, 119. Sa’d was “the main transmitter from Aṣbagh b. Nubāta from, or about, ‘Alī” (idem, *TS*, p. 119).—AL-AṢBAGH B. NUBĀTA: Abū l-Qāsim (al-) Aṣbagh b. Nubāta b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥanzalī, a close associate of ‘Alī (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 291–292; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 59–73).

**323** *Faṣl*, p. 306, l. 16. According to Jeffery (p. 144), Ubayy’s reading was *thumma ‘ittaba’a Dhū l-Qarnayn al-shams sababan*. The verb (at Q 18:85, 89, 92) was read as *ittaba’a* by Ibn Kathīr, Nāfi’ and Abū ‘Amr; the rest of the Seven Readers (i.e. the Kūfans and Ibn ‘Āmir) read *atba’a* (Ibn Mujāhid, pp. 397–398; Ṭūsī, VII, p. 84; Ṭabrisī, XV, p. 197). There appears to be no record of the reading of the Imams. For *thumma*

*atba'a/ittaba'a Dhū l-Qarnayn sababan* (without *al-shams*) see the tradition from 'Ayyāshī referred to at **322\*** (here *Dhū l-Qarnayn* could be a reading or a gloss).

**324** *Faṣl*, p. 306, ll. 16–17. Al-Ṣādiq's reading of Q 18:66 is only recorded in *KQ* (here and at **327**). The manuscripts differ: (i) ms. L (both here and at **327**) has *fa-mā* (for *mimmā*). In *Faṣl* there is a line above *fa-mā*, indicating that this is the reading in question; at **327** *fa-mā* also appears in ms. T. This would presumably require the next word to be *'ullimtu*, and the sentence would mean: "For I have not been taught right conduct". Such a reading is not otherwise attested. (ii) ms. M (at **327**) has *tu'allimanī*. For this reading see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 403. (iii) In ms. M and in *Faṣl* (both at **324**) the *rā'* of the final word is vocalized with a *ḍamma*. This rules out the reading *rashadan*, leaving two possibilities: *rushdan* (as in the 'Uthmānic codex) or *rushudan*. See Ibn Mujāhid, p. 394; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 81 (*rushudan*); Samarqandī, II, p. 373; Ṭabrisī, XV, p. 183.

**325** *Faṣl*, p. 306, ll. 21–22. For this reading ("is it sufficient for the unbelievers") see Jeffery, "Zaid", p. 267 (Zayd b. 'Alī); idem, "Ibn Miq-sam", p. 19; Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 32, Tha'labī, VI, p. 200 ('Alī, 'Ikrima, Mujāhid); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2392, no. 12997 ('Ikrima); Māturīdī, VII, p. 212; Naḥḥās, *Ma'ānī*, IV, p. 297, Samarqandī, II, p. 383, Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 387, al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, pp. 600–601, no. 4842 ('Alī); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 34 ('Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Ya'mar, al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid, 'Ikrima, Qatāda, Ibn Kathīr, Nu'aym b. Maysara [i.e. Abū 'Amr al-Kūfī al-Naḥwī, d. 174/790–791; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, pp. 342–343, no. 3746], al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ya'qūb [probably al-Ḥaḍramī], Ibn Abī Laylā [i.e. 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 609, no. 2491]); Ibn Ghalbūn, II, pp. 518–519 (al-A'shā [i.e. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa Abū Yūsuf al-A'shā al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī, d. ca. 200/815–816, a transmitter from 'Āṣim via Abū Bakr; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, pp. 390–391, no. 3897]); Ahwāzī, *Ibn Muḥayṣin*, p. 274; Ṭūsī, VII, p. 96 ('Alī, al-A'shā, Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar); Ibn 'Aṭīyya, III, p. 525 ('Alī, al-Ḥasan, Ibn Ya'mar, Mujāhid, Ibn Kathīr [according to some authorities]); Ṭabrisī, XV, p. 210 ('Alī, Abū Bakr in the transmission of al-A'shā and al-Burjumī [i.e. Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Burjumī al-Taymī al-Kūfī, d. 230/844–845; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 360–361, no. 1544], Ya'qūb in the transmission of Zayd, Ibn Ya'mar, al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid, 'Ikrima, Qatāda, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ibn Abī

Laylā) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 266, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 311, no. 246; Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 145 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid, ‘Ikrima, Ibn Ya‘mar, Ibn Muḥayṣin); ‘Ukbarī, p. 357; Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 157; Tha‘alibī, III, p. 544 (‘Alī and others); *Faṣl*, p. 24, ll. 8–9 (the version of the ‘Uthmānic codex as an example for *tabdīl al-sukūn bi-l-ḥaraka*).

**326** Al-Ṣādiq’s reading is recorded as *wa-kālibuhum* (Jeffery, p. 334), glossed as “their hound’s master” (*ṣāhib kalbihim*) (Tha‘labī, VI, p. 160; Zamakhsharī, II, p. 475; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, I, p. 776; Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 317; Qurṭubī, X, p. 373; Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, II, p. 299; Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 105; *EQ*, art. “Dog” (Bruce Fudge)). Ibn ‘Aṭīyya (III, p. 504; also Qurṭubī, X, pp. 372–373) cites this word (as an anonymous *qirā’a*) from *Kitāb al-yawāqūt* by Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Zāhid Ghulām Tha‘lab (d. ca. 345/956), of which only fragments survive (see *GAS*, VIII, pp. 155–156). Abū Ḥayyān, in contrast (VI, p. 105), cites the *Kitāb al-yawāqūt* as preserving the anonymous reading *wa-kālī’uhum* (“their guardian”). In ms. M the word *w-k-a-l-i-him* may stand for either *wa-kālī’uhum* or *wa-kālīhim*. Abū Ḥayyān (or his source) interprets the *kālī’* as referring to the dog or to a person who keeps guard. In *KQ* he is “the angel who was in charge of them (i.e. of the sleepers)”.

**327** See **324**.

**328** *Faṣl*, p. 306, l. 23. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 144, 188, 201, 345 (Ubayy, ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās [according to some authorities], Ibn Khuthaym); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 83 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Jaḥḍarī); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 38 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Ya‘mar, Abū Ḥarb b. Abī l-Aswad [d. 109/727–728, son of Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 266, no. 1206, Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāḥ*, I, pp. 51, 56], al-Ḥasan, al-Jaḥḍarī, Qatāda, Abū Nahīk [i.e. the *qārī*] Abū Nahīk ‘Uthmān b. Nahīk al-Azdī al-Farāhīdī al-Baṣrī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 157], al-Ṣādiq; Tha‘labī, VI, p. 206 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar; for *wa-arithu* read *wārith*); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 503 (‘Alī and others); Ṭabrisī, XVI, p. 7 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ṣādiq, Ibn Ya‘mar, al-Ḥasan, al-Jaḥḍarī, Qatāda, Abū Nahīk) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 274; ‘Ukbarī, p. 359 (*wa-qurī’a shādhḍhan*); Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 165 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Jaḥḍarī).

**329** Since no *qirā’a* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing.



**330** *Faṣl*, p. 307, ll. 4–5. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 145, 201, 217 (Ubayy [according to some authorities], Ibn ‘Abbās, Anas b. Mālīk [according to some authorities]); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 125, no. 632, Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 74, Ibn Muḥakkam, III, p. 11, Qurṭubī, XVI, pp. 97–98 (Anas b. Mālīk); Qummī, II, p. 49 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 279, *Burhān*, III, p. 8, *Bihār*, XIV, p. 209, no. 6; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 17. Cf. the reading *innī nadhartu li-l-rahmān ṣamtan* (‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 7 [*fī ba’d al-ḥurūf ṣamtan*]; Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, pp. 65–66 > *Faṣl*, p. 307, ll. 8–9; Samarqandī, II, p. 391 [Ibn ‘Abbās, according to some transmissions]; Tha’labī, VI, p. 212 [Ibn Mas‘ūd, Anas]; Māwardī, III, p. 367 [*wa-qad qur’a fī ba’d al-ḥurūf*]; Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 166 [Ubayy, Anas b. Mālīk, Abū Razīn al-Uqaylī]; Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 176 [the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd; cf. Jeffery, p. 58]). For *ṣawm* in the sense of *ṣamt* see e.g. Muqātil, II, p. 311; Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 74; Kulīnī, IV, p. 87, no. 3 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 279, *Bihār*, XIV, pp. 219–220, no. 29, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 332, no. 58; Ibn Shu‘ba, *Tuḥaf*, p. 267; Sijistānī, *Iftikhār*, p. 254; Ibn Abī Zamanīn, I, p. 504; Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 98; Lane, s.v. *ṣāma*. See **331**.

**331** *Faṣl*, p. 307, ll. 5–6, *Mustadrak*, VII, p. 371, no. 8446. Cf. Barqī, I, p. 10, no. 31 (a Prophetic *ḥadīth*) > *Bihār*, XIV, p. 217, no. 21, LXXVI, pp. 350–351, no. 15, XCVI, pp. 298–299, no. 9, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 333, no. 61. See **330**.

**332** *Faṣl*, p. 307, ll. 6–7. After citing this tradition, al-Nūrī comments: “Thus in my copy, which is corrupt. I cannot see where the difference (from the ‘Uthmānic codex) lies; perhaps it (i.e. the reading intended here) is *shaqiyyan* rather than *taqiyyan*, and God is the one who knows” (*kadhā fī nuskhatī wa-hiya saqīma wa-lam yazhar lī mawḍi‘ al-ikhtilāf wa-la‘allahu shaqiyyan badal taqiyyan wa-llāh al-‘ālim*) (*Faṣl*, p. 307, ll. 7–8). In Sūrat Maryam the word *shaqiyyan* occurs three times (Q 19:4, 32, 48).

*Isnād*: JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤUKAYM/ḤAKĪM: Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥukaym/Ḥakīm al-Khath‘amī, a transmitter from al-Kāzīm and al-Riḍā (Quhpā‘ī, II, p. 39; Ardabīlī, I, p. 158). The manuscripts have ‘an Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm/Ḥukaym ‘an abīhi. This appears to be an error: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ḥukaym/Ḥakīm al-Khath‘amī (a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm; see Kohlberg, “Community”, p. 34; van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 335; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 341–342) never transmits from his father; on the other hand, Ja‘far b. Muḥammad transmitted his father’s *kitāb* (Najāshī, II, p. 257, no. 958).

**333** Najafī, p. 304, no. 10. See Maṣṣūr, *ʿIqd*, p. 315, citing al-Barqī's *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf* (*isnād*: Ibn ʿUrama al-Qummī < Yūnus < al-Riḍā). The beginning of this tradition is cited from *KQ* in Modarressi, "Debates", pp. 24–25, note 111. See *Burhān*, III, p. 14, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 57, no. 3 (from Najafī). For this verse as referring to 'Alī see Qummī, II, p. 51 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 284, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 339, no. 87; Madelung-Walker, p. 29 (Arabic) = p. 85 (English); Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 35; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107 > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 59, no. 12; Shādhān, *Faḍā'il*, p. 172. Cf. **155**.

*Isnād*: cf. **155**.

**334** Cf. 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 114, no. 146 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 382 (reading, correctly: *inna abā Ibrāhīm wa'adahū*), *Burhān*, II, p. 167, no. 1, *Bihār*, XI, p. 88, no. 14. Exegetes are divided over whether the promise mentioned at Q 9:114 was made by Abraham to his father or by Abraham's father to Abraham (see e.g. Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh*, pp. 33–36; Ṭūsī, V, p. 309; Ṭabrisī, X, pp. 150–151; Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 274). The traditions in both 'Ayyāshī and *KQ* favour the second alternative. Each of these traditions has a different ending: the one in 'Ayyāshī ends by citing from the latter half of Q 9:114: "when it became clear to him (i.e. to Abraham) that he (i.e. Abraham's father) was an enemy of God, he disowned him (*tabarra'a minhu*)". The tradition in *KQ* also cites this part of Q 9:114, but without the words *tabarra'a minhu*; instead it continues with Q 19:44. The implication is that even after Abraham realized that his father had remained an unbeliever he went on pleading with him. Such a view does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. It may be suggested that the original text ended with the words *tabarra'a minhu* (just as in 'Ayyāshī) and that the quotation of Q 19:44 formed part of a different tradition.

**335** Two assumptions appear to underlie this tradition. The first is that the *wārid* of Q 19:71 means "arriving at a place and entering it". The second is that this verse applies only to those whom God does not keep away from the Fire. In the early literature (including *KQ*) the term *naskh* was used inter alia to refer to cases of this kind, where a later verse limits the applicability of an earlier verse to certain specific cases. At a later stage the term sometimes used for this was *takhṣīs* ("specification") (cf. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, pp. 191–192; Rippin, "Abrogation", p. 224; **531**<sup>\*</sup>, **533**<sup>\*</sup>). For the view that the relationship between Q 19:71 and Q 21:101 is one of *naskh* (in the sense of "specification") see also Qummī, II, p. 77. Other exegetes resolve the apparent contradiction between

Q 19:71 and Q 21:101 by arguing that *wārid* means “arriving at a place without necessarily entering it” (cf. Lane, s.v.); see Māturīdī, VII, pp. 252–253; Ṭūsī, VII, p. 143; Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Nāsikh*, p. 164; Rāzī, XXI, p. 207. For the philologist al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923) Q 21:101 provides decisive proof (*ḥujja qāṭi‘a*) that the *wārid* of Q 19:71 cannot mean “entering” (cited in Ṭabrisī, XVI, p. 62).

**336** For this reading see Jeffery, p. 62 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 204, no. 657 (*aṣḥāb ‘Abdallāh* [i.e. the followers of Ibn Mas‘ūd]); Ṭabarī, XVII, pp. 100–101 (*qurrā’ ahl al-Madīna wa-ba‘ḍ ahl al-Kūfa wa-l-Baṣra*); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 431, Samarqandī, II, p. 463, Tha‘labī, VI, p. 311, Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, IV, p. 102, Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 64 (the non-Kūfan readers and ‘Aṣīm in the transmission of Abū Bakr), Abū l-Futūḥ, VIII, p. 62 (the non-Kūfan readers). For *al-sijill* as the name of an angel see Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 206, no. 656 (al-Suddī); Qummī, II, p. 77 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 357, *Burhān*, III, p. 75, no. 3, *Biḥār*, VII, p. 101, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 463, no. 185; Ahwāzī, *Ẓuhd*, p. 92, no. 145 > *Burhān*, III, p. 75, no. 2, *Biḥār*, V, p. 322, no. 8; Ṭabarī, XVII, pp. 99–100 (Ibn ‘Umar, al-Suddī); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, p. 78, no. 327, p. 189, no. 1004 (Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [i.e. al-Bāqir]); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 68; Samarqandī, II, p. 462; Tha‘labī, VI, p. 311; Māwardī, III, p. 474; Zamakhsharī, II, p. 585; Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 66; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, IV, p. 102; Abū l-Futūḥ, VIII, p. 62 (‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar and al-Suddī); Rāzī, XXII, p. 197 (‘Alī); Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, IV, p. 78; van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 301.

**337** Many commentators maintain that *tāhā* means *yā rajul* (“o man”), but they differ as to the language in which the word occurs in this sense: (i) Ethiopian (‘Ikrima, in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2415, no. 13378, Tha‘labī, VI, p. 236, Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 446, Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 200, Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, II, p. 136); (ii) Hebrew (‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib tells Mu‘āwiya: *tāhā bi-l-‘ibrāniyya yā rajul*, in Thaqafī, *Ghārāt*, p. 380); (iii) Nabataean (‘Ikrima and al-Ḍaḥḥāk, in Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 136 > Māwardī, III, p. 392; ‘Ikrima and al-Suddī, in Samarqandī, II, p. 406; al-Ḥasan, in Ibn Muḥakkam, III, p. 32; *ba‘ḍuhum*, in Māturīdī, VII, p. 266; Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, in Tha‘labī, VI, p. 236, Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 446, Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, II, p. 136; ‘Ikrima [citing Ibn ‘Abbās], Sa‘īd b. Jubayr [according to one version], al-Ḍaḥḥāk, in Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 200; Ibn ‘Abbās, in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2415, nos. 13375–13376); (iv) Syriac (Muqātil, II, p. 324; Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, Ibn ‘Abbās, Mujāhid, in Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 136; *ba‘ḍuhum*, in Māturīdī, VII, p. 266; Qatāda, in Tha‘labī, VI, p. 236;

Ibn ‘Abbās and Mujāhid, in Māwardī, III, p. 392; ‘Ikrima [according to one version], Sa‘īd b. Jubayr [according to one version], Qatāda, in Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 200); (v) the dialect of ‘Akk (Samarqandī, II, p. 406; Māwardī, III, p. 392; Zamakhsharī, II, p. 528 > Rāzī, XXII, p. 4; Bayḍāwī, p. 413, cited in Rabin, *West-Arabian*, p. 9; al-Kalbī, in Tha‘labī, VI, p. 236, Ṭabrisī, XVI, p. 83, Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 446; Abū Ṣāliḥ < Ibn ‘Abbās, in Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 200); (vi) the dialect of Ṭayyī (Qutrub, in Māwardī, III, p. 392).

**338** *Faṣl*, p. 307, ll. 18–19. For this reading see *GdQ*, III, p. 88, Māturīdī, VII, p. 273, Samarqandī, II, p. 409, Ibn Muḥakkam, III, p. 35, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 87, Māwardī, III, p. 397 (Ubayy); Jeffery, pp. 59, 146, 201, 334 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ṣādiq); Muqātil, II, p. 326 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Tha‘labī, VI, p. 241, Abū l-Futūḥ, VII, p. 451, Rāzī, XXII, p. 19, Qurṭubī, XI, pp. 184–185, Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 219 (the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd); Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (al-Ṣādiq); Qummī, II, p. 60 (*hākadhā nazalat*) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 303, *Burhān*, III, p. 34, no. 7, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 107, no. 6, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 375, no. 53; Ṭabarī, XVI, p. 149 (an anonymous reading cited by Qatāda); Tha‘labī, VI, p. 241, Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, II, p. 28 (> Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 375, no. 55), Qurṭubī, XI, p. 184 (the codex of Ubayy); Ṭabrisī, XVI, p. 91 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Ubayy, al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 303, *Burhān*, III, p. 34, no. 8, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 89, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 375, no. 54, *Faṣl*, p. 144, ll. 22–23; Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 204 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [i.e. al-Bāqir]). Cf. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, p. 461, Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 193, no. 600, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII, p. 2418, no. 13402 (*min nafsi* adduced as a gloss). For this tradition cf. Qummī, II, p. 60 (*ja‘alahā min ghayr waqt*, i.e. God did not determine even for Himself when the Hour would occur) > *Burhān*, III, p. 34, no. 7, *Bihār*, XIII, p. 107, no. 6, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 375, no. 53.

**339** *Faṣl*, p. 308, ll. 2–4. See **65**.

**340** For this tradition see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 518, no. 51; Qummī, II, p. 61 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 310, *Burhān*, III, p. 37, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 118–119, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 382, no. 75; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 314–315, no. 7 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 37–38, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 119; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 66. In all of these sources the *isnād* is identical with *KQ* (with “Ri‘āb” for “Ziyād”), the verse is cited as in the ‘Uthmānic codex, and the *ulū l-nuhā* are identified as the Imams. Among Shī‘ī exegetes, this identification is well-known (see Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 321, no.

19 [ending]: *kullamā yaḡīʾ fī l-qurʾān min dhikr ulī l-nuhā fa-hum al-aʾimma ʿalayhim al-salām*; cf. Furāt, I, p. 256, no. 348; ʿĀmilī, *Mirʾāt*, p. 325). In contrast, the *ulū l-albāb* are regularly identified as the *shīʿa*, as *shīʿat ʿAlī* etc. (see 92, 472). The manuscripts of *KQ* appear to reflect a conflation between Q 20:54 (= Q 20:128) (*inna fī dhālika la-āyāt li-ulī l-nuhā*) and Q 39:21 (*inna fī dhālika la-dhikrā li-ulī l-albāb*). Once the copyist had written down *al-albāb* instead of *al-nuhā* (thus in mss. L, T and B; in ms. M the word is missing altogether), he may automatically have gone on to write *hum shīʿatunā*.

**341** This tradition seems to be out of place.

**342** Q 20:125 is cited by al-Hādī's son al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī in the rescript to Iṣḥāq b. Ismāʿīl al-Nīsābūrī (for which see 109\*). See Kishshī, p. 482 > Quhpāʾī, I, p. 55, *Bihār*, L, p. 320, no. 16; Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuḥaf*, p. 359 > *Bihār*, LXXVIII, p. 375, no. 2. Al-ʿAskarī's reading of this verse is not attested. It may have been *hashartanī* (as in the ʿUthmānic codex) or *hashartaniya*, conforming to the reading of Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kathīr (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 426) and Ibn Muḥayṣin (Ahwāzī, *Ibn Muḥayṣin*, p. 281).

**343** *Faṣl*, p. 308, ll. 16–17. The readings upheld by al-Šādiq conform to the ʿUthmānic codex (Q 3:39: *yubashshiruka*; Q 21:95: *wa-ḥarām*; cf. Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 56 [*wa-ḥarām* as the reading of al-Šādiq] > *Faṣl*, p. 308, ll. 18–19). The text cited from Sūra 3 is presumably taken from verse 39; it could however also be Q 3:45 (*inna llāha yubashshirukī*). There appears to be no record of al-Aʿmash's reading of Q 3:39 (or of Q 3:45). He generally followed the readings of Ibn Masʿūd (cf. *Elr*, art. "Aʿmaš" [E. Kohlberg]; in general 598\*), and may also have done so here. Ibn Masʿūd's *qirāʾa* (at Q 3:39) is said to have been *yabshuruka* (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 20, Abū l-Futūḥ, III, p. 28) or *yubshiruka* (Jeffery, p. 33). The reading *yabshuruka* is also ascribed to Ḥamza (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 205; Naḥḥās, *Iʿrāb*, I, p. 373; Ṭūsī, II, p. 450; Qurṭubī, IV, p. 75). For the reading *wa-ḥirm* see Jeffery, pp. 62, 228, 259, 321 (Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn al-Zubayr [but according to Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 82 he read *wa-ḥarām*], Ṭalḥa, al-Aʿmash); Farrāʾ, II, p. 211 (Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī; cf. Beck, "Kodex", pp. 366–367); Ṭabarī, XVII, p. 86 (Ibn ʿAbbās); *Šāfi*, III, p. 354. It was equally the reading of the Kūfans ʿĀsim (in the transmission of Abū Bakr), Ḥamza and al-Kisāʾī (Jeffery, p. 62; Ibn Mujāhid, p. 431; Ibn Ghālībūn, II, p. 545; Samarqandī, II, p. 460; Ṭūsī, VII, p. 276; Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 56; cf.

Ṭabarī, XVII, p. 86, Thaʿlabī, VI, p. 306, Abū l-Futūḥ, VIII, p. 57, ʿUkbarī, p. 383). For *shawādh* readings of *ḥ-r-m* see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 93, Ibn Jinnī, II, pp. 65–66 and the discussion in Rippin, “Qurʾān 21:95”, pp. 48–51. See **346**, **349**, **352**.

*Isnād*: AL-MUNDHIR: (al-) Mundhir b. Jayfar/Jufayr/Ḥuḍayr b. Ḥukaym/Ḥakīm al-ʿAbdī, a Kūfan transmitter from disciples of al-Ṣādiq. His *kitāb* was transmitted by Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā (Quhpāʿī, VI, p. 140; Ardabīlī, II, p. 264).

**344** Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, pp. 12–13 (... *wa-lam yuʾmin* [i.e. Iblīs] *bi-anna Ādam innamā juʾila qiblatan li-l-malāʾika* etc.); Gimaret, *Lecture*, p. 83 (to Q 2:34).

**345** Cf. Ḥimyarī, p. 21 > *Biḥār*, XXXVIII, p. 110, no. 41, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 376, no. 59; Furāt, I, pp. 255–256, nos. 346–347 > *Biḥār*, XXXVIII, pp. 140–141, no. 103; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 310, no. 2 > *Burhān*, III, p. 36, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, p. 126, no. 67; Kūfī, *Manāqib*, p. 303, no. 222; Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 75 (*wa-ḥi l-bāṭin ḥādḥa suʾāl Muḥammad ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi rabbahu jalla wa-ʿalā ḥi akḥihi amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām an yashudda ʿaḍudahu bihi*); Karājakī, I, p. 296 (citing the Prophet’s words on the mountain of Thabīr); Ḥaskānī, I, pp. 368–371, nos. 510–513; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 3; Ṭabrisī, VI, pp. 126–127 (to Q 5:55) > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 376, no. 58; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarāʾif*, p. 133 (citing Ibn Ḥanbal); Irbilī, I, pp. 166–167. *Jamrat al-ʿaqaba* is the third halt in the valley of Minā, where pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt during the *ḥajj* stop to partake in the ritual throwing of stones (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Djamra” [F. Buhl-(J. Jomier)]). The best-known tradition on Aaron and ʿAlī is the *ḥadīth al-manzila* (see **286\***).

**346** *Faṣl*, p. 228, ll. 18–19, p. 308, l. 18. See **343**, **349**, **352**.

**347** *Faṣl*, p. 308, ll. 21–22, Najafī, p. 324, no. 10. See *Burhān*, III, p. 52, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 226, no. 19 (from Najafī). For this reading see Tisdall, p. 238. The verse is cited (but as in the ʿUthmānic codex) within a lengthy account in Kulīnī (VIII, p. 380, no. 574 [*isnād*: ... ʿAlī b. Ḥammād < ʿAmr b. Shamir < Jābir < al-Bāqir] > *Burhān*, III, p. 52, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 368, no. 94, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 413, no. 8). For this account see further **542\***.

*Isnād*: ʿALĪ B. ḤAMMĀD AL-AZDĪ: a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā who was accused of extremism (*ghuluww*). He trans-

mitted the *Kiṭāb al-aẓilla* (Quhpā'ī, IV, p. 193; Ardabīlī, I, p. 577; Halm, "Schatten", p. 241; idem, *Gnosis*, p. 242).

**348** *Faṣl*, p. 308, ll. 13–14. For the reading *āṭaynā* see Jeffery, p. 334 (al-Šādiq); Ṭabarī, XVII, p. 34, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VIII, p. 2454, no. 13662, Tha'labī, VI, p. 277, Ṭūsī, VII, p. 253 (Mujāhid); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 63, Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 31 (Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, al-'Alā' b. Sayāba, al-Šādiq, Ibn Surayj/Shurayḥ al-Iṣbahānī [unidentified; not mentioned in Ṭabrisī]); Samarqandī, II, p. 447 (*ba'duhum*); Zamakhsharī, II, p. 575 (Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid); Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi'*, p. 60 (Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, III, p. 341; Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 294 (Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Abī Ishāq, al-'Alā' b. Sayāba, al-Šādiq, Ibn Shurayḥ al-Iṣbahānī). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 71 (*wa-hiya mamdūda*) > *Burhān*, III, p. 62, no. 10, *Faṣl*, p. 308, l. 11. Some grammarians regard *āṭaynā* at Q 21:47 as being in the third form, for example Ibn Jinnī (II, p. 63) and al-Zamakhsharī (II, p. 575); others allow the fourth form (e.g. Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 31 [*wa-ruwiya 'an al-Šādiq 'alayhi l-salām annahu qāl: ma'nāhu jāzaynā bihā, wa-'alā hādihā fa-yajūz an yakūn min af'alnā wa-yakūn maf'ūl āṭaynā maḥdhūfan*]; cf. 'Ukbarī, p. 380). See Lane, s.v. *ātā*. For the meaning of *muthaqqala* see **178\***.

*Isnād*: 'ABDALLĀH B. AL-MUGHĪRA: Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra al-Bajalī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, IV, pp. 54–56; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 511–513). According to the manuscripts of *KQ*, he transmitted from Sahl. The most frequently cited scholar of this name is Sahl b. Ziyād. Neither he nor anyone else called Sahl appears to have transmitted to 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra or transmitted from Jamīl al-Ḥannāṭ. Presumably a copyist mistakenly wrote down 'an Jamīl twice, and the first occurrence was later wrongly corrected to 'an Sahl.—JAMĪL AL-ḤANNĀṬ: Jamīl b. 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' al-Khath'amī al-Ḥannāṭ/al-Khayyāṭ, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Quhpā'ī, II, p. 53; Ardabīlī, I, p. 168).—WALĪD: there are a number of transmitters from al-Šādiq bearing this name. The best-known is al-Walīd b. Ṣubayḥ (for whom see **480\***).

**349** *Faṣl*, p. 228, ll. 19–20, p. 308, ll. 15–16. Both 'azaba and gharaba mean "to go away to a distance". The former is attested in several Imāmī traditions, e.g. Kulīnī, II, p. 672, no. 7, Ibn Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl*, p. 47, no. 50 (*fa-'zub thumma 'zub thumma 'zub*). Cf. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 82 ('Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr: "some youths here [i.e. in Mecca?] read *wa-ḥirm*, but the correct reading is *wa-ḥarām*" [*inna ṣibyānan hāhunā yaqra'ūn*



“*wa-ḥirm*” *wa-innamā hiya “wa-ḥarām”*]); cf. also Ibn Wahb, *Ĵāmi‘/‘Ulūm*, p. 255 (fol 12b ll. 9–11). See **343**, **346**, **352**.

**350** *Faṣl*, p. 309, ll. 10–11. The reading *wa-lā muḥaddath* is recorded on the authority of (i) Ibn ‘Abbās (see Jeffery, p. 202; Tirmidhī, *Awliyā’*, pp. 351 [*kāna mim mā yutlā thumma turika*], 353; Makkī, *Qūt*, I, p. 246; Qurṭubī, XII, pp. 79–80; Madelung, “Ibn ‘Abbās”, p. 14); (ii) ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidīn (see *Baṣā’ir*, pp. 319–320, no. 3 > *Bihār*, XXVI, p. 67, no. 5; *Baṣā’ir*, p. 369, no. 5 > *Bihār*, XL, p. 142, no. 44; Kulīnī, I, p. 270, no. 2 > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 512, no. 193; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 345–346, nos. 30–31 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 98–99, nos. 2–3, *Bihār*, XXVI, pp. 81–82, nos. 43–44); (iii) al-Bāqir (see *Baṣā’ir*, pp. 323–324, nos. 10–11 > *Bihār*, XXVI, pp. 68–69, no. 8; *Baṣā’ir*, p. 324, no. 13 > *Bihār*, XXVI, pp. 69–70, no. 10; Kishshī, p. 157 > *Bihār*, XXVI, p. 80, no. 41; Mufid, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 323 > *Bihār*, XXVI, p. 74, no. 26); (iv) al-Ṣādiq (see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63); (v) al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (see Kulīnī, I, p. 177, no. 4 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 385, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 511, no. 190); (vi) Qatāda (see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 321, no. 8 > *Bihār*, XXVI, p. 72, no. 19). See also Sulaym, *Kitāb*, p. 351 > Mufid, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 324; Qummī, II, p. 86 > Najafī, pp. 347–348, no. 34, *Burhān*, III, p. 98, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 516–517, no. 206; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ilal*, p. 183; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 64–65; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 212–213, with note 435 = *Divine Guide*, p. 202; Introduction, p. 16, with note 79. Cf. Jeffery, p. 148 (giving Ubayy’s reading as *wa-lā nabī muḥaddath*); Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 75 (*wa-lā nabī muḥaddath* as the reading of Ibn ‘Abbās). For a discussion of the term *muḥaddath* see Kohlberg, “Muḥaddath”; Friedmann, *Prophecy*, pp. 86–92 and index; van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 280; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin* (= *Divine Guide*), index; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 158–159. *Qablaka* (instead of *min qablaka*) is also attested in Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63. It is not clear whether this is a reading or a copyist’s error. The phrase *wa-mā arsalnā qablaka* occurs in the Qur’ān twice, at Q 21:7, 25:20; *wa-mā arsalnā min qablaka* appears four times, at Q 12:109, 16:43, 21:25, 22:52.

**351** For the doctrine of *badā’* see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Badā’” (I. Goldziher-[A.S. Tritton]); *EIr*, art. “Badā’” (W. Madelung). For the expression *badā li-llāh* (“God changed His decree/God’s decision became apparent”) see **550**, **619**; Ayyāshī, I, pp. 104–105, nos. 307, 309, Kulīnī, VIII, p. 82, no. 40 (to Q 2:213); Mufid, *Taṣṭiḥ*, pp. 24–26. The notion that the Day of Reckoning mentioned at Q 21:1 (or the Hour mentioned at Q 54:1, see **550**) was postponed as a result of a change in the divine decree

(*badāʾ*) does not appear to be attested elsewhere. Cf. the exegetical tradition to Q 51:54–55, according to which God wished to destroy mankind but then changed His decree as an act of mercy (*Baṣāʾir*, p. 110, no. 4; Qummī, II, pp. 330–331 > *Biḥār*, IX, p. 239, no. 137; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 103, no. 78 [> Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, II, p. 8] > *Biḥār*, XVIII, p. 213, no. 45; Nuʿmānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 83; Ibn Bābawayh, *Tawḥīd*, p. 443, no. 1 > *Biḥār*, X, p. 330, no. 2; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, I, p. 145, no. 1 > *Biḥār*, IV, p. 95, no. 2; cf. ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 55, no. 77).

**352** *Faṣl*, p. 308, l. 20. Of the last four words in this tradition, al-Nūrī cites only the word *wa-ḥirm*. This may not be a coincidence: only *wa-ḥirm* can be established as a reading of which al-Ṣādiq disapproved (see **343**, **346**, **349**, to Q 21:95). *S-y-n-z-l* appears to be corrupt. *H-j-r* may refer to *hajran* (Q 73:10), for which the variant *hujran* is recorded (see Lane, s.v.; cf. Qurṭubī, I, p. 84). Finally, readers disagree at six places in the Qurʾān as between *waladan* and *wuldan* (see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 412, Ṭabrisī, XVI, p. 65, both to Q 19:77). Al-Ṣādiq's reading of *h-j-ran* and *w-l-dan* does not appear to be recorded elsewhere and cannot be established from *KQ*, since the manuscripts are unvocalized.

**353** In the ʿUthmānic codex, the form *yulḥidūn* occurs three times (Q 7:180, 16:103, 41:40; cf. *WKAS*, II, part 1, p. 281a); it is the *qirāʾa* of five of the Seven Readers. Only Ḥamza read *yalḥadūn* throughout, while al-Kisāʾī read *yalḥadūn* at Q 16:103 and *yulḥidūn* at Q 7:180 and Q 41:40 (see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 298; Ṭūsī, V, p. 39; Ṭabrisī, IX, p. 68; cf. Ṭabari, IX, p. 134 [to Q 7:180], XIV, pp. 179–180 [to Q 16:103]). Al-Ṣādiq's reading does not appear to be recorded elsewhere and cannot be established from *KQ*, since the manuscripts are unvocalized.

*Isnād*: ʿABĪDA/ʿUBAYDA: ʿAbīda/ʿUbayda b. Bashīr al-Khathʿamī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʾī, IV, p. 127; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 530–531). He may be identical with ʿUbayd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr al-Khathʿamī al-Kūfī (Quhpāʾī, IV, p. 115; Ardabīlī, I, p. 526).

**354** *Faṣl*, p. 309, ll. 3–4. *Li-yashhadū* is occasionally glossed as *li-yahḍurū* (Samarqandī, II, p. 477; Thaʿlabī, VII, p. 19; Ṭabrisī, XVII, p. 99; Qurṭubī, XII, p. 41); it does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirāʾa*.

**355** *Faṣl*, p. 309, ll. 4–6. For this reading see Kulīnī, I, p. 422, no. 51 > *Burhān*, III, p. 80, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 379, no. 64, Ḥuwayzī, III, p.

476, no. 29; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 238 > *Biḥār*, XXXIX, p. 250, no. 13.

**356** *Faṣl*, p. 309, ll. 9–10. According to al-Farrā' as cited by al-Qurṭubī (XII, p. 39), *ya'tī* is grammatically correct; but he does not mention it as a *qirā'a*. In the corresponding passage in Farrā' (II, p. 224), the verb is *ta'tī* (*wa-law qāl: wa-'alā kull ḍāmīr ta'tī taj'aluhu fi'lan muwaḥḥadan li-anna "kull" uḍīfat ilā wāḥida*).

*Isnād*: YAḤYĀ B. AYYŪB: Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb al-Baṣrī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, VI, p. 253; Ardabīlī, II, p. 326).

**357** *Faṣl*, p. 309, l. 1. In ms. L, the word *rujḡālan* ("foot soldiers") is vocalized. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 335 (al-Ṣādiq, Ibn 'Abbās, Mujaḥid, al-Ḥasan). It is also ascribed to al-Ṣādiq (and others) in Ibn Jinnī (II, p. 79), Ṭabrisī (XVII, p. 94 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 373, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 488, no. 75) and Abū Ḥayyān (VI, p. 338); Naḥḥās (*Ma'ānī*, IV, p. 398) records it on the authority of 'Ikrima.

**358** *Sajda* is the practice of bowing down after reciting certain verses (or passages) known as *sajda* verses. There are usually said to be fourteen such verses (each in a different Sūra), though other numbers are also given (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Sadjda" [A. Rippin]). All agree that Q 22:18 is among the fourteen verses. According to the account cited here on the authority of 'Alī, Q 22:77 is also a *sajda* verse, making Sūrat al-ḥajj the only one to contain two such verses. This account is also recorded as a Prophetic tradition (Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi'*/*Ulūm*, p. 228 [fol 22b l. 22–fol 23a l. 1] and the references given by the editor [p. 44]; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 58, no. 473; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, III, pp. 211, 236 and the sources cited therein; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 616; cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, II, p. 58, nos. 1401–1402; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi'*, II, p. 93 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 391) and as an utterance of 'Umar (Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, I, pp. 254, 255; Mālik, *Muwatta'*, I, pp. 205–206, no. 13; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 57, nos. 470, 471; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām*, III, p. 1304; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, p. 616), of Ibn 'Umar ('Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, III, p. 341, no. 5890) and of Ibn 'Abbās (idem, *Muṣannaf*, p. 342, no. 5894; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 58, no. 472). 'Umar, Ibn 'Umar and 'Alī are all said to have performed two *sajdas* while reciting Sūrat al-ḥajj (Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, I, pp. 249, 254, 255). There is disagreement as to whether this practice is obligatory or not; see 673\*.

**359** See Najafī, p. 333, no. 1 (as an instance of “the inner meaning [*bāṭin*] of *tafsīr ahl al-bayt*”) > *Burhān*, III, p. 78, nos. 2–3, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 24, no. 52.

**360** *Mustadrak*, X, pp. 181–182, no. 11797. For this tradition see Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 336, nos. 8–9 > *Burhān*, III, p. 90, nos. 28–29, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 360, no. 84. Cf. ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 234, no. 43 (to Q 14:37) > *Burhān*, II, pp. 320–321, no. 14; Kulīnī, I, p. 392, nos. 1 (to Q 14:37), 2; Ibn Bābawayh, ‘*Uyūn*, II, p. 266, nos. 29–30 (*wa-ya’riḍū ‘alaynā nuṣratahum*). Cf. the tradition in which al-Šādiq reveals to his disciple Dharrīḥ al-Muḥāribī (for whom see Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 217–218) that the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) of *thumma l-yaqḍū tafathahum* is “meeting the Imam” (*liḡa’ al-imām*) (Kulīnī, IV, p. 549, no. 4 > *Šāfi*, III, p. 376, *Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 360–361, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 492, no. 97, ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 7; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḡīh*, II, p. 290, no. 1432, pp. 290–291, no. 1437; idem, *Ma‘ānī*, pp. 322–323, no. 10 > *Biḥār*, XLVII, p. 338, no. 16, XCII, pp. 83–84, no. 15, XCIX, p. 318, no. 20). The reading *wa-yaqḍū* (for *wa-l-yūfū*) in mss. M, L and T does not appear to be recorded elsewhere and may be the result of a scribal error.

**361** Cf. Barqī, I, p. 272, no. 368 (same *isnād* as in *KQ*) > *Burhān*, III, p. 107, no. 8, *Biḥār*, II, p. 204, no. 86; *Baṣā’ir*, p. 524, no. 25; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 75 > *Burhān*, III, p. 107, no. 3. Cf. also *Aṣl ‘Āṣim b. Ḥumayd*, p. 25, Barqī, I, pp. 271–272, no. 366 (> *Burhān*, III, p. 107, no. 6, *Biḥār*, II, p. 204, no. 84), p. 272, no. 367 (> *Biḥār*, II, p. 204, no. 85), *Baṣā’ir*, p. 522, no. 12 (> *Biḥār*, II, p. 200, no. 66), Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 73 (al-Bāqir addresses Kāmil al-Tammār). In some of these sources, *al-musallimūn* appears as a gloss on *al-mu’minūn*; in others it should perhaps be taken as a reading (*qad aflaḡa l-mu’minūn al-musallimūn*). The reading as given in *KQ* does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. Perhaps *qad aflaḡa l-mu’minūn* is to be understood here as the name of Sūra 23 (see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 551). If so, then al-Šādiq’s instruction to his disciple is to read the opening verse as *qad aflaḡa l-musallimūn*. Although the word *m-s-l-mūn* is unvocalized in the manuscripts, the reading *musallimūn* appears to be confirmed by the fact that in Barqī and *Baṣā’ir* (as well as in Kulīnī, I, p. 391, no. 5) the verse is cited in the chapters on *taslīm*. Cf. **74, 76, 120, 129, 285, 363.**

*Isnād*: SALAMA B. ḤAYYĀN: a Wāqifi and a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’i, III, p. 152; Ardabīlī, I, p. 372).—ABŪ L-ŠABBĀḤ AL-KINĀNĪ: Abū l-Šabbāḥ Ibrāhīm b. Nu‘aym al-‘Abdī al-Kinānī (d. after 170/786–

787), a transmitter from al-Şādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 289).

**362** *Faṣl*, p. 313, ll. 16–17. Cf. Q<sub>40</sub>:64.

*Isnād*: this is the only tradition in *KQ* in which Abū Ṭālib transmits from Yūnus via another person rather than directly.

**363** It is not clear whether *qad aflaḥa l-musallimūn* follows the *qad aflaḥa l-mu'minūn* of the 'Uthmānic codex or replaces it (cf. **361**\*). Cf. *Baṣā'ir*, p. 523, no. 19 (in the chapter *fī l-taslīm li-āl Muḥammad* etc.; *isnād*: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [i.e. al-Sayyārī?] < al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd < al-Naḍr b. Suwayd < Ibn Muskān < Ḍurays < al-Bāqir); Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 74 (same *isnād* as *Baṣā'ir*). In both *Baṣā'ir* and Ḥillī, the Imam declares: *qad aflaḥa l-musallimūn*; but whether this is a reading remains unclear. Cf. also **74**, **76**, **120**, **129**, **285**.

**364** There is only partial agreement between the versions preserved in ms. M and ms. T. (Mss. L and B record essentially the same text as ms. T.) Both versions agree that each person has two houses awaiting him, one in Heaven and one in Hell; and both describe a situation where one of the two persons (say, Zayd) goes to Heaven and the other (say, 'Amr) ends up in Hell. At this point the texts diverge: (i) according to ms. M, Zayd will inherit (or take possession of) 'Amr's original paradisiacal home (i.e. the home which had been prepared for 'Amr in Paradise while he was alive on earth), while 'Amr will inherit Zayd's original infernal home. There is no mention of Zayd's original home in Paradise or of 'Amr's original home in Hell. Other sources add that before he enters Hell 'Amr will be shown his original paradisiacal home, and this will increase his sorrow; Zayd, before entering Paradise, will be shown his original infernal home, and this will increase his joy. See Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, VII, p. 512, no. 37626; Qummī, II, p. 89 > *Şāfi*, III, p. 395, *Burhān*, III, p. 109, no. 2, *Bihār*, VIII, p. 287, no. 19, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 531–532, no. 35; Ṭabarī, II, p. 74, to Q 2:167; idem, XVI, p. 87, to Q 19:39 (*wa-andhīr yā Muḥammad ḥā'ulā' al-mushrikīn bi-llāh yawm ḥasratihim wa-nadamihim 'alā mā farraṭū fī janb allāh wa-ūrīthat masākinuhum min al-janna ahl al-īmān bi-llāh wa-l-ṭā'a lahu wa-adkhalūhum masākin ahl al-īmān bi-llāh min al-nār*); Ibn Bābawayh, *I'tiqādāt*, p. 97 = Fyzee, p. 81 > *Bihār*, VIII, p. 201; Ibn Bābawayh, *Iqāb*, pp. 305–306 > *Bihār*, VIII, pp. 125–126, no. 26; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, V, p. 698, no. 8566, p. 823, no. 8808; Haythamī, *Majma'*, X, p. 432 (from

al-Ṭabarānī); Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 402. (ii) According to ms. T, Zayd will take possession of his own original paradisiacal home and ‘Amr, of his own original infernal home. There is no mention either of Zayd having an original home in Hell or of ‘Amr having an original home in Paradise. (According to one tradition, these homes will be demolished [see al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, XIV, pp. 496–497, no. 39405, from al-Daylamī]; cf. Ṭūsī, VII, p. 351 [from Mujāhid], where only the demolition of Zayd’s original home in Hell is mentioned.)

**365** Cf. Samarqandī, II, p. 511, where *mā yū‘adūn* is explained as referring to the *fitna*. In Ṭabrisī (XVIII, p. 174), *fi l-qawm* of the ‘Uthmānic codex is glossed as *ma’a l-qawm*. For the trial or test (*fitna*) which ‘Alī endured after the Prophet’s death cf. in general *Bihār*, XXVIII, pp. 1–84.

**366** *Mustadrak*, VII, p. 25, no. 7548. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 93 (*innahā nazalat fi māni’ al-zakāt*) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 410, *Burhān*, III, p. 119, no. 4; Kulīnī, III, p. 504, no. 11 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 410, *Burhān*, III, p. 119, no. 2; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḥṣṣah*, II, p. 7, no. 21 > *Burhān*, III, p. 119, no. 2 (ending); Ibn Bābawayh, *Iqāb*, p. 279, no. 5 > *Bihār*, XCVI, pp. 21–22, no. 50 (ending).

**367** *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 276, no. 16704 (a). This reading is ascribed to al-Ṣādiq (Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 62; Kulīnī, V, p. 522, no. 4), to al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 71 [for “Ja’far” read “Abū Ja’far”] > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 447) or to the *ahl al-bayt* (Ṭūsī, VII, p. 461). It is also recorded on the authority of Ubayy (Jeffery, p. 150; Ṭabarī, XVIII, p. 167; Tha’labī, VII, p. 117; Ṭūsī, VII, p. 461; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, IV, p. 195), Ibn Mas’ūd (Muqātil, II, p. 426 [cited in Versteegh, “Grammar and Exegesis”, p. 219]; Māturīdī, VII, p. 593; Naḥḥās, *Ma’ānī*, IV, p. 556; Qurṭubī, XII, p. 309; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, III, p. 304), Ibn ‘Abbās (Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 71; Qurṭubī, XII, p. 309) and Sa’īd b. Jubayr (Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 71). For this tradition cf. Kulīnī, V, p. 522, nos. 1–3 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 447, *Burhān*, III, p. 151, nos. 1–3; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, VIII, p. 2641, no. 14846; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ilal*, pp. 564–565, no. 1 > *Bihār*, CIV, p. 34, no. 12; **368.** *Al-jilbāb wa-l-qinā’* are the outer garment and the head-shawl.

**368** *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 276, no. 16704 (b). Cf. Kulīnī, V, p. 522, no. 4 (*al-jilbāb wa-l-khimār idhā kānat al-mar’a musinna*) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 447, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, VII/1, p. 147, no. 25433, *Burhān*, III, p. 151, no.

4, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 623, no. 240; **367**. In this tradition, *izār* may well mean “a waist-wrapper/sarong” (cf. Lane, s.v.).

**369** Cf. the reading of Ubayy: *bi-annahum yarithūn al-arḍ wa-la-yumakkinanna minḥum* (read *lahum*?) (Jeffery, p. 150). Cf. also Q 28:5–6 (*wa-naḥʾalahum al-wārithīn wa-numakkina lahum fī l-arḍ*).

**370** *Faṣl*, p. 314, ll. 8–9. This sentence presumably follows *wa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā arbaʿ* (Q 24:45) (cf. Ibn Muḥakkam, III, p. 187: *wa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā arbaʿ ay: wa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā akthar min dhālika*). Elsewhere it is recorded as an utterance of al-Bāqir (Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 60 > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 615, no. 209, *Faṣl*, p. 314, ll. 9–10 [where al-Nūrī regards it as a reading]; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmiʿ*, II, p. 129) or of al-Šādiq (Qummī, II, p. 107 > *Šāfiʿ*, III, p. 441, *Burhān*, III, p. 144, *Bihār*, LXIV, p. 24, no. 2, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 615, no. 208). Cf. the reading of Ubayy: *wa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā akthar* (Jeffery, p. 150; Qurṭubī, XII, p. 292; Abū Ḥayyān, VI, p. 428). Commentators provide several answers to the question why the Qurʾān does not mention animals which walk on more than four legs. One answer is that to the beholder they are indistinguishable from quadrupeds (*li-annahū ka-lladhī yamshī ʿalā arbaʿ fī marʾā/raʾy al-ʿayn*) (Thaʿlabī, VII, p. 113; Ṭūsī, VII, p. 448; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 60; idem, *Jawāmiʿ*, II, p. 129). Another answer, which Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) ascribes to the *falāsifa*, is that animals with more than four legs only support themselves (*yaʿtamidu*) on four of them (Ṭūsī, VII, p. 448; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 60; see further Māwardī, IV, p. 115; Qurṭubī, XII, p. 292 [citing al-Naqqāsh]; Rāzī, XXIV, p. 16; Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 391). Finally, such creatures are said to be so rare that they may be regarded as virtually non-existent (*kāna mulḥaqan bi-l-ʿadam*) (and need therefore not be mentioned in the Qurʾān) (Rāzī, XXIV, p. 16 > *Bihār*, LXIV, p. 14). This is puzzling since, as noted by al-Rāzī, multipeds include spiders and scorpions, and these can hardly be regarded as rare.

**371** *Faṣl*, p. 314, l. 6. For the reading with *lahunna* (“after their being constrained, God is forgiving towards them”) see Jeffery, pp. 65, 202, 249, 295 (Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, al-Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym); Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil*, II, p. 131, no. 650, p. 154 no. 716 (Jābir [i.e. b. ʿAbdallāh]); Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, VIII, p. 2591, no. 14536 (Ibn Masʿūd); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 108 (Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. Jubayr); Ibn Aʿṭiyya, IV, p. 182 (Ibn Masʿūd, Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh, Ibn Jubayr); Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 39 (Ibn



‘Abbās, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, III, p. 434, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 602, no. 167, *Faṣl*, p. 314, l. 7; Ibn al-Jawzī, V, p. 381 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Abū ‘Imrān al-Jawnī, Ja‘far b. Muḥammad [i.e. al-Šādiq]); Gilliot, *Exégèse*, p. 151. Cf. Tha‘labī, VII, p. 99 (whenever al-Ḥasan would read this verse he would exclaim: *lahunna wa-llāhi lahunna*). According to al-Zarkashī (I, p. 337), Jābir’s reading was *lahu*, but this is probably an error for *lahunna*.

**372** *Faṣl*, p. 314, ll. 4–6, *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 448, no. 17245. For this reading see Tisdall, p. 238 (“And let those who find not marriage abstain through temporary marriage” etc.); cf. Gribetz, *Bedfellows*, pp. 50–51, with note 8. In what could be an allusion to this *qirā’a*, the Imam Abū l-Ḥasan (here probably meaning al-Ridā; cf. Quhpāī, V, pp. 12–13, Khūī, XIV, pp. 265–270, no. 9319) tells his disciple al-Faṭḥ b. Yazīd that those whom God does not provide with the means to marry should abstain (from what is unlawful) through *mut’a* (*fā-l-yasta’fif bi-l-mut’a*) (Kulīnī, V, pp. 452–453, no. 2). See **148\***, **452**.

**373** The Syrian Successor ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm (d. 78/697–698) is reported to have asked the Companion Mu‘ādh b. Jabal whether the correct reading (at Q 25:18) was *nattakhidha* or *nuttakhadha*; Mu‘ādh told him he had heard the Prophet recite the word as *nattakhidha* (Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 628, no. 3026; cf. **409\***). This is reportedly the reading of the majority (*al-‘amma/al-jamā’a*) (see Samarqandī, II, p. 556; Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 120). For *nuttakhadha* see Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 119 (Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Šādiq [reading *Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī*] and others); Ahwāzī, *Bayrī*, p. 409 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 91 (Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Šādiq [reading *wa-ruwiya dhālika ‘an Ja‘far b. Muḥammad*] and others); Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 8 (Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, Ibn Jubayr, al-Ḥasan, Qatāda, Abū Ja‘far, Ibn Ya‘mar, ‘Āṣim al-Jahdarī); Jeffery, “Zaid”, p. 270 (Zayd b. ‘Alī). *Ilāh* (for *awliyā*) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā’a*; but cf. Samarqandī (II, p. 556), where the verse is glossed as: “It did not behove us to be chosen (*an nuttakhadha*) instead of you as a god (*ilāhan*) to be worshipped”. Cf. the grammatical analysis in Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 120, Qurṭubī, XIII, pp. 10–11.

**374** *Faṣl*, p. 314, ll. 2–3. The epistle mentioned here may well be the one preserved in *Baṣā’ir*, pp. 526–536, no. 1; towards its end (at p. 535), al-Šādiq cites Q 24:23–25. The reading of Q 24:23 recorded there differs both from *KQ* and from the ‘Uthmānic codex (it has *al-mu’mināt al-ghāfilāt* for *al-ghāfilāt al-mu’mināt*). The *qirā’a* in the *Baṣā’ir* is

also attested elsewhere (see Khaṣībī, *Hidāya*, p. 298, Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, p. 391, no. 1), while that recorded in *KQ* appears to be unique. It is not clear whether the correct vocalization in *KQ* is *muḥṣinūn* (as in the ʿUthmānic codex at Q 4:24 and Q 5:5) or *muḥṣanūn* (as read e.g. by al-Aʿmash at Q 5:5; see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 31). Cf. in general Motzki, “Muḥṣanāt”.

*Isnād*: AL-MUFADḌAL B. ʿUMAR: Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Juʿfī (d. before 179/795–796), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim (*GAS*, I, p. 534; Halm, “Schatten”, pp. 224–236 and passim; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 333–337).

**375** For *al-nabr* (said to be synonymous with *al-hamz*, the glottal stop) see *Lisān*, Lane, both s.v. *nbr*, Wright, I, p. 16 (*nabra*). Absence of the glottal stop was a feature of Qurashī speech (cf. **310**). Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Maʿānī*, p. 327, no. 1 (*ʾiyyākum wa-l-nabr fihi yaʿnī l-hamz*) > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, p. 865, no. 7782; *Bihār*, XI, p. 29 (from al-Jawharī). For a statement in defence of *nabr* see Ibn Wahb, *Ǧāmiʿ* / *ʿUlūm*, p. 266 (fol 9a ll. 14–15) (Nāfiʿ b. Abī Nuʿaym: *samiʿtu ʿAbdallāh b. ʾIzīd b. Hurmuz yusʿal ʿan al-nabr fī l-qurʿān fa-qāl: in kānat al-ʿarab tanbiru fa-inna l-qurʿān aḥaqq an yunbar*). Translation: “(Some of) the Qurʿān specialists pronounce the glottal stop in (reciting) the Qurʿān while (others) do not” (or: “The Qurʿān specialists do not add [reading: *lā yazīdūn*] the glottal stop in [reciting] the Qurʿān but suppress it”).

**376** *Mustadrak*, XVIII, p. 75, no. 22092. The view that the *ṭāʾifa* (“party”) of Q 24:2 may refer to a single person is ascribed to various authorities, including ʿAlī (see Ṭabarī, XVIII, p. 69 [*al-ṭāʾifa rajul ... fa-mā fawqa dhālika*]; Ibn al-Ashʿath, *Ashʿathīyyāt*, p. 133, Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim*, II, p. 451, no. 1579 [*al-ṭāʾifa min wāḥid ilā ʿashara*]; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, X, p. 150, no. 602 [*al-ṭāʾifa wāḥid*] > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 416), Mujāhid (Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, III, p. 1013, no. 5672 [*al-ṭāʾifa rajul*], Samarqandī, II, p. 517, Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 9), Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (Ṭabarī, XVIII, p. 69, Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 9), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Māwardī, IV, p. 72, Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 9), Ibn ʿAbbās (Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, I, p. 154) and al-Bāqir (Ṭabrisī, XIX, pp. 9–10). See also Māturīdī, VII, p. 508; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mutashābih*, II, p. 272.

**377** For the first part cf. Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 125 (*huwa l-rajul yamshī bi-sajjīyatihī llatī jubila ʿalayhā*) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 23, *Burhān*, III, p. 173, no. 5, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 132, LXIX, p. 260, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 26, no. 89; Najafī, p. 382, no. 18 (ending). *Lā tasbiq yaduhu riḡlahu* (lit. “his hand

did not precede his leg”) may mean: “he walked/acted with gentle circumspection, not with reckless impetuosity”.

**378** *Faṣl*, p. 314, ll. 20–22, Najafī, p. 371, no. 1. For this tradition cf. Qummī, II, p. 111 (*li-āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum*) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 5, *Burhān*, III, p. 156, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 20, no. 36, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 7, no. 22, *Faṣl*, p. 314, ll. 14–17; Furāt, I, p. 291, no. 393 (*āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum*); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 65. For this reading of Q 25:8 see also Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (al-Bāqir); **306**. The tradition in *KQ* is cited (via Najafī) in *Burhān*, III, p. 156, no. 3 (but reading *fā-lā yastaḥūn sabīlan ilā walāyat ‘Alī*). For the ending of the tradition cf. **189**. The word *al-sabīl* at Q 25:9 does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā’a*; it may be a gloss.

**379** For this tradition see Ibn al-Juḥām (possibly citing *KQ*) > Najafī, pp. 384–385, no. 26 (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. Jumhūr < al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb < Abū Ayyūb al-Ḥadhdhā’ [corrected by the editor to al-Khazzāz] < Abū Baṣīr) > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 135, no. 8, *Faṣl*, p. 315, ll. 21–23. For this reading of Q 25:74 see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 62; Qummī, I, p. 10, II, p. 117 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 45, IV, p. 27, *Burhān*, III, p. 177, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 43, no. 139; Tabrisī, XIX, p. 128 (as *qirā’at ahl al-bayt*); idem, *Jawāmi’*, II, p. 155 > Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 43–44, no. 144; *GdQ*, II, p. 99; Kohlberg, “Qur’ān”, p. 212; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 66; cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 284.

*Isnād*: the emendation of “al-Ḥadhdhā’” to “al-Kharrāz” is based on several considerations: first, the name Abū Ayyūb al-Ḥadhdhā’ is not attested in the Rijāl works (as noted by the editor of Najafī, see p. 384, note 7, p. 763, note 4); second, in the *isnād* of this tradition as cited in the *Bihār* the name appears as Abū Ayyūb al-Khazzāz (a variant on al-Kharrāz, cf. **106\***); third, al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb transmitted from Abū Ayyūb al-Kharrāz (see Najāshī, I, p. 97, no. 24; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 285).

**380** *Faṣl*, p. 315, ll. 5–7. The words *ya’nī Ruma’* may be an interpolation. For the pejorative appellations Zufar and Ruma’ as referring to ‘Umar see Kohlberg, “Ṣaḥāba”, p. 162; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 118. *Al-adlam* (or *dulām*, “the black one”) is another of ‘Umar’s appellations (see Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 68 [*al-dulāma l-adlamā*] > *Bihār*, XXI, p. 17; *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 337, LXVII, p. 62; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 116–117). The reading “Zufar” appears to be attested only in *KQ*. For the reading *al-thānī* see **382\***. For an interpretation of the *fulān* of the verse as referring

to ‘Umar see Qummī, II, p. 113 > Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 11–12, no. 40. It is not clear whether *yā laytanī* (for *yā waylatā laytanī*) is an otherwise unattested reading of Q 25:28 or a copyist’s error (triggered perhaps by the *yā laytanī* of the previous verse). See **381–383**.

**381** *Faṣl*, p. 315, ll. 7–9. Translation: “The Book (as you have it) contains a great many changes; how I hope that you will preserve the knowledge (of these changes [or: of the original text]) in the future—having been given knowledge of them (or: of it) in the past—so that it will be possible to distinguish what (in the original text) was an allusion and what was not”. Here, as often elsewhere, the *qawm* are the enemies of ‘Alī (cf. **228**); it is they who altered the original “Zufar” to *fulān*. See **380, 382, 383**.

**382** *Faṣl*, p. 315, ll. 9–12. For this tradition see Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 374, no. 8, *Burhān*, III, p. 162, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 18–19, no. 31, XXX, p. 245, no. 111 (with *muṣḥaf Fāṭima* for *muṣḥaf ‘Alī*; cf. **601**). There, however, *fulān* is replaced not by “Zufar” but by *al-thānī*—another appellation of ‘Umar. For this latter reading see Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 65. See **380, 381, 383**.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ‘UDHĀFIR: Muḥammad b. ‘Udhāfir b. ‘Īsā al-Ṣayrafi al-Madā’inī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim. His *kitāb* was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘ (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 350–351).—JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ṬAYYĀR: unidentified. He may be a brother of Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyār al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (for whom see Quhpā‘ī, II, pp. 241–242; Ardabīlī, I, p. 283). Alternatively, “Ja‘far” could be a corruption of “Ḥamza”.—ABŪ L-KHAṬṬĀB: the reference may be to Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab al-Asadī (d. ca. 138/755–756), the eponymous founder of the Khaṭṭābiyya (see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Abu ‘l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī” [B. Lewis]; *EIr*, art. “Abū ‘l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī” [A. Sachedina]). Another person of this *kunya* is Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Zuḥar b. al-Nu‘mān al-Asadī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, III, p. 25; Ardabīlī, I, p. 324).

**383** *Faṣl*, p. 315, ll. 12–13. See Najafī, pp. 374–375, no. 9 (reading *yā waylatā laytanī lam attakhidh fulānan khalīlan*) > *Bihār*, XXX, p. 245, no. 112; cf. Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 30. *Al-awwal* and *al-thānī* are Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. See **380–382**.

**384** Cf. Furāt, I, p. 292, no. 394 (*nutfa bayḍā' maknūna*) > *Biḥār*, XXXV, pp. 360–361, no. 1, XLIII, p. 145, no. 48; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 377, no. 14 > *Burhān*, III, p. 170, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXXV, pp. 361–362, no. 4; Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, II, p. 114 (*khalāqanī nutfa bayḍā' tayyiba*) > *Burhān*, III, p. 171, no. 7, *Biḥār*, XXII, p. 111, no. 76, XXXVII, p. 46, no. 22; Bayāḍī, II, pp. 34–35; **394**. See in general Rubin, “Pre-existence”, pp. 67–74; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 103–105 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 40–41; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 139; cf. **405**<sup>\*</sup>.

**385** This tradition is transmitted on the authority of (i) Ibn Mas'ūd (Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, p. 226, no. 733; Ṭabarī, XXIII, p. 65; Māturīdī, VIII, p. 20; Tha'labī, VII, p. 129; Rāzī, XXIV, p. 64); (ii) Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn 'Abbās (Samarqandī, II, p. 559; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 101); (iii) al-Šādiq (Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 57 > *Biḥār*, VII, p. 123). Cf. Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 17; Naḥḥās, *Ma'anī*, V, pp. 19–20.

**386** *Faṣl*, p. 316, ll. 9–10. For this reading (“and your faithful family among them”) see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 388 (*Kitāb al-tafsīr*); Qummī, II, pp. 124, 126 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 53, *Burhān*, III, p. 191, no. 5, p. 192, no. 12, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 66, no. 88; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, X, p. 3473, no. 19523 (Ibn 'Abbās); Ibn al-Juḥām (al-Bāqir) > Najafī, p. 395, no. 21 > *Burhān*, III, p. 191, no. 6, *Biḥār*, XXV, p. 213, no. 1; Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, II, p. 213 (Ibn Mas'ūd); Tha'labī (Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Šādiq) > Ṭabrisī, XIX, pp. 188–189, Najafī, p. 395, no. 20, *Burhān*, III, p. 191, no. 8 (missing from the printed edition of Tha'labī); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 44, 66–67. It is not clear whether the last word is *al-mukhlīṣīn* or *al-mukhlaṣīn*. A similar reading of this verse is *wa-raḥṭaka l-mukhlīṣīn/mukhlaṣīn*; see Furāt, I, p. 302, no. 407 (Ibn Mas'ūd) > *Faṣl*, p. 137, ll. 8–10 (in some manuscripts of Furāt *wa-raḥṭaka* is followed by *minhum*); Ṭabarī, XIX, p. 121 (Ibn 'Abbās, 'Amr b. Murra al-Jamalī [i.e. Abū 'Abdallāh 'Amr b. Murra b. 'Abdallāh al-Jamalī al-Kūfī al-A'mā, d. 116/734 or 118/736; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, pp. 102–103]); Ibn al-Juḥām > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd*, p. 106 > *Biḥār*, XVIII, p. 216, no. 47 (missing from Najafī). In a session held in the presence of al-Ma'mūn, 'Alī al-Riḍā is said to have noted that *wa-raḥṭaka l-mukhlīṣīn/mukhlaṣīn* was the reading of Ubayy and appears in the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd (Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn*, I, p. 181; idem, *Amālī*, p. 470 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 53, *Burhān*, III, pp. 189–190, no. 1, *Faṣl*, p. 137, ll. 4–8, p. 144, ll. 19–20, p. 316, ll. 11–15; Ibn Shu'ba, *Tuḥaf*, pp. 315–316; Ṭabarī, *Bishāra*, p. 229; Tisdall, p. 238). In the version recorded by Ibn Shu'ba (*Tuḥaf*, p. 316), al-Riḍā adds: “when 'Uthmān ordered Zayd b.

Thābit to collect the Qur'ān he concealed (*khanasa*) this verse" (meaning presumably the two additional words). Cf. the reading (*fa-in 'aṣawka*) *wa-raḥṭaka minhum al-mukhlaṣīn* (thus vocalized by Jeffery) (Q 26:216), which is ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Alī (Jeffery, pp. 68, 189).

**387** *Faṣl*, p. 316, ll. 7–9. Cf. **388**.

*Isnād*: 'ABD AL-KARĪM B. 'AMR: 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Amr b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khath'amī, known as Karrām, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 137–138). He also transmitted from Sulaymān b. Khālīd (e.g. Barqī, I, p. 262, no. 324, Kulīnī, II, p. 83, no. 6, Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma'ānī*, p. 194, no. 9).

**388** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 123 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 43, *Burhān*, III, p. 187, no. 10; **387**.

**389** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 386–387, no. 3 > *Burhān*, III, p. 180, no. 10, *Biḥār*, LIII, pp. 109–110, no. 2, where this figure is identified as 'Alī. The final sentence in *KQ* is not found in Ibn al-Juḥām. It is a paraphrase of Q 27:82 (partially cited at **399**) and, taken together with the beginning of the tradition, is probably an allusion to the eschatological role of 'Alī as “beast of the earth” (*dābbat al-ard*) (for this role see e.g. Sulaym, *Kutāb*, p. 130 > Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 40–41 > *Biḥār*, LIII, pp. 69–70, no. 66; Furāt, II, p. 373, no. 503; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 102; Najafī, pp. 403–407, nos. 7–11). For another eschatological tradition connected with Q 26:4 see Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 359 > Irbilī, III, p. 258, *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 30, *Biḥār*, LII, p. 221, no. 84, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 46, no. 8; Ṭabrisī, *I'lām*, pp. 457–458.

**390** *Mustadrak*, XVII, p. 310, no. 21436. See Manṣūr, *Iqd*, p. 315, citing al-Barqī's *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf* (*isnād*: Ibn Jumhūr < Ḥammād b. 'Īsā < Ḥarīz < al-Ṣādiq); Najafī, p. 399, no. 28 > *Burhān*, III, p. 194, no. 2. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 125 > Najafī, p. 400, no. 31, *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 55, *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 578, no. 10; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma'ānī*, p. 365, no. 19 (*innamā hum qawm tafaqqahū li-ghayr al-dīn fa-dallū wa-aḍallū*) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 55, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 70, no. 103; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 192 (from the lost part of 'Ayyāshī: *hum qawm ta'allamū wa-tafaqqahū bi-ghayr 'ilm*) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 55, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 70, no. 104. Translation: “Which poets (*shu'arā'*) have you ever seen being followed? By *shu'arā'* He meant (not poets but) legal scholars who introduce (*yush'irūn*) falsehood into the hearts of men; these are the *shu'arā'* who are being followed”.

**391** The words *ilā ... al-fi'l* do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā'a*; they may be a gloss. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 119 (... *as'aluhu 'an al-māhiyya fa-yujībunī 'an al-ṣifāt*); Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, I, p. 156 (*anā as'aluhu 'an al-māhiyya wa-huwa l-su'āl 'an dhāt al-shay' a-jawhar huwa am 'araḍ wa-huwa yujībunī 'an al-maniyya*); Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 145 (to Q 26:27) (*as'aluhu 'an māhiyyat rabb al-'ālamīn fa-yujībunī 'an ghayr dhālika*); Nasafī, *Tafsīr*, III, p. 182 (... *sa'alahu 'an al-māhiyya wa-huwa yujību 'an rubūbiyyatihi wa-āthār ṣun'ihī*). The word “Mūsā” found in the manuscripts at the beginning of the tradition may originally have been a marginal note. Translation: “The only possible answer to his (i.e. Pharaoh's) question was the one which Moses gave. It is an answer to a denier. If Pharaoh had acknowledged God, Moses would have answered him as one answers someone who acknowledges, and Pharaoh's question would have been different from the one that he actually asked”.

**392** *Faṣl*, p. 317, ll. 11–12. For this reading see Qummī, II, p. 125 (adding: *hākadhā wa-llāhi nazalat*) > Najafī, p. 400, *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 45, IV, p. 57, *Burhān*, III, p. 194, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 579, no. 10, Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 73–74, no. 122; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi'*, II, p. 176 (citing this as a reading of al-Ṣādiq and adding: *wa-yushbiḥu an yakūn qirā'atuhu 'alā sabīl al-ta'wīl*) > Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 73, no. 121; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 285; Tisdall, p. 238 (without *haqqahum*); Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 67.

**393** *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 232, no. 16582. For this tradition cf. 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 157, no. 56 (al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn < al-Riḍā, to Q 11:78) > *Burhān*, II, p. 231, no. 26, *Biḥār*, CIV, p. 29, no. 11; Ṭūsī, *Istibṣār*, III, p. 243, no. 869 (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā < Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik, and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn < Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik < unidentified transmitter < al-Riḍā, to Q 11:78). Anal intercourse with women was reportedly allowed by the Ḥijāzīs but proscribed by the 'Irāqīs (see Ibn Shādhān, *Īdāh*, p. 52). See in general Maghen, *Hardship*, pp. 172–187. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (*Intiṣār*, pp. 125–127, *Jawābāt*, pp. 233–234) maintains that Imāmī scholars are unanimous in allowing this practice but denies that Q 26:165–166 can be cited as a proof text.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ B. YAQṬĪN: al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā, a Baghdādī client (*mawlā*) of Banū Asad or Banū Hāshim and a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, II, pp. 139–140; Ardabīlī, I, p. 218; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 197). For al-Ḥasan's father see 484\*. For another example of al-Sayyārī transmitting from al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn see Kulīnī, I, p. 369, no. 6 > *Biḥār*, IV, p. 132; cf. Khū'ī, VI, p.



64. The name Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Yaqūn found in ‘Ayyāshī (and in *Mus-tadrak*) is either an error or a reference to al-Ḥasan’s brother, who was a transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quhpā’ī, II, p. 191; Ardabīlī, I, p. 249).

**394** According to this tradition, before his birth the Prophet wandered through the loins of prophets and believers (for this interpretation of Q 26:219 see Rubin, “Pre-existence”, pp. 77, 80–81). Usually, prophets and believers are mentioned separately: (i) *fī aṣṣalāb al-nabiyyīn/al-anbiyā’*; see Sulaym, *Kūtāb*, p. 253; Qummī, II, p. 125 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 54, *Burhān*, III, p. 192, no. 1, *Biḥār*, IX, p. 229, no. 116, XV, p. 3, no. 1, LXXI, p. 118, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 69, no. 97; Furāt, I, p. 304, no. 409; Tha’labī, VII, p. 184; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 189 > Najafī, p. 396, no. 24, *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 54, *Biḥār*, XVI, p. 204, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 69, no. 98. (ii) *fī aṣṣalāb al-muwahḥidīn* (not *al-mu’minīn*, as in *KQ*); see Mufīd, *Taṣṣīḥ*, p. 67; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 189 > Najafī, p. 396, no. 24, *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 54, *Biḥār*, XVI, p. 204. Cf. **384**.

**395** The reading *anzuru fī kitāb rabbī fa-ātika* is ascribed to ‘Alī and al-Rabī b. Khuthaym (Jeffery, pp. 189, 296). Ibn Mas‘ūd is the authority for a similar reading: *anzuru fī kitāb rabbī thumma ātika* (Jeffery, p. 70; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 131, no. 652). This sentence appears as a gloss on Q 27:40 in Ṭabarī, XIX, p. 162 (from Mujāhid). For *al-ism al-a‘zam* (“the Greatest Name of God”) see Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin* (= *Divine Guide*), index, s.v.; Lassner, *Queen of Sheba*, pp. 109–112; **20\***. The expression “every low land was lifted up and every high land was brought down for him” (*fa-rufi’a lahu kull khafḍ wa-khufiḍa lahu kull raf*; cf. Isaiah 40:4) is used here to describe the removal of objects that hinder movement on land. Elsewhere this (or a similar) expression is used to describe the removal of objects that block one’s vision. See e.g. Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, II, p. 65 (*fa-rufi’a li-rasūl allāh kull khafḍ wa-khufiḍa lahu kull raf ḥattā ra’ā maṣāri’ahum wa-qāl ra’aytu sarīr Ja’far*); Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 632 > *Biḥār*, LII, p. 328, no. 46 (*idhā tanāhat al-umūr ilā ṣāhib hādihā l-amr rafa’a llāh tabāraka wa-ta’ālā lahu kull munkhafaḍ min al-arḍ wa-khafaḍa lahu kull murtafa’ minhā ḥattā takūn al-dunyā ‘indahū bi-manzilat rāḥatihi fa-ayyukum law kānat fī rāḥatihi sha’ra lam yuṣīrhā?*). See **396**.

**396** The words *anzīrnī ḥattā* do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a reading of Q 27:40. See **395**.

*Isnād*: YAḤYĀ B. ‘UTHMĀN: unidentified.

**397** *Faṣl*, p. 317, ll. 14–15. For this tradition cf. *Baṣā'ir*, p. 342, no. 3 (from al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 60, *Biḥār*, XXVII, p. 263, no. 8, XCII, p. 51, no. 17, *Ḥuwayzī*, IV, p. 79, no. 26; Mufīd, *Ikhtisās*, p. 287 (from al-Šādiq) > *Biḥār*, XXVII, p. 263, no. 8; Rāwandī, *Kharā'ij*, II, p. 835, no. 50. For the reading *wa-ūtīnā kull shay'* see Jeffery, pp. 295, 347 (al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym, Ubayy). Elsewhere the reading of the 'Uthmānic codex (with *min*) is retained (see e.g. the traditions cited in *Biḥār*, XXVII, pp. 263–264, nos. 9, 11, 12).

**398** *Faṣl*, p. 317, ll. 17–19. Cf. *Q* 34:10 (*wa-la-qad ātaynā Dāwūd minnā faḍlan*).

**399** *Faṣl*, p. 317, ll. 19–20. In a similar tradition, a man tells al-Šādiq that “the majority/the common people/the Sunnīs” (*al-ʿamma*) read *taklimuhum*, i.e. “it will wound them” (*tajraḥuhum*). The Imam responds: “May God wound them (*kalamahum allāh*) in the Fire of Hell! The text came down as *tukallimuhum*, from *kalām*” (Najafī, pp. 407–408, no. 12). See also Qummī, II, p. 130 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 209–210, no. 3, *Biḥār*, LIII, pp. 52–53, no. 30, *Ḥuwayzī*, IV, p. 98, no. 104; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmiʿ*, II, p. 195 > *Faṣl*, p. 317, l. 21. The *qirāʾa* which the Imam upholds is that of the 'Uthmānic codex. For the reading *taklimuhum* see Farrā', II, p. 300 (*wa-ḥaddathanī ba'ḍ al-muḥaddithīn annahu qāl tukallimuhum wa-taklimuhum*); Ṭabarī, XX, p. 16, Naḥḥās, *Ma'ānī*, V, p. 148 (Abū Zur'a b. 'Amr b. Jarīr [i.e. Abū Zur'a b. 'Amr/'Umar b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī al-Kūfī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, pp. 99–100]); Ibn Muḥakkam, III, p. 266 (*ba'ḍuhum*); Māturīdī, VIII, p. 136 (*wa-qad qurī'a*); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 110 (Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Zur'a b. 'Amr b. Jarīr, Mujāhid); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 144, Ṭabrisī, XX, p. 247 (> *Faṣl*, p. 317, ll. 21–22) (Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid, al-Jahḍarī, Abū Zur'a); Samarqandī, II, p. 619 (Abū Zur'a b. 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbās); Tha'labī, VII, p. 222, Abū l-Futūḥ, VIII, p. 423 (Abū Rajā' al-'Uṭaridī); Zamakhsharī, III, p. 160 (*wa-qurī'a taklimuhum*, “it will wound them”, i.e. by branding them); Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 86 (Ibn Abī 'Ubla, al-Jahḍarī); Rāzī, XXIV, p. 187; 'Ukbarī, p. 419; Abū Ḥayyān, VII, pp. 91–92 (Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, Ibn Jubayr, Abū Zur'a, al-Jahḍarī, Abū Ḥaywa [i.e. Abū Ḥaywa Shurayḥ b. Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥimṣī, d. Ṣafar 203/Aug. – Sept. 818; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 325, no. 1419], Ibn Abī 'Ubla). Cf. **389**.\*

**400** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 131 (*al-ḥasana wa-llāhi walāyat amīr al-mu'minīn wa-l-sayyi'a wa-llāhi 'adāwatuhu*) > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 78, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, p. 81,

no. 6 (... *wa-l-sayyi'a wa-llāhi 'ttibā' a'dā'ihī*); Kulīnī, I, p. 185, no. 14 (*al-ḥasana ma'rifat al-walāya* etc.) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 78, Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 103–104, no. 127, tr. Amir-Moezzi, “Walāya”, p. 726; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 411, nos. 19–20 (*al-ḥasana walāyat amīr al-mu'minīn / 'Alī*) > *Burhān*, III, p. 213, nos. 8–9, *Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 42–43, nos. 5–6. Cf. **401**.

**401** For Q 6:160 (*man jā'a bi-l-ḥasana fa-lahu 'ashr amthālihā*) abrogating Q 27:89 see Qummī, I, p. 222 > *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 175. The view that Q 6:160 (see also Q 40:40) (*fā-lā yujzā illā mithlahā*) abrogates Q 27:90 (*fā-kubbat wujūhuhum fī l-nār*) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. For a different view of the relationship between these two verses see Furāt, I, pp. 139–140, no. 168. Cf. **400**.

**402** The “two terms” (*ajalayn*) are mentioned in Q 28:28. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 139 (*qultu li-Abī 'Abdallāh ayy al-ajalayn qaḍā' qāl atammahumā* [read thus for *atammahā*] ‘*ashra ḥijaj*’) > *Biḥār*, XIII, p. 29, no. 2; Ṭabarī, XX, p. 67 (*wa-dhukira anna lladhī waffāhu min al-ajalayn atammuhumā wa-akmaluhumā wa-dhālika l-'ashr al-ḥijaj*); Kulīnī, V, p. 414, no. 1 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 224–225, no. 1; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 149 (*fā-ruwiya annahu qaḍā atammahumā*); Ṭabrisī, XX, p. 286.

**403** Cf. Ṭabarī, XX, p. 58, to Q 28:24 (*shub'a min ṭa'ām*, “a quantity of food with which one is satisfied”). For *khayr* glossed as food (*ṭa'ām*) see Barqī, II, p. 585, no. 78 > *Biḥār*, LXVI, p. 313, no. 4; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 330, no. 44 > *Biḥār*, XIII, pp. 303–304, no. 29; Kulīnī, VI, p. 287, no. 5; Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, II, p. 109, no. 353.

**404** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 139 > *Biḥār*, XIII, pp. 29–30, no. 2; Ṭabarī, XX, p. 69; Tha'labī, *Qisas*, p. 124, tr. Brinner, *Lives*, p. 296 (a somewhat different story); Rāwandī, *Qisas*, p. 231; Qurṭubī, XIII, p. 276 (all to Q 28:29). In all of these accounts, Moses uses a rod (*'aṣan*), not a leaf. The verb *naza'a* may here mean “to be in heat” (cf. *Lisān*, s.v. *nz'*). Cf. Genesis 30:25–43 (history of Jacob and Laban).

**405** For the first part of the paragraph see Najafī (citing the *Tafsīr ahl al-bayt*), p. 417, no. 8 (*isnād: ba'd aṣḥābinā 'an Sa'īd b. al-Khaṭṭāb ḥadīthan yarfa'uhu ilā Abī 'Abdallāh*) > *Burhān*, III, p. 227, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXVI, pp. 295–296, no. 59. For the second part see Najafī, p. 417, no. 9 > *Burhān*, III, p. 227, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXVI, p. 296, no. 60, 'Āmilī, *Mir'at*, p. 26. The

message implicit in this reading of Q 28:44 (perhaps the second *wa-mā* of this verse should likewise be read *a-wa-mā*) is that Muḥammad was present with Moses (when the latter was told that Joshua would be his successor, as maintained in some traditions). According to the statement cited from al-Ṣādiq's epistle, wherever the Prophet was present, so was 'Alī. This ties in with the motif of the pre-existence of Muḥammad and the Imams; see Rubin, "Pre-existence", pp. 67–74; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 73–145 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 29–55; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 130–140; cf. 384\*. For the ending cf. *Baṣā'ir*, p. 86, no. 12; 185, 193, 195–197.

*Isnād*: SA'ID/SA'D (in Najafī: Sa'id b. al-Khaṭṭāb): unidentified.

406 Najafī, p. 432, no. 13. The words *fa-qāl bal hiya āyāt bayyināt* are missing both from the printed edition of *Ta'wīl al-āyāt* and from the sources that cite this work; see al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Ithbāt*, VII, p. 127, no. 645, *Burhān*, III, p. 256, no. 17, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 189, no. 4. For the reading *bal hiya* see Jeffery, pp. 72, 297 (Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym); Farrā', II, p. 317 (Ibn Mas'ūd; al-Farrā' explains that *hiya* refers to the verses of the Qur'ān); Tha'labī, VII, p. 286 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn al-Samayfi); Ibn 'Aṭīyya, IV, p. 322, Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 28 (Ibn Mas'ūd); Qurṭubī, XIII, p. 354 (citing al-Farrā'). Some scholars glossed the sentence *bal huwa āyāt bayyināt* of Q 29:49 as *bal hiya āyāt wāḍiḥāt* (Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 216). See further *Baṣā'ir*, pp. 204–207 (*bāb fī l-a'imma ūū l-'ilm wa-uthbīta dhālika fī ṣudūrihim*) > *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 200–203, nos. 34–48; Kulīnī, I, pp. 213–214, nos. 1–5 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 120, *Burhān*, III, pp. 254–255, nos. 1–5; Nu'mān, *Ikhtilāf*, p. 76; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, p. 220. For the question about the *qā'im* see Kulīnī, I, p. 536, no. 2; Ṭūsī, *Ghayba*, p. 473, no. 494.

407 The *fihā* presumably refers to the *ṣudūr al-'ālamīn* of Q 29:10.

408 See Najafī, p. 430, no. 7 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 252–253, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXXII, p. 286, no. 239. Al-Najafī states that in interpreting the spider as al-Ḥumayrā' (i.e. 'Ā'isha), this tradition provides the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) of the verse. He goes on to explain that just as the spider is a frail being whose home is the frailest and most useless of homes, so too is al-Ḥumayrā', who used her frail reasoning and poor judgment in opposing her master (i.e. 'Alī) to construct a frail home (presumably the opposition to 'Alī). This home will be not only useless but will in fact bring harm upon her in this world and the next. *Kā-mathal 'ankabūt* in

mss. L and T is not attested elsewhere. It is not clear whether this is a scribal error or a *qirā'a*.

**409** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 434, no. 2 > Baḥrānī, *Mahajja*, p. 171, *Burhān*, III, p. 257, no. 2, *Biḥār* XXXI, p. 516, no. 14, where this *qirā'a* is glossed as follows: "The Rūm (that is, the Umayyads) have been victorious in the nearer land, and they, after their victory, will be defeated ... (when the Qā'im rises)". For this reading see also Jeffery, p. 335 ('Alī, Ibn 'Umar, Muḥāhid, al-Ṣādiq); Tha'labī, VII, p. 294 ('Abdallāh b. 'Amr, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, al-Ḥasan [possibly al-Baṣrī], 'Isā b. 'Umar); Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 157 ('Alī, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, Mu'āwiya b. Qurra [i.e. Abū Iyās Mu'āwiya b. Qurra b. Iyās b. Hilāl al-Baṣrī, d. 113/731–732; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, pp. 216–217], al-Ḥasan); it is said to be Syrian (see Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 5). See the discussion in Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 18–19; Blachère, *Introduction*, p. 102; Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 388. The reading *ghalabat* is ascribed to Ibn 'Umar (see Ṭabarī, XXI, p. 16, Naḥḥās, *Ma'ānī*, V, p. 243), to the Prophet, to 'Alī (see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 116), to Abū 'Amr (see Māwardī, IV, p. 298), to Abū Sa'īd (i.e. al-Khudrī) (see Ṭabarī, XXI, p. 16, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IX, p. 3087, no. 17460 > Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, p. 290) and to others (see Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 56, Ibn 'Aṭīyya, IV, p. 327, Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 1), but is rejected by Abū l-Dardā' (as cited in Ibn Wahb, *Ḍamī'*/*Ulūm*, p. 260 [fol 11a ll. 9–11]), by al-Ṭabarī (XXI, p. 16) and by al-Ṭūsī (VIII, p. 228). 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm is reported to have asked the Companion Mu'ādh b. Jabal whether the correct reading was *ghulibat* or *ghalabat*; Mu'ādh told him that the Prophet had recited the word to him (*aqra'anī*) as *ghulibat* (Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 628, no. 3027; cf. **373**\*). *Sa-yughlabūn* is ascribed to 'Alī, to Ibn 'Umar and to Mu'āwiya b. Qurra (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 116). See **410**, **411**

**410** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 434, no. 1 > *Burhān*, III, p. 257, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 516, no. 13. For the claim that the Umayyads are descended from the Rūm (Byzantines) see Kūfī, *Istighātha*, p. 121 (to Q 30:1–3) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 127 (where the *Istighātha* is wrongly ascribed to Ibn Mitham/Maytham). Elsewhere, Umayya is said to have been a Byzantine slave whom 'Abd Shams falsely acknowledged as his son (*fa-stalḥaqahu 'Abd Shams wa-nasabahu ilayhi/ilā nafsīhi*); in fact, the Umayyads are not members of the Quraysh by descent (*laysū min ṣamūm Quraysh*). This report is reproduced by al-Majlisī in two places in his *Biḥār*. In the first (XXXI, p. 544), he cites it from the *Ilzām al-nawāṣib* (a

work attributed *inter alia* to ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs [d. 664/1266]; see *Dharī‘a*, II, pp. 289–290, no. 1170); in the second (XXXIII, p. 107), his source is an epistle on the imamate (*risāla fī l-imāma*) by an unidentified Imāmī author. For *istilhāq* see in general Landau-Tasseron, “Genealogical Claims”, pp. 172–180, 187–188. See 409, 411.

*Isnād*: SAʿĪD B. JANĀḤ: Saʿīd b. Janāḥ al-Azdī, of Kūfan origin, a resident of Baghdād and a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpāʿī, III, p. 114; Ardabīlī, I, p. 359). His brother Abū ʿĀmir b. Janāḥ was a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Ardabīlī, II, p. 396).

411 See 409, 410.

412 *Faṣl*, p. 318, ll. 2–3. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 155, 335 (Ubayy, al-Šādiq, Ibn Qays). It is not ascribed elsewhere to al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742; see for him *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “al-Zuhrī” [M. Lecker]; for al-Zuhrī’s readings see Blachère, *Introduction*, p. 111, note 148). The reading *ʿalayhi hayyīn* in ms. M conforms to that of Ibn Masʿūd (see Jeffery, p. 73; Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 165; cf. Q 19:9, 21). Al-Ṭabarī (XXI, p. 35), al-Sijistānī (*Gharīb*, p. 18), al-Samarqandī (III, p. 10), Ibn Abī Zamanīn (II, p. 140), al-Thaʿlabī (VII, p. 300) and al-Ṭabrisī (XXI, p. 23) cite *hayyīn ʿalayhi* as a gloss on *ahwan ʿalayhi*. Translation: “I said: ‘al-Zuhrī read: “then He creates it a second time and it is easy for Him”’. He (i.e. the Imam) said: ‘it is indeed easy for Him (and the reading should therefore be *hayyīn* and not *ahwan* [“easier”]); the (correct) reading is as he said”’. See 413.

*Isnād*: Ibn Asbāṭ (d. ca. 250/864) could not have transmitted from al-Bāqir; he did however transmit from al-Jawād, who is also known as Abū Jaʿfar (see e.g. Kulīnī, V, p. 347, no. 2). For the Imam to be al-Bāqir, a missing link after Ibn Asbāṭ would have to be assumed.

413 *Faṣl*, p. 318, ll. 3–5. Cf. Karājākī, II, p. 58 (*ahwan* is glossed as *hayyīn*, “because no one thing is easier for God than another”). See 412.

414 *Faṣl*, p. 318, ll. 7–8. A number of commentators gloss *yastakhi-fannaka* as *yastafizannaka* (Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, V, p. 273; Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 267; Māwardī, IV, p. 324; Ṭabrisī, XXI, p. 43; Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 165 [from al-Zajjā]; *Lisān*, s.v. *khff* [from al-Zajjā]; Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 49). Both verbs mean “to unsettle”, “to excite to unsteadiness”. *Yuʿminūn* (for *yūqinūn*) in the four manuscripts of *KQ* is probably a scribal error: there

are seventeen attestations of (*wa/fa-*) *lladhīna lā yu'minūn* as against a single attestation of *alladhīna lā yūqinūn*.

**415** *Faṣl*, p. 318, ll. 5–6. For the reading *fāraqū* see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 274, Samarqandī, III, p. 12, Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 248, Māwardī, IV, p. 313, Ṭabrisī, XXI, p. 26, Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 53 (Ḥamza and al-Kisāʾī); Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 32 (ʿAlī, Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī); *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 132. The reading *fāraqū* (for *farraqū*) is also attested for Q 6:159; see e.g. Ibn Wahb, *Jāmiʿ* / *ʿUlūm*, p. 262 (fol 10b ll. 5–7) (ʿAlī); Ibn Jaʿd, *Musnad*, II, p. 769, no. 2013 (ʿAlī), p. 911, no. 2615 (ʿAlī), p. 918, no. 2636 (Ibn Masʿūd); ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 385, no. 131 (Kulayb al-Ṣaydāwī < al-Ṣādiq) (as a reading of ʿAlī) > *Bihār*, IX, p. 208, no. 78, XXXI, pp. 583–584, no. 20; Ṭabarī, VIII, p. 104 (ʿAlī); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 274 (Ḥamza and al-Kisāʾī); Qurṭubī, VII, p. 149 (ʿAlī, Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī). Cf. Qummī, I, p. 222 (*farraqū* glossed as *fāraqū*) > *Bihār*, IX, p. 208, no. 77, LXXII, p. 131, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, I, pp. 782–783, nos. 361–362. The word *aḥzāban/adrāban* appears to have originated as a marginal gloss on *shiyaʿan* (cf. Ṭabarī, XXI, pp. 42, 43, where *shiyaʿan* is glossed as *aḥzāban*). The letters *h-m* found in the four manuscripts of *KQ* (and in *Faṣl*) may be an error for ʿ*m*, a common abbreviation of *ʿalayhi l-salām* (cf. 574\*).

**416** Al-Ṣādiq's reading is reported to have been *razaqnāhum min al-qurʾān* (Jeffery, p. 335). For this tradition cf. Ṭabarī, XXI, p. 101, Ṭabrisī, XXI, p. 84 (*tatajāfā junūbuhum ʿan al-maḍājiʿ* ["their sides shun their couches"] explained as staying up at night to pray [*qiyām al-layl*]); Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, V, p. 304 (*yuṣallūna fī jawf al-layl*). The suffix pronoun in *yatlūnahu* presumably refers to the Qurʾān (cf. Q 2:121); perhaps this word should be emended to *yuṣallūn* (see e.g. Samarqandī, III, p. 37).

**417** *Faṣl*, p. 318, ll. 9–10. *Midāduhu* is one of the readings ascribed to Ubayy (see Jeffery, p. 155) and to al-Ṣādiq (see Jeffery, p. 335; Ibn Jinnī, II, pp. 169, 170 [glossing *midād* as "ink"]; Ibn ʿAṭīyya, IV, p. 354 [glossing *midād* as a *maṣdar* ("increase")]; Ṭabrisī, XXI, p. 63 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 150, *Burhān*, III, p. 279, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 216, no. 93, *Faṣl*, p. 318, l. 9; Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 77; Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 186).

**418** *Faṣl*, p. 112, ll. 21–22. The message here and at 419–422 is that the original Sūrat al-aḥzāb was considerably longer than what we have today. It is not clear whether the information provided in the various accounts is to be regarded as consistent, or whether each



account preserves a different view on the topic. Assuming the former, the following picture emerges: the original Sūrat al-aḥzāb was two and two-third times longer than Sūrat al-baqara as we know it today (418). It equalled in length the original Sūrat al-baqara, which was longer than what we have of it today (421). Since the original Sūrat al-aḥzāb consisted of 700 verses (419), the original Sūrat al-baqara must likewise have consisted of about this number of verses. This picture might resolve an apparent contradiction between two statements found in other sources: the first, put in ‘Umar’s mouth, is that Sūrat al-baqara and Sūrat al-aḥzāb were once of equal length (*inna l-aḥzāb kānat ta’dilu sūrat al-baqara*; see Sulaym, *Kitāb*, p. 210; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 153 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, p. 37; similarly Ṭūsī, I, p. 394, Ṭabrisī, I, p. 409; cf. Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, p. 346); the second, on the authority of al-Ṣādiq, is that Sūrat al-aḥzāb was once longer than Sūrat al-baqara (Ibn Bābawayh, *Thawāb*, p. 139 > *Burhān*, III, p. 289, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 233, no. 1). The former statement could be interpreted as referring to the original text of the two Sūras and the latter, as referring to the original Sūrat al-aḥzāb as compared to the existing text of Sūrat al-baqara. Cf. accounts stating that Sūrat al-aḥzāb was once as long as, or longer than, Sūrat al-baqara (Shahrastānī, *Maḥfūṭ*, p. 117 [Ubayy]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsiḥ*, p. 29 [Ubayy, Mujāhid]; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, pp. 345, 346 [Ubayy, ‘Ikrima]); ‘A’isha’s statement that during the Prophet’s lifetime Sūrat al-aḥzāb consisted of two hundred verses (Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 146, no. 700, tr. Jeffery, “Abū ‘Ubaid”, p. 62; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, p. 346); the claim that the original Sūrat al-aḥzāb was twice as long as it is in its present form (*di’f mā hiya*) (Ibn Shādhān, *Īḍāḥ*, p. 221); or the claim that it included three hundred verses (Shahrastānī, *Maḥfūṭ*, p. 118). See further Modarressi, “Debates”, pp. 11–12, 31; Rubin, “Fīrāsh”, p. 19. Cf. 680, 692.

419 *Faṣl*, p. 112, ll. 22–23. Cf. 418, 420–422.

*Isnād*: AL-QĀSIM AL-ĪYĀDĪ: the reference may be to either of the following: (i) Abū l-Qāsim al-Īyādī, who is known from a single *isnād* in Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 8 > *Bihār*, XXII, p. 439, no. 6 (Abū l-Qāsim al-Īyādī < Hishām b. Sālim < al-Ṣādiq); (ii) al-Qāsim b. Ismā’īl al-Anbārī, who appears in a number of *isnāds* in Kulīnī and elsewhere (Khū’ī, XV, p. 13, no. 9504). This latter identification is based on the assumption that “al-Īyādī” is a corruption of “al-Anbārī”. For an example of a corruption in the opposite direction see Khū’ī, VIII, pp. 220–221, no. 4653 (biography of Zāfir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Īyādī).

**420** *Faṣl*, p. 112, l. 23–p. 113, l. 3. The beginning of this tradition is cited in Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 22, note 101. Cf. **418**, **419**, **421**, **422**.

*Isnād*: AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ: perhaps the reference is to Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Rabāḥ al-Qallā’ al-Sawwāq, whose great-grandfather ‘Umar was a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Quhpā’ī, I, p. 155; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 68–69).—IBN ABĪ ‘UTHMĀN: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī ‘Uthmān, known as Sajjāda, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Jawād and al-Hādī; accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā’ī, II, pp. 124–125; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 208–209; Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 24, note 30).

**421** *Faṣl*, p. 110, ll. 1–5. For the “stoning verse” (*āyat al-rajm*) being included in Sūrat al-aḥzāb see e.g. Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, pp. 146–147, no. 701, tr. Jeffery, “Abū ‘Ubaid”, p. 62; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, VIII, p. 211 (Ubayy on Sūrat al-aḥzāb: *la-qad ra’aytuhā wa-innahā la-ta’dīlu sūrat al-baqara wa-inna fihā: al-shaykh wa-l-shaykha idhā zanayā fa-’rjumūhumā l-battata nakālan min allāh wa-llāh ‘azīz ḥakīm*), cited in Burton, *Collection*, p. 80; Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 117; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, pp. 31–32; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, pp. 345, 346. For the different versions of *āyat al-rajm* see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 and the other sources cited in *Faṣl*, pp. 109–115; Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 24; in general the discussion in *GdQ*, I, pp. 248–255; Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, pp. 70, 193–196, 198; Burton, *Collection*, pp. 79–80, 89–96 and index, s.v. “stoning penalty”; Modarressi, “Debates”, pp. 10–11; Brunner, *Koranfälschung*, p. 47; Gilliot, “Travail”, pp. 203–204; *EQ*, art. “Stoning” (Dmitri V. Frolov); Introduction, p. 16. Cf. **418–420**, **422**.

*Isnād*: ‘ĪSĀ B. A’YAN: ‘Īsā b. A’yan al-Jarīrī/Jurayrī al-Asadī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 299; Ardabīlī, I, p. 649).

**422** The pronominal suffix in *‘anhu* may refer to Sayf. Cf. **418–421**.

**423** For this reading see Jeffery, p. 157 (Ubayy, Abū ‘Imrān, Mu-‘ādh).

**424** *Faṣl*, p. 318, l. 19. For this reading see *GdQ*, III, p. 71, Zamakhsharī, III, p. 251 (Ibn Mas’ūd); Jeffery, pp. 75, 156, 204, 273, 282, 298 (Ibn Mas’ūd, Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, Mujāhid, al-Rabī’ b. Khuthaym); Farrā’, II, p. 335 (Ibn Mas’ūd, Ubayy) > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d*, p. 267;

*Baṣā'ir*, p. 532, no. 1; Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63; Qummī, I, p. 278, II, p. 175 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 165, *Burhān*, III, p. 294, no. 20, *Bihār*, XXVII, p. 243, no. 2, XXXVI, p. 7, no. 7, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 237, no. 16; Furāt, I, p. 103, no. 91; 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 237, no. 105 (Mu'adh b. Kathīr < al-Ṣādiq); Māturīdī, VIII, p. 354 (Ubayy, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn 'Abbās); Samarqandī, III, p. 45 (Ubayy); Tha'labī, VIII, p. 8 (the codex of Ubayy); Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, p. 150, no. 417; Ṭabrisī, XXI, p. 100 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy, Ibn 'Abbās, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq) > *Bihār*, XVI, p. 306, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 237, no. 14; Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 190 (Mujāhid, perhaps as a gloss); Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 85; Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 208 (the codex of Ubayy and the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd); *Bihār*, LXXIV, p. 116 (*qirā'at ahl al-bayt*); 'Āmilī, *Mir'āt*, p. 87 (*fī qur'ān ahl al-bayt*). Cf. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, p. 546 (*huwa ab lahum* as a gloss).

*Isnād*: JA'FAR B. MUḤAMMAD: there are a number of transmitters of this name, and it is not clear which of them is meant.—AL-MADĀ'INĪ: there are a number of transmitters from al-Ṣādiq having this *nisba*, including Jarrah al-Madā'inī (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 309), Abū Muḥammad Murāzim b. Ḥakīm al-Madā'inī and his brother Ḥadīd (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 353).

**425** *Faṣl*, p. 319, ll. 9–10. See **426**.

**426** *Faṣl*, p. 319, ll. 10–11. This *qirā'a* is related to accounts according to which 'Alī killed the Qurashī leader 'Amr b. 'Abd Wadd in single combat, thereby bringing about the defeat of the unbelievers at the Battle of the Trench (*yawm al-khandaq/al-aḥzāb*) in the year 5/627 (see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, first series, pp. 1475–1476; Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 52–56; Ṭabrisī, *I'lām*, pp. 91, 193–195). The reading *wa-kafā llāh al-mu'minīn al-qitāl bi-'Alī* (or *bi-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*) is ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd (see Jeffery, p. 75; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, pp. 450–451, nos. 10–11 > *Faṣl*, p. 137, ll. 18–23; Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 56 > *Bihār*, XX, pp. 258–259, no. 19, *Faṣl*, p. 137, ll. 16–18; Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 331; Ḥaskānī, II, pp. 3–5, nos. 629–632; Ṭabrisī, XXI, p. 110 > *Bihār*, XX, p. 205, XXXIX, p. 2, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 261, no. 61; Fattāl, *Rawḍa*, p. 106; Ganjī, *Kifāya*, p. 204; Shādhān, *Faḍā'il*, p. 137 > *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 115, no. 62; Ḥillī, *Nahj*, p. 199; Irbilī, I, p. 324; Suyūfī, *Durr*, V, p. 368; Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 31, note 155, p. 39). It is rejected by al-Qurṭubī (I, p. 84). Cf. Qummī, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 189 > Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 261, no. 62. In addition to this reading of Q 33:25, the Shī'ī reading of Q 92:12–13 (see **657**) is also cited as an instance of the “wondrous things” (*a'ājib*) of the Qur'ān (see Najafī, p. 808, no. 3 >

*Burhān*, IV, p. 471, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 398, no. 122). This may refer to the fact that in both readings ‘Alī is mentioned by name. See 425.

**427** For the story of Fāṭima’s bowl (*jafna*) see *Furāt*, I, pp. 83–85, no. 60; ‘Ayyāshī, I, pp. 171–172, no. 41 (Sayf < Najm < al-Bāqir, to *Q* 3:37) > *Burhān*, I, p. 282, no. 9, *Biḥār*, XIV, pp. 197–198, no. 4, XLIII, p. 31, no. 38; Ibn Ḥamza, *Thāqib*, pp. 296–297, no. 252; Rāwandī, *Kharā’ij*, II, pp. 528–529, no. 3 > *Biḥār*, XLIII, p. 27, no. 30; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d*, pp. 90–91. The tradition in *KQ* appears to be unique in stating that the bowl was mentioned in the original *Sūrat al-aḥzāb*.

**428** *Faṣl*, p. 319, ll. 16–17, *Najafī*, p. 469, no. 39. For this reading see *Qummī*, II, p. 198, tr. Amir-Moezzi, “Walāya”, p. 724; Kulīnī, I, p. 414, no. 8 (*fī walāyat ‘Alī wa [walāyat] al-a’imma min ba’dihī ... ḥākadhā nazalat*) > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (> *Burhān*, III, p. 340, nos. 1–2, *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12), *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 206, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 309, no. 257, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 213, with note 436 = *Divine Guide*, p. 202; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 67.

**429** *Faṣl*, p. 319, ll. 13–14. Cf. *Qummī*, II, p. 197 (*lā tu’dhū rasūl allāh fī ‘Alī wa-l-a’imma kamā ādhaw Mūsā fa-barra’ahu llāh mimma qālū*) > *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 302, no. 61, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 308, no. 251, *Faṣl*, p. 319, ll. 11–13; Kulīnī, I, p. 414, no. 9 (*wa-mā kāna lakum an tu’dhū rasūl allāh fī ‘Alī wa-l-a’imma ka-lladhīna ādhaw Mūsā fa-barra’ahu llāh mimma qālū*) > *Najafī*, p. 468, no. 38, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 308, no. 252. Al-Majlisī provides two alternative explanations for the traditions cited in *Qummī* and Kulīnī: (i) they reproduce the reading of the Imams; (ii) they comprise the gist of two verses: *Q* 33:53 and 33:69 (*Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 303).

**430** *Faṣl*, p. 116, ll. 3–4. Various sources, both Sunnī and Shī‘ī, cite this passage (or a variant thereof) as an example of a verse which formed part of the original Qur’ān but which was later lost. For a survey of the most important Sunnī sources see *GdQ*, I, pp. 234–242; Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 12; and particularly Gilliot, “Verset”. The question as to where in the original text this verse belonged was given different answers: (i) Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī is reported to have declared that this was the only verse he retained from a *Sūra* which equalled *Sūrat barā’a* (*Sūra* 9) in length and severity (*shidda*, i.e. towards the unbelievers?); he had been made to forget all other verses of this *Sūra* (*unsituhā*) (Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, p. 198 and the sources cited therein; see also Ibn Shādhān, *Idāh*,

pp. 219–221 [from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī]; Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 23 [from Anas]; the sources cited in Gilliot, “Verset”, pp. 84–85 [§25]; cf. Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, pp. 149–150, no. 707, tr. Jeffery, “Abū ‘Ubayd”, pp. 63–64; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, p. 28; *GdQ*, I, pp. 239–240; (ii) Ubayy is reported to have cited it as a continuation of Q 10:24 (Jeffery, pp. 135, 181; Gilliot, “Verset”, p. 85 [§26]; cf. Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 284, Qurṭubī, XX, p. 169, both to Q 102:1–2); (iii) the verse is reported to have formed part of Sūrat al-bayyina (Sūra 98) (see *GdQ*, I, p. 240; Gilliot, “Verset”, p. 87 [§30]) or (iv) of Sūrat al-aḥzāb (Sūra 33). This view is only attested in *KQ*. It is cited by Modarressi (“Debates”, p. 31) and, via the *Faṣl*, by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī in a note to Ibn Shādhān, *Īdāh*, pp. 210–211. Other sources merely state that the passage was found in the Qur’ān but was then raised back into Heaven; see e.g. Ṭabarī, I, p. 479, Ṭūsī, I, p. 394, Ṭabrisī, I, p. 406 (all to Q 2:106, citing Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī); Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, XVII, p. 14 (*wa-hādḥā min al-qur’ān alladhī rufi’a wa-nusikhat tilāwatuhu*), XX, p. 174 (*wa-kāna fī l-qur’ān āya unzilāt thumma rufi’at*). Not all agreed that the passage in question once formed part of the Qur’ān; some regarded it as a saying of the Prophet, while others were uncertain as to whether it was a *ḥadīth*, a *ḥadīth qudsī* or part of the Qur’ānic revelation (for details see Gilliot, “Verset”, pp. 81–82 [§15], 84 [§21], 88–89 [§31]). Cf. Muranyi, in Ibn Wahb, *Ĵāmi’/‘Ulūm*, pp. 15, 39–40. See also Introduction, p. 16.

**431** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 196 (*wa-sallimū taslīman ya’nī sallimū lahu bi-l-walāya wa-bi-mā jā’a bihi*) > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 201, *Burhān*, III, p. 335, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 300, no. 212; Ṭabrisī, *Iḥtijāj*, p. 253 > *Burhān*, III, p. 336, no. 19 (‘Alī declares that *ṣallū ‘alayhi* is the *ẓāhir* of this verse, and *sallimū taslīman* is the *bāṭin* which he explains as *sallimū li-man waṣṣāhu wa-’stakhlafahu wa-faḍḍalahu ‘alaykum wa-mā ‘ahida bihi ilayhi taslīman*). See in general *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ḥudjdja” (in Shī‘ī terminology) (M.G.S. Hodgson); *ELr*, art. “Ḥojjat” (Maria Dakake).

**Title** Although Sūrat al-malā’ika (i.e. Sūra 35) is mentioned in the title, no verses from it are cited in this chapter.

**432** *Faṣl*, p. 320, ll. 10–11. (i) For the reading *tabayyanat al-ins anna l-jinn* recorded in mss. L and B see Jeffery, p. 204 (Ibn ‘Abbās [according to some authorities]); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 133, no. 657 (‘Ikrima); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 188 (the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 34 (Ibn Shanabūdh); Tisdall, p. 239. See also Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, p.

74, no. 2, idem, *ʿUyūn*, I, p. 207, both > *Bihār*, XIV, pp. 136–137, no. 1, LXIII, p. 80, no. 34, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 325, nos. 34–35 (al-Šādiq cites the reading of the ʿUthmānic codex and adds: *wa-mā nazalat hādhihi l-āya hākadhā wa-innamā nazalat: fa-lammā kharra tabayyanat al-ins anna l-jinn* etc.). (ii) A different *qirāʾa* is: *fa-lammā kharra tabayyanat al-ins an law kāna l-jinn yaʿlamūn* etc. See Jeffery, pp. 157 (Ubayy [according to some authorities]), 204 (Ibn ʿAbbās [according to some authorities]); ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 128 (citing “a certain reading” [*baʿḍ al-ḥurūf*]); Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 61 > *Faṣl*, p. 320, ll. 12–14 (al-Šādiq); Qummī, I, p. 55 > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 213, *Bihār*, LXIII, p. 279, no. 167; Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, V, p. 405 (the codex of Ibn Masʿūd); Thaʿlabī, VIII, p. 81 (Ibn Masʿūd); Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 384 (*qirāʾat ahl al-bayt*); Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 281, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, p. 432 (Ibn ʿAbbās). Ibn Jinnī (II, p. 188) and al-Ṭabrisī (XXII, p. 185 > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 213) give *tabayyanat al-ins* as the reading of Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and al-Šādiq; this could refer to either (i) or (ii). Abū Ḥayyān (VII, pp. 257–258) refers to a reading ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (read: al-Ḥusayn) and al-Ḍaḥḥāk, but does not reproduce it, in keeping with his practice of not citing *qirāʾāt* which deviate substantially from the generally accepted readings (*aḍribu ʿan dhikrihā ṣaḥḥan ʿalā ʿādatihā fī tark naql al-shādhdh alladhī yukhālīf al-sawād mukhālafa kathīra*). Mss. M and T reproduce the text of the ʿUthmānic codex.

**433** Judging by similar accounts, the underlying notion is that Shīʿī scholars (= *quran zāhira*) are the intermediaries between the Shīʿīs and the Imams (= *al-qurā llatī bāraknā fihā*). Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Imāma*, p. 140, no. 161; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 472–473, no. 2 > *Burhān*, III, p. 348, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 235, no. 4; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, pp. 450–451 > *Burhān*, III, p. 347, no. 3, *Bihār*, LIII, pp. 184–185, no. 15, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 332, no. 51; Ṭūsī, *Ghayba*, pp. 345–346, no. 295 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, IX/1, p. 110, no. 33445, Baḥrānī, *Maḥajja*, p. 175, *Burhān*, III, p. 347, no. 2, *Bihār*, LI, p. 343, no. 1; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām*, p. 453; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 327 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, IX/1, p. 110, no. 33446; *Dharīʿa*, VI, p. 303. Cf. in general Kohlberg, “Community”, *passim*.

**434** Al-Bāqir’s *qirāʾa* of the verb included in this verse does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. The text of *KQ* it is unhelpful, since the manuscripts are unvocalized and record two different roots: *fzʿ* and *fgh*. In addition to the *fuzziʾa* of the ʿUthmānic codex, the following readings are attested: (i) *fazzaʾa* (Ibn ʿAbbās [see Naḥḥās, *Maʿānī*, V,

p. 415; Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 298]; Ibn ‘Āmir [see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 530, Samarqandī, III, p. 89]; Ibn ‘Āmir and Ya‘qūb [see Tha‘labī, VIII, p. 86, Ṭabrisī, XXII, p. 202, Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 213]; (ii) *fuḏi‘a* (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [according to some authorities] and Qatāda [see Ṭabrisī, XXII, p. 202 and (for al-Ḥasan alone) Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 298, Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 266]); (iii) *furigha* (Zayd b. ‘Alī [see Jeffery, “Zaid b. ‘Alī”, p. 229]; Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [according to some authorities; see Ṭabarī, XXII, p. 93, Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 442, Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 213]; Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Qatāda [see Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 298]); (iv) *furriḡha* (Ibn Mas‘ūd [see Māturīdī, VIII, p. 444]; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [see Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, V, p. 416]; ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar and others [see Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 266]; see also Ibn Qutayba, *Mushkil*, pp. 37, 42); (v) *farragha* (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [see Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 298]; an unidentified reader or readers [see Zamakhsharī, III, p. 288]).

**435** *Faṣl*, p. 320, ll. 14–16. Al-Nūrī regards the words *ni‘mat allāh* as a *qirā‘a* (rather than a gloss). Such a reading does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. The manuscripts record two different readings of the final verb: (i) *nujāzī* (the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā‘ī, ‘Āṣim in the transmission of Ḥafṣ); (ii) *yujāzā* (the reading of the remaining Seven Readers; see Ibn Mujāhid, pp. 528–529; Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 623; Samarqandī, III, p. 86; Tha‘labī, VIII, p. 84; Ṭabrisī, XXII, p. 195; Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, pp. 210–211; Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 261; Zarkashī, I, p. 334; cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Mushkil*, p. 36; Ṭabarī, XXII, p. 82; Ibn Khālawayh, *Hujja*, p. 268). For a longer version of this tradition (with the same *isnād* and with the verse as in the ‘Uthmānic codex) see Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 395–396, no. 596; see also idem, II, p. 274, no. 23 (on the authority of al-Ṣādiq).

*Isnād*: JAMĪL B. ṢĀLIḤ: Jamīl b. Ṣāliḥ al-Asadī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim. The Qummī version of his *kitāb* was transmitted by Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 146; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 308–309). The *isnād* Ibn Maḥbūb < Jamīl b. Ṣāliḥ < Sadīr/Sudayr < al-Bāqir is attested in Kulīnī, VIII, p. 144, no. 115.—SADĪR/SUDAYR: Abū l-Faḍl Sadīr/Sudayr b. Ḥakīm/Ḥukaym al-Ṣayrafi, a Kūfan transmitter from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, III, pp. 97–98; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 350–351; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 333–334).

**436** The words *wa-innakum la-fi ḍalāl* do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā‘a*, but they (or words to this effect) appear as an exegetical gloss on Q 34:24 (see Farrā’, II, p. 362 [*wa-antum fi ḍalāl*



*mubīn*]; Abū ‘Ubayda, *Majāz*, II, p. 148 [*innakum fī ḍalāl mubīn*]; Ṭabarī, XXII, p. 94 [from ‘Ikrima and Ziyād]; Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 244 [from Abū ‘Ubayda]; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, III, p. 538 [from ‘Ikrima and Ziyād b. Abī Maryam]].

**437** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 201 > Najafī, p. 474, no. 6 (> *Burhān*, III, p. 350, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXXVII, p. 169, no. 45), Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 334, no. 56; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 473–474, no. 5 > al-Ḥurr al-‘Amilī, *Ithbāt*, III, p. 595, no. 718, *Burhān*, III, p. 350, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XXXVII, pp. 168–169, no. 45; **544\*** (for *awqafa*); in general *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ghadīr Khumm” (L. Veccia Vaglieri). Translation: “The Messenger of God appointed him (i.e. ‘Alī) (lit. “caused him to stand”) (as their master), and the latter (i.e. ‘Alī) will (in turn) appoint someone similar (as their master)”. Cf. **162\***.

**438** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 478, no. 12 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 355–356, no. 6, *Biḥār*, LII, pp. 187–188, no. 13.

**Title** As noted in ms. M, there is a citation from Sūrat al-malā’ika (i.e. Sūra 35) at the end of the chapter. Another citation from this Sūra is found at **441**.

**439** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 3–5. For the reading *lā mustaqarra lahā* (“[the sun runs on] having no resting place”) see Jeffery, pp. 78, 159, 204, 273, 286, 300, 336, 349 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Rabī b. Khuthaym, al-Ṣādiq, ‘Alī; Farrā’, II, p. 377 (giving both *lā mustaqarra* and *lā mustaqarrun*); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, pp. 133–134, no. 660, Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, V, p. 493, Samarqandī, III, p. 123 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Ibn Qutayba, *Mushkil*, p. 316 (*ba’d al-salaf*); Ibn Muḥakkam, III, pp. 431–432, Māwardī, V, p. 17 (‘Ikrima < Ibn ‘Abbās); Māturīdī, VIII, p. 519 (*fī ba’d al-ḥurūf*); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 126 (the Prophet, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ikrima); Tha‘labī, VIII, p. 128 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Mas‘ūd); Zamakhsharī, III, p. 322 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 22 (> *Ṣūfī*, IV, p. 253, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 386, no. 49), Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 321 (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Ikrima, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, Ibn Abī ‘Ubla [not in Ṭabrisī]); Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 277 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Amr b. Dīnār, Ibn ‘Abbās); Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 281 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Ikrima, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Kisā’ī in the transmission of al-Shayzarī [i.e. Abū Mūsā ‘Īsā b. Sulaymān al-Ḥijāzī al-Shayzarī al-Ḥanafī; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 608–609, no. 2490]). See **440\***.

*Isnād*: MŪSĀ B. FURĀT: a person of this name is reported to have transmitted from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 521, no. 1). Perhaps the correct form of the name is Muḥammad b. Mūsā (b. al-Ḥasan) b. Furāt, as in the version recorded in Ibn Bābawayh’s *Ma‘ānī* (see 440\*). Muḥammad b. Mūsā was a transmitter from al-Hādī and al-‘Askarī (Quhpā‘ī, VI, p. 58); he is probably the same person as the member of the Banū Furāt who was the first of the family to hold an important administrative office under the ‘Abbāsid caliphs (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ibn al-Furāt” [D. Sourdel]).—YĀ‘QŪB B. YAZĪD B. MARTHAD/MURSHID AL-ḤĀRITHĪ: in the version recorded in Ibn Bābawayh’s *Ma‘ānī*, the name appears as Yā‘qūb b. Suwayd b. Mazyad al-Ḥārithī. No man of either name has been identified.

**440** See ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 184, no. 46 (Jābir b. Yazīd < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, II, p. 258, no. 8, *Biḥār*, XXXVII, p. 293; Kulīnī, I, p. 412, no. 3 > Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 440, no. 115; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, p. 161, no. 4 (*isnād*: ... al-Ḥasan b. Khurradādh/Khurrazād < Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt < Yā‘qūb b. Suwayd < [Abū] Ja‘far [i.e. al-Bāqir]); idem, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 61, no. 13 (*isnād*: ... al-Ḥasan b. Khurradādh < Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt < Yā‘qūb b. Suwayd b. Mazyad al-Ḥārithī < ‘Amr b. Shāmir < Jābir b. Yazīd < al-Bāqir), both > *Biḥār*, XXXVII, p. 293, no. 7, Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 440, no. 114; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 67. For the alleged derivation of *amīr* from the root *myr* see also *Baṣā’ir*, p. 512, no. 24 > *Biḥār*, XXXVII, p. 295, no. 11; Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, II, p. 319 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 38; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, II, p. 174 (the Prophet tells ‘Alī: *anta wa-llāhi amīruhum tamīruhum min ‘ilmika fa-yamtārūn*) > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 18, no. 14; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 55. In the four manuscripts of *KQ*, paragraphs 439 and 440 appear as a continuous text; yet it seems best to treat each paragraph as an independent unit: as can be seen from the references given here, the text of 440 is cited elsewhere separately; furthermore, each paragraph deals with a different subject matter.

**441** Translation: “‘God holds the heavens and the earth, lest they move’ (Q 35:41). He (i.e. the Imam) said: ‘had they moved they would have become feeble, and had they become feeble they would not have equalled (in worth) a gnat’s wing in His kingdom’”.

**442** Translation: “Someone said to Ja‘far al-Šādiq: ‘(They claim that the moon never entirely disappears: they say that) they continue to see the waning crescent until it is replaced by the waxing crescent’. The

Imam said: ‘They are lying: the moon is covered until nothing remains of it (i.e. it disappears from our vision completely at the end of the month, reading *yuhjar* or *yuhajjar*), and then it reappears’”. It is not clear who the people are who made the claim which the Imam rejected.

**443** This tradition may be a gloss on Q 36:38. Cf. **444**\*.

**444** *Mustadrak*, XII, pp. 148–149, no. 13750. Cf. *Aṣl Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī*, p. 68; Kulīnī, II, p. 455, no. 12 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, p. 1120, no. 8760, *Biḥār*, VII, p. 325, no. 22; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqūh*, IV, p. 284, no. 845; idem, *Amālī*, p. 95 > *Biḥār*, LXXI, p. 181, no. 35, LXXVII, pp. 379–380, no. 3; Fattāl, *Rawḍa*, p. 393; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ*, p. 215 > *Biḥār*, LXXXVI, p. 129, no. 1 (al-Bāqir: *mā min yawm yaʿtī ʿalā ʿbn Ādam illā qāl dhālika l-yawm: anā yawm jadīd wa-anā ʿalayka shahīd fa-ʾfʾal fiyya khayran ashhad laka bihi yawm al-ḡiyāma fa-innaka lan tarānī baʿdahu abadan*); Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muḥāsaba*, p. 351 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, VI/1, p. 380, no. 21082, *Biḥār*, VII, p. 325, no. 20. This tradition may be a gloss on Q 36:38. Cf. **443**\*.

**445** Cf. the reading *a-fa-lā taʿqilūn* ascribed to Ubayy and al-Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym (Jeffery, pp. 159, 300).

**446** *Faṣl*, p. 320, l. 23–p. 321, l. 1. *Wa-mimmā yaʿkulūn* could be regarded as preceding the words *wa-mimmā lā yaʿlamūn* (Q 36:36) or as replacing them; the former appears more likely. Translation: “(Glory be to Him who created all the pairs), of that which the earth grows, and of themselves, and of that which they eat (i.e. animals)”.

**447** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 6–7. For this reading cf. Tisdall, p. 239: “... and what there is behind you of the favour of the Ṭāghūts, and seek not unto them in the lower (worldly) life, that perchance ye may obtain mercy”. The Arabic text which Tisdall translated presumably included the words *fa-lā tabtaghūhum* (for *tattabiʿūhum*) *fī l-dunyā*.

**448** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 5–6. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 130 (to Q 27:71): *wa-yaqūlūn yā Muḥammad matā hādhā l-waʿd in kuntum ṣādiqīn*.

**449** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 8–9. Cf. the reading ascribed to Ubayy: *bi-mā kuntum takfurūn fī l-dunyā* (Jeffery, p. 159). The *biḥā tukadhdhibūn* of the manuscripts is presumably the result of a conflation with Q 52:14.

**450** Cf. Furāt, I, pp. 353–354, no. 479 (Zayd b. ‘Alī: *fa-mathal alladhīna dhakarāhum allāh fī hādhihi l-āya mathal ‘Alī wa-l-Ḥasan wa-l-Ḥusayn*); Nu‘-mān, *Sharḥ*, II, p. 496, no. 882 (Zayd b. ‘Alī: *mathaluhum fī hādhihi l-āya* [printed: *al-umma*] *mathal ‘Alī wa-l-Ḥasan wa-l-Ḥusayn*).

**451** *Faṣl*, p. 320, l. 19. For the reading *sa-naktubu* see *Aṣl Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī*, p. 67 (Jābir al-Ju‘fī < al-Ṣādiq); Kulīnī, II, pp. 270–271, no. 10 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Bāqir) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 6, no. 2, *Bihār*, LXXIII, p. 321, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 378, no. 24, *Faṣl*, p. 320, ll. 16–19. In other accounts, the *imām mubīn* of Q 36:12 is said to be ‘Alī, who was given knowledge of all things (see Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 487, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 6–7, no. 7, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 158, no. 24; Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 150; idem, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 95 > Najafī, pp. 487–488, no. 3, *Burhān*, IV, p. 6, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXXV, pp. 427–428, no. 2; Ibn Jabr, *Nahj*, pp. 153–154; Shādhān, *Faḍā’il*, p. 172; Maṣṣūr, *Iqd*, pp. 313–314, citing al-Barqī’s *al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf*; Bursī, *Mashāriq*, p. 55; Bayāḍī, I, p. 270); **270**.

**452** *Mustadrak*, XIV, p. 448, no. 17244. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 207 (*wa-l-mut’a min dhālika*) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, p. 231, *Burhān*, III, p. 357, no. 1, *Bihār*, LXXI, p. 119, CIII, p. 298, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 350–351, no. 26. See **148\***, **372**.

**453** The Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “al-Ḥadjdjad b. Yūsuf” [A. Dietrich], Introduction, pp. 18–20) is credited with introducing the camel-borne litter (*maḥmil*, pl. *maḥāmīl*); see Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, p. 336 (*wa-l-maḥāmīl innamā awwal mani ’ttakh-adhahā l-Ḥajjāj*) > Suyūṭī, *Wasā’il*, p. 57 (but with the formulation: *awwal mani ’ttakhadha l-maḥāmīl al-Ḥajjāj*); Wāsiṭī, *Ta’rīkh Wāsiṭ*, pp. 39–40 (‘*Abd al-Ḥamīd* [i.e. b. Bayān] *qāl sami’tu abī yaqūl awwal man ‘amila l-maḥāmīl bi-l-’Irāq al-Ḥajjāj*); Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, I, p. 402 (Sufyān: *awwal mani ’ttakhadha l-maḥāmīl al-Ḥajjāj*), III, p. 234 (*awwal man ḥajja fī l-maḥāmīl al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf*); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, p. 350; Lane, s.v. *maḥmil*. *KQ* appears to be the only source in which al-Ḥajjāj’s *maḥāmīl* are adduced as an example of God’s mercy mentioned in Q 35:2.

**454** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 13–14. See **311**, **457**.

*Isnād*: ABŪ (...) L-KINDĪ: there are various transmitters from al-Ṣādiq with this *nisba*. None seems to have transmitted to Shu‘ayb al-‘Aqarqūfī.

**455** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 10–11. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 80, 190, 204, 336 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Šādiq); Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, VI, p. 51, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 128, Samarqandī, III, p. 149, Tha‘labī, VIII, p. 156 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Zamakhsharī, III, p. 348 (without attribution); Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 71 (‘Alī, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, Mujāhid, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-A‘mash, al-Šādiq) > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 275, *Faṣl*, p. 138, ll. 5–6, p. 321, ll. 11–13; Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 316 (‘Alī, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, al-A‘mash, Ibn Abī ‘Ubla); Qurṭubī, XV, p. 104 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Alī).

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ḤAMMĀD: Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād al-Kūfī, author of a *kitāb* which was transmitted by Muḥammad al-Barqī (Quhpā‘ī, IV, p. 78; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 449–450).—ZIYĀD AL-QANDĪ/AL-KINDĪ: Abū l-Faḍl Ziyād b. Marwān al-Anbārī al-Qandī (the confectioner), a transmitter from al-Šādiq and al-Kāẓim and a leader of the Wāqifa (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 147; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 402–403). In the manuscripts his *nisba* appears as al-Kindī, but it is likely that al-Qandī is meant: thus a tradition in praise of Ḥumrān b. A‘yan is cited in Kishshī (p. 157) with the *isnād* Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā < Ziyād al-Kindī < al-Šādiq; in some manuscripts of Kishshī, however, the name is al-Qandī (Kishshī, p. 157, note 2). The same tradition appears in Mufīd, *Ikhtishās*, p. 192 with the *isnād* Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Ubayd < Ziyād b. Marwān al-Qandī < al-Šādiq. Ziyād al-Qandī transmitted from ‘Abdallāh b. Sinān (Ardabīlī, I, p. 489, Khū‘ī, VIII, p. 331) and transmitted to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād (Ardabīlī, I, p. 338).

**456** *Faṣl*, p. 323, ll. 20–22. For this reading see Jeffery, pp. 160, 336 (Ubayy, al-Šādiq); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 226, Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 83 (> *Šāfi*, IV, p. 284, *Burhān*, IV, p. 38, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 439, no. 122, *Faṣl*, p. 323, l. 22), Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 360, Tha‘ālibī, V, p. 49 (all from al-Šādiq).

**457** *Faṣl*, p. 321, ll. 14–15. See **311**, **454**.

**458** Jeffery (p. 190), Ibn Khālawayh (p. 129), Tha‘labī (VIII, p. 174) and Ibn ‘Aṭiyya (IV, p. 490) record a *qirā’a* of ‘Alī which was added at the end of the Sūra (i.e. as a continuation of Q 37:182, or as a separate verse). They reproduce this reading as follows: *qad* (Ibn ‘Aṭiyya: *wa-qul*) *ādhanṭukum bi-adhānat al-mursalīn la-tus‘alunna ‘an al-naba’ al-‘aẓīm* (“I inform you of what the messengers know: you will be asked about the mighty tidings”) (cf. Q 78:2). According to Ibn ‘Aṭiyya (IV, p. 490), this

was also the reading in the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd, but with 'an hādhā l-naba' al-'aẓīm. A similar passage is included in an epistle which the Prophet is said to have sent to Aktham b. Ṣayfī (for whom see the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> [M.J. Kister]): *ādhantukum/addabtukum bi-adhānat/bi-ādāb al-mursalīn wa-la-tus'alunna 'an al-naba' al-'aẓīm wa-la-ta'lamunna naba'ahu ba'da hīn* (Karājakī, II, p. 124 > *Bihār*, XXII, p. 87, no. 40).

**459** This tradition forms part of a discussion among exegetes on whether the piercing flame kills the eavesdropping devils or merely injures them (see e.g. Ṭabarī, XIV, pp. 14, 15, Ṭabrisī, XIV, p. 16, Qurṭubī, X, p. 11, all to Q 15:18). Cf. **724**.

**460** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 279, no. 4699. For the beginning cf. **311**. When Juwayriya b. Asmā' accused al-Ṣādiq of committing errors in his speech (*talḥanu fī kalāmika*) the Imam is said to have retorted: *da'nā min saḥakika* (reading thus for *nahyika*) *hādhā* "enough of this useless chatter/hot air (lit. "dust-raising wind") of yours" (Kishshī, p. 340). The ending appears as a Prophetic tradition in Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā'ir*, III, p. 627 (< *Kitāb Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Dihqān*) > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasā'il*, VI/2, p. 246, no. 22684 (with al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's comment: *hādhā laysa fīhi dhamm li-l-naḥw bal li-l-inḥimāk fīhi*), *Bihār*, I, pp. 217–218 (with al-Majlisī's explication on p. 218). A similar sentiment is voiced by an anonymous authority (*ba'd al-salaf*): "(the study of) grammar removes humbleness from the heart" (*al-naḥw yudhhibu l-khushū' min al-qalb*) (Makkī, *Qūt*, I, p. 337, cited by Goldziher, "Stellung", pp. 362–363, note 6). As Goldziher observes, such pronouncements reflect a belief in pious circles that philologists are haughty and arrogant pedants. See further **312**\*.

*Isnād*: JUWAYRIYA B. ASMĀ': al-Ṣādiq accused him of *zandaqa*; he was put to death by order of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) (Kishshī, p. 340). Al-Tustarī (*Rijāl*, II, pp. 756–757, no. 1616) identifies him as Juwayriya b. Asmā' b. 'Ubayd b. Mukhāriq al-Ḍubā'ī (d. 173/789–790); he often appears in Sunnī sources, where he is usually described as a reliable transmitter (see Mizzī, V, pp. 172–174, no. 986 and the references given by the editor; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, pp. 124–125). In these sources there is no mention of the manner of his death.

**461** Najafī, p. 503, no. 1. See al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Ithbāt*, VII, p. 128, no. 648, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 220, no. 19 (from Najafī).

**462** *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 8–9. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 349 (Ubayy, Ibn Qays). *Fī ṣudūr alladhīna ūtū l-‘ilm* is attested in Q 29:49.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD: he is probably Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Daylamī (see 3\*).

**463** Cf. Rāzī, I, p. 48 (*man arāda an yatalaffaḏa bi-l-ḏamma fa-innahu lā budda lahu min ḏamm shafatayhi awwalan thumma raf‘ihimā thāniyan*). In the ‘Uthmānic codex, *sukhrīyyan* occurs once (Q 43:32) and *sikhriyyan* twice (Q 23:110, 38:63). Al-Šādiq’s reading does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. The vocalization given here evidently reproduces his *qirā’a* of Q 38:63, but not necessarily of the two other verses in which this word is attested. For the reading *sukhrīyyan* at Q 38:63 see also Jeffery, p. 81 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 556, Samarqandī, III, p. 172, Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 577 (Nāfi‘, Ḥamza, al-Kisā’ī); Zamakhsharī, III, p. 380 (without attribution); Tha‘labī, VII, p. 58, Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 129 (the Medinese and Kūfans except ‘Āṣim); Qurṭubī, XV, p. 225 (Abū Ja‘far, Nāfi‘, Shayba [i.e. the Successor Shayba b. Niṣāḥ b. Sirjis b. Ya‘qūb al-Madanī, d. 130/747–748 or 138/755–756; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 329–330, no. 1439, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, pp. 377–378], al-Mufaḏḏal, Hubayra [i.e. Abū ‘Umar Hubayra b. Muḥammad al-Tammār al-Abrash al-Baghdādī, a transmitter from Ḥafṣ; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, p. 353, no. 3781], Yaḥyā, al-A‘mash, Ḥamza, al-Kisā’ī); Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 389; *Šāfi*, IV, p. 307. The reading *sukhrīyyan* at Q 43:32 was adopted by all Seven Readers (though others read *sikhriyyan*; see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 135 [Ibn Muḥayṣin, Ibn Abī Laylā, ‘Amr b. Maymūn (i.e. the Successor Abū ‘Abdallāh ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī al-Kūfī, d. ca. 75/694–695; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 603, no. 2463)]; Tha‘labī, VII, p. 58, Ahwāzī, *Ibn Muḥayṣin*, p. 327 [Ibn Muḥayṣin]). For the reading *sukhrīyyan* at Q 23:110 see Jeffery, p. 81 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Tabarī, XVIII, p. 61 (most Medinese and Kūfans); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 448, Qurṭubī, XII, p. 154 (Nāfi‘, Ḥamza, al-Kisā’ī); Tha‘labī, VII, p. 58, Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 177 (the Medinese and Kūfans except ‘Āṣim).

**464** *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 5–7. The vocalization *a‘tiḥ* (with *hā’ al-sakt*; cf. Wright, I, pp. 90 [note], 93) is conjectural. It is supported by the reading *a‘ti* (exhibiting the regular imperative form), attested as a *qirā’a* of ‘Alī (see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 361, no. 1 > *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 124–125, no. 2, XXV, pp. 329–330, no. 5; Kulīnī, I, pp. 438–439, no. 3 > Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 23–24, no. 85, IV, p. 462, no. 63). Al-Majlisī suggests that in the reading *fā-’mnun aw a‘ti*, *umnun* should be understood as “cut



off/withhold” or “decrease” (*Bihār*, XXV, p. 331; cf. *Lisān*, s.v. *mm*). *Fa-’mmun aw a’ti(h)* could thus be rendered as: “Withhold (your knowledge from the uninitiated) or bestow (it on the initiated)”. See 465; cf. 466, 467.

*Isnād*: FUḌAYL AL-A‘WAR: Abū Muḥammad Fuḍayl b. ‘Uthmān al-Anbārī al-A‘war, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 224).—ABŪ ‘UBAYDA AL-ḤADHDHĀ’: Abū ‘Ubayda Ziyād b. ‘Īsā al-Ḥadhdhā’ (d. in or before 148/765), a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 116–118), and a transmitter to Fuḍayl al-A‘war (e.g. *Baṣā’ir*, p. 259, nos. 3, 5, p. 510, no. 15).

465 *Faṣl*, p. 324, l. 7. Translation: “He (i.e. al-Šādiq) added (in explication of *fa-’mmun aw a’ti(h)*): ‘God ordered (the Imams) to withhold (knowledge from the uninitiated); He said: “bestow (knowledge) with restrictions or without restrictions”’. See 464; cf. 466, 467.

466 *Faṣl*, p. 323, l. 22–p. 324, l. 1. For this reading (as *qirā’at ‘Alī*) see *Baṣā’ir*, p. 387, no. 13 > *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 2–4 (in the version cited in *Faṣl*, ‘Alī’s reading is *a’ti(h)*); Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 300. See 467; cf. 464, 465.

467 *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 1–2. See 466; cf. 464, 465.

*Isnād*: cf. 15\*.

468 Cf. *Baṣā’ir*, p. 270, no. 4 > *Bihār*, XLVII, p. 79, no. 58, LXVIII, p. 118, no. 44; Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 469, no. 80; Qummī, II, p. 243 > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 307, *Bihār*, XXX, p. 154, no. 10, XXXI, p. 642, no. 160, LXVIII, p. 13, no. 14; Furāt, II, p. 361, no. 491; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 36, no. 6 (toward the end) > Najafī, p. 507, no. 9, *Burhān*, IV, pp. 62–63, no. 5, *Bihār*, VIII, pp. 354–355, no. 6, LXVIII, p. 51, no. 93; Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im*, I, p. 77; idem, *Sharḥ*, III, p. 465, no. 1356; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḍā’il*, p. 64 (> *Bihār*, VII, p. 179, no. 17) > Najafī, p. 507, no. 9 > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 259, no. 9; Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 103 > *Bihār*, XLVII, p. 392, no. 114; Ṭabarī, *Dalā’il*, p. 132; Rāwandī, *Kharā’ij*, II, p. 827, no. 40; Shādhān, *Faḍā’il*, p. 13; ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, pp. 272, 274.

469 Cf. the gloss *ḥin lā manāṣ* (Qurṭubī, XV, p. 146, Abū Ḥayyān, VII, p. 369). For *manāṣ* as *firār* (escape) see e.g. Muqātil, III, p. 112, Ṭabarī, XXIII, pp. 120, 121, Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 217, Samarqandī, III, p. 158, Qurṭubī, XV, p. 145 (all to Q 38:3). For *lāta* see *WKAS*, II, part 3, pp. 1658b–1661b.

**470** For an explication of *qitt* as *kitāb* see Muqātil, III, p. 115; Samarqandī, III, pp. 160–161; Thaʿlabī, VIII, p. 182; Ṭūsī, VIII, p. 549; Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 102 (the unbelievers from Quraysh, mocking the Prophet, ask him to hurry and bring them the books which they will read in the hereafter); Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, p. 559 (from al-Ḥasan); Jalālayn, p. 453 (*kitāb aʿmālīnā*); Lane, s.v. Cf. Ṭabarī, XXIII, pp. 134 (*al-ṣaḥīfa al-maktūba*), 135.

**471** The last sentence is an exegesis on Q 38:32. Translation: “Had Solomon prayed before (the sun) was hidden behind the veil he would have performed (the prescribed prayer) while it was still daylight (and would thus not have missed the proper time for the prayer)”. Cf. ʿAyyāshī, I, p. 273, no. 259, p. 274, no. 263 (to Q 4:103).

**472** This tradition properly belongs in the next chapter. See **92, 340\***.

**473** *Faṣl*, p. 324, l. 13. See Najafī, p. 519, no. 23 (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī < ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān < ʿImrān b. Sulaymān < Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 78–79, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 260, no. 13, *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 9–12 (*isnād* in *Faṣl*: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī < ʿUmar b. Sulaymān < Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq).

*Isnād*: for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī < ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān see also **72, 456**. The *isnād* as it appears in the manuscripts is probably corrupt. The following may have occurred: first, ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān was wrongly copied as ʿAmr/ʿUmar b. Sulaymān; then, a copyist wrote twice “b. Sulaymān”; finally, the second “b. Sulaymān” was “corrected” to “an Sulaymān”.

**474** *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 14–15. The words *wa-ʿḍrib lahum* found in the manuscripts are probably the result of a conflation with Q 18:32 or Q 36:13. For the reading *sālīman* see Jeffery, pp. 82, 205, 273, 282, 301 (Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿIkrima, Mujāhid, al-Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym); idem, “Zaid b. ʿAlī”, p. 230 (Zayd); Ṭabarī, XXIII, p. 213 (Ibn ʿAbbās, some Meccan and Baṣran readers); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 562 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr, ʿĀṣim in the transmission of Abān); Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, pp. 514–515, no. 10 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 75, no. 3, *Faṣl*, p. 324, ll. 18–20 (the reading *sālīman* is only recorded in *Faṣl*); Naḥḥās, *Iʿrāb*, IV, p. 10 (Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid, al-Jaḥdarī, Abū ʿAmr, Ibn Kathīr); Samarqandī, III, p. 184 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr); Thaʿlabī, VIII, p. 233 (Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid, al-Ḥasan, Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr, Yaʿqūb);

Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 152 (Ibn Kathīr and the Baṣrans except Sahl); Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 400 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, Ya‘qūb); *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 321. For this tradition cf. Qummī, II, pp. 248–249 > Najafī, p. 514, *Burhān*, IV, p. 75, no. 9, *Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 162–163, no. 13; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 224, no. 283 (beginning) > Najafī, pp. 515–516, no. 13, *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 321, *Burhān*, IV, pp. 74–75, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 160, no. 9. Al-Majlisī (*Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 161–162) offers two interpretations of *raḡulan salaman/sālīman li-raḡul*: (i) the first *raḡul* is ‘Alī and the second is the Prophet; (ii) the first *raḡul* is each member of the Shī‘a and the second is ‘Alī. This passage in *KQ* fits the latter interpretation. The *saqīfa* (Saḡīfat Banī Sā‘ida) is the covered porch or courtyard in which Abū Bakr was nominated to succeed the Prophet (see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Saḡīfa” [G. Lecomte]; Madelung, *Succession*, pp. 28–43); for the Imāmīs, the *aṣḡāb al-saḡīfa* are ‘Alī’s enemies (particularly Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and Abū ‘Ubayda) who conspired at that place to deprive him of his right to succeed the Prophet. Abū Bakr is here called *al-awwal* not only because this was his nickname but perhaps also because he is the first *raḡul* mentioned in the verse. His followers are portrayed as quarrelling among themselves while showing loyalty to him (*wa-hum yatawallownahū*).

**475** For the readings *mā’it/mā’itūn* see Jeffery, p. 228 (Ibn al-Zubayr); idem, “Zaid b. ‘Alī”, p. 230 (Zayd); Naḡḡās, *‘Irāb*, IV, p. 11 (Ibn Muḡayṣin, Ibn Abī Ishāq, ‘Īsā [probably ‘Īsā b. ‘Umar]); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 131 (Ibn al-Zubayr, Ibn Muḡayṣin, ‘Īsā, Ibn Abī Ishāq); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 253 (*wa-qurī’a*); Ahwāzī, *Baṣṣ*, p. 461 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); idem, *Ibn Muḡayṣin*, p. 323 (Ibn Muḡayṣin); Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 400 (Ibn Muḡayṣin, Ibn Abī ‘Ubla); cf. Vollers, *Volkssprache*, pp. 150–151. The words *fa-’dda’ā ... ismihi* and *min ‘ind allāh* do not appear to be recorded elsewhere; they may be glosses. *Wa-summiya bi-ghayr ismihi* may be an allusion to ‘Umar, who was addressed as *amīr al-mu’mīnīn* (“commander of the faithful”) despite the fact that this title belonged to ‘Alī alone (cf. **160**). For the exegesis on Q 39:33 see Qummī, II, p. 249 (*ya’ḡī rasūl allāh* is missing from the printed edition) > Najafī, p. 517, no. 17; Ibn al-Juḡām > Najafī, p. 517, no. 18 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 76, no. 2; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, pp. 174–175 > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarā’if*, p. 79 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 412, no. 9; Ṭabrisī, XXIV, p. 155 (Mujāhid, al-Ḍaḡḡāk < Ibn ‘Abbās, the Shī‘ī Imams) > Najafī, pp. 516–517, no. 16, *Burhān*, IV, p. 76, no. 5; Irbilī, I, pp. 319–320 (Mujāhid); in general *Biḥār*, XXXV, pp. 407–423 (chapter 21).

**476** For the derivation of *ḥā-mīm* from *ḥamma* (to draw near) see Qurṭubī, XV, p. 289 (Ka'b b. Mālīk) (cf. Lane, s.v. *aḥamma* [also *ḥamma/ḥum-ma*): "it drew near, or approached"). The continuation is in all likelihood a separate, acephalous tradition. Exegetes disagree as to whether the believing man of Q 40:28 who kept his belief hidden from Pharaoh's folk was himself one of Pharaoh's folk, as implied in the tradition in *KQ* (see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXIV, pp. 57–58; Tha'labī, VIII, p. 273; Ṭūsī, IX, p. 72; Zamakhsharī, III, pp. 423–424; Abū l-Futūḥ, IX, p. 446; Qurṭubī, XV, pp. 306–307; Zarkashī, III, p. 233; in general *Bihār*, XIII, pp. 157–165).

**477** For this tradition see Najafī, p. 530, no. 11 (with *bi-anna li-'Alī walāya* after *kafartum*) > *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 364, no. 24. See also **478**, **480**.

*Isnād*: IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD: Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Asadī al-Bazzāz, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāzīm and al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, I, pp. 52–53; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 23–25; Kohlberg, "Uṣūl", p. 145).—AL-ḤASAN B. ḤUBAYSH: al-Ḥasan b. Ḥubaysh al-Asadī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq and a transmitter to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Quhpā'ī, II, p. 101; Ardabīlī, I, p. 192).

**478** *Faṣl*, p. 325, l. 13. For this tradition (with the same *isnād*) see Najafī, pp. 530–531, no. 12 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 94, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 364, no. 25. According to *Faṣl*, p. 325, ll. 10–13, al-Najafī's source is Ibn al-Juhām, but this is not indicated in the Qumm, 1407/1987 edition of *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira*. The term *ahl al-walāya* normally denotes the Imāmīs (see e.g. *Aṣl Zayd al-Narsī*, p. 51; 'Ayyāshī, I, p. 337, no. 170 [Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd < al-Kāzīm]); but in *KQ* (and in Kulīnī, see **480\***) it is evidently used to refer to the Imams ("those to whom *walāya* is owed"). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 256 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 336. See also **477**, **480**.

*Isnād*: ZAYD B. AL-ḤASAN: he may be Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Anmā'ī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, III, p. 78; Ardabīlī, I, p. 341).

**479** *Faṣl*, p. 124, ll. 17–20, p. 326, ll. 10–14. In *KQ*, the words *min al-mu'minīn* are presented as forming part of the Qur'ān; these words are also cited in Ṭūsī (IX, p. 144) and Ṭabrisī (XXV, p. 38, *Jawāmi'*, II, p. 424 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 367), but there it is not clear whether they are a reading (as al-Nūrī would have it; see *Faṣl*, p. 124, l. 21, p. 326, l. 14) or a gloss. Elsewhere, *li-man fī l-arḍ* is explained as referring to the believers (Ṭabarī, XXV, p. 8 [from al-Suddī]; Qurṭubī, XVI,

p. 4 [from al-Ḍaḥḥāk]). A reading (or a gloss) such as that attested in *KQ* brings Q 42:5 into line with Q 40:7, where the angels ask forgiveness only for the believers. Some exegetes attempted to resolve the apparent contradiction between the two verses by arguing that Q 42:5 was abrogated by Q 40:7 (see Qurṭubī, XVI, pp. 4–5). The beginning of Q 42:5 in the version cited in *KQ* is attested as a tradition on the authority of al-Šādiq; see Ṭabrisī, XXV, p. 38 > Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 557, no. 7: *wa-ruwiya ‘an Abī ‘Abdallāh: wa-l-malā’ika wa-man* (read: *min?*) *ḥawl al-‘arsh yusabbiḥūn bi-ḥamd rabbiḥim lā yafturūn*. Cf. Q 21:20, 39:75.

*Isnād*: ‘ABDALLĀH AL-AŠAMM: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ašamm al-Misma‘ī, described as an extremist (*ghālī*), a Baṣran transmitter from disciples of al-Šādiq (Quhpā‘ī, IV, p. 25; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 494–495). For the *isnād* ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ašamm < Hishām b. Sālīm see e.g. Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil*, pp. 344, 357, 426.

**480** *Faṣl*, p. 325, ll. 6–7. For this tradition (with the same *isnād* and the same reading, but with *dhālika* for *dhālikum*) see Kulīnī, I, p. 421, no. 46 > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 336, *Burhān*, IV, p. 94, no. 5, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 513, no. 21. See also **477**, **478**.

*Isnād*: ‘ALĪ B. MANŠŪR: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Manšūr al-Kūfī, a resident of Baghdād and a follower of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (Quhpā‘ī, IV, p. 225; Ardabīlī, I, p. 603).—AL-WALĪD B. ŠUBAYḤ: a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 391; cf. **348\***).

**481** As can be gathered from other sources, this forms part of the Shī‘ī *mi‘rāj* traditions, in which ‘Alī plays a prominent role (see Amir-Moezzi, “Ascension”, pp. 100–105). In one of these traditions, God tells the Prophet concerning ‘Alī: *innahu mubtalan wa-mubtalan bihi ma‘a annī qad naḥaltuhu wa-naḥaltuhu wa-naḥaltuhu wa-naḥaltuhu arba‘a ašyā* (“he will be put to the test and people will be put to the test on his account; I have given him ... four things”) (see Qummī, II, pp. 243–244 > *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 374, no. 79); here, in contrast to what we find in *KQ*, God does not reveal what these things are. In a similar account, God tells Muḥammad that He bestowed on ‘Alī His knowledge and forbearance (*‘ilmū wa-ḥilmū*) (Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, I, p. 353 [> *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 371, no. 78], I, p. 364), or (in a variant) His knowledge and wisdom (or power of judgment) (*‘ilmū wa-ḥukmū*) (Ḥillī, *Muḥtaḍar*, p. 147. Al-Majlisī maintains [*Bihār*, XVIII, p. 372] that al-Ḥillī’s source is Ibn Bābawayh’s *Kitāb al-mi‘rāj*; this information is not found in the printed edition of the *Muḥtaḍar*.) For (independent or suffixed) pronouns in the Qur’ān

referring to something not explicitly mentioned in the text see ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, pp. 54–55. For the ending see **294**.

**482** Najafī, p. 534, no. 3. It is not clear whether *alladhīna ashrakū ... fīhi l-awwal* is a *qirā’a* or a gloss. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 262 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 353, *Burhān*, IV, p. 106, no. 2(a) (ending); Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, pp. 533–534, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 106, no. 2(b), *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 304, no. 17; Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 29. Translation: “Woe to the idolaters who associated (someone else) with the first Imam (i.e. ‘Alī) and did not pay the other (i.e. Abū Bakr) that which the first (Imam) said should be paid (i.e. the alms-tax), while disbelieving in him (i.e. in ‘Alī)”.

*Isnād*: ABĀN B. TAGHLIB: Abū Saʿīd Abān b. Taghlib b. Rabāḥ al-Rabāʿī al-Bakrī al-Jurayjī (d. 141/758–759), a prominent Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 143; van Ess, *TG*, I, p. 334; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 107–116).

**483** Najafī, p. 537, no. 9. See *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 26, no. 2 (from Najafī); Kulīnī, I, p. 220, no. 2, p. 420, no. 40 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 359, *Burhān*, IV, p. 110, no. 6; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 330 > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 21, no. 40.

**484** Perhaps the text should be emended to read *illā kull dhī ḥaẓẓ*, in accordance with the *qirā’a* attributed to al-Ṣādiq (see Ṭabrisī, XXIV, p. 23 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 361; see also **489**); this would clarify the Imam’s comment: *huwa dhāka* “this is so”.

*Isnād*: KHUZAYMA: unidentified. Ibn Yaqṭīn is not recorded as transmitting to a person with this or a similar-looking name (cf. Khūʿī, XIII, pp. 252–253).—IBN YAQTĪN: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā (d. 182/798), a client (*mawla*) of Banū Asad or Banū Hāshim, a high ranking official of the ‘Abbāsīd government and a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 194–198). For Ibn Yaqṭīn’s transmission from al-Ṣādiq cf. Khūʿī, XIII, pp. 249–250. See also **225\***, **393\***.

**485** For an explication of *al-raḥīm* as “compassionate towards His creatures” (*al-raḥīm bi-khalqihū*) see e.g. Muqātil, III, p. 81 (to Q 36:5) > Ibn al-Jawzī, VI, p. 272; Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 30 (to Q 52:28); cf. **28**. See **486**.

**486** This is a gloss on the *qur'ānan* 'arabiyyan of Q 41:3 (cited at **485**). *Wa-bi-isnādihi* may have been inserted by mistake; if so, then this is not an independent tradition but a continuation of the previous one. For *a'jamī* ("not Arabic") see Q 16:103, 41:44 (twice).

**487** Since no *qirā'a* appears to be cited here, it can be taken that the ending of this tradition is missing.

**488** Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *I'tiqādāt*, p. 94 = Fyzee, p. 76 > *Biḥār*, VII, p. 251, no. 9 (a paraphrase of Q 24:24 which includes the words *jamī' jawāriḥim* [all their limbs]). The *qulūbuhum* of the manuscripts may be the result of a confusion with Qur'ānic verses in which this word is mentioned together with *sam'uhum* and *abṣāruhum* (see Q 2:7, 16:108; cf. **514**). *Julūd* (skins) is often interpreted as denoting the sexual organs (*furūj*) (Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' / Taḥṣīr*, p. 236 [fol 9b l. 11: *julūduhum al-furūj*]; Qummī, II, p. 264 [*wa-l-julūd al-furūj*] > *Burhān*, IV, p. 108, no. 2, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 543, no. 24; Kulīnī, II, p. 36, no. 1 [> *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 356, *Biḥār*, LXIX, p. 26, no. 6], Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, p. 7 [*ya'nī bi-l-julūd al-furūj wa-l-afkhādh*]; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqīh*, II, p. 381, no. 1627 [from 'Alī's *waṣīyya* to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya: *ya'nī bi-l-julūd al-furūj*] > Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 544, no. 28) or as alluding to them (*kināya*) (Farrā', III, p. 16 [*al-jild hunā—wa-llāhu a'lam—al-dhakar, wa-huwa mā kanā 'anhū*] > Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, IV, p. 57 [*qāla l-Farrā': al-jild hāhunā l-dhakar kanā llāh 'azza wa-jalla 'anhu*]; Ṭabarī, XXIV, p. 106; Māturīdī, IX, p. 72 [*wa-qāla ba'duhum: julūduhum kināya 'an al-furūj, wa-huwa qawl al-Ḥasan*]; Samarqandī, III, p. 223; Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 268; Tha'labī, VIII, p. 290; Ṭūsī, IX, p. 117 [*wa-qīl: al-murād bi-l-julūd al-furūj 'alā ṭarīq al-kināya*]; Ṭabrisī, XXIV, p. 14, citing Ibn 'Abbās; Abū l-Futūḥ, X, p. 14; Zarkashī, II, p. 305).

**489** *Faṣl*, p. 326, l. 3. For the reading *fa-la-najziyanna* see Bayādī, I, p. 290. For the beginning cf. Kulīnī, I, p. 421, no. 45 (... *bi-tarkihim walāyat 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*) > *Faṣl*, p. 326, ll. 3–5, tr. Amir-Moezzi, "Walāya", p. 724; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 534–535, no. 4 (*fa-la-nudhīqanna lladhīna kafarū bi-tarkihim walāyat 'Alī 'adhāban shadīdan fī l-dunyā*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 109, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 365, no. 28, *Faṣl*, p. 326, ll. 1–3. For the reading *illā kull dhī ḥaẓẓ 'aẓīm* see **484\***. For *lā yasjudūn li-l-shams wa-lā li-l-qamar* cf. Q 41:37.

**Title** The name 'ayn-sīn-qāf for Sūra 42 (rather than *ḥā-mīm-'ayn-sīn-qāf* or *al-Shūrā*) is uncommon, though not unknown (see Abū l-Su'ūd, V, p.



518 [*ḥā-mūm* ‘*ayn-sīn-qāf* ‘*smān li-l-sūra*]; cf. Bayḍāwī, p. 638 [*ḥā-mūm* ‘*ayn-sīn-qāf* la‘*allahu* ‘*smān li-l-sūra*]). It is also possible that the letters *ḥā-mūm* were omitted from mss. M and T (the relevant folio in ms. L was not available to us; see Introduction, p. 48).

**490** *Faṣl*, p. 327, ll. 1–2, Najafī, p. 550, no. 19. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 129, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 229, no. 30, *Faṣl*, p. 326, l. 22–p. 327, l. 1 (from Najafī; in *Bihār* and *Faṣl*: *zālimī āl Muḥammad*). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 278 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 129, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXXI, pp. 580–581, no. 14 (*wa-tarā l-zālimīn āl* [in *Burhān*: *li-āl*] *Muḥammad ḥaqqahum lammā ra’aw al-‘adhāb wa-‘Alī huwa l-‘adhāb fī ḥādḥā l-wajh* [in *Burhān*, correctly: *fī ḥādhihi l-raǰ’a*] etc.). For ‘Alī as God’s scourge during the *raǰ’a* see ‘Āmilī, *Mir’āt*, p. 230.

**491** *Faṣl*, p. 326, l. 21. See Kulīnī, I, p. 418, no. 32 (Muḥammad b. Sinān < al-Riḍā) (*kabura ‘alā l-mushrikīn bi-walāyat ‘Alī mā tad’ūhum ilayhi yā Muḥammad min walāyat ‘Alī*) > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107 (> *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12), *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 369, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 563, no. 33, *Faṣl*, p. 326, ll. 19–21; Tisdall, p. 239; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 68; cf. *Baṣā’ir*, p. 119, no. 1, p. 120, no. 4 (ending); Furāt, I, p. 285, no. 384, II, p. 387; Bayāḍī, I, p. 289. The account in Kulīnī also ends with the sentence: *ḥākadḥā fī l-kitāb makhṭūṭa*. Al-Māzandarānī (d. 1081/1670–1671) offers the following interpretation of this sentence: “Thus (this verse) was written down in ‘Alī’s copy of the Qur’ān, or in *al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*” (VII, p. 69). For Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (d. 1091/1680), in contrast, the words which follow the canonical text (i.e. *yā Muḥammad min walāyat ‘Alī*) are an exegetical gloss written down on the margin of the book (*ka-annahā makhṭūṭa fī l-ḥawāshī min qabūl al-quyūd wa-l-shurūḥ*) (*Wāfi*, III, p. 922, no. 1597). If he takes “book” to mean the *Kāfi* (rather than the Qur’ān) then he appears to be suggesting that “*ḥākadḥā fī l-kitāb makhṭūṭa*” is an interpolation. The fact that this sentence also appears in *KQ* renders this suggestion problematic. *Mahfūza* (for *makhṭūṭa*) appears both in ms. B and (according to Māzandarānī, VII, p. 69) in one (or several, *ba’d*) of the manuscripts of Kulīnī. See **492, 493**.

**492** The full text of the letter sent by al-Riḍā to his disciple ‘Abdallāh b. Jundab/Jundub is given in Qummī, II, pp. 104–105 (to Q 24:35) > *Bihār*, XXVI, pp. 241–243, no. 5; Furāt, I, pp. 283–285, no. 384; Kulīnī, I, pp. 223–224, no. 1 > Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 174–175. The letter was reportedly written at the request of Ibn Jundab when he was a very

old man (Furāt, I, p. 283); the passage cited in *KQ* appears (with some variations) towards its end. For this passage see also *Baṣṣāʾir*, pp. 119–120, no. 3; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 543–544, no. 6 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 119, no. 9, *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 365–366, no. 30; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 213, with note 437 = *Divine Guide*, p. 202; idem, “Walāya”, pp. 724, 734. A similar account is recorded in *Baṣṣāʾir*, pp. 118–119, no. 1 (*wa-mā waṣṣaynā bihi Ibrāhīm wa-Ismāʿīl wa-Mūsā wa-ʿIsā wa-Ishāq wa-Yaʿqūb*) > Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 562, no. 22; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 543, no. 5 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 119, no. 8, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 365, no. 29. *Yahdī* (for *yajtabī ilayhi man yashāʾ wa-yahdī*) also appears in *Baṣṣāʾir* and Kulīnī. For *Ibrāhīm wa-Ishāq wa-Yaʿqūb* see Q 12:38, 38:45. See **491**, **493**.

**493** For *Ibrāhīm wa-Ismāʿīl wa-Ishāq wa-Yaʿqūb* see Q 2:136, 2:140, 3:84, 4:163. See **491**, **492**.

*Isnād*: ʿABDALLĀH B. JUNDAB/JUNDUB: ʿAbdallāh b. Jundab/Jundub al-Bajalī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā and a financial agent (*wakīl*) of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpāʾī, III, pp. 274–276; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 479–480).

**494** *Faṣl*, p. 327, ll. 6–7, Najafī, p. 550, no. 20. See al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Ithbāt*, VII, p. 129, no. 653, Baḥrānī, *Maḥajja*, p. 197, *Burhān*, IV, p. 129, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 229–230, no. 32 (all from Najafī, i.e. with the verse as in the ʿUthmānic codex and with *ilayhi* said to refer to the Qāʾim). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 278 (*khāshiʿin min al-dhull li-ʿAlī yanẓurūn ilā ʿAlī min ṭarf khaṭfī*) > Ṣāfi, IV, p. 380, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 586, no. 127; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 215 (*khāshiʿin min al-dhull yanẓurūn ilā ʿAlī min ṭarf khaṭfī*) > *Bihār*, XXXI, p. 574, no. 3.

*Isnād*: see also **307**, **498**.

**495** *Faṣl*, p. 327, ll. 7–8. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 278 > Ṣāfi, IV, p. 380, *Burhān*, IV, p. 129, no. 4, Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 586, no. 127 (*a-lā inna l-ẓālimīn āl/li-āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum*); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 216 (*a-lā inna l-ẓālimīn li-āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum*) > *Bihār*, XXXI, p. 574, no. 3.

**496** *Faṣl*, p. 327, ll. 8–10. The reading given here does not appear to be recorded elsewhere, though the notion that the “single community” (*ummatan wāḥidatan*) of this verse refers to a community of unbelievers is widely attested; see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXV, p. 68; Kulīnī, II, p. 265, no. 23 > *Bihār*, LXXII, p. 28, no. 25; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, p. 589, no. 33 > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 141–142, no. 1, *Bihār*, LXVII, p. 230, no.

42; Thaʿlabī, VIII, p. 333; Abū l-Futūḥ, X, p. 87. See further Rubin, “Pre-existence”, p. 78 (referring to the *ummātan wāḥīdatan* at Q 2:213). Translation: “If God had acted (by making them unbelievers) they would have performed (acts of unbelief)”; or: “If God had acted (by rewarding the people with so much wealth), they would have acted (by becoming unbelievers)”.

*Isnād*: ABŪ L-QĀSIM: there are a number of transmitters from al-Ṣādiq bearing this *kunya*. Perhaps the reference is to Abū l-Qāsim b. ʿAbdallāh who, according to one manuscript of Najafī, transmitted to Sayf an exegetical tradition on Q 43:44 (see Najafī, p. 562, no. 27).

**497** Najafī, p. 571, no. 47. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 154, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 230, no. 34 (from Najafī, to Q 43:76). Only Ibn al-Juḥām (as cited in Najafī) appears to preserve the correct text (i.e. from Sūrat al-zukhruf). In the four manuscripts of *KQ*, other verses with a similar content are recorded (Q 2:57 [or Q 7:160], Q 29:40). The additions to these verses as preserved in mss. M, T and B do not appear to be recorded elsewhere; they may be glosses.

**498** *Faṣl*, p. 327, ll. 14–16, Najafī, p. 557, no. 13. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 143, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 230, no. 33 (from Najafī). For this reading see also Qummī, II, p. 286 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 392; Tisdall, p. 239; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 69.

*Isnād*: see also **307**, **494**.

**499** *Faṣl*, p. 328, l. 19. *Tashtahī* is the reading of Ibn Kathīr; Abū ʿAmr, Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī and ʿĀṣim in the transmission of Abū Bakr; the rest of the Seven Readers read *tashtahīhi* (Ibn Mujāhid, pp. 588–589). See also Naḥḥās, *Iʿrāb*, IV, p. 120; Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 668; Zamakhsharī (*wa-qurʾa*); Ibn Khālawayh, *Hujja*, pp. 296–297; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, V, p. 64; Ṭabrisī, XXV, p. 97; Abū l-Futūḥ, X, p. 102; Ibn al-Jawzī, VII, p. 144; Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 114; Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 27; *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 399 (*wa-qurʾa*); Dutton, “Notes”, p. 45. For *tashtahī* in a citation of (or reference to) this verse see ʿAskarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 338 > *Bihār*, VIII, p. 180, no. 137, LXXV, p. 12, no. 44; Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuḥaf*, p. 353 (in the version cited in *Bihār*, X, p. 386, no. 1); Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 88; Ṭabrisī, *Iḥtijāj*, p. 488 > *Ṣāfi*, IV, p. 399. In the codex which ʿUthmān sent to Medina (*muṣḥaf al-Madīna*) the word appeared as *tashtahīhi*; in the codex sent to Baṣra, it was *tashtahī* (al-Ruhnī, *Muqaddimāt ʿilm al-qurʾān*, cited in Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, p. 280). Cf. Farrāʾ, III, p. 37, whence Beck, “Kodizesvarianten”, p.

363 (*wa-fi maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna tashtahīhi*); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 157, no. 717; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47; Dānī, *Muqni’*, pp. 107, 109 (*tashtahīhi* in the *maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-l-Shām*, *tashtahī* in all other codices, including *ahl al-Iraq*); Cook, “Codex”, pp. 96, 103; idem, “Stemma”, p. 93; **140\***, **652\***.

**500** According to this tradition as recorded in the manuscripts of *KQ*, when the Prophet said to God: “These are people who believe not” (Q 43:88), God wished to order the Prophet to kill them; He then brought down the verse: “Bear with them and say: peace” etc. (Q 43:89). This implies a change in the divine will. A different meaning results when the text is emended by adding *min* after *arāda*: the Prophet would like God to order him to kill the unbelievers, but God tells him to bear with them. Cf. al-Rāzī’s statement (XXVII, p. 201) that by revealing Q 43:89 God prevented the Prophet from asking for punishment to befall them. According to some exegetes, Q 43:89 was abrogated by Q 9:5 (“the sword verse”) (Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 125; Samarqandī, III, p. 266; Ṭabrisī, XXV, p. 104; Rāzī, XXVII, p. 201; Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 124; cf. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 203 [*thumma amara/umira bi-qitālihīm*]; Ṭabarī, XXV, p. 107 [*thumma amarahū bi-qitālihīm*]; Naḥḥās, *Ma‘ānī*, VI, p. 391 [*thumma nusikha bi-l-amr bi-l-qitāl*]).

*Isnād*: MŪSĀ AL-NUMAYRĪ: Mūsā b. Akīl/Ukayl/Akyal al-Numayrī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq (Quhpā’ī, VI, p. 150; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 271–272).

**501** The Qur’ānic *qalam* (pen) is often described as the first thing created by God (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “*Qalam*” [Cl. Huart—(A. Grohmann)]). For the account according to which God, immediately after creating the pen, ordered it to write down Q 43:4, cf. Ṭabarī, XXV, p. 48; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, p. 714 > *Bihār*, LVII, p. 371, no. 13. The reading ‘*alī*’ does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. It seems clear that ‘*alī*’ should be understood as referring to the Imam ‘Alī. For such an understanding (based on *la-‘alī* of the ‘Uthmānic codex) see Madelung-Walker, p. 29 (Arabic) = p. 85 (English) (“In the mother of the Book which is with us, he is ‘Alī, full of wisdom”); Qummī, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 280 > Ḥuwayzī, IV, p. 591, no. 4; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, pp. 28–29 > *Šāfi*, IV, p. 384, *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 373, no. 21; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, III, p. 145, no. 317 (*wa-ashhadu anna l-imām al-hādī al-rashīd amīr al-mu’minīn alladhī dhakartahu fī kitābika fa-qulta wa-innahu fī umm al-kitāb ladaynā la-‘Alī ḥakīm*, forming part of the prayer for the day of Ghadīr Khumm), both > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III,

p. 107 > *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 58, no. 12; Shādhān, *Faḍā'il*, p. 172 (on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd); Najafī, p. 552, nos. 1–2; *Burhān*, I, p. 47, no. 4.

**502** *Faṣl*, p. 328, ll. 20–21. Cf. Q 50:34 (*yawm al-khulūd*), 52:17 (*jannāt wa-na'īm*).

*Isnād*: AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD: there are several scholars of this name who transmitted from Ibn Faḍḍāl. They include Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī and Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bazanṭī (see Ardabīlī, I, pp. 214, 215, 217). Only the latter is known to have transmitted to al-Sayyārī.—ABŪ SHU'AYB: Abū Shu'ayb Ṣāliḥ b. Khālīd al-Maḥāmīlī al-Kunāsī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpā'ī, III, pp. 203–204, VII, pp. 52–53; Ardabīlī, I, p. 405, II, p. 393). For the *isnād* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad < Ibn Faḍḍāl < Abū Shu'ayb al-Maḥāmīlī see Kulīnī, VI, p. 440, no. 14.

**503** *Faṣl*, p. 328, ll. 21–22. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 88 (Ibn Mas'ūd).

*Isnād*: JA'FAR B. MUḤAMMAD: it is not clear which of the various transmitters of this name is meant here. None appears in the list of transmitters from Ḥudhayfa b. Manṣūr (cf. Khū'ī, V, p. 225).—ḤUDHAYFA B. MANṢŪR: Abū Muḥammad Ḥudhayfa b. Manṣūr Bayyā' al-Sāburī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 272). The manuscripts have 'Abdallāh b. Manṣūr; yet judging by the works of Rijāl, the only disciple of al-Ṣādiq called “b. Manṣūr” is Ḥudhayfa. Cf. the tradition cited in Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 159, no. 705 with the *isnād* Ḥudhayfa b. Manṣūr < al-Ṣādiq, which is also cited in idem, *Istibṣār*, III, p. 114, no. 407, but with 'Abdallāh (instead of Ḥudhayfa) b. Manṣūr.

**504** Cf. Muqātil, III, p. 205 (*wa-dhālika anna l-mu'min idhā māta bakā 'alayhi ma'ālim sujudihī min al-arḍ wa-maṣ'ad 'amalihī min al-samā' ... wa-lā yabkiyān 'alā l-kāfir*); Ṭabarī, XXV, pp. 124–126; Karājaki, II, p. 200 > *Biḥār*, LXXXII, p. 182, no. 28 (*fa-mā bakat 'alayhim al-samā' wa-l-arḍ* was revealed concerning *qawm Fir'awn*); Ṭabrisī, XXV, p. 113; Ibn al-Jawzī, VII, p. 154 (the verse refers to *āl Fir'awn*).

**505** *Faṣl*, p. 329, l. 4, Najafī, p. 577, no. 7. See Qummī, II, p. 295, Kulīnī, VIII, p. 50, no. 11 (*isnād* of Kulīnī: Sahl b. Ziyād < Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Daylamī al-Baṣrī [read thus for “al-Miṣrī”] < his father < Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq), both > Ṣāfi, V, pp. 8–9, *Burhān*, IV, p. 169,

nos. 1–2, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 4–5, no. 13, *Faṣl*, p. 328, l. 23–p. 329, l. 6; *Biḥār*, XXIII, pp. 197–198, no. 29 (from Najafī), XCII, p. 56, no. 30 (from Kulīnī). In the printed edition of Qummī (as also in the Tehran 1311–1313/1893–1895 lithograph edition used by Goldziher), there appears the reading *hādḥā bi-kitābinā*. That this is an error is confirmed by the sources which cite al-Qummī's *Tafsīr*, all of which (with the exception of Ḥuwayzī) have *kitābunā*. Goldziher, who only had the lithograph edition at his disposal, erred in his interpretation (*Richtungen*, pp. 281–282; cf. Bar-Asher, “Readings”, pp. 42, 70). Since the tradition as it appears in *KQ* in Qummī and in Kulīnī is unvocalized, it is not obvious where the Shīʿī reading deviates from the canonical text. Al-Majlisī in the *Mirʾāt* (XXV, p. 108 > *Faṣl*, p. 329, ll. 6–11) opts for *yunṭaqu*; this is also his position in the *Biḥār* (XXIII, p. 198), and it is shared by Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 9, *Wāḥī*, III, p. 902, no. 1570). The verse could thus be rendered as: “This is the book (through which) the truth is pronounced unto you”. A different reading of Q 45:29 appears to be preserved in the manuscript translated by Tisdall, p. 240 (“This is Our Book, and Mohammed and the People of his House speak unto you in truth”). At Q 23:62 (*wa-ladaynā kitāb yantīqu bi-l-ḥaqq*), al-Qummī (II, p. 92 > *Biḥār*, IX, p. 226, no. 113) adds ‘*alaykum*’ (i.e. *yantīqu bi-l-ḥaqq ‘alaykum*); but there is no evidence that he (or anyone else) read *yunṭaqu* in this verse as well. Cf. 623\*.

**506** *Mustadrak*, XV, p. 427, no. 18728. See Najafī, pp. 575–576, nos. 2–3 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 168, nos. 2–3, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 384, no. 81 (without the final sentence). Al-Najafī's source is ostensibly al-Qummī's *Tafsīr* but, as the editor points out, the tradition is not found there. The source was in fact probably *KQ* (via Ibn al-Juḥām). According to Najafī and ms. M, the Imam only wanted to strike his slave; according to mss. L, T and B, he actually hit him. For the final sentence see also Ibn Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl*, p. 104, no. 75, idem, *Maʿānī*, p. 348, no. 1, Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 41, all > *Biḥār*, LIII, p. 63, no. 53; Baḥrānī, *Maḥajja*, p. 203. Cf. Ahwāzī, *Ṣuḥḥ*, p. 83, no. 116 > *Biḥār*, XLVI, p. 92, no. 79, LXXIV, p. 142, no. 12, XCI, p. 382, no. 7. Cf. further *Aṣl Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī*, p. 70 (‘Alī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn is angry with a hireling [*ajūr*] and beats him, then rues his action and asks to be hit back; when the hireling refuses, ‘Alī pays him forty dinars as compensation). Similarly Ahwāzī, *Ṣuḥḥ*, p. 84, no. 120 > *Biḥār*, XLVI, p. 92, no. 80; Imād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn*, p. 154.

**507** There seem to be two possible explanations for the fact that an exegetical tradition on a verse from Sūra 11 is found in the chapter on Sūra 46: (i) both Q 11:17 and Q 46:12 contain the words *wa-min qablihi kitāb Mūsā imāman wa-rahmatan*; (ii) both Q 11:17 and Q 46:10 contain the word *shāhid* (witness). There is widespread agreement among Shīʿī exegetes that the *shāhid* of Q 11:17 is ‘Alī (see the sources cited in *Biḥār*, XXXV, pp. 386–394 [*bāb annahu ṣalawāt allāh ‘alayhi l-shahīd wa-l-shāhid wa-l-mashhūd*]). Most of these exegetes do not make the same claim for Q 46:10, where the reference is to *shāhid min banī isrāʾīl*. Al-Qummī is a notable exception: in addition to identifying the *shāhid* of Q 11:17 as ‘Alī (in the printed edition of his *Tafsīr* [I, p. 324] this identification is missing from the exegesis to Sūra 11, but it is found in quotations of this passage in later sources [see *Ṣāfi*, II, p. 437, *Biḥār*, IX, p. 214, no. 92, XXXV, p. 387, no. 3]), he cites this identification as a proof (*dalīl*) that the *shāhid min banī isrāʾīl* is also ‘Alī (II, pp. 296–297, to Q 46:10). This fits in with accounts which posit an identity between the Children of Israel and the Prophet’s family (see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 44, nos. 43, 44 and the discussion in Bar-Asher, “Judaism”, pp. 26–27). It may be suggested that in *KQ* too, Q 11:17 is cited in the chapter on Sūra 46 as part of an argument that the *shāhid* in both Sūras is ‘Alī. Since this argument is not spelled out, one would have to assume that the tradition as we have it is incomplete. See **231**.

*Isnād*: cf. Najafī, p. 578, no. 2.—ABŪ MARYAM: Abū Maryam ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 135–137).

**508** *Faṣl*, p. 329, ll. 18–19, p. 330, l. 22–p. 331, l. 1. This includes the following: (i) the circumstances which led to the revelation of Q 48:1–2; (ii) the Prophet never committed any sins but bore the sins of “his” (i.e. ‘Alī’s) followers; (iii) some words (presumably *wa-mā adrī mā yuʿāl bī wa-lā bikum* at Q 46:9) were added to the text of the Qurʾān; (iv) the person who added these words was Ziyād; (v) the Imāmī reading of Q 46:9. For (i) and (v) see Najafī, p. 578, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 172, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 320, no. 30; for (ii) see **517**, cf. **214**; (iii) and (iv) do not appear to be recorded elsewhere and are not pronounced by the Imam; they may be an interpolation. Ziyād may be Ziyād b. Abīhi (on whom see the article in *ET*<sup>2</sup> [I. Hasson]); alternatively, “Ziyād” should perhaps be emended to “Ibn Ziyād”, i.e. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of ‘Irāq who is reported to have introduced many additions to



the Qur'ān (see Introduction, p. 18; cf. Dānī, *Muqni'*, p. 105). According to some exegetes, Q 46:9 was abrogated by Q 48:1–2 (see Zuhri, *Nāsikh*, p. 33, Ibn Wahb, *Ĵāmi'/'Ulūm*, p. 240 [fol 19a ll. 6–10], Ibn al-'Atā'iqī, *Nāsikh*, p. 73 and the discussion in Ibn al-'Arabī, *Nāsikh*, pp. 201–206).

**509** *Faṣl*, p. 330, ll. 10–11. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 350 (al-Ṣādiq, with *fa-yaqḍūn* for *fa-yaqḍū*); Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 (al-Kāẓim), Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 42 (al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim) (*fa-yaqḍū*), both > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 28 (*fa-yaqḍūn*), Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 41, no. 64 (*fa-yaqḍūn*), *Faṣl*, p. 330, ll. 11–13 (*fa-yaqḍū*); Najafī, p. 589, no. 16 (al-Ṣādiq) (*fa-yaqḍū*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 190, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 387, no. 93. See **510**.

**510** See **509**.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤALABĪ: 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī b. Abī Shu'ba al-Ḥalabī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 380–382). For the *isnād* Ibn Abī 'Umayr < Ḥammād b. 'Uthmān < 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥalabī see idem, *TS*, pp. 338, 381.

**511** *Faṣl*, p. 330, ll. 6–7. For this tradition see Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 585, no. 13 (beginning; *isnād*: Ibn Abī 'Umayr < Ḥammād b. 'Īsā < Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī [read: 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥalabī; see Modarressi, *TS*, p. 338] < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 189, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 320, no. 31. *F-(t)-s-l-ṭtum* could be read as either *fā-tasallaṭtum* or *fā-sullīṭtum*; *m-l-kṭum* could be either *malaktum* or *mullīktum*. *Tuwullīṭum* ("you were given power/authority") is cited as the *qirā'a* of 'Alī (Naḥḥās, *Irāb*, IV, p. 187; idem, *Ma'ānī*, VI, pp. 482–483; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 140; Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 40; Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 245). It is also recorded as the reading of Ruways (i.e. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil al-Lu'lu'ī al-Baṣrī, d. 238/852–853, a transmitter from Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, pp. 234–235, no. 3389; *GAS*, I, p. 13) (Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 684), of Ibn Abī Ishāq and of Ya'qūb (i.e. al-Ḥaḍramī) in the transmission of Ruways (Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 245). According to the version in Ibn al-Juhām, Q 47:22 was revealed concerning the 'Abbāsids and Umayyads (*nazalat hādhihi l-āya fī banī 'ammīnā banī l-'Abbās wa-banī Umayyā*); according to other traditions, it refers to the Umayyads (Māturīdī, IX, p. 279; Tha'labī, IX, p. 35; Najafī, p. 589, no. 16 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 189, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 387, no. 93) or to the Hāshimīs and Umayyads (Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 585, no. 12 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 186, no. 4, *Biḥār*, XXIII, pp. 385–386, no. 89, XXXVI, p. 159, no. 138 [middle]; Qurṭubī, XVI, p. 245). See **512**; cf. **598**.

**512** *Faṣl*, p. 330, ll. 8–9. This does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a reading of the Prophet. See **511**; cf. **598**.

**513** *Faṣl*, p. 330, l. 2, Najafī, p. 583, no. 6. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 182, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 385, no. 87, XXXVI, p. 158, no. 138 (from Najafī). For this reading see also Qummī, II, p. 302 > Najafī, p. 584, no. 7, *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 22, *Burhān*, IV, p. 182, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, p. 87, no. 14, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 31, no. 21, *Faṣl*, p. 329, l. 22–p. 330, l. 1; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 70. In the version of Qummī cited in Najafī, *Ṣāfi*, *Biḥār* and Ḥuwayzī, the reading *fī ‘Alī* is followed by the comment: *illā annahu kushīṭa l-ism* (“but the name [of ‘Alī] was removed [from the Qur’ān]”).

**514** *Faṣl*, p. 330, ll. 4–5. See Q 16:108 (*ulā’ika lladhīna ṭaba’a llāh ‘alā qulūbihim wa-sam’ihim wa-abṣārihim*); cf. **488**.\*

**515** See **109**\*. Cf. Q 35:15 (*antum al-fuqarā’ ilā llāh wa-llāh huwa l-ghanī al-ḥamīd*).

**516** *Faṣl*, p. 329, l. 22. For this reading see Qummī, II, p. 301 > Najafī, p. 583, no. 4, *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 21, *Burhān*, IV, p. 180, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, pp. 86–87, no. 14, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 27, no. 8, *Faṣl*, p. 329, ll. 20–22; Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 70.

**517** See Najafī, p. 593, no. 4 (*dhunūb shī‘at ‘Alī*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 195, no. 8, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 273, no. 57. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 314 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 37, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 54, no. 13; Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, p. 175, no. 1; idem, *Ma‘ānī*, pp. 334–335, no. 1 (the Prophet tells ‘Alī: *inna llāh tabāraka wa-ta’ālā ḥammalanī dhunūb shī‘atika thumma ghafarahā lī wa-dhālika qawluhu ‘azza wa-jall: li-yaghfirā laka llāh mā taqaddama min dhanbika wa-mā ta’akhhara*); Bursī, *Mashāriq*, p. 126 (Ibn ‘Abbās: *inna llāh ḥammala rasūlahu dhunūb man aḥabba ‘Alīyyan min al-awwalīn wa-l-ākhīrīn ikrāman li-‘Alī fa-yahmiluhā ‘anhum ikrāman lahum fa-ghafarahā llāh ikrāman li-Muḥammad*). See **508**, **518**; cf. **214**.

**518** *Mustadrak*, XII, pp. 145–146, no. 13740. See Najafī, p. 593, no. 5 > *Biḥār*, XXVII, p. 137, no. 138 (the Prophet addresses ‘Alī); **517**.

**519** *Faṣl*, p. 331, ll. 3–4. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 166 (Ubayy). Cf. the reading *aktharuhum banū Tamīm lā ya‘qilūn* which is ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd (Ṭūsī, IX, p. 342 > *Faṣl*, p. 139, ll. 18–19; Tha‘ālibī, V, p.

269) and to al-Rabī b. Khuthaym (Jeffery, p. 304). In Qummī (II, p. 318) the text reads: *wa-hum banū Tamīm*, which looks like a gloss; but in the citation in *Bihār*, XVII, p. 28, no. 3 and *Faṣl*, p. 331, l. 11, *wa-hum* does not appear. Cf. further Qurṭubī, XVI, pp. 309–310; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 90. Translation: “They turned to a verse from the book of God and erased it (by altering its original wording) (*fa-darasūha*)”. Cf. Qurṭubī, VII, p. 312, where *darasū* (Q 7:169) is glossed as “they erased”. See 521.

*Isnād*: The name Jarrāḥ of ms. M may have been produced after the words ‘an Ḥarīz were mistakenly written down twice, their second occurrence then being corrupted to ‘an Jarrāḥ.

**520** The identity of the brethren (*ikhwān*, cf. Q 49:10) is not revealed, but the reference may well be to ‘Alī’s opponents at the Battle of the Camel (see Kulīnī, VIII, p. 180, no. 202 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 207, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 366, no. 92, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 85, no. 25; for a Zaydī view cf. Bustī, *Baḥth*, p. 147). These opponents are regarded by the Imāmīs as *bughāt* (rebels against the legitimate ruler). The problem in associating them with Q 49:9 is that in the Qur’ān both parties are referred to as believers (*al-mu’minūn*), whereas for the Imāmīs the *bughāt* are unbelievers (see Kohlberg, “Jihād”, pp. 68–70, 74–78). Al-Ṭabrisī attempts to overcome this difficulty by stating that naming both parties “believers” does not prove that either or both remain in a state of belief once they commence fighting (XXVI, p. 89). Al-Majlisī seems to reject such an analysis: for him, the fact that Q 49:9 speaks of believers means it can hardly be taken to refer to those who fought against ‘Alī (*Bihār*, XXXII, pp. 328–329). Translation: “This verse was revealed concerning us and our brethren. There was a dispute concerning this affair (i.e. leadership of the community), but (eventually) one (i.e. the erring) party (*fi’a*) will revert to the truth”. The emendation *fihi* > *fi’a* was proposed by Michael Cook.

**521** *Faṣl*, p. 331, ll. 4–5. *Ḥadīth al-Barqī* is a reference to 519. The point put to al-Ṣādiq about a preponderance of Tamīmī judges is in line with reports that there were numerous Tamīmīs who held government positions under the Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Tamīm b. Murr” [M. Lecker]).

**522** See Kulīnī, I, p. 426, no. 71 (the latter part) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 50, *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 379–380, no. 67, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 82–83, no. 15; cf.

al-Majlisī's discussion in *Biḥār*, LXIX, pp. 241–242. For the first part of this tradition see Qummī, II, p. 319.

**523** For this reading see *GdQ*, III, p. 74, Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 202, Abū l-Futūḥ, X, p. 277 (Ibn Mas'ūd); Jeffery, pp. 93, 166, 190, 250, 264, 305, 336 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy, 'Alī, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym, al-Šādiq); Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, pp. 136–137, no. 673, Samarqandī, III, p. 335, Ibn al-Jawzī, VII, p. 237 (the caliph Abū Bakr on his death-bed); Ibn Qutayba, *Mushkil*, p. 37; Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (al-Šādiq); Qummī, II, p. 324; Ṭabarī, XXVI, p. 160, Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, IV, p. 225, Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 7, Qurtubī, XVII, p. 12, Zarkashī, I, pp. 335–336 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū Bakr); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 283 (Abū Bakr on his death-bed, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Ṭalḥa); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 144 (Abū Bakr, Ubayy); Māwardī, V, p. 348; Tūsī, IX, p. 365 (Abū Bakr, Ibn Mas'ūd, the *ahl al-bayt*); Ibn 'Aṭīyya, V, p. 161 (the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn Jubayr, Ṭalḥa, Abū Bakr); Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 105 (Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Ṭalḥa, the Imams) > *Šāfi*, V, p. 61, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 111, no. 27; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi'*, II, p. 516 (the Imams); Shnizer, *Qur'an*, p. 140. For interpretations of this *qirā'a* see Ṭabarī, XXVI, pp. 160–161, Ibn Jinnī, II, pp. 283–284.

**524** Ibn Mas'ūd, Ṭalḥa and al-Šādiq are said to have read *fiyya mazīd* (Jeffery, pp. 93, 336). For this tradition cf. *Aṣl Ḥusayn b. 'Uthmān*, pp. 109–110; Ahwāzī, *Ẓuhd*, p. 155, no. 269 (> *Biḥār*, VIII, p. 198, no. 194), p. 160, no. 282 (> *Biḥār*, LVII, p. 346, no. 37); Qummī, II, p. 326 (... *fa-yakhluqu llāh khalqan yawma'idhin yamla'u bihim al-janna*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 228, no. 1, *Biḥār*, VIII, p. 133, no. 38, pp. 292–293, no. 35, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 114–115, no. 40. The expression *ṭūbā lahum* ("a good final state shall be their lot") occurs at Q 13:29.

**525** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 324 > *Šāfi*, V, p. 62, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 112, no. 32; Furāt, II, p. 437, no. 577 > *Biḥār*, VII, pp. 334–335, no. 19, XXXVI, p. 74, no. 27; Haskānī, II, pp. 189–190, no. 895 > Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 111 > Najafī, p. 609, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, p. 75. Al-A'mash is reported to have declared that the verse was revealed as follows: *yā Muḥammad yā 'Alī alqiyā fi jahannam kull kaffār 'anīd* (Furāt, II, pp. 439–440, no. 580 > *Biḥār*, VII, p. 335, no. 20, XXXVI, pp. 74–75, no. 28; cited in Bar-Asher, "Readings", p. 71).

**526** Cf. Ṭabarī, XXVI, p. 149 (on the authority of Qatāda).

**527** For the notion that the Imams receive additional knowledge every Friday see *Baṣā'ir*, pp. 130–132 (*bāb mā yuzād al-a'imma fī laylat al-jumu'a min al-'ilm al-mustafād*); Kulīnī, I, pp. 253–254 (*bāb fī anna l-a'imma 'alayhim al-salām yazdādūn fī laylat al-jumu'a*); Kohlberg, “Community”, p. 28; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, pp. 180–181 = *Divine Guide*, pp. 71–72.

*Isnād*: AL-QĀSIM B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN: he is probably al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī (Ardabīlī, II, pp. 17–18), from whom al-Sayyārī transmits in Barqī, II, p. 526, no. 758.

**528** *Faṣl*, p. 331, l. 23. See Najafī, p. 614, no. 1 (*hākadhā nazalat*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 230, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 162, no. 143. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 329 > Najafī, p. 614, no. 2, *Burhān*, IV, p. 230, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 351, no. 37, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 121, no. 6. Al-Qummī has *ya'nī fī 'Alī*, making this a gloss.

**529** Cf. Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (*fa-inna li-l-ẓālimīn āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum 'adhāban dūna dhālika wa-lākinna akthar al-nās lā ya'lamūn*) > *Bihār*, LIII, p. 117, no. 144, *Faṣl*, p. 332, ll. 7–8. Cf. also **535**, **536**, where a different reading is recorded. See also Tisdall, p. 240 (“Verily for those who have wronged Mohammed’s family of their due there shall be punishment besides that; but verily most of them know [it] not”). As Tisdall only provides a translation, it cannot be established which of these two readings of Q 52:47 was cited in the Arabic text. The *ya'qilūn* of the manuscripts is probably the result of a conflation with one of the verses ending in *aktharuhum lā ya'qilūn*, i.e. Q 5:103, 29:63, 49:4.

**530** *Mustadrak*, VIII, p. 11, no. 8929. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 330 > *Bihār*, XCIX, p. 6, no. 7; Kulīnī, IV, p. 256, no. 21 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 74, *Burhān*, IV, p. 237, no. 1; Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 411; idem, *Ilal*, p. 133; idem, *Faqīh*, II, p. 130, no. 550 (ending) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 237, no. 3; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma'ānī*, p. 212 > *Bihār*, XCIX, p. 17, no. 61; Ibn Bābawayh, *Tawḥīd*, p. 177 > *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 349, no. 60. In all of these sources, *firru ilā llāh* (“flee unto God”) is glossed as *ḥujjū ilā (bayt) allāh* (“perform the pilgrimage to [the house of] God”).

**531** Shī'ī exegetes often explain the “various opinions” (*qawā' mukhtalif*) of Q 51:8 as referring to the *walāya* (see the references in **532\***). This verse does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere as abrogated. The abrogating verse is perhaps Q 11:119 (“Save those on whom your Lord has mercy”, i.e. the Shī'īs); cf. **533**. This could be seen as an instance

of *takhṣīṣ* (cf. 335\*, 533\*) or of *istithnā'* which, like *takhṣīṣ*, in some cases replaced *naskh* in later terminology.

*Isnād*: 'Alī: the reference may well be to 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān (for whom see 15\*), who is often recorded as transmitting from Dāwūd b. Farqad (see e.g. Kulīnī, II, p. 249, no. 1, III, p. 157, no. 5, IV, p. 428, no. 6). For such a transmission in *KQ* see 34, 37, 148, 560, 608, 637.

532 See *Baṣā'ir*, p. 78, no. 5 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 231, no. 3; Qummī, II, p. 329 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 231, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXXI, p. 649, no. 185, XXXVI, p. 169, no. 156; Kulīnī, I, p. 422, no. 48 > Najafī, p. 615, no. 3, *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 69, *Burhān*, IV, p. 231, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 378–379, no. 63, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 122, no. 11; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 96 > *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 368, no. 38; Bayāḍī, I, p. 290. According to these traditions, those who *a-f-k* from the *walāya* will be turned away from Paradise. The vocalization of the verb in question may be either *ufka* ("to be turned away") or *afaka* ("to turn away"). The latter seems to make better sense; this in turn suggests that the Shī'ī reading at Q 51:9 was *afaka* (rather than *ufka*, as in the 'Uthmānic codex). For this reading see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 145 (Qatāda); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 14 (Sa'īd b. Jubayr); Rāzī, XXVIII, p. 170.

533 For the entire paragraph see Manṣūr, *Iqd*, p. 315, citing al-Barqī's *al-Tanzīl wa-l-tahrīf*. For a fuller version of the first half see al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-dalā'il* (for which see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 139, no. 98) > Irbilī, II, p. 416 > *Bihār*, V, p. 318, no. 18, XLVII, p. 148, no. 203. For Q 51:56 being abrogated by Q 11:118–119 see *Kitāb Durust*, p. 162 (*tilka qabla hādhihi*); Qummī, II, p. 331 > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 132, no. 60; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 164, no. 83 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 75, *Burhān*, II, p. 241, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 132–133, no. 61; Nu'mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 10. According to al-Majlisī (*Bihār*, V, p. 318), this is in fact *badā'*, *takhṣīṣ* (specification, cf. 335\*, 531\*) or *tabyīn* (elucidation). For the gloss *li-l-ikhtilāf* see Māturīdī, VI, p. 200 (*wa-qāla qā'ilūn: li-l-ikhtilāf khalaqahum illā man raḥima rabbuka*); cf. Karājakī, II, pp. 220–221.

534 See 537.

535 *Faṣl*, p. 332, ll. 3–4. See Qummī, II, p. 333 > *Ṣāfi*, V, pp. 82–83, *Burhān*, IV, p. 243, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 143, no. 38 (first part); Ibn al-Juhām (possibly citing *KQ*) > Najafī, p. 620, no. 8 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 243, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 229, no. 31. Cf. 529, 536.

536 *Faṣl*, p. 332, l. 4. Cf. 529, 535.

537 The reading *wa-atba'nāhum dhurriyyātihim ... dhurriyyātihim* is recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (see Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 24) and Abū 'Amr (idem, XXVII, p. 26; Ibn Mujāhid, p. 612; Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 695; Samarqandī, III, p. 352; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 28; Abū l-Futūh, X, p. 316; Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 66). See also Ibn Khālawayh, *Hujja*, pp. 305–306; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 244 (*wa-atba'nāhum dhurriyyātihim*). For *wa-atba'nāhum* see Jeffery, p. 351 ('Alī, Zayd b. 'Alī); idem, "Zaid b. 'Alī", p. 232 (Zayd); *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 79. For *alḥaḡnā bihim dhurriyyātihim* see Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 26 (most Medinese readers); Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, IV, p. 256 (the Medinese); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 612; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 28 (Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir). For this tradition see Kulīnī, III, p. 249, no. 5 (> Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 139–140, no. 22), Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqūh*, III, p. 316, no. 1537, idem, *Tawḥīd*, p. 394, no. 7, all > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 79; cf. Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 26 (Ibn 'Abbās: where both ancestors and their progeny were believers, God will honour the ancestors by having the progeny join them in the same place in heaven, even if the deeds of the latter fell short of the deeds of the former) (*wa-in qaṣarat a'māluhum 'an a'mālihim takrimatan minnā li-ābā'ihim*); Ṭūsī, IX, p. 408; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 30 > *Bihār*, V, p. 289 (Ibn 'Abbās: *innahum al-bāliḡhūn ulḥiqū bi-darajāt ābā'ihim wa-in qaṣarat a'māluhum takrimatan li-ābā'ihim*). See 534.

538 This tradition is in line with the view of some exegetes according to which the *adbār al-sujūd* and *idbār al-nujūm* refer to two of the five prescribed daily prayers. For *adbār al-sujūd* as referring to the *maghrib* prayer see e.g. Samarqandī, III, p. 339. For *idbār al-nujūm* as referring to the morning prayer see e.g. Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi'/Tafsīr*, p. 172 (fol 25b l. 16) (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*); Ṭabarī, XXVII, pp. 39–40 (this is al-Ṭabarī's own opinion); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 27 (*idbār al-nujūm ṣalāt al-fajr*); Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 80; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 152; cf. *Bihār*, LXXXII, p. 329. In contrast, many Imāmī and Sunnī scholars regard these two expressions as referring to supererogatory prayers. See e.g. Ḥimyarī, p. 81 > *Bihār*, LXXXVII, p. 88, no. 6 (al-Šādiq: *al-rak'atān allatān ba'da l-maghrib humā adbār al-sujūd wa-l-rak'atān allatān ba'da [sic] l-fajr idbār al-nujūm*); Qummī, II, p. 333 ('*an al-Riḍā qāl adbār al-sujūd qāl arba' raka'āt ba'da l-maghrib wa-idbār al-nujūm rak'atān qabla ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 143, no. 38 (latter part); Kulīnī, III, p. 444, no. 11 (*qultu lahu* [i.e. Zurāra to al-Bāqir] *wa-idbār al-nujūm qāl rak'atān qabla l-ṣubḥ qultu wa-adbār al-sujūd qāl rak'atān ba'da l-maghrib*) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 65, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 144, no.



42; Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, pp. 208 (‘an ‘Alī qāl su’ila rasūl allāh ‘an adbār al-sujūd fa-qāl: *humā l-rak’atān ba’da ṣalāt al-maghrib, wa-su’ila ‘an idbār al-nujūm fa-qāl: humā l-rak’atān qabla ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*), 233; Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 23 (from ‘Alī); Ṭūsī, IX, p. 375; Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 117 (> *Bihār*, XVI, p. 208, LXXXII, p. 328), XXVII, p. 38 (> Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 143, no. 40); Abū l-Futūḥ, X, pp. 285–286; Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 86; Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 25; Suyūfī, *Durr*, VI, p. 131; Ardabīlī, *Żubda*, pp. 61–62. Of the Seven Readers, Ibn Kathīr, Nāfi’ and Ḥamza read *wa-idbār al-sujūd* at Q 50:40 (Ibn Mujaḥid, p. 607); at Q 52:49, Ya’qūb [i.e. al-Ḥaḍramī] in the transmission of Zayd read *wa-adbār al-nujūm* (Ṭūsī, IX, p. 419; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, pp. 35–36). The readings of the Imams do not seem to be recorded.

**539** See Najafī, p. 616, no. 1 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 240, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXVII, p. 138, no. 140. A similar tradition is cited in connection with Q 28:46; see Furāt, I, p. 316, no. 426 > *Bihār*, XIII, p. 362, no. 80, XXIV, p. 266, no. 30; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 417, no. 10 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 227–228, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXVI, p. 296, no. 61; Ibn Bābawayh, *Thawāb*, pp. 30–31, no. 2 > *Bihār*, III, p. 12, no. 24; Mufīd, *Ikhṭisāṣ*, p. 109 > *Bihār*, LXVIII, p. 64, no. 116.

*Isnād*: ‘ALĪ B. SULAYMĀN: he is probably ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. Rashīd/Rushayd, a Baghdādī transmitter from al-Hādī (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 198; Ardabīlī, I, p. 584).

**540** *Faṣl*, p. 332, ll. 8–10. See Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal*, pp. 276–277, no. 1 (*isnād*: ... al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb < Mālik b. ‘Uyayna [evidently an error for ‘Aṭīyya] < Ḥabīb al-Sijistānī) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 86, *Burhān*, IV, p. 249, no. 5, *Bihār*, III, pp. 315–316, no. 11, XVIII, p. 364, no. 70. For this reading see also Jeffery, p. 167 (Ubayy); Qummī, II, p. 334 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 86, *Bihār*, IX, p. 240, no. 139, *Faṣl*, p. 332, l. 12. Cf. al-Ṣādiq’s description of the *mi’rāj*: ... *thumma maḍā fa-tadānā fa-tadallā fa-kāna qāb qawṣayn aw adnā* etc. (‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 158, no. 530 [to Q 2:285] > *Burhān*, I, p. 268, no. 8, *Bihār*, LXXXIV, p. 120, no. 19). *Tadānā* usually means “to approach one another”, but it can also be used in the sense of “to draw near” (as in *idhā l-laylu tadānā*, see *Lisān*, s.v. *qyd*), i.e. as a synonym of *danā*. Cf. in general van Ess, “Vision”.

*Isnād*: MĀLIK B. ‘AṬIYYA: Abū l-Ḥusayn Mālik b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Aḥmasī al-Bajalī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq. His *kitāb* was transmitted by Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 316–317).

**541** *Faṣl*, p. 332, ll. 13–14. For this reading (“as for those who have disbelieved, there shall come upon them a calamity”) see Jeffery, p. 167 (Ubayy). Cf. Q 12:107, 88 (al-Ghāshiya):1.

**542** Najafī, p. 623, no. 5. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 245, no. 9, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 323, no. 34 (from Najafī). This tradition (without the final sentence) forms part of a lengthy account in Kulīnī, VIII, p. 380, no. 574 (see **347**<sup>\*</sup>) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 85, *Burhān*, IV, p. 244, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 321, no. 38, XXIV, p. 368, no. 94, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 146, no. 10. Al-Kulīnī’s text includes the sentence *uqsimu bi-qabḍ/bi-qabr Muḥammad idhā qubiḍa* (“I swear by the death/grave of Muḥammad when he dies”). It is however highly unlikely that God should swear by the death of the Prophet. What is probably the correct version is recorded in Najafī: *mā futintum illā bi-bughḍ āl Muḥammad idhā maḍā* (“you were only put to the test by hatred for the family of Muḥammad after he had passed away”). A scribe presumably miscopied *mā futintum illā bi-bughḍ* as *uqsimu illā bi-qabḍ*; the *illā* was subsequently dropped in order for the sentence to make sense. The corresponding sentence in the manuscripts of *KQ* is likewise corrupt. For the ending cf. ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 160, no. 531 (*mā kānat walāyatuhu illā min allāh mushāfahatan li-Muḥammad š*) > *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 403, no. 106. For *mushāfaha* see also **95**.

**543** For the ending cf. Ṭūsī, IX, p. 426 (*wa-l-ma’nā mā zāgha baṣar Muḥammad wa-mā ṭaghā*); Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 48. The reading *kadhḍhaba* (Q 53:11) that appears in ms. T is ascribed to Ibn ‘Āmir in the transmission of Hishām b. ‘Ammār (i.e. Abū l-Walīd Hishām b. ‘Ammār al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī, d. ca. 245/859–860; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, pp. 354–356, no. 3787) (Ibn Mujāhid, p. 614, Qurtubī, XVII, p. 93). It is also recorded on the authority of Abū Ja’far al-Qārī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī (Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 49, Naḥḥās, *I’rāb*, IV, pp. 267–268, Tha’labī, IX, p. 139) and Ibn Miqsam (see Jeffery, “Ibn Miqsam”, p. 27) and is further mentioned in Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 237, ‘Ukbarī, p. 489.

**544** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 623–624, no. 6 (with roughly the same *isnād* as at **547**) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 245, no. 10, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 323, no. 35. The *matn* of Ibn al-Juḥām’s text begins as follows: *lammā awqafa rasūl allāh š amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām yawm al-ghaḍīr* (cf. **437**) *iftaraqa l-nās thalāth firaq* etc.

**545** The reading *jannahu* (“concealed him”) (for *jannatu*) is ascribed to ‘Alī (see Ibn Khālawayh, pp. 146–147, esp. p. 146, l. -1; Tha‘labī, IX, p. 144; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 29; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 45 > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 156, no. 45; according to Abū l-Futūḥ, X, pp. 342–343, ‘Alī and Anas read *ajannahu*), as well as to al-Ṣādiq and Abū l-Dardā’ (Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi‘*, II, p. 538 > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 156, no. 46). It is also recorded on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraṣī (Tha‘labī, IX, p. 144, Abū l-Futūḥ, X, p. 342), Abū Hurayra, Ibn al-Zubayr and others, but is said to have been rejected by ‘Ā’isha (see Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 293; Samarqandī, III, p. 360; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 29; Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, V, p. 199; Rāzī, XXVIII, p. 252; Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 157). Al-Naḥḥās (*I‘rāb*, IV, p. 271) calls it an anomalous reading (*qirā’a shādhda*, cf. **84\***) and adds that it was rejected by Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Ibn ‘Abbās and Ibn ‘Umar. For this reading see also Ibn al-Jawzī, VII, p. 288. See **546**, **547**.

**546** See **545**, **547**.

**547** For the beginning cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Hillī, *Muḥtaḍar*, p. 125 (> *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 302, no. 6), Najafī, p. 625, no. 8 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 250, no. 11, *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 410, no. 122. In this tradition, the carpet is said to be made of “chrysolite and pearls”; according to the parallel sources, it is made of gold. See **545**, **546**.

*Isnād*: For the *isnād* cf. **544\***.—AL-‘ABBĀS AL-QAṢABĀNĪ: Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abbās b. ‘Āmir b. Rabāḥ al-Qaṣabānī al-Thaqafī, a transmitter from disciples of al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 247; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 431–432). He transmitted the *kitāb* of Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 214).—DĀWŪD B. AL-ḤUṢAYN: a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 214–215).

**548** This tradition is unusual in that it identifies the *shī’rā* (Sirius) of Q 53:49 as the star which fell down at ‘Alī’s home, thus signalling his election as Muḥammad’s successor. In other accounts the star in question is the *najm* of Q 53:1 (which gave its name to the Sūra); see e.g. Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, pp. 505–506 > Najafī, p. 622, no. 3, *Burhān*, IV, pp. 244–245, nos. 4–7, *Bihār*, XXXV, pp. 272–273, no. 1; Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, pp. 523–524 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 10, Najafī, p. 621, no. 2, *Burhān*, IV, p. 244, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXXV, pp. 273–274, no. 2; Ibn al-Maghāzīlī, pp. 172–173; idem, p. 192 > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarā’if*, pp. 22–23.

**549** For the reading *khāshī'an abṣāruhum* (Q 54:7) see Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 90 (*āmmat qurrā' al-Kūfa wa-ba'd al-baṣriyyīn*); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 618, Samarqandī, III, p. 370, Ibn al-Jawzī, VII, p. 292, Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 129 (Abū 'Amr, Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī); Māturīdī, IX, p. 444 (Ibn 'Abbās); Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, IV, p. 287 (*ahl al-Kūfa wa-ahl al-Baṣra*); Ibn Khālawayh, *Hujja*, p. 310; Tha'labī, IX, p. 163 (Ibn 'Abbās, Ya'qūb, Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī, Khalaf [i.e. Abū Muḥammad Khalaf b. Hishām al-Asadī al-Baghdādī, a transmitter of the *qirā'a* of Ḥamza and one of the Ten Readers, d. 229/844; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 272–274]); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 36 (*wa-qur'ā*, cf. Lane, *Commentary*, p. 137); Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 63 (the 'Irāqīs except 'Āsim); Abū l-Futūḥ, X, p. 367 (Abū 'Amr, Ya'qūb, Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī); Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 173 (Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Jubayr, Mujāhid, al-Jahdārī, Abū 'Amr, Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī). Cf. *khāshī'atan abṣāruhum*, which is attested in Q 68:43 and Q 70:44 and is also recorded as a reading of Q 54:7 (see Jeffery, pp. 95, 167, 305, 326 [Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy, al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym, al-A'mash (according to some authorities)]; Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 90, Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 72, Māturīdī, IX, p. 444, Samarqandī, III, p. 370 [Ibn Mas'ūd]; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 147 [Ubayy, Ibn Mas'ūd]; Tha'labī, IX, p. 163 [Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū Rajā']). This tradition properly belongs in the next chapter.

**550** The notion that the Hour mentioned at Q 54:1 (or the Day of Reckoning mentioned at Q 21:1, see **351**) was postponed as a result of a change in the divine decree (*badā'*) does not appear to be attested elsewhere. For the expression *badā li-llāh* see **351**, **619**.

**551** *Faṣl*, p. 156, ll. 16–19. For this tradition (with some variations) see Furāt, II, pp. 461–462, no. 604 (Maysara < al-Riḍā) > *Bihār*, VIII, pp. 353–354, no. 3, XCII, p. 56, no. 31, *Faṣl*, p. 156, ll. 12–16; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 100–102, no. 43 > *Bihār*, VII, pp. 273–274, no. 45, VIII, p. 360, no. 28; Najafī (citing Ibn Bābawayh), pp. 638–639, no. 20 > *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 275–276, no. 61, LXVIII, p. 144, no. 91, 'Āmilī, *Mir'āt*, p. 37; *Burhān*, IV, p. 268, no. 2 > *Faṣl*, p. 156, l. 19–p. 157, l. 3. All include the reading *minkum*. Al-Najafī does not name the work by Ibn Bābawayh from which he quotes; as his text is identical to that of *Faḍā'il al-shī'a*, this may well be the work in question. The source of the tradition recorded in the *Burhān* is given as *Bishārāt al-shī'a* (*Bisharat al-shī'a* according to *Faṣl*) by Ibn Bābawayh. This title is not listed among Ibn Bābawayh's works (and is missing from the *Dharī'a*). The text in the *Burhān* is also found in Ibn Bābawayh's *Faḍā'il al-shī'a*, raising the

possibility that *Bishārāt/Bishārāt al-shī'a* and *Faḍā'il al-shī'a* are two titles of the same work. Al-Najafī (p. 639, no. 20, ending) does not identify Ibn Arwā, merely referring to him as “one of the leaders of error” (*aḥad a'immat al-ḍalāl*). As noted by al-Majlisī (*Biḥār*, VIII, p. 354, no. 3 [*bayān*]), the reference is to 'Uthmān; Arwā bint Kurayz b. Rabī'a was the third caliph's mother (see Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, first series, p. 3055; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, pp. 74–75; *Faṣl*, p. 157, ll. 3–4; Madelung, *Succession*, pp. 78, 190). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 345 (*lā yus'al 'an dhanbihi qāl minkum ay min al-shī'a*) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 112.

*Isnād*: AḤMAD B. ḤAMMĀD: Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī, a transmitter from al-Jawād (Quhpā'i, I, pp. 109–111; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 48–49) and an immediate authority of al-Sayyārī (Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 214, no. 837).

552 *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 9–10. For this reading see *Baṣā'ir* (belonging at the end of p. 356, no. 8, but missing from the printed edition) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 268, no. 3 (but reading *kuntum*), *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 1–7 (but reading *taṣlayāni* for *iṣlayāhā*); Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 (but reading *kuntum ... tamūtān fihā*) > *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 11–13; Qummī, II, p. 345 > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 175, no. 33; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 94 (al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 112, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 196, no. 47. Similar readings are ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd (see Jeffery, p. 96 [*kuntumā bihā tukadhdhibān taṣlayān lā tamūtān fihā wa-lā tuhyayān/tahyayān*]) and to al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym (see Jeffery, p. 306 [*kuntum bihā tukadhdhibān taṣlayānihā lā tamūtān fihā wa-lā tuhyayān/tahyayān*]). The two persons referred to are Abū Bakr and 'Umar (see Ḥimyarī, p. 12 [*ya'nī l-awwalayn*]; Qummī, II, p. 345 [*ya'nī Zurayqan wa-Ḥabtar[an]*]; cf. Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 115, note 107). According to *KQ*, the entire Sūra was revealed concerning them; this presumably refers to the expression *fa-bi-ayy ālā' rabbikumā tukadhdhibāni*, which occurs 31 times (cf. 553). See 557.

*Isnād*: cf. 586.

553 See Kulīnī, I, p. 217, no. 2 > Najafī, pp. 634–635, no. 10, *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 108, *Burhān*, IV, p. 264, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 59, no. 36, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 190, no. 13; cf. Qummī, II, p. 344 > Najafī, p. 634, no. 9, *Burhān*, IV, p. 264, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXXVI, p. 173, no. 161, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 189–190, no. 12; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 633, no. 6 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 264, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 59, no. 34, p. 309, no. 12. The reference is to Abū Bakr and 'Umar; cf. 552.

**554** *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 13–15. The reading *wa-khafaḍa* (“lowered”) is recorded on the authority of Ibn Mas‘ūd (see *GdQ*, III, p. 74; Jeffery, p. 96; Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 118; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 44; Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, V, p. 224) and al-Rabī b. Khuthaym (Jeffery, p. 306). For the reading *al-lisān* (“the needle [of a balance]”) see *GdQ*, III, p. 74, Ibn Khālawayh, pp. 148–149 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Jeffery, pp. 96, 306 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, al-Rabī b. Khuthaym); Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 17; *WKAS*, II, part 1, p. 624b.

*Isnād*: DĀWŪD B. IṢḤĀQ: Dāwūd b. Iṣḥāq al-Ḥadhdhā’, author of a *kitāb* (Ardabīlī, I, p. 302) and a direct authority of Aḥmad al-Barqī (e.g. Barqī, II, p. 504, no. 640).—JA‘FAR B. QURṬ: Ja‘far b. Qurṭ al-Muzanī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, II, p. 35; Ardabīlī, I, p. 155).—AL-MUGHĪRA B. TAWBA: al-Mughīra b. Tawba al-Makhzūmī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim (Quhpā’ī, VI, p. 117; Ardabīlī, II, p. 255).

**555** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 181, no. 4436. Cf. **556**.

**556** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 181, no. 4437. See Kulīnī, III, p. 429, no. 6 > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 306, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 187, no. 5; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, III, p. 8, no. 25 > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 755, no. 7378. Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Thawāb*, p. 146, no. 2 > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 756, no. 7380, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 306, no. 2; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 283, no. 3818; Ṭabrisī, XXVI, p. 23 (to *Q* 46:29) > *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 78, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 22, no. 37, pp. 187–188, no. 6; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, I, p. 47; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, p. 271; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, pp. 189–190 (the Prophet tells his Companions that they should emulate the *jinn* who, whenever they heard the verse *fa-bi-ayy ālā’ rabbikumā tukadhdhibāni*, would respond: *lā wa-lā bi-shay’ min ālā’ika rabbanā nukadhdhibu*, “our Lord, we deny none of your favours”); **555**.

**557** *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 10–11. See Ḥimyarī, p. 12 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 269, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXX, p. 175, no. 32, XCII, p. 48, no. 6, *Faṣl*, p. 332, l. 21–p. 333, l. 1 (the same *isnād* as in *KQ*), reading: *hādhihi jahannam allatī kuntum* (according to *Burhān*, *Bihār* and *Faṣl*: *kuntumā*) *bihā tukadhdhibān fa-ṣṭlayā fihā lā tamūtān fihā wa-lā tuhyayān/tahyayān*, adding: *ya’nī l-awwalayn* (i.e. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar). See **552**.

**558** Cf. *Baṣā’ir*, p. 356, no. 8 (> *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 112), Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 298, both > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 268–269, nos. 3–4, *Bihār*, LII, pp. 320–321, no. 26.

**559** *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 7–8, *Mustadrak*, VIII, p. 122, no. 9217. For this tradition (but without the words *idhā muṭirtum*) see Qummī, II, p. 349 (*isnād*: ... Abān b. Taghlib < ‘Abd al-A‘lā al-Tha‘labī [Ḥuwayzī: al-Taghlibī] < Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, pp. 129–130, *Burhān*, IV, p. 283, no. 1, *Biḥār*, IX, p. 241, no. 141, LVIII, pp. 313–314, no. 1, XCII, p. 50, no. 12, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 227, no. 100; Ibn Mardawayh > Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 234 > *Biḥār*, LVIII, p. 328, no. 20. For the reading *shukrakum* see also Jeffery, pp. 191, 206, Naḥḥās, *I‘rāb*, IV, p. 344, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 151 (‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās); Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā‘il*, II, p. 138, no. 678, Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 386, Ṭūsī, IX, p. 512 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (al-Ṣādiq); Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 310, Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 129 (> Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 227, no. 99) (the Prophet, ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās); Qummī, II, pp. 349–350 (al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 50, no. 12; Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 208, Ibn al-Jawzī, VII, p. 339 (‘Alī); Tha‘labī, IX, p. 222, Māwardī, V, p. 465, Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 27 (the Prophet); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 59 (‘Alī, *wa-qīl hiya qirā‘at rasūl allāh*); Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, V, p. 115 (Ibn Shanabūdh). For the ending (*muṭirnā bi-naw’ kadhā* etc.) see also Ṭabarī, XXVII, pp. 208–209 (citing various authorities); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, X, p. 3234, no. 18806 (the Prophet); Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 132 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 235 (citing various sources, on the authority of Zayd b. Khālīd al-Juhānī) > *Biḥār*, LVIII, p. 329, no. 23; al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, V, p. 272, no. 15054 (a *ḥadīth qudsī*, cited from various sources); *Faṣl*, p. 24, l. 3. Cf. in general *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Anwā’” (Ch. Pellat). See **561**.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-A‘LĀ: ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. ‘Āmir al-Tha‘labī (in some sources, erroneously, al-Taghlibī) al-Kūfī, who transmitted from Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, pp. 94–95; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 46, 58).—ABŪ ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SULAMĪ: Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī, a Kūfan disciple of ‘Alī and a *qārī* of the Qur’ān (Barqī, *Rijāl*, p. 5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, pp. 183–184; Ardabīlī, I, p. 481, II, p. 397).

**560** *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 16–17. See Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 66, Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 119, both > *Faṣl*, p. 333, ll. 17–21. For this reading see also Jeffery, pp. 97, 191, 206, 336 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ṣādiq); Ibn Qutayba, *Mushkil*, p. 37; Qummī, II, p. 348 (al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 122, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 215, no. 43; Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 180, Māturīdī, IX, p. 493, Samarqandī, III, p. 393, Tha‘labī, IX, p. 207 (> Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Binā’*, pp. 101–102), Māwardī, V, p. 454, Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 208 (‘Alī); Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 206 (‘Alī, al-Ṣādiq, Ibn Mas‘ūd); Zarkashī, I, p. 335; Shnizer, *Qur’ān*, p. 140. According to some accounts, when ‘Alī



heard a man reciting *wa-ṭalḥ mandūd* (“serried acacias [or plantains]”) he corrected this to *wa-ṭal‘ mandūd* (“compact spathes”). The man (or those present) suggested that ‘Alī change the Qur’ānic text accordingly (*a-lā tuḡhayyiruhu/a-wa-lā nuḡawwiluhā/tuḡawwiluhā*); but ‘Alī responded: “The Qur’ān can no longer be disturbed and changed today” (*inna l-qur’ān lā yuhāju l-yawm wa-lā yuḡawwalu*) (Ṭabarī, XXVII, pp. 180–181, cited in Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 36; Māturīdī, IX, p. 493; Tha‘labī, IX, p. 207; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 54; Ṭabrisī, XXVII, p. 119 [*wa-rawat al-‘amma*] > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 112, *Bihār*, VIII, p. 109, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 215, no. 44; Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 14; Rāzī, XXIX, p. 143; Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 208; cf. Ibn Khālawayh, p. 151, Tha‘alibī, V, p. 364). According to one interpretation, ‘Alī thought his reading to be the correct one but did not wish to enter it in the Qur’ān because it contradicted the accepted consonantal skeleton of the text (*li-mukhālafat mā rasmuhu mujma‘ ‘alayhi*) (Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 208).

**561** *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 9–10. See **559**.

**562** A longer version of this tradition is preserved in ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 237, no. 54 (Muḥammad b. Hāshim < unidentified transmitter < al-Bāqir > *Burhān*, II, p. 323, no. 11, *Bihār*, X, p. 156, no. 5, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 221, no. 64. In these sources, the Imam recites the verses according to the ‘Uthmānic codex. However, in the version cited from ‘Ayyāshī in Ḥuwayzī, II, p. 557, no. 142, the reading of Q 56:54 is *thumma innahum la-shāribūn*, as in *KQ*. The *innahum* before *la-ākilūn* is not recorded elsewhere.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. HĀSHIM: al-Ṭūsī mentions two disciples of al-Ṣādiq of this name: (i) Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Ṭā’ī (*Rijāl*, p. 303, no. 364); (ii) Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Qurashī mawlāhum Kūfī (*Rijāl*, p. 303, no. 371; both names cited in Quhpā’ī, VI, pp. 66–67; Ardabīlī, II, p. 212; Khū’ī, XVIII, p. 337, nos. 11976–11977).

**563** *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 10–11. *Fa-rūḥ* (“spirit”) is vocalized (evidently by al-Nūrī) in ms. L and in *Faṣl*. This reading is ascribed to the Prophet (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 58 [for *fā-rawḥ* read *fā-rūḥ*]; Tirmidhī, *Awliyā’*, p. 384; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 613, no. 2978, p. 633, no. 3043; Tha‘labī, IX, p. 224; Māwardī, V, p. 466; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 60). According to Ibn Jinnī (II, p. 310) and al-Ṭabrisī (XXVII, p. 133 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 130, *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 11–12), those who followed this *qirā’a* included, in addition to the Prophet, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Bāqir, Qatāda, al-Ḍaḥḥāk and

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (the latter is also mentioned in Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 211, Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 286, Samarqandī, III, p. 398, Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 60). See further Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 100; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 152 (the Prophet and Ya‘qūb [i.e. al-Ḥaḍramī]); Ibn Ghalbūn, II, p. 710 (Ruways [i.e. a transmitter from Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī, see 511\*]); Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 386; Ahwāzī, *Baṣrī*, p. 507 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, V, p. 254 (al-Ḥasan, Ibn ‘Abbās and others); Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 28 (al-Ḥasan, Qatāda, Ya‘qūb); ‘Ukbarī, p. 497 (*wa-yuqra’u bi-fatḥ al-rā’ wa-ḍammihā*); Qurṭubī, XVII, p. 232 (the Prophet, Ibn ‘Abbās and others); Jeffery, “Ibn Miqṣam”, p. 27 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, some of the Baṣrans, Ibn Miqṣam). Cf. 564.

**564** It is not clear whether *r-w-ḥ* should be vocalized as in the ‘Uthmānic codex (i.e. *rawḥ*) or as at 563 (i.e. *rūḥ*). Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Iqāb*, p. 251, no. 17 > *Bihār*, XXVII, p. 235, no. 50 (al-Bāqir: *inna ‘aduww ‘Alī lā yakhruju min al-dunyā ḥattā yajra’a jur’a min al-ḥamūm*).

**Title** Although Sūrat al-mumtaḥana (i.e. Sūra 60) is mentioned in the title, no verses from it are cited in this chapter.

**565** *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 12–13. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 169 (Ubayy). Cf. Q 10:61 (*fī l-arḍ wa-lā fī l-samā’*).

*Isnād*: AL-QĀSIM B. SULAYMĀN: al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān al-Baghdādī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and his disciples. His *kitāb* was transmitted by al-Ḥusayn b. Sa’īd through al-Naḍr b. Suwayd (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 359).—MUYASSIR/MAYSAR: he is Muyassir/Maysar/Maysara b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Nakha’ī al-Madā’inī Bayyā’ al-Zuṭṭī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; predeceased al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, VI, pp. 170–171; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 284–286).

**566** It is unclear whether the reading ascribed here to al-Ṣādiq is *yuzāhirūn* (as in the ‘Uthmānic codex) or *yazzāharūn* (thus read by Ibn ‘Āmir, Ḥamza and al-Kisā’ī; see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 628; Ṭūsī, IX, p. 540; Ṭabrisī, XXVIII, p. 4; Bayḍāwī, p. 719).

**567** *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 16–17. See Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 678, no. 3 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 316, no. 15, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 222, p. 6; added by the editor of Sulaym (*Kitāb*, p. 469) from Ibn al-Juḥām and Kulīnī. These sources agree with ms. M in reading *wa-ẓulm āl Muḥammad*; in Kulīnī (at VIII, p. 63, no. 21 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 156, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 284, no. 46, *Faṣl*, p. 334,

l. 17), the reading cited from ‘Alī on the authority of Sulaym b. Qays is *fi zulm āl Muḥammad*, as in mss. L and B. Cf. Tisdall, p. 240 (“... and fear God [being ware of] wronging Mohammed”). For Q 59:7 cf. **125, 204.**

*Isnād*: AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD: the *isnād* of this tradition is also attested in Ibnā Biṣṭām, *Ṭibb*, p. 140 (whence it was added by the editor of Sulaym [*Kitāb*, p. 476]); Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī*, p. 374, no. 45. There al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad is identified as al-Hāshimī, i.e. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Ya‘qūb b. Sa‘īd b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who transmitted from al-Riḍā (Quhpā‘ī, II, p. 153; Ardabīlī, I, p. 226).—ABĀN B. ABĪ ‘AYYĀSH: the first transmitter of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* (d. 138/755–756) (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 85–86).—SULAYM B. QAYS AL-HILĀLĪ: the purported author of a *kitāb* bearing his name and allegedly a Kūfan disciple of ‘Alī (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Sulaym b. Qays” [Moktar Djebli]; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 82–86).

**568** The words *min al-nakhl* should perhaps be added after *kull shay’*. For *līna* as “any palm tree except the (kind known as) ‘ajwa” (or: the kind bearing the ‘ajwa dates) see e.g. Farrā’, III, p. 144 (Ibn ‘Abbās: *fā-kull shay’ min al-nakhl siwā l-‘ajwa huwa l-līn*); Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 347 (*Kitāb al-tafsīr*); Ṭabarī, XXVIII, pp. 32–33; Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 320; Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 173; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 81; Ṭabrisī, XXVIII, p. 26 > *Biḥār*, XX, p. 161; Qurṭubī, XVIII, p. 8; Schöller, “Palmen”, pp. 324–328; *WKAS*, II, part 4, p. 2114a, ll. 3–4. This is one of five definitions of *līna* current in the exegetical literature (see Schöller, “Palmen”, pp. 323–334). The word ‘ajwa is used both for a particular kind of palm tree and for its dates; these dates are regarded as being of an exceptionally high quality (see Schöller, “Palmen”, p. 325, with note 21).

**569** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 677, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 314, no. 5, *Biḥār*, XXIII, pp. 258–259, no. 7. According to al-Majlisī (*Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 259), this is the inner/esoteric interpretation of the verse (*ta’wīl li-baṭn al-āya*).

**570** The word *ṣadaqāt* found in the manuscripts may be the result of a conflation with the following verse (Q 58:13: *a-ashfaqtum an tuqaddimū bayna yaday najwākum ṣadaqāt*). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 357 (*isnād*: Aḥmad b. Ziyād < al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā‘a < Ṣafwān < Ibn Muskān < Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq); Ganjī, *Kifāya*, p. 118; Irbilī, I, p. 312.

**571** *Faṣl*, p. 334, ll. 18–19. In a tradition with the same *isnād* (beginning with Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā), this verse is cited as it appears in the ‘Uthmānic codex; see Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 689, no. 8 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 329, no. 1, *Bihār*, LI, p. 60, no. 59. The version of the ‘Uthmānic codex is also cited in a tradition which al-Ṭabrisī (XXVIII, p. 62) cites from the lost part of ‘Ayyāshī (*isnād*: ‘Imrān b. Mitham/Maytham < ‘Abāya < ‘Alī). However, in the text of the *Majma‘* as cited in Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 318, no. 31, *rasūlahu* is replaced by *‘abdahu*, thus agreeing with *KQ*.

**572** *Faṣl*, p. 335, ll. 15–16. See **573**, **575**.

**573** *Faṣl*, p. 335, ll. 16–17. For the reading *inṣarāfū ilayhā ... li-lladhīna ‘ttaqaw* see Jeffery, p. 170 (Ubayy); Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (al-Ṣādiq); Mufid, *Ikhtisās*, pp. 124–125 (al-Bāqir tells Jābir al-Ju‘fī: *hākadhā nazalat*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 335, no. 9, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 400, no. 126, XXXI, p. 616, no. 90, LXXXIX, p. 278, no. 24. See also Qummī, II, p. 367 (*ya‘nī li-lladhīna ‘ttaqaw*) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 176, *Faṣl*, p. 335, ll. 13–15 (both without *ya‘nī*). For the reading *inṣarāfū ilayhā* see Ṭabrisī, XXVIII, p. 78 (al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 175, *Bihār*, XXII, p. 60, LXXXIX, p. 131. Cf. Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 138 (*infaddū* glossed as *inṣarāfū*). See **572**, **575**.

*Isnād*: JA‘FAR AL-AḤMAR B. ZIYĀD (in the tradition cited in the apparatus from Najafī): he is probably Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Ziyād al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā‘ī, II, p. 27; Ardabīlī, I, p. 152), died in 167/783–784 (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, VII, pp. 150–152; Dhahabī, *Ta‘rīkh al-islām*, X, pp. 104–105 and the references given by the editor).

**574** *Faṣl*, p. 335, ll. 4–5. The letters *h-m* found in the four manuscripts of *KQ* (but missing from *Faṣl*) may be an error for ‘-m, a common abbreviation of *‘alayhi l-salām* (cf. **415**\*). Later copyists, unaware that *h-m* was an error, added the words *‘alayhi l-salām* in full. For the reading *fa-‘mdū* see Jeffery, pp. 101, 170, 221 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy, ‘Umar); Mālik, *Muwatta‘*, I, p. 106, no. 13, Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi‘/‘Ulūm*, p. 254 (fol 13a ll. 2–3), ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, III, p. 207, nos. 5348–5350, Shāfi‘ī, *Umm*, I, p. 336, Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā‘il*, II, p. 139, no. 679 (> [with other sources] Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, pp. 327–328), Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 352 (*Kūṭab al-tafsīr*), al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, pp. 592–593, no. 4808, p. 593, no. 4809, p. 597, nos. 4821–4822 (‘Umar); Yaḥyā b. Sallām,

*Taṣārīf*, p. 309, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, III, p. 207, no. 5346, Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 353, Samarqandī, III, p. 448, Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 416, Ṭūsī, X, p. 8, Rāwandī, *Fiqh*, I, p. 132 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, p. 659 (Ubayy, Ibn Mas‘ūd); ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 291 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Umar); Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 63 (al-Ṣādiq); Ṭabarī, XXVIII, pp. 100, 101 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Umar, Abū l-‘Āliya); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 156 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr); Ibn Jinnī, II, pp. 321–322 (‘Alī, ‘Umar, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ubayy and others); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 34 (Ibn Shanabūdh) > Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, V, p. 115; Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 123 (al-Bāqir tells Jābir al-Ju‘fi that *fa-’mḍū* is the correct reading and that *fa-’s’aw* is a *tahrīf*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 335, no. 9, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 400, no. 126, XXXI, p. 616, no. 90, LXXXIX, p. 277, no. 24; Tha‘labī, IX, p. 311, Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 151 (‘Umar, Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, V, p. 309 (‘Umar, ‘Alī, Ubayy, Ibn Mas‘ūd and others); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 105 (‘Umar, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Mas‘ūd and others); Ṭabrisī, XXVIII, p. 75 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī, ‘Umar, Ubayy, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 174, *Burhān*, IV, p. 334, no. 6, *Bihār*, LXXXIX, p. 126, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 325, no. 30; Tha‘alibī, V, pp. 430–431 (‘Umar, ‘Alī, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Umar, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn al-Zubayr). Al-Qurṭubī (XVIII, p. 102) maintains that *fa-’mḍū* is an exegetical gloss (*wa-jā’iz qir’at al-qur’ān bi-l-tafsīr fī ma’rid al-tafsīr*).

*Isnād*: ZAYD: he is either Zayd b. Jahm/Juhaym al-Hilālī (for whom see 290\*) or Zayd al-Shaḥḥām (for whom see 63\*). Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā transmitted Zayd al-Shaḥḥām’s *kitāb* (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 402) and also transmitted from Zayd b. Jahm/Juhaym (Ardabīlī, II, p. 341).

**575** *Faṣl*, p. 335, ll. 18–19. The “two of them” (*humā*) are Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; cf. the explanation given by al-Bāqir to Jābir al-Ju‘fi: *al-bay’* (“trafficking”) of Q 62:9 is *al-awwal*, and the *lahw* (“diversion”) and *tijāra* (“merchandise”) of Q 62:11 are *bay’at al-awwal wa-l-thānī* (recognizing the authority of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar) (Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 124 > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 400, no. 126, LXXXIX, p. 278, no. 24). For the reading *wa-’btaghū faḍl allāh* see Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 124 (al-Bāqir tells Jābir al-Ju‘fi: *hākadhā nazalat*) > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 400, no. 126, LXXXIX, p. 278, no. 24. See 572, 573, 576.

**576** *Faṣl*, p. 335, ll. 19–20. For *innahu laysa yuqra'u ka-dhālika* cf. Furāt, I, p. 78, no. 52 (*laysa yuqra'u hākadhā/kadhā*) > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 56, no. 29. See **575**.

**577** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 1–2. Cf. Q 9:80 (*in tastaghfir lahum sab'ina marra*). For the Prophet asking God's forgiveness seventy times a day see e.g. Kulīnī, II, pp. 504–505, no. 5. See **578**.

*Isnād*: MUḤSIN B. AḤMAD AL-KŪFĪ: Abū Aḥmad Muḥsin b. Aḥmad al-Bajalī al-Qaysī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Riḍā (Quhpā'ī, V, p. 96; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 41–42).

**578** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 2–3. See **577**.

**579** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 7–8. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 171 (Ubayy). See **580**, **581**.

**580** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 8–9. See **579**, **581**.

*Isnād*: MASRŪQ B. MUḤAMMAD: Masrūq b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Šādiq (Ardabīlī, II, p. 228). For the *isnād* see **582**.

**581** *Faṣl*, p. 336, l. 9. The Imam quotes Q 64:15 in order to show why the previous verse should be read without *min*: just as Q 64:15 refers to all children, so too does Q 64:14. The words *awlādukum wa-amwālukum* recorded in mss. L, T and B appear to be a scribal error rather than a *qirā'a*. See **579**, **580**.

**582** For references to Muḥammad as *dhikr* (mostly in connection with Q 65:10–11) see *Baṣā'ir*, p. 512, no. 26 > *Biḥār*, XVI, p. 101, no. 39; Qummī, II, p. 375 > *Biḥār*, XVI, p. 90, no. 20; Madelung-Walker, pp. 28–29 (Arabic) = pp. 84–85 (English); Nu'mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 2; Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 476; idem, *Uyūn*, I, p. 187 > *Šāfi*, V, p. 191; Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 189; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, I, p. 150 > *Biḥār*, XVI, p. 102, no. 40; Ṭabarī, *Bishāra*, p. 234; Ṭabrisī, XXVIII, p. 113; Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 67–68 > *Burhān*, III, pp. 28–29, no. 1; Najafī, p. 325, no. 3. Cf. Māturīdī, X, p. 71 (*sammāhu dhikran*).

*Isnād*: see **580**.

**583** Cf. Kulīnī, V, p. 328, no. 1, VI, p. 54, nos. 2, 3 (nothing is more hateful to God than *ṭalāq*).

**584** *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 6–8. For this tradition see the references given in **225**\*. See **225**, **585**.

*Isnād*: IBN ‘URWA AL-TAMĪMĪ: al-Haytham b. ‘Urwa al-Tamīmī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and a transmitter to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam (Quhpā’ī, VI, pp. 244–245; Ardabīlī, II, p. 320).

**585** See **225**, **584**.

**586** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 15–16. For this reading see *GdQ*, III, p. 75 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Jeffery, pp. 103, 191, 328 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Alī, al-A‘mash); idem, “Zaid b. ‘Alī”, p. 233 (Zayd); Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 (al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq) > *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 2–3; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 158 (‘Alī, al-A‘mash); Ṭabarī, XXVIII, p. 161, Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 127, Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 81, Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 286, Tha‘alibī, V, p. 451 (Ibn Mas‘ūd). Cf. Ṭabarī, XXVIII, p. 161 (Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Sufyān), Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 429, Tha‘labī, IX, p. 346, Māwardī, VI, p. 40, Ṭūsī, X, p. 47, Qurṭubī, XVIII, p. 188, Bayādī, III, p. 168 > *Bihār*, XXII, p. 246, no. 17, where *ṣaghat* is glossed as *zāghat* (“deviated”). In *Aṣl ‘Āṣim b. Ḥumayd*, p. 27, the reading is *ṣaghat*; it is *zāghat*, however, in the version cited from the *Aṣl* in *Faṣl* (p. 337, l. 1). See **587**, **588**, **590**.

*Isnād*: cf. **552**.

**587** *Faṣl*, p. 336, l. 16. See **586**, **588**, **590**.

**588** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 16–19. The reference is perhaps to the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (d. 65/685), who is said to have assisted in the recension of the Qur’ān during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam” [C.E. Bosworth]). Some readings are ascribed to him (see e.g. Qurṭubī, IV, p. 308, to Q 3:188). The dispute between Marwān and ‘Ā’isha (d. 58/678) over the correct reading of Q 66:4 does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. For the events which are said to have led to the revelation of Q 66:3–4 see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ḥaḍḡa” (L. Veccia Vaglieri). Some exegetes regard *ṣaghat* and *zāghat* as synonymous (see **586**\*). The implication here, in contrast, is that *ṣughuww/ṣaghw/ṣighw* (“inclination”, i.e. to that which is not right) is a less serious offence than *zaygh* (“deviation”). In a similar vein, Mujāhid is said to have declared: “We used to think that (the offence alluded to in) His words *fa-qad ṣaghat qulūbukumā* was of little consequence (*shay’ hayyin*), until I heard (or: until we found in) the reading of Ibn Mas‘ūd:



*in tatūbā ilā llāh fa-qad zāghat qulūbukumā*” (Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, p. 665; Ṭabarī, XXVIII, p. 161). See **586**, **587**, **590**.

**589** *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 4–5. For this reading see Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmiʿ*, II, p. 626 (al-Kāẓim) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 195, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 371, no. 13, *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 3–4. Contrast Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 65 (reading, with the ʿUthmānic codex: *wa-in tazāharā ʿalayhi*) (al-Kāẓim). Shīʿī exegetes maintain that the dual form in *tazāharā ʿalayhi* (“they supported one another against him”) refers to ʿĀʾisha and Ḥaḥṣa; the reading *tazāharū* (in the plural) is explained by Muḥsin al-Fayḍ as referring to ʿĀʾisha, Ḥaḥṣa and their fathers (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 195). For the background see Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, pp. 44–45. Cf. **592**.

**590** *Faṣl*, p. 336, ll. 19–20. For this tradition see Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmiʿ*, II, p. 626 (al-Ṣādiq); Ṭurayhī, II, pp. 1033–1034 (for *al-shatm* read *al-samm*, “poisoning”); cf. **128**. For the reading *zāghat* see **586–588**.

**591** *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 11–13. For this reading see Qurṭubī, XVIII, pp. 203–204 (Ubayy). Qatāda adduces *fa-naḥakhnā fi jaybiḥā* (“we breathed into the opening of her garment”) as a gloss on *fa-naḥakhnā fiḥi*; see ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 303; Ṭabarī, XXVIII, p. 172; Ṭūsī, X, p. 54. Cf. Muqātil, III, p. 380; Qummī, II, p. 49 (*fa-naḥakha fi jaybiḥā fa-ḥamalat bi-ʿĪsā*); Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 204; Robinson, *Christ*, pp. 156–158; **592\***.

**592** Najafī, p. 701, no. 10. The words *tazāharatā ʿalā* allude to Q 66:4. See Najafī, p. 700, no. 7; cf. **589\***. For the passage on Ruqayya (the Prophet’s daughter and ʿUthmān’s wife; see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ruqayya” [W. Montgomery Watt]; Madelung, *Succession*, pp. 363–365) cf. Najafī, pp. 700–701, no. 8 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 358, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXX, pp. 257–258, no. 119 (where “Firʿawn” is said to refer to ʿUthmān, as in **600**). In some Shīʿī accounts ʿUthmān (or Naʿthal, as he is sometimes called; see Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 117) is accused of beating his wife Ruqayya to death (see Qummī, II, p. 423 [to Q 90:5; for *y-q-t-l* read Naʿthal] > *Bihār*, IX, p. 251, no. 157, XXIV, p. 282, no. 8; Kulīnī, III, pp. 251–253, no. 8 > *Bihār*, XXII, pp. 160–162, no. 22; cf. Kulīnī, III, p. 236, no. 6 > *Bihār*, VI, p. 261, no. 102, XXII, pp. 163–164, no. 23; *Bihār*, XXXI, p. 174). For the ending (on Fāṭima) see Bazzār, *Musnad*, V, p. 223, no. 1829 (the Prophet: *inna Fāṭima aḥṣanat farjahā fa-ḥarrama llāh dhurriyyatahā ʿalā l-nār*); Ibn ʿAdī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ*, V, p. 1714; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, II, p. 63, no. 264 (> *Bihār*, XLIII, p. 20, no. 6, p. 231, no. 5, XCVI, p. 223, no. 17), p.

236, no. 4 (> *Biḥār*, XLIII, p. 231, no. 6); Ibn Bābawayh, *Maʿānī*, pp. 104–105, no. 1, p. 105, nos. 2–3 > *Biḥār*, XLIII, p. 230, no. 2, p. 231, nos. 3–4, XCVI, p. 222, no. 15; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, III, p. 54 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 325 > *Biḥār*, XLIII, p. 232, no. 7, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 377–378, no. 48 (the Prophet declares: *inna Fāṭima aḥṣanat farjahā fa-ḥarrama llāh dhurriyyatahā ʿalā l-nār*). See also Rāwandī, *Kharāʾij*, I, p. 281, no. 13 > *Biḥār*, XLVI, p. 185, no. 51 (from al-Ṣādiq).

**593** *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 13–16. See Najafī, p. 707, no. 10 (but with *yujūru l-kāfirīn* for *yujūrukum*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 365, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XCII, pp. 55–56, no. 27. See **596**; cf. **623**.\*

**594** *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 22–23. A similar reading (with the comment: *kadhā unzilāt*) is cited by al-Ṣādiq in Kulīnī, I, p. 421, no. 45 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (> *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12), Najafī, pp. 707–708, no. 12, Ṣāfi, V, p. 205, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 378, no. 60, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 385, no. 36, *Faṣl*, p. 276, l. 23–p. 277, l. 3, p. 337, ll. 20–22, tr. Amir-Moezzi, “Walāya”, p. 724 (*fa-sa-taʿlamūn* [in some versions: + *man huwa fī ḍalāl mubīn*] *yā maʿshar al-mukadhdhibīn ḥaythu anbaʿtukum* [in Ibn Shahrāshūb: *atākum*] *risālat rabbī fī walāyat ʿAlī wa-l-aʿimma min baʿdihī* [in Najafī: + *fa-abaytum wa-kadhdhabtum fa-sa-taʿlamūn*] *man huwa fī ḍalāl mubīn*).

**595** Najafī, pp. 708–709, no. 15. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 367, no. 6, *Biḥār*, XXIV, pp. 100–101, no. 3 (from Najafī). See also ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar, *Masāʾil*, p. 327, no. 815; Kulīnī, I, pp. 339–340, no. 14 > Ṣāfi, V, p. 206, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 386, no. 37; Nuʿmānī, *Ghayba*, pp. 257–258, no. 17 (latter half); Manṣūr, *ʿIqd*, p. 316, citing the *Nawādir al-ḥikma* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī (for which see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 299, no. 469) (in all these sources ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar cites his brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim); Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 339 (ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar < al-Kāẓim < al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, LI, p. 53, no. 30. Cf. the following exegetical comment by al-Bāqir: *in aṣbaḥa imāmukum ghāʾiban ʿankum lā tadrūn ayna huwa fa-man yaʿtikum bi-imām ṣāḥir* (see Ibn Bābawayh, *Imāma*, pp. 115–116, no. 105; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, p. 317 > *Biḥār*, LI, p. 52, no. 27, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 387, no. 41); see also Qummī, II, p. 379 (*in aṣbaḥa imāmukum ghāʾiban fa-man yaʿtikum bi-imām mithlihi*) > Ṣāfi, V, p. 205, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 100, no. 1, LI, p. 50, no. 21; Ṭūsī, *Ghayba*, p. 158, no. 115, p. 160, no. 117.

**596** *Faṣl*, p. 338, l. 1. For this reading see Najafī, p. 707, no. 11 (but with *wa-man ma'akum* for *jamī'an*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 365, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 56, no. 28, *Faṣl*, p. 337, ll. 17–20. See **593**.

**597** For this reading see Qummī, II, p. 380 (adding: *hākadhā nazalat*) > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 161, no. 20, *Faṣl*, p. 337, l. 23. Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh (*Nāsikh*, p. 63) reproduces the text of the 'Uthmānic codex, but in the version cited from Sa'd in *Faṣl* (p. 338, ll. 2–3) the reading is identical to that found in *KQ* and Qummī. See **598**.

**598** *Faṣl*, p. 338, ll. 1–2. See Najafī, p. 712, no. 5 (with the verse as in the 'Uthmānic codex) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 370, no. 7, *Biḥār*, XXX, pp. 258–259, no. 121. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 308 (to Q 47:22) > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 40, no. 59; Qummī, II, p. 380 (to Q 68:5–6) > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 161, no. 20; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 103, no. 76, p. 239, no. 325 > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 161, no. 21, XXXI, p. 533, no. 40. For the reading *tuwullūtum* cf. **511**, **512**; as the manuscripts are unvocalized, it is not certain that this is the reading here. In *KQ* the final sentence (“they are better than you and kindlier to their kindred”) appears to be spoken by 'Alī; in the other sources cited here, the speaker is 'Umar. In a similar account, 'Alī tells 'Umar that the Qur'ānic *al-shajara al-mal'ūna* refers to the Umayyads (cf. **299**), to which 'Umar retorts: *banū Umayya khayr minka wa-awṣal li-l-raḥīm* ('Ayyāshī, II, p. 297, no. 94 ['Alī b. Sa'īd < al-Ṣādiq] > Ṭurayḥī, II, p. 930, *Burhān*, II, p. 425, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 525, no. 27, Ḥuwayzī, III, pp. 179–180, no. 277). See **597**.

*Isnād*: AL-A'MASH: Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash al-Asadī (d. 148/765), Shī'ī scholar, traditionist and Qur'ān reader, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, III, p. 169; *Elr*, art. “A'maš” [E. Kohlberg]; cf. **343**).

**Title** *Sa'ala*, though less common than *sa'ala sā'il*, is also attested as a name of Sūra 70. Thus Ibn 'Abbās is reported to have stated: *nazalat sūrat sa'ala bi-Makka* (Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 415).

**599** For this tradition see Najafī, p. 714, no. 1 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 375, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 260, no. 123. Cf. **600**.

**600** Cf. Najafī, p. 714, no. 2 > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 260, no. 124. For the identification of Fir'awn with 'Uthmān see **592\***. In the version of Qummī cited in *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 218, *Burhān*, IV, p. 375 and *Biḥār*, XXXI, p. 639, no. 149, the *mu'tafikāt* are identified with Baṣra and the *khāṭi'a* with

*fulāna* (i.e. ‘Ā’isha). In the printed edition of Qummī (at II, p. 384) the word *fulāna* is missing, in yet another instance of censorship (cf. 54\*). For the application of the term “*ṣāhib al-silsila*” (he who is in chains, cf. Q 69:32) to Mu‘āwiya see Sulaym, *Kūtāb*, p. 307, where ‘Alī refers to him in this way > Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 285, *Biḥār*, XXXIII, p. 156, no. 421; Kulīnī, IV, pp. 243–244, no. 1 > Ṣāfi, III, p. 371, *Biḥār*, XXXIII, p. 171, no. 448, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 481, no. 45, V, p. 409, no. 45; Najafī, p. 719, no. 13 > *Biḥār*, XXXIII, p. 170, no. 446. Cf. 599.

**601** *Faṣl*, p. 338, l. 12, Najafī, p. 723, no. 2. See Kulīnī, I, p. 422, no. 47 (*isnād*: ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm < Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [= al-Sayyārī?] < Muḥammad b. Khālīd [i.e. al-Barqī] < Muḥammad b. Sulaymān < his father < Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 106 (> Ṣāfi, V, p. 224, *Burhān*, IV, p. 381, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXXV, p. 57, no. 12), Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 411, no. 5, *Faṣl*, p. 338, ll. 6–8, cited in Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 71; Nu‘mān, *Sharḥ*, I, p. 241, no. 260; Najafī, pp. 723–724, no. 3 (possibly from *KQ* via Ibn al-Juḥām) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 382, no. 5, *Biḥār*, XXXVII, p. 176, no. 63, *Faṣl*, p. 338, ll. 10–12. For this reading see also Kulīnī, VIII, pp. 57–58, no. 18, cited in Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 214, with note 438 = *Divine Guide*, p. 202, tr. Amir-Moezzi, “Walāya”, p. 724. Imāmī traditions refer to a book of heavenly origin bearing the title *muṣḥaf Fāṭima* (see Kohlberg, “Scriptures”, pp. 302–303; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 187 = *Divine Guide*, p. 74). This book, said to have been dictated to Fāṭima by an angel following her father’s death, is reported to have contained nothing from the Qur’ān (see Kohlberg, “Scriptures”, p. 303). Now *KQ* (like the parallel tradition in Kulīnī, VIII) refers to a verse found in *muṣḥaf Fāṭima*. It is thus clear that the reference here is not to the book known by this title, but rather to Fāṭima’s copy of the Qur’ān (cf. 382\*).

**602** *Mustadrak*, XV, p. 249, no. 18141. The words *ilā l-aqṣā* do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a *qirā’a*; they may be a gloss. For the notion of *ajal* (fixed term of life on earth) see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Adjal” (I. Goldziher-W. Montgomery Watt); *EQ*, art. “Fate” (Ahmet T. Karamestafa). According to the view presented in the tradition cited in *KQ*, God determines for each person two points in time, at one of which he will die. The wicked will die at the earlier of the two points, while God will prolong the life of the righteous until the later date. “The earlier date of death” (or “the shorter term”, *al-ajal al-adnā*) refers to the Qur’ānic *ajal*, while “the later date of death” (or “the longer term”,

*al-ajal al-aqṣā*) refers to the Qur'ānic *ajal musamman*. For *al-ajal al-adnā/al-aqṣā* see Ṭūsī, X, p. 133, Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 66 (to Q 71:4). *Al-ajal al-aqṣā* is sometimes called *al-ajal al-aṭwal* (Rāzī, XXX, p. 120; Bayḍāwī, p. 761).

**603** For Wadd and Suwā' see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 490; Hawting, *Idolatry*, index.

**604** *Faṣl*, p. 338, ll. 21–22. Al-Nūrī, basing himself on ms. L, regards *Ādam wa-Ḥawwā'* as a *qir'a*. According to mss. M, T and B, these words are a gloss on *wālidayya*. This is also the anonymous view (*wa-qīl*) cited in Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 73, Najafī, p. 726. Elsewhere the view that *wālidayya* refers to Adam and Eve is ascribed to 'Alī al-Riḍā (see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farḥa*, p. 130 [to Q 71:28] > al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Wasā'il*, V/3, p. 298, no. 19435, *Bihār*, C, p. 262, no. 14). Al-'Ayyāshī (II, pp. 234–235, no. 46 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 95, *Burhān*, II, p. 321, no. 3) records a tradition on the authority of either al-Bāqir or al-Ṣādiq (*'an aḥadihimā*) according to which Abraham's words *ighfir lī wa-li-wālidayya* (Q 14:41) refer to Adam and Eve (*qāl Ādam wa-Ḥawwā'*) (cf. **271**). Eve is not mentioned in the 'Uthmānic codex.

**605** *Faṣl*, p. 338, l. 22–p. 339, l. 1, Najafī, p. 728, no. 3. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 393, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 29, no. 7, *Faṣl*, p. 339, ll. 1–4 (from Najafī). For *al-ṭarīqa* as referring to *al-walāya* see e.g. *Aṣl Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī*, p. 63; Kulīnī, I, p. 220, no. 1 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 236, *Burhān*, IV, p. 392, no. 1; Bayāḍī, I, p. 289. Translation of the last sentence: "(If they tread the right path [i.e. of loyalty to the Imams]) we would give them to drink of water in abundance without thereby putting them to the test". Cf. **623**.\*

*Isnād*: MARWĀN B. MUSLIM: a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and his disciples (Modarressi, *TS*, p. 319).

**606** In mss. L and T there are *shaddas* over both the *zāy* and the *mūm* (i.e. *al-muzzammil*, conforming to the 'Uthmānic codex), but these may have been introduced by a copyist. It is thus unclear whether the *qir'a* cited here is *al-muzzammil*, *al-muzammal* or *al-muzammil*. These last two readings are ascribed to 'Ikrima (for *al-muzammal* ["he who is wrapped (in his robes)"], or "he who is burdened (with the Prophetic mission)"] see Tha'labī, X, p. 59, Ibn 'Aṭīyya, V, p. 386, Rāzī, XXX, p. 151, Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 32; for *al-muzammil* ["he who wraps (himself)"] see Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 335, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 163, Rāzī, XXX, p. 151; al-

Ṭabrisī [XXIX, p. 90] does not indicate the vocalization of the second *mīm*). Both readings are cited by al-Zamakhsharī (IV, p. 174) without attribution.

**607** The reading *al-mudaththar* is ascribed to ʿIkrima (see Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 180, Rāzī, XXX, p. 151, Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 362), though he is also said to have read *al-mudaththir* (see Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 335, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 164, Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 90, Rāzī, XXX, p. 151).

**608** It is not clear whether al-Ṣādiq's *qirā'a* at Q 74:5 was *al-rujz* (as in the ʿUthmānic codex) or *al-rjz* (as read by six of the Seven Readers; see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 659). The reconstruction of the text is conjectural. For Yaghūth, Yaʿūq and Nasr see Q 71:23. See in general Hawting, *Idolatry*, pp. 113–116.

*Isnād*: For ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān < Dāwūd b. Farqad see 531\*.

**609** *Faṣl*, p. 339, ll. 13–14. The reading said here to be recorded in the *Kitāb ʿAlī* (i.e. ʿAlī's recension of the Qurʾān; see Kohlberg, "Scriptures", p. 301, note 27, Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin*, p. 187 = *Divine Guide*, p. 74) is ascribed elsewhere to Ibn Masʿūd (see Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 67); cf. Q 7:188 (*la-ʾstakthartu min al-khayr*). Cf. the reading *wa-lā tamnun tastakthir* (without *min al-khayr*) which is recorded on the authority of al-Ḥasan (see Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 337 [with a grammatical explanation of this *qirā'a*], Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 434, Thaʿlabī, X, p. 70, Ahwāzī, *Baṣṭ*, p. 536). A second reading ascribed to Ibn Masʿūd is *wa-lā tamnun an tastakthira* (see *GdQ*, III, p. 76, Jeffery, p. 105, Ṭabarī, XXIX, p. 150, Ibn Khālawayh, p. 164, Thaʿlabī, X, p. 70, Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 181, Ibn ʿAṭīyya, V, p. 393, Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 69). This is also reported to be the *qirā'a* of Ubayy (see Jeffery, p. 174, Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 433) and of al-Rabʿ b. Khuthaym (see Jeffery, p. 310).

*Isnād*: YAʿQUB B. JAʿFAR: Yaʿqūb b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaʿfarī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Ardabīlī, II, p. 346).

**610** See Najafī, p. 732, no. 2; *Burhān*, IV, p. 400, no. 2 (ending). Cf. Kulīnī, I, pp. 342–343, no. 30 > Baḥrānī, *Mahajja*, p. 238; Nuʿmānī, *Ghayba*, p. 273, no. 40 > Najafī, p. 732, no. 1 (see editor's note), *Burhān*, IV, p. 400, no. 2 (beginning), *Biḥār*, LI, pp. 57–58, no. 49; Ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 25; Ibn Bābawayh, *Imāma*, p. 123, no. 121; Kishshī, pp. 169–170 > *Biḥār*, II, pp. 70–71, no. 29; Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, pp. 337–338; Ṭūsī, *Ghayba*, p. 164, no. 126 > *Biḥār*, LII, p. 284, no. 11.

Translation: “When a trumpet is blown in the Qā’im’s ear He (i.e. God) will remember him and will allow him (*wa-adhina lahu*) to rise” (or: “he [i.e. the Qā’im] will remember it [the duty to rise] and will be given permission [*wa-udhina lahu*] to rise”).

**611** See Qummī, II, p. 396 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 402, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 331, no. 55, XLIII, p. 23, no. 16, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 458, no. 22. Many exegetes take the suffix *-hā* in *innahā* to refer to Hell. According to this tradition, however, it refers to Fāṭima, who on the Day of Judgment will be the cause of a great calamity (*iḥdā l-kubar*) (for those who deprived her of her rights; see al-Majlisī’s explanation, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 331, no. 55 [*bayān*]). In another account, this suffix is said to refer to the *walāya* (loyalty to ‘Alī); see Kulīnī, I, p. 434, no. 91 > Najafī, p. 737, no. 7, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 338, no. 59.

**612** See Ṭabrisī, *Mishkāṭ*, p. 50 > *Biḥār*, LXX, pp. 286–287, no. 9, *Mustadrak*, XI, p. 265, no. 12954 (as a *ḥadīth qudsī*); Tha’labī, X, p. 80, Abū Nu’aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, p. 243, no. 12038, Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 91 (as a gloss on Q 74:56 by the Kūfan ascetic Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī). Cf. Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XII, p. 229 > Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 91 (*qāla llāh ‘azza wa-jalla: anā ahl an uttaqā fa-manī ’ttaqānī fa-lam yaj’al ma’ī ilāhan fa-anā ahl an aghfira lahu*).

**Title** *Hal atā* is an alternative name for *al-insān*.

**613** *Faṣl*, p. 339, ll. 14–15. For the reading *imāmahu* see Najafī, p. 739, no. 1 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 406, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 327, no. 42; Najafī, p. 739, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 406, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 327, no. 43. In the latter tradition the verse is interpreted as follows: *yurīd an yaḥfura amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām ya’nī yakīduhu*. Al-Nūrī evidently regarded the *yakīduhu* of ms. L as an error for *bi-kaydihi* (“by his deceit”). His emendation has been followed here.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤALABĪ: Khalaf b. Ḥammād is not recorded as transmitting from any scholar with this *nisba* (cf. Khū’ī, VIII, pp. 406–409). It is therefore not clear which Ḥalabī is meant here.

**614** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 180, no. 4435. Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, I, pp. 233–234, no. 884 (*bāb al-du’ā’ fī l-ṣalāt*); Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā’il*, p. 31, no. 13 (*iḥdā qara’ta ‘sabbīhi ’sma rabbika al-a’lā*) [Q 87:1] *wa-idhā qara’ta ‘a-laysa dhālika bi-qādir ‘alā an yuhyiya l-mawtā*) [Q 75:40] *fa-qul subḥānaka*



*wa-balā*); Ṭabarī, XXIX, p. 201, XXX, p. 151; Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 445; Thaʿlabī, X, p. 92 (when Q 75:40 was revealed, the Prophet said: *subḥānaka wa-balā* “praise be to You” and “You are indeed [able to quicken the dead]”); Bayhaqī, *Asmāʾ*, p. 21 (when Q 75:40 was revealed, the Prophet said: *balā*); Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 134 (*subḥānaka llāhumma wa-balā*) > Ṣāfi, V, p. 258; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, p. 452; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 479 and the sources cited therein; **643**.

**615** *Faṣl*, p. 340, ll. 1–2. *Ḥazāʾan bi-mā* is attested seven times in the ʿUthmānic codex.

*Isnād*: ABŪ JUNĀDA: the reference could be to Abū Junāda al-Aʿmā, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim (Quhpāʾī, VII, p. 20; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 373–374). According to al-Tustarī (*Rijāl*, XI, p. 262, no. 174) and al-Māmaqānī (V, p. 9), he may be identical with Abū Junāda al-Salūlī (for whom see **145**\*); al-Khūʾī (XXII, pp. 107–108, no. 14080) tends to believe that these are two different persons. See also **239**\*.—MUḤAMMAD B. JAʿFAR: this may be Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq’s son, known as Dībāj (d. Shaʿbān 203/Feb. 819), who (in 199/814–815 or 200/815–816) led a short-lived Jārūdī Zaydī revolt in the Ḥijāz against al-Maʾmūn and, after its suppression, was well treated by the caliph (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, third series, pp. 989–995; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, II, pp. 113–115; Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 286–287 > *Biḥār*, XLVII, pp. 243–244, no. 2). He is credited with a text (*nuskhā*; cf. Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 129, note 4) which he transmitted from his father (Quhpāʾī, V, p. 177; Ardabīlī, II, p. 86; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, third series, p. 989 [*kāna yarwī l-ʿilm ʿan abīhi*]). On the basis of this identification, *ʿan abīhi ʿan Abī ʿAbdallāh* has been emended to *ʿan abīhi Abī ʿAbdallāh*.

**616** See Najafī, p. 754, no. 1 > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 417–418, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 262, no. 126. Al-Najafī has the same *isnād* and *matn* as the four manuscripts of *KQ*, but with *wa-l-rābiʿ* between *al-thālith* and *al-khāmis*, and ending with *bi-amīr al-muʾminīn wa-l-aʾimma ʿalayhim al-salām* (instead of *bi-rusulihi*). While *al-awwal*, *al-thānī* and *al-thālith* are regularly identified with the first three caliphs respectively, the aliases *al-rābiʿ* and *al-khāmis* are less common. In one instance, the identity of those to whom these aliases refer can be established with the help of a tradition dealing with the events at Ghadīr Khumm. This tradition is recorded in two versions: the first includes the real names and the second, the aliases. According to the first version, after the Prophet’s address nominating ʿAlī as his successor, the first to clasp the Prophet’s hand

(or: the hand of the Prophet and of ‘Alī) (*ṣāfaqū*) were Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. They were followed by the rest of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār (Ghulām Khalīl, *Faḍā’il amūr al-mu’minīn* [for which see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, p. 155, no. 128] > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Yāqūn*, p. 360; Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-walāya* [for which see Kohlberg, *Muslim Scholar*, pp. 178–181, no. 171] > Ibn Jabr, *Nahj*, p. 112, Bayāḍī, I, p. 304). In the second version, these five names are replaced by *al-awwal wa-l-thānī wa-l-thālith wa-l-rābi’ wa-l-khāmis* (Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 66 > Ṣāfi, II, p. 167 [to Q 5:67], *Biḥār*, XXXVII, p. 217, no. 86). Cf. also Kulīnī, II, p. 600, no. 8; Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 10 (*al-rābi’ Ṭalḥa*). *Al-rābi’*, however, is on occasion used to refer to a person other than Ṭalḥa; see ‘Ayyāshī, I, p. 279, no. 286 (Jābir < al-Bāqir) > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 217, no. 81, *Faṣl*, p. 326, ll. 5–6, where “those who believed and then disbelieved” (*alladhīna āmanū thumma kafarū*) (Q 4:137) are said to be *humā* (i.e. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar) *wa-l-thālith wa-l-rābi’ wa-‘Abd al-Rahmān wa-Ṭalḥa*. For further enumerations see Qummī, II, p. 449 > *Biḥār*, XXX, pp. 406–407, no. 3 (to Q 113:1) (in the printed edition of Qummī, the words *al-awwal wa-l-thānī wa-l-thālith wa-l-rābi’* are censored out); ‘Ayyāshī, II, p. 243, no. 19 (Abū Baṣīr < al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 233, no. 97. In sum, here “the fourth” and “the fifth” may well be Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, but this is not entirely certain. For a different interpretation of Q 77:16–19 see Kulīnī, I, p. 435, no. 91 > *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 339, no. 59; Najafī, p. 754, no. 2.

*Isnād*: AL-‘ABBĀS: Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Ma’rūf, a Qummī client (*mawlā*) of Ja’far b. ‘Imrān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ash’arī and a transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Hādī (Quhpā’ī, III, pp. 250–251; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 433–434). For his transmission from Ismā’il (i.e. Abū Hammām Ismā’il b. Hammām) see Ardabīlī, I, p. 104.

**617** Najafī, p. 755, no. 4. See Burhān, IV, p. 418, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXX, p. 262, no. 127 (both from Najafī).

**618** For the reading *yatadhakkar* see Jeffery, p. 145 (Ubayy, Abū Nahīk, Abū l-Mutawakkil [i.e. the Successor ‘Alī b. Dāwūd/Du’ād al-Najā al-Baṣrī, d. 102/720–721 or 108/726–727; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 318]); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 86, Zamakhsharī, II, p. 518, Qurṭubī, XI, p. 131 (Ubayy). For this and the following tradition cf. Qummī, II, p. 398 (*lam yakun fī l-‘ilm wa-lā fī l-dhikr wa-fī ḥadīth ākhar: kāna fī l-‘ilm wa-lam yakun fī l-dhikr*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 410, no. 8, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 468, no. 8 (to Q 76:1); Kulīnī, I, p. 147, no. 5; Madelung, *Elr*, art. “Badā”, at p. 354b. See the discussion in Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 141; Māzandarānī,

IV, p. 244; Ṭurayhī, I, pp. 640–641; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Mizān*, XX, pp. 136–137. According to al-Šādiq's interpretation, Q 76:1 (*lam yakun shay'an madhkūran*) refers to a stage at which man's creation formed a part of God's knowledge but did not yet form a part of His *dhikr*. This word is occasionally used to refer to the Qur'ān, and this is presumably what is meant here: at the stage referred to in Q 76:1, man's creation was not yet mentioned in the Qur'ān. Q 19:67 refers to a still earlier stage. The account at **619** clarifies that at this earlier stage man's creation was a part neither of God's knowledge nor of His *dhikr*. The change from the situation described in Q 19:67 to the one described in Q 76:1 came about as a result of *badā'* (cf. **351**). Al-Šādiq's interpretation of these two verses conforms to the view of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and his school, according to which God does not know things before they come into existence (because knowledge of the future existence of the non-existent is impossible). That the *dhikr* is not eternal poses no problem since according to early Shī'ī doctrine the Qur'ān as *kalām allāh* is *muḥdath* (originated in time), not *ghayr makhluq* (uncreated) (cf. Kohlberg, "Barā'a", p. 159; Madelung, "Contribution", pp. 123–124; van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 373–374).

**619** See **618**. For the expression *badā li-llāh* see **351**, **550**.

**Title** 'Ammā yatasā'alūn and *kuwwirat* are alternative names for *al-naba'* and *al-takwīr* respectively.

**620** For *turābiyyan* see Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, pp. 61–62; Qummī, II, p. 402 (*turāban qāla turābiyyan ay 'alawīyyan*) > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 496, no. 35 (but with *qāla turābiyyan* omitted); Nu'mānī, *Tafsīr*, p. 27 (cited in Bar-Asher, "Readings", p. 72), with the canonical *turāban* interpreted as an instance of *taḥrīf*; 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d. 352/963), *Kitāb al-radd 'alā ahl al-tabdīl* > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 110 (erroneously printed as *turāban*) > *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 60, no. 12, *Faṣl*, p. 340, ll. 9–10; Abū l-Futūḥ, XI, p. 379 (erroneously printed as *turāban*); *Faṣl*, p. 24, l. 5. Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 761, no. 10 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 423, no. 1, *Bihār*, VII, p. 194, no. 58, XXIV, p. 262, no. 19 (with the verse cited according to the 'Uthmānic codex). For *turābiyyan* ("belonging to the party of Abū Turāb", i.e. of 'Alī) see Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb", p. 351. Cf. **621**.

*Isnād*: HĀRŪN B. KHĀRIJA: Abū l-Ḥasan Hārūn b. Khārīja, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Šādiq. Yaḥyā b. 'Imrān al-Ḥalabī (for whom see **38\***) transmitted from him (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 249–250).

**621** See Najafī, p. 761, no. 11 (but with the verse as in the ‘Uthmānic codex) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 423, no. 2, *Biḥār*, VII, p. 194, no. 59, XXIV, pp. 262–263, no. 20. Cf. **322**, **620**.

**622** *Al-sāhira*, when understood as a toponym, is often said to be a place in Syria or a mountain near Jerusalem at which the Resurrection will take place (see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 37–38, Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 200). It does not appear to be identified elsewhere with al-Kūfa or with *al-dhirwa/al-dhurwa al-ḥamrā* (“the red peak”).

*Isnād*: ABŪ ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḤADHDHĀ’ AL-A‘RAJ: Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ayyūb b. ‘Aṭiyya al-Ḥadhdhā’ al-A‘raj, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, I, p. 246; Ardabīlī, I, p. 112, II, p. 397).

**623** *Faṣl*, p. 341, ll. 1–2. This *ḥadīth* may be incomplete: in similar traditions, both the Imāmī reading and the reading of the ‘Uthmānic codex are given, with the Imam pointing out that the latter is the result of *tahrīf* (see **505**, **593**, **605**; cf. **663**). Here the verse is cited only once. Since the difference between the two readings is in this case limited to the vocalization, and since the manuscripts are unvocalized, it cannot be established which reading is being cited. If it is the Imāmī reading, then this is presumably *tuṣaddā* and *tulahhā*, corresponding to what is ascribed to al-Bāqir elsewhere (see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 169; Ibn Jinnī, II, p. 352, with an explanation at pp. 352–353; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 218; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 29 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 285, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 510, no. 6, *Faṣl*, p. 341, ll. 2–3). For the reading *tulahhā* see also Jeffery, p. 176 (Ubayy) (but according to Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 201, Ubayy’s reading was *tulhā*).

**624** *Faṣl*, p. 341, ll. 7–8. The reading *al-mawadda* (here and at **629**) only appears in ms. M. For this reading see Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 62; Kulīnī, I, p. 294, no. 10; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, IV, p. 190 (*fa-ammā man qara’a “al-mawadda” bi-faṭḥ al-mīm wa-l-wāw fa-‘alā anna l-murād al-raḥīm wa-l-qarāba*); Ṭabrisī, XXX, pp. 38, 39 (al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, Ibn ‘Abbās) > Najafī, p. 765, no. 1, *Burhān*, IV, p. 431, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 255, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 514, no. 8; Ṭurayḥī, III, p. 1898 (*wa-‘an al-Ṣādiq: wa-idhā l-mawadda su’ilat, bi-faṭḥ al-mīm wa-l-wāw*). For a defense of the reading *al-mawadda* see *Faṣl*, p. 342, l. 9–p. 343, l. 5. See also the discussion in Bar-Asher, “Readings”, p. 45; idem, *Scripture*, pp. 105, 193, note 295. See **625**, **626**, **629**.

**625** See Najafī, p. 767, no. 10 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 432, no. 13, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 255, no. 6; *Faṣl*, p. 341, ll. 17–18 (probably from Najafī). Cf. Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil*, p. 134, no. 155 (*nazalat fi l-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī*) > *Biḥār*, XLIV, p. 220, no. 13, *Faṣl*, p. 342, ll. 6–8. See **624**, **626**, **629**.

**626** *Faṣl*, p. 341, ll. 8–9. See Najafī, p. 766, no. 4 (from which it was added by the editor of Sulaym [*Kitāb*, p. 470]) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 432, no. 15, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 255, no. 7; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 39; Najafī, p. 766, no. 2 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 431, no. 2, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 255, no. 7; Ṭurayhī, III, p. 1898. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 407 (*man qutila fi mawaddatinā*) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 291, *Burhān*, IV, p. 432, no. 8, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 254, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 515, no. 14; Furāt, II, p. 542, no. 693 > *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 256, no. 10; Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, p. 106. See **71\***, **624**, **625**, **629**.

*Isnād*: ‘ABDALLĀH B. AL-QĀSIM: ‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥaḍramī known as al-Baṭal, a transmitter from al-Kāzim who joined the Wāqifa after the death of the Imam (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 155–157).—ABŪ L-ḤASAN AL-AZDĪ: there are three Kūfan transmitters from al-Ṣādiq of this name: (i) Abū l-Ḥasan/Ḥusayn ‘Amr/‘Umar b. Shaddād al-Azdī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 254, no. 501; Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 261; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 622–623, 635); (ii) Abū l-Ḥasan Miskīn al-Azdī al-Zaydalī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 316, no. 585; Quhpā’ī, VI, p. 88; Ardabīlī, I, p. 229); (iii) Abū l-Ḥasan Thuwayr b. ‘Imāra/‘Ammār al-Azdī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 161, no. 12; Quhpā’ī, p. 304; Ardabīlī, I, p. 142).

**627** *Faṣl*, p. 343, ll. 5–6. For the reading *bi-ḡanīn* see Jeffery, pp. 108, 207, 225, 229, 233, 252, 284 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, Zayd b. Thābit, Ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Ā’isha, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid); Muqātil, III, p. 457; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 353 (the Prophet, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn al-Zubayr); Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 82–83 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr and others); Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 478 (‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-A‘raj [i.e. the Successor Abū Dāwūd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-A‘raj al-Madanī, d. 117/735 or 119/737; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 381, no. 1622] and the Kūfans); Māturīdī, X, p. 438; Ibn Mujāhid, p. 673 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, al-Kisā’ī); Naḥḥās, *I‘rāb*, V, p. 163 (Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, ‘Ā’isha, Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, al-Kisā’ī); Ibn Khālawayh, *Hujja*, p. 336; Samarqandī, III, p. 552 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, al-Kisā’ī); Ḥākīm, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 636, no. 3050 (the Prophet); Tha‘labī, X, pp. 142–143 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Ibn ‘Abbās in the transmission of Sa‘īd b. Jubayr); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 225 (the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ṭabrisī, XXX, p.

43 (Ibn Kathīr, al-Kisāʾī, the Baṣrans except Sahl); Abū l-Futūḥ, XII, p. 10 (Ibn Masʿūd and others); Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 212 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr, al-Kisāʾī, Ruways); Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 426. Cf. Ibn Wahb, *Ĵāmiʿ/ʿUlūm*, pp. 263–264 (fol 10a ll. 1–6), Mufid, *Sarawīyya*, p. 84 > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 75, where both *zanīn* and *ḍanīn* are cited. According to an account in Ibn Abī Dāwūd (p. 118), al-Ḥajjāj changed eleven words (*ḥarf*) in the ʿUthmānic codex (far less than is imputed to him elsewhere; see Introduction, pp. 19–20); one was *zanīn*, which he changed to *ḍanīn*. See **628**.

*Isnād*: There seems to be just one other tradition where Zurāra transmits to his brother Ḥumrān (Ṭūsī, *Istibṣār*, IV, p. 201, no. 755 = idem, *Tahdhīb*, X, p. 5, no. 15; noted in Khūʾī, VIII, p. 452). It is much more common for Zurāra to transmit to a son of Ḥumrān (usually Muḥammad or Ḥamza).

**628** *Faṣl*, p. 343, ll. 6–7. For *zanīn* in the sense of *muttaḥam* (“suspected”) see Ibn Wahb, *Ĵāmiʿ/ʿUlūm*, p. 263 (fol 10a l. 5); Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 82–83; Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 137; Māturīdī, X, p. 438; Mufid, *Sarawīyya*, p. 84 > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 75; Thaʿlabī, X, p. 143; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 43. See **627**.

**629** *Faṣl*, p. 341, ll. 9–10. For this tradition (*isnād*: Maṣṣūr b. Ḥāzim < *rajl* < al-Bāqir) see Najafī, p. 766, no. 5 (but reading *al-mawʿūda*) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 432, no. 16, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 255, no. 8. See also Najafī, p. 766, no. 3, citing Qummī (but it is not found in the printed edition). See **624–626**.

**630** The statement *mā li-llāh nabaʾ aʿẓam minnī* (“God has no tiding mightier than me”) is occasionally cited from ʿAlī on the authority of al-Riḍā; see Qummī, II, p. 401 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 419, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 1, no. 2; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 80 > *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 3, no. 7. In a somewhat different formulation it is also cited from ʿAlī on the authority of al-Bāqir; see *Baṣāʾir*, pp. 76–77, no. 3 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 419, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVI, pp. 1–2, no. 3; Furāt, II, pp. 533–534, nos. 685–686 > Ḥaskānī, II, p. 317, nos. 1072–1073; Kulīnī, I, p. 207, no. 3 > Najafī, p. 757, no. 1, *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 273, *Burhān*, IV, p. 419, no. 1.

**Title** *Infāṭarat* and *inshaqqat* are alternative names for *al-infītār* and *al-inshiqāq* respectively.

**631** *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 8. See Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 51 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 436, no. 2, *Bihār*, VII, p. 95, *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 9 (‘Amr b. Shamir < Jābir < al-Bāqir: *inna l-amr yawma’idhin wa-l-yawm kullahu/kulluhu li-llāh*). Cf. Q 3:154 (*inna l-amr kullahu* [kulluhu in the reading of Abū ‘Amr] *li-llāh*).

**632** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 216, Ṭabarī, XXIII, p. 20, Ṭabrisī, XXIII, p. 33 (all to Q 36:56) (*al-arā’ik al-surur ‘alayhā l-ḥijāl*). In ms. B the final word is written in a larger script, has a *shadda* above the *jīm*, and is followed by “bn”. The scribe evidently took *al-ḥ-j-a-l* to be the beginning of the next tradition, with a (non-existent) “al-Ḥajjāl b. Dh-r-‘a” as its transmitter.

*Isnād*: ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SĀLIM: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sālim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ashall al-‘Aṭṭār, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 79; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 450–451).

**633** Cf. Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 69, where *ṭabaqan ‘an ṭabaq* is glossed as *amran ba‘da amr*; thus also al-Ḥasan (i.e. al-Baṣrī) (Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 279). The Qur’ānic verb may be *la-tarkabanna* (since *al-rajul* is a noun in the singular) or *la-tarkabunna* (since the definite article in *al-rajul* indicates the genus [*li-ta’rif al-jins*; cf. Wright, II, p. 318, note]). The latter is attested in the ‘Uthmānic codex. For *la-tarkabanna* see Ibn Mujāhid, p. 677 (Ibn Kathīr, Ḥamza and al-Kisā’ī); Naḥḥās, *I’rāb*, V, p. 188 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Mas‘ūd, al-Sha‘bī, Mujāhid, al-A‘mash, Ḥamza, al-Kisā’ī); Ahwāzī, *Ibn Muḥayṣin*, p. 384; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 69 (Ibn ‘Abbās); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, V, p. 459 (Ibn Kathīr, Ḥamza, al-Kisā’ī and others); Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 278 (Abū ‘Amr, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, Abū l-‘Āliya, Masrūq [i.e. Abū ‘Ā’isha Masrūq b. al-Ajda‘ al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī, a disciple of Ibn Mas‘ūd, d. 63/682–683; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, p. 294, no. 3591], Abū Wā’il [i.e. Abū Wā’il Shaqīq b. Salama al-Kūfī al-Asadī, d. 82/701; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, p. 328, no. 1429], Mujāhid, al-Nakha’ī, al-Sha‘bī, Ibn Kathīr, Ḥamza, al-Kisā’ī). See **634**.

*Isnād*: ZUR‘A: Abū Muḥammad Zur‘a b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm who joined the Wāqifa after al-Kāzīm’s death. Zur‘a accompanied Sam‘a b. Mihrān (for whom see **78\***) and succeeded him as *imām* of the mosque of the Ḥaḍarima in Kūfa (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 147; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 403).

**634** This may be an allusion to those who switched their allegiance from ‘Alī to the first three caliphs “and then thought that this is as it ought to be” (*fa-yarā annahu ka-dhālika*). Thus, in a gloss on Q 84:19 al-Bāqir is said to have told his disciple Zurāra: “After their Prophet died,



did not this community journey on from stage to stage concerning the matter of so-and-so, so-and-so and so-and-so?" (*a-wa-lam tarkab hādhihi l-umma ba'da nabiyyihā ṭabaqan 'an ṭabaq fī amr fulān wa-fulān wa-fulān?*) (see Qummī, II, p. 413 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 306, *Burhān*, IV, p. 444, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXVIII, p. 9, no. 13; Kulīnī, I, p. 415, no. 17 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 306, *Burhān*, IV, p. 444, no. 7, *Bihār* XXIV, p. 350, no. 64, XXXI, p. 609, no. 70, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 539, no. 21). See **633**.

**635** According to one interpretation of Q 83:29–36, the believers are 'Alī and his followers (see Ḥaskānī, II, p. 328, no. 1085; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 61; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 233 > *Bihār*, XXXIX, p. 224, no. 1).

**636** *Faṣl*, p. 343, ll. 10–11, 13. As can be seen from the apparatus to this and the following tradition, there are several possible readings of Q 85:4: (i) *binā qutīla aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* ("the people of the trench were killed because of us"). Here the *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* are presumably the enemies of the believers (i.e. of the Shī'īs), who were punished for their cruelty towards them (for *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* as unbelievers see e.g. Qurṭubī, XIX, p. 294, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd" [R. Paret]; in general *EQ*, art. "People of the Ditch" [R. Tottoli]; *DC*, art. "Gens d'Ukhdūd" [Geneviève Gobillot]). (ii) *bimā qutīla aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* ("why [or how] were the people of the trench killed?"). The *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* here could be either the evildoers or the believers. (iii) *bimā qatala aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* ("why [or how] did the people of the trench kill?"). (iv) *qatala aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*. Support for this *qirā'a* is found in a tradition according to which a man recited Q 85:4 in the version of the 'Uthmānic codex (*qutīla aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*) but was corrected by al-Ṣādiq, who recited: *q-t-l aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* (Rāwandī, *Qiṣas*, p. 247, no. 291 > *Bihār*, XIV, p. 439, no. 2). Al-Majlisī suggests that the Imam's reading was *qatala*, and that the *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* are the unbelievers (*Bihār*, XIV, p. 440 [*bayān*]). According to Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 66, the reading of the Imam was *q-t-l* (presumably *qatala*) *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*; in the version of Sa'd cited in *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 14, the reading is *bi-mā q-t-l aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*. For the reading *al-ukhdūd* see **637**\*. *Illā annahum āmanū* does not appear to be recorded elsewhere; it resembles the reading *illā an āmanū*, for which see Jeffery, p. 176 (Ubayy); Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 64 > *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 15 (al-Ṣādiq). See **637**, **638**.

*Isnād*: 'ĀṢIM AL-QUMMĪ: unidentified. Perhaps the correct form of the *nisba* is al-Ḍabbī; the reference would then be to 'Āṣim b. Sulaymān

al-Kūzī/al-Ḍabbī, a Baṣran transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 211–212).

**637** *Faṣl*, p. 343, ll. 11–12. The reading *al-khudūd* (sing. *khadd*, a synonym of *ukhdūd*, see Lane, s.v.) attested in ms. B is in fact ascribed to al-Ṣādiq (Jeffery, p. 337). See **636**, **638**.

**638** *Faṣl*, p. 343, ll. 15–16. See **636**, **637**.

*Isnād*: for Khalaf b. Ḥammād < Hārūn b. Khārijja see **620**.

**639** *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 16. That the reading here is *wa-l-samāʿu* is indicated in ms. T, where a *ḍamma* is written above the final *hamza*. The Imam's name is omitted from the manuscripts, but he may well be al-Ṣādiq, since this reading is ascribed to him elsewhere (see Jeffery, p. 337; according to Jeffery, this is also the reading of Ibn Qays and Abū Ḥaṣīn [i.e. Abū Ḥaṣīn ʿUthmān b. ʿĀṣim al-Asadī al-Kūfī, d. 127/744–745 or 132/749–750; see Ibn al-Jazarī, I, pp. 505–506, no. 2094]). As noted by Jeffery, the reading *wa-l-samāʿu* entails maintaining the *rafʿ* throughout Q 86:11–12. This reading presumably means that the text does not comprise an oath. Translation: “The heaven of the returning rain and the earth splitting with verdure ([witness that] this [Qurʿān] is a conclusive word)”. See **640**, **641**.

**640** *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 17. See **639**, **641**.

**641** It is not clear whether the reading intended here is the same as at **639** (and **640**). For the tradition cf. Qummī, II, p. 416 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 314, *Burhān*, IV, p. 449, no. 3. The interpretation of *rajʿ* as rain (*maṭar*) is said to have been adopted by most exegetes (see Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 84; Qurṭubī, XX, p. 10).

**642** This reading is ascribed to Ubayy (see Jeffery, p. 177).

**643** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 180, no. 4434. See Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 85 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 318. Cf. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, p. 722 (the Prophet tells the believers to say *subḥāna rabbī l-aʿlā* after reciting Q 87:1); ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 367 (after reciting Q 87:1 Ibn ʿAbbās would say: *subḥāna rabbī l-aʿlā*); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, I, p. 233, no. 883; Qummī, II, p. 416; Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 151 (after reciting Q 87:1 the Prophet, ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn ʿUmar would say: *subḥāna rabbī l-aʿlā*); Naḥḥās, *Iṣṭab*, V, p. 204; Ibn Shuʿba,

*Tuhaf*, p. 84; Tha'labī, X, p. 183; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 85 > *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 182, no. 4440; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, p. 499. For *sabbīhi 'sma rabbika* Ubayy read *subhāna rabbī* (Jeffery, p. 177, Qurṭubī, XX, p. 14), as did 'Alī, Ibn 'Umar and Ibn al-Zubayr (Jeffery, pp. 191, 229). Cf. **614**.\*

**644** *Faṣl*, p. 343, ll. 19–21. This reading is ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd, but for Q 56:16 (see Ṭabarī, XXVII, p. 173 > Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 219). Cf. the reading *muttaki'īn fihā nā'imīn* which is recorded (for Q 88:16) on the authority of Ṭalḥa, al-Rabī b. Khuthaym (see Jeffery, pp. 266, 311) and the Kūfan Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir (d. 133/750–751; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, pp. 314–315, no. 3662; for his reading see Qurṭubī, XX, p. 34; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 574, citing Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Maṣāḥif*). The reading *muttaki'īn fihā nā'imīn fihā* is ascribed to Sa'īd b. Jubayr (see Jeffery, p. 252; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 574). See **645**.

*Isnād*: 'ABDALLĀH AL-KĀHILĪ: Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kāhili, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, pp. 143, 155; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 162–163).

**645** *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 21. See **644**.

**646** A different Shī'ī reading of this verse is *wa-'Aliyyan ḥisābuhum* (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 107; reproduced as *wa-'alaynā ḥisābuhum* in *Bihār*, XXXV, p. 59, no. 12). Sunnī exegetes take this final verse of Sūra 88 to mean that on the Day of Resurrection the unbelievers will return to God to be judged by Him (see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 167; Qurṭubī, XX, p. 38); and this is also the position of some Imāmī exegetes (e.g. Ṭūsī, X, p. 339; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 98). Other Imāmīs, in contrast, maintain that it is the Imams (according to **646**, the *ahl al-bayt*) who will act as judges, but they differ as to whom the Imams will judge: according to some, it will be all of mankind (*al-khalq*) (see **647**; Furāt, II, pp. 551–552, no. 706; Kulīnī, VIII, p. 162, no. 167 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 323, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 568, no. 30; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn*, II, p. 279 > *Bihār*, CII, p. 129, no. 4 [*inna ilaynā iyāb hādihā l-khalq wa-'alaynā ḥisābuhum*]; Najafī, pp. 789–792, nos. 8–11, emphasizing 'Alī's role as determining the fate of every person [*qasīm al-janna wa-l-nār*]); according to others, it will be the Shī'īs (see Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, pp. 788–789, nos. 4–7).

**647** See **646**.

**648** *Faṣl*, p. 343, l. 22–p. 344, l. 1. For *ilā Muḥammad wa-ahl baytihi* see Kulīnī, III, pp. 127–128, no. 2 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 328, *Burhān*, IV, pp. 460–461, no. 2, *Bihār*, VI, p. 196, no. 49, LXI, p. 48, no. 24, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 577, no. 28, *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 6–10; the reading *ghayr mamnūʿa* (“unhindered”; cf. Q 56:33) does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. For further readings of Q 89:27–30 see Furāt, II, pp. 553–554, no. 708 > *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 1–4; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḍāʾil*, p. 74 > Najafī, pp. 796–797, no. 9, *Burhān*, IV, p. 461, no. 10, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 94, no. 7.

**649** *Khuliqa* (for *khalāqnā*) attested in mss. L, T and B is not recorded elsewhere and may be a scribal error (brought about perhaps by *khuliqa l-insān* at Q 4:28, 21:37). *Kābad* is usually taken to mean “distress” (see *WKAS*, I, p. 18b), but is also glossed as *istiḳāma* (in addition to *KQ* see e.g. Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 118, Qurṭubī, XX, p. 62) or *intiṣāb* (both meaning “straightness”) (see Barqī, II, p. 304, no. 14 > *Bihār*, LX, p. 342, no. 23; Qummī, II, p. 422 > *Bihār*, IX, p. 251, no. 157; Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 197; Māturīdī, X, p. 531; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, p. 495, no. 1; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 254). It does not appear to be explained elsewhere as *ṭul* (“length, height”).

*Isnād*: Since al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā transmitted only from his grandfather al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid (see **29\***), *al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā ʿan ʿAlī* is in all likelihood an error. In contrast, the *isnād* al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad < ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza < Abū Baṣīr is widely attested (see e.g. Kulīnī, I, p. 178, no. 6, III, p. 303, no. 9, p. 340, no. 11). The text has been emended accordingly.

**650** *Mustadrak*, VII, pp. 247–248, no. 8162, XVI, p. 246, no. 19750. For this tradition see Kulīnī, IV, p. 4, no. 10 (ending) (Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Yazīd < Abū l-Ḥasan al-Riḍā) > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, IV/1, p. 261, no. 12281, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 582, no. 19. Cf. Barqī, II, p. 389, no. 20; Kulīnī, IV, p. 52, no. 12 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 331. Cf. **651**.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. YAZĪD: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Yazīd Bayyāʿ al-Sāburī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā (Quhpāʾī, VI, pp. 12–13; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 164–165).

**651** Najafī, p. 799, no. 6. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 465, no. 9, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 281, no. 3 (both from Najafī). Cf. Qummī, II, p. 422 (*al-ʿaqaba al-aʾimma man ṣaʿidah fakka raqabatahu min al-nār*); Furāt, II, p. 558, no. 714; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, II, p. 155 (*fakk raqabatihī yaʿnī walāyat amīr al-muʾminīn fa-inna dhālika fakk raqabatihī*). Cf. Kulīnī, I, p. 422, no. 49

(*fakk raqaba* glossed as *walāyat amīr al-mu'minīn*), pp. 430–431, no. 88. For the twin concepts of *walāya* and *barā'a* (allegiance to the Imams and dissociation from their enemies) see Kohlberg, “Barā'a”, pp. 145–151. Cf. **650**.

*Isnād*: for the *isnād* Muḥammad b. 'Umar < Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī < al-Ṣādiq (in Najafī) see also **654**.

**652** *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 12–13. For this reading see Jeffery, p. 178 (Ubayy); idem, “Zaid b. 'Alī”, p. 235 (Zayd); Ibn Mujāhid, p. 689, Samarqandī, III, p. 586, Dānī, p. 223, Qurṭubī, XX, p. 80 (Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir); Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 216 (*'ammāt qurrā' al-Ḥijāz wa-l-Shām ... wa-kadhālika dhālika fī maṣāḥifihim*); Tha'labī, X, p. 215 (*ahl al-Ḥijāz wa-l-Shām wa-ka-dhālika huwa fī maṣāḥifihim*); Naḥḥās, *Irāb*, V, pp. 239–240 (*ahl al-Ḥijāz*); Ibn Khālawayh, *Ḥujja*, pp. 344–345; Dānī, *Muḡni'*, pp. 108 (*maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-l-Shām*), 109; Ibn 'Aṭiyya, V, p. 489 (Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, al-A'raj, *ahl al-Ḥijāz*, Ubayy, the codices of *ahl al-Madīna wa-l-Shām*); Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 124 (*ahl al-Madīna*, Ibn 'Āmir, *maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-l-Shām*) > *Ṣāfi*, V, pp. 334–335; Abū l-Futūḥ, XII, p. 102 (the Medinese and Ibn 'Āmir); Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 273 (Abū Ja'far, Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, *maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-l-Shām*); 'Ukbarī, p. 541 (*wa-qur'ā fi-l-fā' alā annahā li-l-'aṭf min ḡhayr muḥla*, i.e. there is an uninterrupted connection between two events, cf. Wright, I, pp. 290–291, Lane, s.v. [the letter] *fā'*, p. 2321b); Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 476 (Ubayy, al-A'raj, Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir); Cook, “Codex”, pp. 96, 103; idem, “Stemma”, p. 93. See **653**. *Fa-lā* of *muṣḥaf al-Madīna* vs. *wa-lā* of *muṣḥaf al-Baṣra* is one of the differences between the two codices noted by al-Ruhnī (*Muqaddimāt 'ilm al-qur'ān* > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd*, p. 280; cf. Farrā', III, pp. 269–270, whence Beck, “Kodizesvarianten”, p. 362; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 157, no. 717; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47; **140\***, **499\***).

**653** *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 13–14. See **652**.

*Isnād*: ṢALT B. AL-ḤAJJĀJ: al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ṣayrafī al-Kūfī, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā'ī, III, p. 222; Ardabīlī, I, p. 417).

**654** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 220, no. 4539. For al-Ṣādiq at al-Qādisiyya see also **682**. Sūrat al-shams (comprising 15 verses) is said to have been revealed immediately before Sūrat al-burūj (comprising 22 verses). See Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 33–34, no. 17 ('Umar b. Hārūn < 'Uthmān b. 'Aṭā' < his father [i.e. 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī] < Ibn 'Abbās); Ibn al-Nadīm,

*Fihrist*, p. 28 (citing Mujāhid); Ṭabrisī, XXIX, p. 139 (to Q 76:1–10); Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ*, pp. 129, 130; Zarkashī, I, p. 193. There are several views on the relationship between the portions of the Qurʾān to be recited in the first and the second *rakʿas* (prayer units): (i) The implication of Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī's question is that the portion of the Qurʾān recited in the first *rakʿa* should be longer than the portion recited in the second *rakʿa*. This view was upheld by various Sunnī scholars (see Ṭūsī, *Khilāf*, I, p. 338) and was endorsed by some Imāmīs (see e.g. al-Shahīd al-Awwal, *Dhikrā*, III, p. 343 [*istihbāb taṭwīl qirāʾat al-rakʿa al-ūlā ʾalā l-thāniya*]). The Imāmī position as laid out by al-Ṭūsī is that the portion of the Qurʾān recited in each of the two *rakʿas* may be of equal length (*yajūz an yusawwā bayna l-rakʿatayn fī miqdār al-sūratayn allatayn tuqraʾān fihimā baʿda l-ḥamd*) (Ṭūsī, *Khilāf*, I, pp. 338–339). (ii) Al-Shahīd al-Awwal refers to the principle that a Sūra that is closer to the beginning of the *muṣḥaf* is to be recited before one that is farther from the beginning. He maintains that although such a principle is unknown to Imāmī scholars, it seems to be supported by traditions listing the Sūras which should be read out in each *rakʿa* (*wa-ammā kawna al-sūra al-thāniya baʿda l-ūlā ʾalā tartīb al-muṣḥaf fa-lā taʾrifuhu l-aṣḥāb fa-lā yukrahu ʾindahum al-taqdīm wa-l-taʾkhīr, naʿam al-riwāyāt al-mutaḍammīna li-l-taʾyīn ghālibuhā ʾalā tartīb al-qurʾān*) (*Dhikrā*, III, p. 344). (iii) The position upheld by the Imam in his reply to Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī is that Sūras which were revealed earlier are to be recited before those which were revealed later. This only tallies with the principle referred to by al-Shahīd al-Awwal if it is assumed that the Imam was referring to the original arrangement of the Qurʾān and that he upheld the doctrine that this arrangement followed a chronological order (cf. 96\*).

*Isnād*: See 651\*.—IBRĀHĪM B. NAṢR: Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr b. al-Qaʿqāʾ al-Juʿfī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (Quhpāʾī, I, p. 76; Ardabīlī, I, p. 36).

**655** For the reading *allāhu khāliq al-dhakari* see Jeffery, p. 354 (Ubayy, Ibn Qays, Abū Mijlaz). See 656, 659.

*Isnād*: AL-AḤWAL: the reference is probably to Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān b. Abī Ṭurayfa al-Bajalī al-Ṣayrafi al-Aḥwal known as Shayṭān (or Muʿmin) al-Ṭāq, a prominent *mutakallim* and a transmitter from Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (van Ess, *TG*, I, pp. 336–342 and index; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 338–339).—SINĀN B. SINĀN: Sinān b. Sinān mawlā Quraysh Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Shaybānī al-Azraq

Bayyā' al-Ṭa'ām, a transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Ardabīlī, I, p. 388; see the discussion in Khū'ī, IX, pp. 323–325, no. 5575).

**656** *Faṣl*, p. 344, l. 17. See **655**, **659**.

**657** *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 19–20. See Najafī, p. 808, no. 3 (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī < Yūnus b. Ḍabyān [read: Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān?] < 'Alī b. Abī Ḥamza < Fayḍ b. Mukhtār < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 471, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 398, no. 122; **426\***, **658**. Cf. Furāt > *Faṣl*, p. 345, ll. 6–7, where *inna 'alaynā la-l-hudā* is followed by *inna 'Aliyyan al-hudā*, which al-Nūrī takes to be a reading (in the printed edition of Furāt, at II, p. 567, no. 727 the text reads: *inna 'Aliyyan hādihā* [sic] *al-hudā*); Shādhān, *Faḍā'il* > *Faṣl*, p. 139, l. 18 (*inna 'Aliyyan la-l-hudā*) (the printed edition of Shādhān, p. 172 [in the chapter on 'Alī's names] has the version of the 'Uthmānic codex). Cf. also **659**.

**658** *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 20–21. See **657**.

**659** *Faṣl*, p. 344, ll. 17–19. See Najafī, p. 808, no. 4 (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. Ūrama < al-Rabī' b. Bakr [read: b. Zakariyyā] < Yūnus b. Ḍabyān < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 471, no. 5, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 398–399, no. 123; Najafī, pp. 808–809, no. 5 > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 399, no. 124. Cf. Q 53:45 (*wa-annahu khalaqa l-zawjain al-dhakar wa-l-unthā*). It is not clear whether *wa-li-'Alī al-ākhira wa-l-ūlā* is a continuation of Q 92:3 or a Shi'ī reading of Q 92:13 (cf. **657**). See **655\***, **656**.

*Isnād*: AL-RABī' B. ZAKARIYYĀ: al-Rabī' b. Zakariyyā al-Warrāq, a Kūfan author of a *kitāb* which was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ūrama (for whom see **155\***); he was accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpā'ī, III, pp. 8–9; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 316–317).

**660** *Mustadrak*, VII, p. 280, no. 8222. See Najafī, p. 809, no. 7 (possibly citing *KQ* via Ibn al-Juhām) > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 471–472, no. 6, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 46–47, no. 19. For *al-ḥusnā* (at Q 92:6, 92:9) glossed as *al-walāya* see Qummī, II, p. 426 > *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 44, no. 8; cf. Furāt, II, pp. 567–568, nos. 727–728. For *lā yurīdu shay'an* etc. cf. Kulīnī, IV, pp. 46–47, no. 5, Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, p. 109, no. 316. For *al-ashqā* glossed as *fulān* see Qummī > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 338, *Burhān*, IV, p. 470, no. 1, *Bihār*, VIII, p. 314, no. 87, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 592, no. 16. In the printed edition of Qummī (at II, p. 426) the word *fulān* has been suppressed. Al-Majlisī (*Bihār*, VIII, p. 314) identifies him as *al-thāmī*, i.e. 'Umar; but judging by



the version in *KQ* the reference is to Abū Bakr. The reading *yazzakkā* (Q 92:18) given in ms. M is ascribed to al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Ibn Khālawayh, p. 174, where the name is given incorrectly; see for him Ibn Sa‘d, *Mutammim*, p. 385; ‘Ubaydalī, *Tahdhīb*, p. 62; Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 166, no. 3 [for “al-Ḥusayn” read “al-Ḥasan”] > Quhpā‘ī, II, p. 126). For ‘Alī as the one who gave *zakāt* while bowing down in prayer (Q 5:55) see e.g. Ṭabarī, VI, pp. 288–289; Nu‘mān, *Ikhtilāf*, p. 97; Samarqandī, I, p. 400; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn*, I, p. 44; Mufīd, *Ukbariyya*, pp. 48–49; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 624; Qurṭubī, VI, pp. 221, 222; in general *Bihār*, XXXV, pp. 183–206 (*bāb nuzūl āyat innamā waliyyukum allāh fī sha’nihi ‘alayhi l-salām*); see further Lalani, *Thought*, pp. 58–60. According to al-Ḥillī (*Nahj*, p. 172), there is a consensus that Q 5:55 was revealed concerning ‘Alī who, during prayer, gave his ring to a needy person.

**661** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 163, no. 4382. Sūra 94 is known by a number of names, including *al-sharḥ*, *a-lam nashraḥ* (as in the title of this chapter) and *a-lam nashraḥ laka* (as in this tradition, according to mss. M, L and T); see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 553. For the view that Sūras 93 and 94 should be regarded as a single Sūra see Riḍā, *Fiqh*, p. 112 > *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 164, no. 4384; Ibn Bābawayh, *I’tiqādāt*, p. 98 = Fyze, p. 85; idem, *Amālī*, p. 573 > *Bihār*, X, p. 395; Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, p. 44; Ṭūsī, X, pp. 371, 412–413; idem, *Istibṣār*, I, pp. 317–318, nos. 4, 5; Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 160 (in the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd these were regarded as one Sūra); Rāzī, XXXII, p. 3 > Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, I, p. 228; al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, pp. 743–745, nos. 7328–7337; Modarressī, “Debates”, p. 30. For the view that these two Sūras (as also Sūras 105 and 106) should be combined in one *rak‘a* during the prescribed prayers see Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 573 > *Bihār*, X, p. 395; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqīh*, I, p. 200, no. 922; Ṭabrisī, XXX, pp. 140–141, 197 (from ‘Ayyāshī) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 345, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 593, no. 3; Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā’ir*, I, p. 220; al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 744, no. 7332 (from ‘Ayyāshī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bazanṭī, *al-Jāmi‘*). Cf. **699, 700**.

*Isnād*: the two *isnāds* cited here appear separately at **699, 700** (except that Abū l-‘Abbās is replaced by Shajara Akhū Bashīr al-Nabbāl).

**662** Cf. Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 136 (from Ibn ‘Abbās) > *Bihār*, XVI, p. 136; Rubin, *Beholder*, pp. 116–120, 250–252 and the sources cited therein.

**663** *Faṣl*, p. 345, ll. 12–16. This is the only example in *KQ* of a Bedouin, rather than an Imam, pointing out the correct reading of a Qurʾānic verse. Translation of *innī la-anfasu bi-mithlika* etc.: “I would not wish to see someone with your eloquence and intelligence who does not master anything of God’s book”. A part of the reading cited in *KQ* is cited and discussed by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, who states: “There is a reading of this verse with *rafʿ*: *a-lam yaʿjidka yaʾīm fa-a-w-y wa-waʿjadaka ḍāll fa-h-d-y*, meaning that the orphan found him (i.e. the Prophet) and so did the erring (person)” (*Tanzīh*, p. 106 > *Bihār*, XVII, p. 92). Al-Murtaḍā adduces several reasons for rejecting this reading: it is little known (*ghayr maʾrūfā*); it is (stylistically) ugly; it distorts the original meaning of the verse. He does not say how the verbs in this *qirʾa* are vocalized. The clue is to be found in the reading *wa-waʿjadaka ḍāll fa-h-d-y* ascribed to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (ʿIyāḍ, *Shifāʾ*, II, pp. 95–96; al-Māwardī [VI, p. 294] and al-Qurṭubī [XX, p. 99] only mention “al-Ḥasan”). Al-Māwardī, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and al-Qurṭubī all take the verb to mean *ihtadā bika*, thus indicating that the reading in question is *fa-hudiya*. It follows that the other two verbs are to be vocalized accordingly, yielding the following: “Did not an orphan find you and betake himself (to you) for refuge (*fa-awāʾ*)? did not an erring (person) find you and become guided (by you) (*fa-hudiya*)? did not a destitute person find you and become rich (through you) (*fa-ughniya*)?”. The text of *KQ* has been vocalized accordingly. The readings *ḍāll* and *fa-hudiya* are noted by Andrae (*Muhammed*, p. 135), who is cited by Goldziher (*Richtungen*, pp. 284–285) and, via Goldziher, by Birkeland (p. 31); see further the discussion in Rubin, *Beholder*, p. 92. For Q 93:6–8 see in general Birkeland, pp. 23–33; Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 513; Rubin, *Beholder*, pp. 90–96, 117, 177, 200, 229; Saleh, *Formation*, pp. 137–139, 142–143. Cf. **623**.\*

*Isnād*: SAʿĪD B. SAMURA B. JUNDAB/JUNDUB: Saʿīd/Saʿd b. Samura b. Jundab/Jundub al-Fazārī, a son of the Companion Samura b. Jundab (d. 59/679) (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, II/2, p. 57, no. 1950; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taʾjīl*, p. 148).

**664** *Faṣl*, p. 345, ll. 17–18. For the reading *fa-lā takhar* (“do not scold”) see Jeffery, pp. 110, 311 (Ibn Masʿūd, al-Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym); ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 379 (*qāla Maʿmar fī baʿḍ al-ḥurūf*); Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 61; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 175, idem, *Iʿrāb*, p. 122, Samarqandī, III, p. 664 (Ibn Masʿūd); Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 233, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, X, p. 3444, no. 19379, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 612 (the codex of Ibn Masʿūd); Thaʿlabī,

X, p. 229, Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 134 (al-Nakhaʿī, al-Shaʿbī, the codex of Ibn Masʿūd); Abū l-Futūḥ, XII, p. 115 (al-Nakhaʿī, al-Shaʿbī); Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 482 (Ibn Masʿūd, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī [in the edition, erroneously, “al-Taymī”]); Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 513; *WKAS*, I, p. 405b.

**665** Najafī, p. 812, no. 4. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 475, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 135, no. 91 (both from Najafī). The manuscripts are unvocalized, but the reading being cited is probably *fa-ʾnṣib* (“raise”). This reading is ascribed to al-Bāqir (Nuʿmān, *Sharḥ*, I, p. 245, no. 270), to Zayd b. ʿAlī (Jeffery, “Zaid”, p. 286) and to al-Šādiq (Jeffery, p. 337; Abū Ḥātim, *Ẓīna*, III, p. 258 > Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 23; cf. *Šāfi*, V, p. 344), and is mentioned by several Sunnī scholars. The Andalusian author Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148), for example, attributes it to one or more innovators (*wa-min al-mubtadiʿa*; see Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām*, IV, p. 1949 > Qurṭubī, XX, p. 109). His fellow Andalusian, Ibn ʿAṭīyya (d. 546/1151), maintains that it is a Shīʿī reading and renders the Shīʿī interpretation of Q 94:7 as: “when you have completed the matter of the prophethood, raise a successor” (*idhā faraghta min amr al-nubuwwa fa-ʾnṣib khalīfa*; cf. **666**). He dismisses this as an irregular/anomalous reading not supported by any scholar (Ibn ʿAṭīyya, V, p. 498 > Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 484). Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), too, identifies *fa-ʾnṣib* as a Shīʿī reading and regards it as a reprehensible innovation (*wa-min al-bidaʿ mā ruwiya ʿan baʿḍ al-rāfiḍa annahu qaraʾa fa-ʾnṣib bi-kasr al-šād*; see Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 267 > *Šāfi*, V, p. 345). Al-Majlisī sees in this reference to a Shīʿī *bidʿa* an example of al-Zamakhsharī’s anti-Shīʿī bias; he does not deny, however, that the Shīʿī reading might indeed be *inṣib*. At the same time he suggests that there is no need to postulate such a *qirāʾa*: the canonical *inṣab* could also mean “raise” (rather than “exert yourself”). Anticipating an objection that such a meaning is not attested in the lexica, al-Majlisī states that these books do not include every dialectal variation (*fā-inna kutub al-lughā lam tashtamil ʿalā jamīʿ al-lughāt*) (see *Bihār*, XXXVI, pp. 135–136). For another Imāmī criticism of al-Zamakhsharī’s statement see Jazāʾirī, *Nūr*, p. 66. Some Imāmī traditions interpret Q 94:7 as referring to Ghadīr Khumm and explain the verb *inṣib/inṣab* as meaning “to raise”, but without discussing how it should be vocalized (see e.g. Kulīnī, I, p. 294, no. 10; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 23). “*Min ḥajjika*” (or “*min nubuwatika*” at **666**) may be either a *qirāʾa* or an exegetical gloss. Cf. **666–668**.

**666** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 429 (*fa-idhā faraghta min nubuwwatika fa-’nṣib/fa-’nṣab ‘Aliyyan*) > Ṣāfi, V, p. 344, *Burhān*, IV, p. 475, no. 12, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 134, no. 87, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 605, no. 15; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, pp. 811–812, no. 1 > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 474–475, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 135, no. 91 (*fa-idhā faraghta min nubuwwatika fa-’nṣib/fa-’nṣab ‘Aliyyan*; in *Bihār*: + *waṣiyyan*); **665\***, **667**, **668**.

**667** The reading *fa-’nṣabba* (lit. “pour forth” or “descend”) does not appear to be recorded in other Shīʿī texts. It was, however, known to Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, who dismisses it as that of one (or several) ignoramuses (*wa-qara’ahā ba’d al-juhhāl fa-’nṣabba bi-tashdīd al-bā’*) (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām*, IV, p. 1949 > Qurṭubī, XX, p. 109). According to him, *fa-’nṣabba* here means “hasten (to return) to your place” (*fa-jidda* [Qurṭubī: + *fī l-rujū’*] *ilā baladika*). Ibn ʿAṭiyya (V, pp. 497–498) and Abū Ḥayyān (VIII, p. 484) attribute this *qirā’a* to an unidentified group (*qawm*). Ibn Khālawayh (p. 175) ascribes the reading *f-a-n-ṣ-b* (presumably *fa-’nṣabba*, though the verb is not vocalized) to al-Ṣādiq and explains it as “*fa-’rjī’ ilā l-Madīna*”. The connection between this verse and the Tabūk expedition (for which cf. **217\***) appears to be made only in *KQ*. Cf. **665**, **666**, **668**.

**668** *Faṣl*, p. 345, ll. 22–23, Najafī, p. 812, no. 5. For the reading *fa-’nṣib/fa-’nṣab ‘Aliyyan li-l-walāya* see Furāt, II, p. 573, no. 735 > *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 134, no. 89; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 23 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 475, no. 7, *Bihār*, XXXVI, p. 134, no. 90 (*fa-idhā faraghta min dunyāka* [*Burhān*: *dīnika*] *fa-’nṣib/fa-’nṣab ‘Aliyyan li-l-walāya*). Cf. Ḥaskānī, II, p. 349, nos. 1116–1117, 1119 (where *fa-’nṣib/fa-’nṣab* is glossed as *inṣib/inṣab ‘Aliyyan li-l-walāya*); Manṣūr, *ʿIqd*, p. 316, citing the *Nawādir al-ḥikma* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī. Cf. **665**–**667**.

*Isnād*: ʿALĪ B. AL-ṢALT: the author of a *kitāb* which was transmitted by Muḥammad al-Barqī (Quhpāʾī, IV, p. 202; Ardabīlī, I, p. 587).

**669** *Faṣl*, p. 345, ll. 18–20. This reading presumably replaces two verses of the ʿUthmānic codex (Q 94:5–6). The statement *lam yakun ʿusr wāḥid yaghlibu yusrayn* (“one hardship never vanquishes two [instances of] ease”), which is here attributed to al-Ṣādiq, is reminiscent of the pronouncement *lā yaghlibu/lan yaghliba ʿusr yusrayn* which is ascribed to a number of authorities: (i) the Prophet (e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 380; Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 235, 236 > Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, p. 525; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, V, p. 497; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 143 > Ṣāfi, V, p. 344; Maghen,

*Hardship*, p. 53); (ii) Ibn ‘Abbās (Farrā’, III, p. 275, Ibn Khālawayh, *Iṣṭab*, p. 127 [*lā yaghlibu yusrayn ‘usr wāḥid*]); Furāt, II, pp. 574–575, no. 739 [*wā-lā yaghlibu ‘usr wāḥid yusrayn*]; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mutashābih*, II, p. 143); (iii) Ibn Mas‘ūd (e.g. *Lisān*, s.v. ‘*sr*’); (iv) certain unnamed authorities (e.g. Ibn Abī Hātim, X, p. 3446, no. 19396; Samarqandī, III, p. 594; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, p. 525 [*lā yaghlibu ‘usr wāḥid ‘usrayn ithnayn*]). See in general Saleh, *Formation*, pp. 134–137; Maghen, *Hardship*, p. 53. This pronunciation is also included in a letter which the caliph ‘Umar reportedly wrote to Abū ‘Ubayda when the latter was besieged by the Byzantines (Ṭabarī, IV, p. 221 > Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, I, p. 447 [to Q 3:200]; Zamakhsharī, *Fā’iq*, III, p. 421; *Lisān*, s.v. ‘*sr*’). Translation of the last sentence: “The first *yusr* consists in your having (sustenance); the second *yusr* consists in your having someone to provide you (with sustenance)”.

**Title** *Lam yakun* is an alternative name for *al-bayyina*.

**670** *Faṣl*, p. 346, ll. 12–13. For the reading *Saynā’* (or *Sīnā’*) see *GdQ*, III, p. 76 (Ibn Mas‘ūd); Jeffery pp. 110, 222, 267, 312, 354 (Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Umar, Ṭalḥa, al-Rabī’ b. Khuthaym, ‘Alī); idem, “Zaid”, p. 286 (Zayd b. ‘Alī); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 176, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 620, al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, pp. 591–592, no. 4805 (‘Umar, Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ibn Khālawayh, *Iṣṭab*, p. 128, Tha’labī, X, p. 239 (‘Umar); Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, V, p. 499, Abū Hayyān, VIII, p. 486 (‘Umar, Ṭalḥa, al-Ḥasan, Ibn Mas‘ūd); Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 146 (‘Umar, al-Kāẓim) > Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 606, no. 3; Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 288 (‘Alī, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū l-‘Āliya and Abū Mijlāz read *Saynā’*; Ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū l-Dardā’ and Abū Ḥaywa read *Sīnā’*). The Imam Abū l-Ḥasan (i.e. Mūsā al-Kāẓim or ‘Alī al-Riḍā) is said to have insisted that the correct reading at Q 95:2 is *Ṭūr Saynā’/Sīnā’*, not *Ṭūr Sīnān* (see Furāt, II, pp. 577–578, no. 742 [> *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 107–108, no. 16], p. 578, no. 743 [al-Kāẓim], p. 579, no. 745 [al-Kāẓim]; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 814, no. 4 [al-Riḍā] > *Burhān*, IV, p. 477, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 105–106, no. 15; Ḥaskānī, II, pp. 351–352, nos. 1121–1122). In the ‘Uthmānic codex *Ṭūr Saynā’* is attested once, at Q 23:20. Cf. **672**.

**671** *Faṣl*, p. 346, ll. 13–14. For this reading see Furāt, II, p. 578, no. 743; Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 815, no. 4 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 477, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 106, no. 15 (i.e. the continuation of the tradition mentioned at **670**); Ḥaskānī, II, p. 352, no. 1122 (*innamā qāl fa-man* [read thus for *fa-mā*] *yukadhhibuka*). In these traditions, *al-dīn* is said to refer

to 'Alī. Some exegetes and grammarians are said to have glossed *fa-mā* as *fa-man*; see Farrā', III, p. 277; Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, V, p. 259 (citing al-Farrā' and al-Akhfash but rejecting their interpretation); Ṭūsī, X, pp. 376–377 (Qatāda, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Ikrima); Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 148 (Mujāhid, Qatāda); Tha'ālībī, V, p. 607 (Qatāda). This is the interpretation which al-Ṭabarī prefers (Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 249).

**672** For *al-tīn wa-l-zaytūn* as referring to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and *Ṭūr Saynā'/Sīnā'/Sīmīn* as referring to 'Alī see Furāt, II, pp. 577–579, nos. 742–745; Ḥaskānī, II, pp. 351–352, nos. 1121–1123; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 394 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 346, *Bihār*, XLIII, p. 291, no. 54, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 607, no. 7; Najafī, pp. 813–814, nos. 1, 2, 4 (> *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 105–106, nos. 13–15), 3 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 477, no. 5). Cf. Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kashf*, p. 24 (*al-tīn wa-l-zaytūn* are al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, *Ṭūr Sīmīn* is Muḥammad, *al-balad al-amīn* is 'Alī); Samarqandī, III, p. 595 (*al-tīn* is 'Alī, *al-zaytūn* is Fāṭima, *Ṭūr Sīmīn* are al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn). *Al-balad al-amīn* does not appear to be recorded elsewhere as a reference to Fāṭima; instead, this expression is explained as referring to Mecca, to the Prophet, or to the Imams. For *al-insān* as referring to Abū Bakr see Ibn al-Juhām > Najafī, p. 814, no. 4 (here called Abū Faṣīl) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 477, no. 4, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 106, no. 15; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, III, p. 394 (here called *al-awwal*, as in *KQ*). In Qummī, II, p. 429, *al-insān* is identified as Zurayq (here probably Abū Bakr, though this nickname is more often applied to 'Umar [cf. 299\*]); in the version of Qummī as cited in *Burhān*, IV, p. 478, no. 10, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 105, no. 12, LX, p. 284 and Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 607, no. 10 the person in question is *al-awwal*, while in the version cited in *Bihār*, XXXI, p. 588, no. 6 he is *Ẓurayq* [*al-awwal*]). The emendation *al-sh-y-u-(k)h* > *al-sawekh* ("sinking") was proposed by Wilferd Madelung. Cf. **670**.

**673** For the opening verses of Sūra 96 see Rubin, *Beholder*, pp. 105–108. *'Azā'im* (or *'azā'im al-sujūd*) is the name given to four of the *sajda* passages (cf. 358\*). These are Q 32:15, 41:37–38, 53:62 and 96:19; the Sūras in which they occur are also known as *'azā'im* (see Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi'/'Ulūm*, p. 234 [fol 20b ll. 18–20], p. 230 [fol 22a l. 22–22b l. 1] [*'azā'im al-sujūd arba': alif-lām-mīm tanzīl wa-ḥā-mīm wa-l-naǧm wa-'qra' bi-smi rabbika*]; Kulīnī, III, p. 317, no. 1 [*wa-l-'azā'im arba': ḥā-mīm al-sajda wa-tanzīl* (i.e. *tanzīl al-sajda*) *wa-l-naǧm wa-'qra' bi-smi rabbika*] > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasā'il*, II/2, p. 880, no. 7837; Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, p. 215; Ibn

Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl*, p. 230, no. 124 [in the chapter entitled *al-‘azā’im allatī yusjad fihā arba‘ suwar*]; Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, p. 43; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, II, p. 315; Lane, s.v.). According to some, the difference between the ‘azā’im and other *sajda* passages is that bowing down is obligatory in the case of the ‘azā’im, whereas it is only optional (Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im*, I, p. 215) or recommended (*mustahabb*) (Ardabīlī, *Ẓubda*, pp. 132–133) in the case of the rest. Ibn Bābawayh (*Amālī*, p. 575 > *Bihār*, X, p. 397) maintains that when the believer recites any of the ‘azā’im passages he is required not only to prostrate himself (as in a regular *sajda*) but also to recite a special prayer. The Nāṣiba are persons who deny ‘Alī’s right to succeed the Prophet or who manifest hatred for ‘Alī and the *ahl al-bayt*. Cf. 675.

**674** *Faṣl*, p. 347, ll. 13–15. For *laysa fihā laylat al-qadr* (“[a thousand months] which do not include the *laylat al-qadr*”, i.e. months other than Ramaḍān) see Kulīnī, I, p. 248, no. 4 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 483, no. 5, *Bihār*, XXV, p. 80, no. 67. Al-Nūrī (*Faṣl*, p. 347, ll. 9, 14) regards this expression in *KQ* and Kulīnī as a *qirā’a*. Elsewhere it appears as an exegetical gloss; see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 259 (on the authority of Qatāda). For the reading *bi-kull amr* see Najafī, p. 819, no. 4 (*qultu*: “*min kull amr*”, *qāl*: “*bi-kull amr*”; *qultu*: *hādhā l-tanzīl*? *qāla*: *na’am*) > *Burhān*, IV, pp. 487–488, no. 25, *Bihār*, XXV, p. 97, no. 71, *Faṣl*, p. 347, l. 23–p. 348, l. 2. It also appears as an exegetical gloss; see e.g. Furāt, II, p. 581, no. 746; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 162. Cf. 677, 678.

**675** These verses are often interpreted as referring to Abū Jahl (e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 255–257; Tha‘labī, X, p. 246; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 153). For the ending cf. Q 96:15–16. Cf. also 673, 676.

*Isnād*: ‘UMAR B. ‘ĪSĀ: ‘Umar b. ‘Īsā al-Ṣayrafi Akhū ‘Udhāfir, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, IV, p. 263; Ardabīlī, I, p. 636). Muḥammad b. ‘Udhāfir (for whom see 382\*) was ‘Umar’s brother’s son.

**676** Cf. Qummī, II, p. 430 (referring to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 340, *Burhān*, IV, p. 479, no. 2, *Bihār*, IX, p. 252, no. 158, LXXXII, p. 201. For al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra (Abū Jahl’s paternal uncle) see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (K.V. Zettersteen). Cf. 675.

**677** Najafī, p. 820, no. 8 (first half). See *Burhān*, IV, p. 487, no. 20, *Bihār*, XXV, p. 70, no. 59 (from Najafī). Cf. Najafī, p. 817, no. 2 (*isnād*: Muḥammad b. Jumhūr < Ṣafwān < ‘Abdallāh b. Muskān < Abū Baṣīr



< al-Šādiq > *Bihār*, XXV, p. 96, no. 69. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī is similarly reported to have interpreted Q 97:3 as referring to the one-thousand-month rule of the Umayyads (see Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 260; Tha‘labī, X, p. 257; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 629 and the sources cited therein). See further the introduction (*muqaddima*) of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, *Ṣaḥīfa*, p. 11 > *Ṣāfi*, III, p. 201, *Faṣl*, p. 347, ll. 9–13; Qummī, II, p. 431 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 352, *Bihār*, XCVII, p. 14, no. 23; Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-‘ilal* > *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 52, no. 43; Kulīnī, IV, p. 159, no. 10 > Ḥuwayzī, IV, pp. 65–66, no. 87; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 36; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj*, p. 276. Cf. 674, 678.

**678** *Faṣl*, p. 347, ll. 17–19, Najafī, p. 820, no. 8 (second half). See *Burhān*, IV, p. 487, no. 20, *Bihār*, XXV, p. 70, no. 59 (from Najafī). In some versions of Najafī, *min ‘ind rabbihim* is taken as a gloss on *bi-idhn rabbihim*. Ibn Mas‘ūd’s *qirā’a* is recorded as *min ‘ind rabbihim ‘alā Muḥammad wa-āl Muḥammad bi-kull amr* (see Jeffery, p. 110). According to Jeffery, this reading replaces *bi-idhn rabbihim min kull amr*. Cf. Tisdall, p. 240 (“During it the Angels and the Spirit descended, with the permission of their Lord, upon Mohammed and the family of Mohammed from every matter”). Cf. 674, 677.

**679** This forms part of a longer pronouncement which the Prophet is reported to have made during his last illness. See Furāt, II, pp. 585–586, no. 755 > *Bihār*, XXII, p. 458, no. 4; Ibn al-Juḥām > Najafī, p. 831, no. 3 (> *Burhān*, IV, pp. 489–490, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXIII, pp. 389–390, no. 99, LXVIII, p. 53, no. 95), pp. 831–832, no. 4 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 490, no. 2, *Bihār*, XXIII, p. 390, no. 100, XXVII, pp. 130–131, no. 121, LXVIII, pp. 53–54, no. 96), pp. 832–833, no. 5 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 490, no. 3, *Bihār*, XXIV, pp. 263–264, no. 22, XXXI, pp. 658–659, no. 214, LXVIII, p. 54, no. 97); Ṭabarī, *Mustarshid*, p. 354; Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, I, p. 257 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 355; Ḥaskānī, II, pp. 358–361, nos. 1130–1135; Ṭabrisī, *Mishkāt*, p. 95; Khwārizmī, *Manāqib*, pp. 265–266, no. 247 > Irbilī, I, p. 307; Ḥillī, *Muḥtaḍar*, p. 126. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 432.

**680** *Faṣl*, p. 118, ll. 3–4. Cf. Ibn Shādhān, *Īdāh*, pp. 221–222 (*wa-rawaytum anna Sūrat lam yakun* [i.e. Sūra 98] *kānat mithl Sūrat al-baqara qabla an yaḍī’a minhā mā ḍā’a wa-innamā baqiya mā fī aydīnā minhā thamānī āyāt aw tis’ āyāt*); *Baṣā’ir*, pp. 246–247, no. 8 > *Bihār*, XLIX, p. 46, no. 41, XCII, pp. 50–51, no. 16; Kulīnī, II, p. 631, no. 16 > *Ṣāfi*, I, p. 36; Kishshī, p. 492 > Quhpā’ī, I, pp. 158–159, *Bihār*, XCII, pp. 54–55, no.

22; Ṭabarī, *Dalā'il*, p. 187; Rāwandī, *Kharā'ij*, II, pp. 719–720, no. 23; Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 27. Cf. **418**, **692**.

**681** For this tradition cf. Najafī, p. 831, no. 2 > Baḥrānī, *Mahajja*, p. 257, *Burhān*, IV, p. 489, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XXIII, p. 370, no. 44 (with al-Majlisī's explanatory comment).

**682** *Faṣl*, p. 348, ll. 17–18. In *Faṣl*, the *yā'* of *yurahu* is vocalized (twice). For this reading (“will have it shown to him”) see Jeffery, p. 337 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Ṣādiq); idem, “Zaid”, p. 286 (Zayd b. ‘Alī); idem, “Ibn Miqsam”, p. 31 (Ibn Miqsam); Ibn Khālawayh, p. 177 (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayd b. ‘Alī, ‘Āṣim in the transmission of Hārūn [i.e. Abū ‘Abdallāh Hārūn b. Mūsā al-A‘war al-Baṣrī, d. before 200/815–816; see Ibn al-Jazarī, II, p. 348, no. 3763], Ibn ‘Abbās); Tha‘labī, X, p. 266 (Khālīd b. Nashīṭ [a transmitter from Anas and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, III, p. 350, no. 3896], ‘Āṣim al-Jahdarī); Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 276 (Ibn ‘Abbās, Zayd b. ‘Alī); Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 168 (al-Kisā'ī [according to some transmissions], ‘Āṣim in the transmission of Abān, ‘Alī) > *Faṣl*, p. 348, ll. 18–19; Abū l-Futūḥ, XII, p. 148, Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 306 (‘Āṣim in the transmission of Abān); Rāzī, XXXII, p. 58 (*fī riwāya 'an 'Āṣim*); Qurṭubī, XX, p. 151 (al-Jahdarī, al-Sulamī, 'Isā b. 'Umar, 'Āṣim in the transmission of Abān); Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 498 (al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās and others); Ṣāfi, V, p. 358. See **683**. For al-Ṣādiq at al-Qādisiyya see also **654**.

*Isnād*: al-Naḍr (b. Suwayd) often transmits from Yaḥyā b. 'Imrān (al-Ḥalabī); see e.g. **38**, **168**, **174**, **248**, **595**.

**683** See **682**.

**684** Although no exact parallels to the two accounts in *KQ* appear to be recorded, there are similar stories of 'Alī stopping earthquakes. This is said to have occurred (i) during the rule of Abū Bakr and/or that of 'Umar; (ii) during 'Alī's rule. For (i) see Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal*, p. 556, no. 8 > Ṣāfi, V, pp. 357–358, *Burhān*, IV, pp. 493–494, no. 1, *Biḥār*, XLI, p. 254, no. 14, XCI, p. 151, no. 9, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 648, no. 7; Ibn Ḥamza, *Thāqib*, pp. 273–274, no. 238; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, II, p. 324 > *Biḥār*, XXV, p. 379, no. 28; Najafī, pp. 836–837, no. 4 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 494, no. 6), pp. 837–838, no. 5 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 494, no. 7, *Biḥār*, XLI, p. 272, no. 27). For (ii) see Raḍī, *Khaṣā'is*, p. 27; Najafī, p. 835, no. 1 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 494, no. 3, *Biḥār*, XLI, p. 271, no. 25 [first part]), pp.

835–836, no. 2 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 494, no. 4, *Bihār*, XLI, p. 271, no. 25 [second part]), p. 836, no. 3 (> *Burhān*, IV, p. 494, no. 5). Translation of *law kānat hiya hiya*: “If this earthquake had been the one (mentioned in the Qur’ān)”.

**685** The reading *ka-l-ṣūf* (attested only in ms. M) is ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd (see *GdQ*, III, p. 77; Jeffery, p. 111; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 384 [*Kiṭāb al-tafsīr*]; Naḥḥās, *I‘rāb*, V, p. 280; Ibn Khālawayh, p. 178; idem, *I‘rāb*, p. 161; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 279; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, V, p. 517; Rāzī, XXXII, p. 69), to al-Rabī‘ b. Khuthaym (Jeffery, p. 312), to Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 143, no. 692; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, V, p. 517) and to Ibn Shanabūdh (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 34 > Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, V, p. 115). See also Ibn Qutayba, *Mushkil*, p. 37; Zarkashī, I, p. 335; Shnizer, *Qur’ān*, p. 140. Ibn Muḥakkam (IV, p. 528) and Ibn Abī Zamanīn (II, p. 537) render Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reading as *ka-l-ṣūf al-aḥmar*.

**686** Sūra 100 is known both as *al-‘ādiyāt* and *wa-l-‘ādiyāt* (see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 553). On the merits of reciting this Sūra see Ibn Bābawayh, *Thawāb*, p. 154 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 365, *Bihār*, VII, p. 298, no. 39, XCII, p. 335, no. 1; Daylamī, *A‘lām*, p. 384 (*man qara’a sūrat al-‘ādiyāt wa-admana qirā’atahā ba’athahu llāh ta’ālā ma’a amūr al-mu’minīn yawm al-qiyāma khāṣṣatan wa-kāna min ruḥaqā’ihī*). Cf. Riḍā, *Fiqh*, p. 124 (the two Sūras al-‘Ādiyāt and al-Qārī’a are to be recited during the prayer of ‘aṣr). See **687**.

*Isnād*: ZAKARIYYĀ B. ĀDAM: Zakariyyā b. Ādam b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘īd al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī, a transmitter from al-Riḍā and al-Jawād (Quh-pā’ī, III, pp. 56–57; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 330–331).

**687** See **686**.

**688** This may refer to the account according to which ‘Umar/Zufar (and before him Abū Bakr) was rebuked by the Prophet for retreating in the face of the enemy at Wādī al-Yābis. This event occasioned the revelation of Sūrat al-‘ādiyāt (see Qummī, II, pp. 434–439 > Najafī, pp. 844–849, no. 5, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, pp. 361–365, *Burhān*, IV, pp. 495–497, no. 1, *Bihār*, XXI, pp. 67–74, no. 2, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 652–655, no. 4; Furāt, II, pp. 599–603, no. 761; referred to in Jarrar, “Sources”, p. 115).

*Isnād*: AL-ḤASAN AL-QUMMĪ: a person of this name is known from a single tradition in Kulīnī (I, p. 419, no. 38), in which he transmits from al-Ṣādiq via Idrīs b. ‘Abdallāh (see Khū’ī, VI, p. 180, no. 3233).

**689** Najafī, pp. 850–851, no. 4, Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 204, ll. 2–5. See *Bihār*, LIII, p. 107, no. 135 (from al-Ḥillī's *Mukhtaṣar*); *Burhān*, IV, p. 503, no. 8, *Bihār*, XXIV, p. 56, no. 27 (from Najafī). This is the first of three traditions which al-Ḥillī cites from *KQ* (see Introduction, p. 36). Cf. Barqī, II, p. 400, no. 83 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasā'il*, VIII/1, p. 445, no. 3; Qummī, II, p. 440 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 369, *Bihār*, VII, p. 272, no. 39, XXIV, p. 52, no. 6, Ḥuwayzī, V, pp. 663–664, no. 17; Kulīnī, VI, p. 280, no. 3 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 371, *Bihār*, XLVII, pp. 40–41, no. 48, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 662, no. 12. Cf. **693**.

*Isnād*: ʿABDALLĀH B. NUJAYḤ/NAJĪḤ AL-YAMĀNĪ/AL-THUMĀLĪ: ʿAbdallāh b. Nujayḥ/Naġīḥ is mentioned twice in al-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl* (p. 225, no. 43, p. 228, no. 94) as a disciple of al-Ṣādiq. He may be identical with ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Nujayḥ/Naġīḥ al-Madanī, who is also listed as a disciple of al-Ṣādiq (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 228, no. 96; al-Māmaqānī [III, p. 175, no. 6792] and al-Tustarī [*Rijāl*, VI, pp. 298–299, no. 4245] only adduce the latter name). The *nisba* al-Yamānī/al-Thumālī might be a corruption of “al-Madanī”.

**690** Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 204, l. 5. See *Bihār*, LIII, p. 107, no. 135 (from al-Ḥillī's *Mukhtaṣar*). It is not clear whether the *muʿāyana* (“seeing with the eye”) should be taken as a gloss on *ʿilm al-yaqīn* (Q 102:5) (as in al-Ḥillī's *Mukhtaṣar*) or on *ʿayn al-yaqīn* (Q 102:7) (as in mss. L, T and B and Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 530). Support for the former is found in Barqī, I, p. 247, no. 250 (al-Barqī < Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmayr < Hishām b. Sālīm < al-Ṣādiq *fī qawl allāh*: “*law taʿlamūna ʿilm al-yaqīn*” *qāl*: *al-muʿāyana*) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 369, *Burhān*, IV, p. 501, no. 1, *Bihār*, LXX, p. 176, no. 31.

**691** Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 204, l. 6. See al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Īqāz*, p. 282, *Bihār*, LIII, p. 107, no. 135 (both from al-Ḥillī's *Mukhtaṣar*); Najafī, p. 850, no. 1 (*isnād*: *baʿd aṣḥābinā* < Muḥammad b. ʿAlī < ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz < ʿAbdallāh b. Nujayḥ/Naġīḥ al-Yamānī < al-Ṣādiq) > *Burhān*, IV, p. 501, no. 2, *Bihār*, LIII, p. 120, no. 156.

**692** *Faṣl*, p. 348, ll. 20–22. The Imam makes two claims about Sūrat al-takāthur, neither of which appears to be recorded elsewhere. The first is that it was originally longer than it is today; such a claim is known to have been made about other Sūras (see e.g. **418**, **680**). The second is that Sūrat al-takāthur contained “that which people need”. A similar claim (using the expression *kull/jamīʿ mā yaḥtāj ilayhi l-nās*)

was made concerning both the Qurʾān and the Jāmiʿa (a scroll seventy cubits long dictated by the Prophet and written down by ʿAlī). For the Qurʾān see e.g. Kulīnī, I, p. 199, no. 1, Nuʿmānī, *Ghayba*, p. 315, Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuhaf*, p. 322 (part of a pronouncement which al-Riḍā made in Marw); for the Jāmiʿa see e.g. Baṣāʾir, p. 143, no. 6, p. 145, no. 19; cf. Kohlberg, “Scriptures”, pp. 300–301.

*Isnād*: MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ L-ḤASAN: a son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim (Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 303, whence Ardabīlī, II, p. 204; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām*, p. 312; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, IV, p. 324).

**693** Najafī, p. 851, no. 5. See *Burhān*, IV, p. 503, no. 10, *Biḥār*, XXIV, p. 57, no. 28 (from Najafī). Judging by the version preserved in the four manuscripts of *KQ* at some stage of the transmission this tradition immediately followed **689**.

*Isnād*: IBN ʿABBĀS/IBN ʿAYYĀSH (see the apparatus): unidentified.

**694** *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 3–4. For this reading of al-Ṣādiq (including *wa-ʿamilū l-ṣāliḥāt* of the ʿUthmānic codex) see Qummī, II, p. 441 > *Burhān*, IV, p. 505, no. 3, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 666, no. 6, *Faṣl*, p. 348, l. 23–p. 349, l. 2. For the reading *wa-innahu fihi ilā ākhīr al-dahr* see Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh, *Nāsikh*, p. 66 > *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 5–6; Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 290 (ʿAlī, see **696\***); Ibn ʿAṭīyya, V, p. 520 (ʿAlī); Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 186 (Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAlī) > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 372, *Biḥār*, LXVII, p. 59, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 666, no. 4; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 667 (Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAlī); *Faṣl*, p. 23, ll. 22–23. Jeffery (p. 111) quotes two readings ascribed to Ibn Masʿūd: (i) *wa-l-ʿaṣr la-qad khalaqnā l-insān li-khusr wa-innahu fihi ilā ākhīr al-dahr illā lladhīna āmanū wa-tawāṣaw bi-l-taqwā wa-tawāṣaw bi-l-ṣabr* (thus also *GdQ*, III, p. 77, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 29, both citing the codex of Ibn Masʿūd); (ii) *wa-l-ʿaṣr inna l-insān la-fi khusr wa-innahu la-fihi ilā ākhīr al-dahr illā lladhīna āmanū* (thus Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 55). See also Thaʿlabī, X, p. 284, Abū l-Futūḥ, XII, p. 164 (Ibn Masʿūd: *inna l-insān la-fi khusr wa-innahu fihi ilā ākhīr al-dahr*); **695**, **696**.

*Isnād*: AL-ḤUSAYN: he may well be Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn known as Dhū l-Damʿa, son of the eponymous founder of the Zaydiyya (for whom see Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 280–283). There are several *isnāds* in which Khalaf b. Ḥammād transmits from him (e.g. Kulīnī, V, p. 151, no. 5, VIII, p. 153, no. 143; Ibn Bābawayh, *Tawḥīd*, p. 275, no. 1).

**695** *Faṣl*, p. 349, l. 4. See **694**, **696**.

*Isnād*: see **39\***.

**696** *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 5–6. ‘Alī is said to have recited Q 103:1–2 as follows: *wa-l-‘aṣr wa-nawā’ib al-dahr inna l-insān la-ḥi khusr wa-innahu fihi ilā ākhir al-dahr* (Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 290; Tha‘labī, X, p. 284; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, II, p. 601, no. 4848). This combines the reading given here with the one at the beginning of **694**. A different reading ascribed to ‘Alī is *wa-l-‘aṣr wa-nawā’ib al-dahr la-qad khalaqnā l-insān li-khusr wa-innahu fihi ilā ākhir al-dahr* (Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 143, no. 693). For *wa-l-‘aṣr wa-nawā’ib al-dahr* as a reading of ‘Alī see Ibn Khālawayh, p. 179; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, III, p. 393, no. 4024; Qurṭubī, XX, p. 180; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 667; Modarressi, *TS*, p. 3, note 7 (citing *KQ*). Cf. Qurṭubī, I, p. 81 (from Ibn al-Anbārī). *KQ* appears to be the only Imāmī source in which this reading is preserved. See **694**, **695**.

*Isnād*: the *isnād* is problematic: if, as the sources tell us, Abān b. Taghlib died in 141/758–759 (see **482\***), then he could hardly have transmitted from al-Kāẓim (unless it is assumed that the transmission took place before al-Kāẓim became Imam). Cf. Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 109–110.

**697** Translation: “The name by which God likes best to be addressed is *yā karīm* (oh noble one)”. The expression *aḥabbu l-asmā’ ilā llāh* usually means “the name(s) which God likes best” (see Kister, “Names”, p. 8 and passim). In Shī‘ī texts, these names are frequently said to be ‘Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Fāṭima; in Sunnī texts they are often ‘Abdallāh and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

*Isnād*: ABŪ MU‘ALLĀ: unidentified. He may be identical with Abū l-Mu‘allā, who transmits from al-Ṣādiq in a tradition recorded in Kulīnī, VII, p. 422, no. 4.—YAḤYĀ AL-ṢĀ’IGH: unidentified.

**698** For the expression *yawm uqīma amīr al-mu’minīn* (“on the day the Prince of the Believers was nominated”, i.e. at Ghadīr Khumm) see Ibn Bābawayh, *Thawāb*, p. 102, no. 2 > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, IV/2, p. 325, no. 13803, *Biḥār*, XCVII, p. 112, no. 7; Ṭabarī, *Bishāra*, p. 241.

**699** *Mustadrak*, IV, pp. 163–164, no. 4383(a). Sūra 105 is known by a number of names, including *al-fil* (as in the title of this chapter) and *a-lam tara* (as in this tradition); see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 554. For the view that Sūras 105 and 106 should be regarded as a single Sūra see Riḍā, *Fiqh*, pp. 112–113 > *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 164, no. 4384; Ibn Bābawayh, *Itiqādāt*, p. 98 = Fyzee, p. 85; idem, *Thawāb*, p. 156; idem, *Amālī*, p. 573 > *Biḥār*, X, p. 395; Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, p. 44; Ṭūsī, X, pp. 371, 412;

Ṭabrisī, XXX, pp. 140–141, 197 (from ‘Ayyāshī) > *Ṣāfi*, V, pp. 345, 378, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 669, no. 4; Daylamī, *A’lām*, p. 385; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, I, p. 228; al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, pp. 743–744, nos. 7331–7336; Modarressi, “Debates”, p. 30. Ubayy is said not to have separated between them (*lam yafṣil baynahumā*) in his codex (see Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 197 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 378, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 744, no. 7334, *Bihār*, LXXXV, p. 47, no. 37, *Faṣl*, p. 147, ll. 4–5; Rāzī, XXXII, p. 98; Qurṭubī, XX, p. 200; Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, p. 276; Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, I, p. 228; cf. Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 287); this means that in his *muṣḥaf* the last verse of Sūra 105 was immediately followed by the beginning of Sūra 106, without an intervening *basmala* (see Jeffery, p. 179; Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 523). See 700; cf. 661\*.

*Isnād*: SHAJARA AKHŪ BASHĪR AL-NABBĀL: Shajara b. Maymūn b. Sanjār Akhū Bashīr al-Nabbāl, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 191–192).

700 *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 164, no. 4383(b). See 699; cf. 661\*.

701 *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 8–9. Al-Nūrī regards both *yā Muḥammad* and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ as readings. For the tradition cf. Qummī, II, p. 445 > Najafī, p. 859, no. 6, *Ṣāfi*, V, pp. 383–384, *Burhān*, IV, p. 515, no. 3, *Bihār*, XVII, pp. 209–210, no. 14. For an identification of the hater (*shānī*) as ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ see also Sulaym, *Kitāb*, p. 278 > *Bihār*, XXXIII, p. 224, no. 513 (‘Alī declares that this verse was revealed concerning ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ after he had called the Prophet *abtār* [without posterity, lit. “cut off”] following the death of the Prophet’s son Ibrāhīm). Cf. 704.

702 For *al-kawthar* as a pond (*ḥawḍ*) see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 323; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 206; Ibn Shādhān, *Mi’at manqaba*, p. 89 (*manqaba* no. 37); Qurṭubī, XX, p. 217; Najafī, p. 755, no. 4 (to Sūrat al-mursalāt). See in general *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Ḥawḍ” (A.J. Wensinck), art. “Kawthar” (J. Horowitz—L. Gardet). For the various meanings given to *kawthar* see Birkenland, pp. 56–75; Gilliot, “Embarras”; Saleh, *Formation*, pp. 119–124; Introduction, pp. 9–10.

*Isnād*: FAḌĀLA: Faḍāla b. Ayyūb al-Azdī, a transmitter from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā. His *kitāb* was transmitted by Muḥammad al-Barqī (Quh-pā’ī, V, pp. 17–18; Ardabīlī, II, pp. 2–4). He also transmitted from al-Qāsim b. Burayd (Khū’ī, XIV, p. 293).



**703** For *al-kawthar* as a river (*nahr*) see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 320–321, 323–325; Sijistānī, *Gharīb*, p. 167; Māturīdī, X, p. 627 (cf. Introduction, p. 9); Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, p. 200; Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 547; Thaʿlabī, X, pp. 308–309; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 205 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 382; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, II, p. 161; Ṭabarī, *Bishāra*, p. 5; Ṭabarī, *Dalāʿil*, p. 44 (from a dream which Fāṭima had shortly after the Prophet's death); Qurṭubī, XX, pp. 216–217; Najafī, p. 857, no. 4; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, pp. 686–689; idem, *Muḥammad*, p. 214. During the *miʿrāj* the Prophet reportedly drank from this river (Qummī, II, p. 10 > *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 327, no. 34) and was informed by Gabriel that the river was his (*hādihā nahruka*) (Ibn al-Juḥām > Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Yaqīn*, p. 291 > Najafī, p. 270, no. 2, *Bihār*, XVIII, p. 392, no. 98, XXXVII, p. 315, no. 46). For the *ḥawḍ* as a tributary (*khalīj*) of the river *al-kawthar* see Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, I, p. 76, no. 95.

**704** For an identification of the hater (*shāmiʿ*) as al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʿil see Ṭabarī, XXX, pp. 328–329; Thaʿlabī, X, p. 313; Qurṭubī, XX, p. 222. In one account, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʿil calls the Prophet *abtar* (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, p. 337). Cf. **701**.

**705** *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 10–11, *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 179, no. 4428. For the reading *qul li-lladhīna kafarū* see Jeffery, p. 112 (Ibn Masʿūd). This reading was severely criticized by Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940) (see Qurṭubī, I, p. 82, XX, p. 226). For *aʿbudu llāh wa-lā ushriku bihi shayʿan* cf. Q 13:36. This sentence, as well as *lākin aʿbudu llāh mukhlīṣan lahu dīnī* (**711**) and the shorter *aʿbudu llāh* (**706**) and *aʿbudu llāh waḥdahū* (**709**, **712**) do not appear to be recorded elsewhere as *qirāʾāt*; they may be glosses. For *aʿbudu llāh rabbī* cf. **710**\*. The status of the thrice-repeated sentence *dīnī l-islām* is not always clear. At **705–707** it may be regarded as a reading. In contrast, at **709–711** it constitutes part of a formula which the believer should recite after completing the Sūra; in other words, it does not form part of the Qurʾān. Similar questions arise with regard to Sūra 112; see **717**\*.

**706** *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 11–13, *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 179, no. 4429. Cf. **705**\*.

**707** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 179, no. 4430. Cf. Qummī, II, p. 446 > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 340, no. 4; **705**\*.

*Isnād*: ʿABD AL-QĀHIR: al-Ṭūsī mentions two disciples of al-Šādiq of this name: (i) ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Muḥammad b. Qays al-Asadī al-Kūfī;

(ii) ‘Abd al-Qāhir “who transmitted from Jābir” (*Rijāl*, p. 239, nos. 251, 252).

**708** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 191, no. 4461. Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Thawāb*, pp. 156–157 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 386, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, pp. 811–812, no. 7593; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 208 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 386.

*Isnād*: MU‘ĀWIYA B. ‘AMMĀR: Abū l-Qāsim Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Ammār al-Duhnī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim (Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 327–332).

**709** *Mustadrak*, IV, pp. 179–180, no. 4431. Cf. **705\***, **710**, **711**, **712\***.

*Isnād*: The *isnād* recurs at **719**.—AL-ḤAKAM B. MISKĪN: Abū Muḥammad (or Abū ‘Abdallāh) Ḥakam b. Miskīn al-A‘mā, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Kohlberg, “Uṣūl”, p. 144; Modarressi, *TS*, pp. 236–238).—‘ĀMIR B. JUDHĀ‘A: ‘Āmir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Judhā‘a al-Azdī, a Kūfan transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpā’ī, III, p. 239; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 427–428).

**710** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 180, no. 4432. For this tradition see Ḥimyarī, p. 31 (reading *a’budu rabbī* for *a’budu llāh rabbī*) > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 339, no. 1, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 688, no. 20. Cf. **705\***, **709**, **711**.

**711** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 180, no. 4433(a). For this tradition see Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 208 (but reading *wa-lākinnī* for *lākin*). Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Uyūn*, II, p. 181 > al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il*, II/2, p. 756, no. 7382, *Bihār*, XLIX, pp. 94–95, no. 7, LXXXV, p. 33, no. 23 (whenever al-Riḍā finished reciting Sūrat al-jaḥd [one of the names of Sūra 109; see e.g. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 385, *Bihār*, XCII, p. 339] he would say: *rabbī llāh wa-dīnī l-islām* three times); **705\***, **709**, **710**.

**712** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 180, no. 4433(b), p. 191, no. 4462. The sentence *a’budu llāh waḥdahu* presumably forms the end of Q 109:2, as at **709**. For the notion that Sūra 109 equals one fourth of the Qur’ān (meaning that the reward for reciting it equals the reward for reciting one fourth of the Qur’ān) see e.g. Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il*, II, p. 74, nos. 509–510; Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā’il*, p. 125, no. 296 (the Prophet declares: *man qara’a qul yā ayyuhā l-kāfirūn fa-ka-annamā qara’a rub‘ al-qur’ān*); Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 22; Kulīnī, II, p. 621, no. 7 > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, p. 386; Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Uyūn*, II, p. 36 (after reciting this Sūra the Prophet would declare: *qara’tu lakum thulth al-qur’ān wa-rub’ahu*) > *Bihār*, XCII, p. 339, no. 2;

Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 293; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 208; Rāzī, XXXII, p. 127 (*man qara'ahā fa-ka-annamā qara'a rub' al-qur'ān*); Saleh, *Formation*, p. 107; cf. 722\*. For this Sūra as *barā'a min al-shirk* (“dissociation from polytheism”) see e.g. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, II, p. 73, no. 507; Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il*, p. 128, no. 305; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, IV, p. 313, no. 5055; Kulīnī, II, p. 626, no. 23; Ibn Bābawayh, *Faḡh*, I, p. 297, no. 1356; Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 274, no. 2121, III, p. 400, no. 4035 (the Prophet); Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 116, no. 437; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 293. The sentence *wa-nazalat jawāban 'an rasūl allāh* (“this [Sūra] was revealed as an answer on behalf of the Prophet”) may refer to the account according to which Quraysh made various suggestions to the Prophet, and God responded to each of them on the Prophet's behalf by revealing a verse of this Sūra; see Qummī, II, pp. 445–446 > *Bihār*, IX, pp. 253–254, no. 161, XCII, p. 340, no. 4, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 688, no. 21. Similarly Māwardī, VI, p. 357 (*fā-šāra ḥarf al-amr fī hādhihi l-sūra wa-sūrat al-ikhhlāṣ wa-l-mu'awwidhatayn mathluwwan li-annahā nazalat jawāban*) > Qurṭubī, XX, p. 226 (*'an al-Māwardī: nazalat jawāban*). Cf. 705\*.

**713** Cf. Ibn al-Juḥām (*yawm al-faṭḥ yawm tuftaḥ al-dunyā 'alā l-qā'im* [to Q 32:29]) > Najafī, p. 445, no. 9 > *Burhān*, III, p. 289, no. 1. Whereas KQ follows the 'Uthmānic codex, the reading in Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh (*Nāsikh*, p. 66) is: *idhā jā'a faṭḥ allāh wa-l-naṣr*. This reading is ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās (see Jeffery, p. 208; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 294; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 696).

**714** *Faṣl*, p. 349, l. 15. This reading is ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd (see *GdQ*, III, p. 77; Jeffery, p. 112; Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 336; Naḥḥās, *I'rāb*, V, p. 305; Ibn Khālawayh, *I'rāb*, p. 222; Māwardī, VI, p. 365; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 296; Abū Ḥayyān, VIII, p. 526; Tha'ālibī, V, p. 636). See also Jeffery, pp. 180, 313, 329 (Ubayy, al-Rabī' b. Khuthaym, al-A'mash); Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 388 (*Kitāb al-tafsīr*), Ṭabarī, XIX, p. 121, XXX, p. 337, Qurṭubī, XIV, p. 312, XX, p. 234 (al-A'mash); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IX, p. 2825, no. 16011 (in the exegesis to Q 26:214, a tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, pp. 29 (the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd), 34 (Ibn Shanabūdh) > Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, V, p. 115; Tha'labī, X, p. 324, Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 220, Abū l-Futūḥ, XII, p. 205, Qurṭubī, XX, p. 236 (Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy); Qurṭubī, I, p. 84 (anonymous); Paret, *Kommentar*, pp. 528–529; Fück, “Qur'āntext”, pp. 66–77.

**715** For the beginning see **716\***. *Ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* (“the wood carrier”) is often interpreted metaphorically as meaning that Abū Lahab’s wife used to calumniate the Prophet in order to stoke the fire of hatred against him; see e.g. Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 339; Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 297; Qurṭubī, XX, p. 239. See in general Rubin, “Abū Lahab”; the article “Abū Lahab” in *ET*<sup>2</sup> (W. Montgomery Watt), *EQ* (A. Rippin), *DC* (Meir M. Bar-Asher).

**716** According to Jeffery (p. 180), Ubayy added the following verse between Q 111:1 and 111:2: *ḥālafa l-bayt al-waḍī’ alā l-bayt al-rafi’ fa-shughila* (read: *fa-tasaffala*) *bi-nafsihi thumma shughila* (read: *safula* or *tasaffala*) (“he allied himself with the lowly house [i.e. the Umayyads] against the lofty house [i.e. the Hāshimīs] so he abased himself and became ignoble”). Judging however by the two traditions cited in *KQ* (here and at **715**), this is a gloss on Q 111:1 rather than a separate verse. Neither the interpretation of *tabba* as *tasaffala* nor the claim that *tabba* in the sense of “to become ignoble” is a word in Syriac (or in Hebrew, if ms. T is emended to *bi-l-’ibrāniyya*) seems to be recorded elsewhere. (Cf. in general Radtke, “Syrisch”, passim.) The word *al-awwal* is occasionally added after al-Bāqir’s *kunya* in order to distinguish him from the ninth Imam al-Jawād, who is at times referred to as Abū Ja’far al-Thānī. This is the only instance in *KQ* where al-Bāqir is referred to as Abū Ja’far al-Awwal.

**717** *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 21–23, *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 178, no. 4424. The question of whether expressions relating to Sūra 112 such as those found at **717–719** are to be regarded as part of the Qur’ān is taken up in several sources. In one account, al-Riḍā tells a disciple that he should recite Sūra 112 “as the people do”, adding: *kadhālika llāh rabbī kadhālika rabbī* (Kulīnī, I, p. 91, no. 3). Al-Nūrī (*Faṣl*, p. 349, l. 21) takes this to be a hint (*īmā’*) that these words form part of the Qur’ān. Another account, in contrast, appears to convey the opposite message. It describes how Sūra 112 was revealed to the Prophet: God began by revealing the first two verses (*qul huwa llāh aḥad allāh al-ṣamad*) and then stopped (*amsaka*). The Prophet recited of his own accord (*min tilqā’ nafsihi*): *allāh aḥad allāh al-ṣamad allāh al-wāḥid al-aḥad al-ṣamad*. Then God revealed the next two verses (*lam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa-lam yakun lahu kufiwwan aḥad*) before stopping again. The Prophet recited of his own accord: *kadhālika llāh rabbunā* (Barqī, II, pp. 323–324, no. 64 > *Bihār*, LXXXII, p. 273, no. 20; cf. Kulīnī, III, pp. 485–486, no. 1 [where

the Prophet recites *al-wāḥid al-aḥad al-ṣamad* after the first two verses and *kadhālika llāh* (Ḥuwayzī: + *rabbī*) *kadhālika llāh rabbunā* after the next two] > Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 117, no. 23; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIṭal*, p. 334, no. 1 > *Biḥār*, XVIII, p. 367, no. 72, LXXXII, p. 267, no. 15). It would appear that words which the Prophet uttered of his own accord cannot have formed part of the Qurʾān; after all, one of the accusations which the polytheists levelled against the Prophet was precisely that expressions which he claimed to be divine revelations were in fact his own (see e.g. ʿAskarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 154 > *Biḥār*, IX, p. 176, no. 4, XVII, p. 215, no. 20, XCII, p. 30, no. 33; Ṭabrisī, XIX, p. 87 [to Q 25:4]). Cf. Qurṭubī, I, pp. 84–85, where a certain person—presumably a Shīʿī—is accused of having read Q 112:1–2 as *allāh al-wāḥid al-ṣamad*. Ibn Masʿūd's reading is recorded as *al-wāḥid* instead of *al-ṣamad* (Blachère, *Coran*, II, p. 124, note 2) or as *al-wāḥid* instead of *aḥad* (Jeffery, p. 113). Al-A'mash's reading is similarly said to have been *qul huwa llāh al-wāḥid* (Zamakhsharī, IV, p. 298). Similar questions arise with regard to Sūra 109; see 705\*.

*Isnād*: IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. FĀRIS: Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Fāris al-Nīsābūrī, a transmitter from al-Hādī and al-ʿAskarī (Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 410, no. 11, p. 428, no. 10). Ibrāhīm's father appears never to be cited, and it is therefore likely that the words "Ibrāhīm b." have been omitted from the manuscripts.—AḤKAM B. BASHSHĀR: Aḥkam/Aḥlam b. Bashshār al-Marwazī al-Kulthūmī, a transmitter from al-Jawād; accused of extremism (*ghuluww*) (Quhpāʿī, I, pp. 83–84; Ardabīlī, I, p. 39).

**718** *Faṣl*, p. 349, l. 23–p. 350, l. 1 (with al-Nūrī's proposed emendation of this tradition, at ll. 1–3). *Qul huwa llāh aḥad* is one of the names of Sūra 112 (see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 554). Cf. the reading *qul huwa llāh al-wāḥid al-ṣamad* ascribed to ʿUmar (Thaʿālibī, V, p. 638). The Prophet is said to have referred to this Sūra as *allāh al-wāḥid al-ṣamad* (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 24; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, pp. 711–712 [citing Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī and Ibn al-Ḍurays] > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 358, no. 23). Cf. **717**, **719**.

*Isnād*: ʿUYAYNA: the reference may be to ʿUyayna/ʿUtayba/ʿUtba b. Maymūn al-Bajālī al-Qaṣabānī, a transmitter from al-Ṣādiq (Quhpāʿī, IV, pp. 128, 309; Ardabīlī, I, pp. 532, 656).

**719** *Faṣl*, p. 349, ll. 16–18, *Mustadrak*, IV, pp. 178–179, no. 4425. Cf. **717**, **718**.

*Isnād*: the *isnād* recurs at **709**.

**720** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 179, no. 4426. Here and at **722**, the words *kadhālīka llāh rabbunā/rabbī* are explicitly said to be pronounced after Sūra 112 has been recited; thus they do not form part of the Qurʾān. Cf. al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, pp. 754–755, nos. 7375–7376 (*kadhālīka llāh rabbī*).

**721** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 178, no. 4423, p. 179, no. 4427. Cf. Kulīnī, II, p. 616, no. 12 > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, p. 754, no. 7373, p. 856, no. 7748; Kulīnī, III, p. 314, no. 11 (*yukrahu an yuqraʾa qul huwa llāh aḥad fī nafas wāḥid*) (“reading [the Sūra] *Qul huwa llāh aḥad* in a single breath [i.e. without pausing] is reprehensible”) > al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil*, II/2, p. 785, no. 7490; Ṭūsī, X, p. 432 (the Prophet used to pause at the end of each verse of this Sūra). Cf. **720**, **722**.

**722** *Mustadrak*, IV, p. 192, no. 4463. Sūra 112 is said to have been revealed when the polytheists (or the Jews) asked Muḥammad to state God’s lineage (*unsub lanā rabbaka*) (see Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XII, p. 260; Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍāʾil*, p. 156, no. 333 [*qālū ʾnsub lanā rabbaka fa-atāhu Jibrīl bi-hādhihi l-sūra qul huwa llāh aḥad* etc.]; Qummī, II, p. 448 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 390; Ṭabarī, XXX, p. 343 [from Qatāda] > Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 705; Kulīnī, I, p. 91, no. 1 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 390, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 706, no. 47; Ibn Muḥakkam, IV, p. 543; Ibn Bābawayh, *Tawḥīd*, p. 93 > *Ṣāfi*, V, p. 390, *Biḥār*, III, p. 220, no. 9; Ibn Abī Zamanīn, II, p. 551; Ḥākīm, *Mustadrak*, III, p. 403, no. 4039; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 228; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 704); hence one of the names of Sūra 112 is *Sūrat nisbat al-rabb* (“The Lord’s lineage”) (see e.g. Ibn Bābawayh, *Faqīh*, I, p. 212, no. 949, p. 297, no. 1356; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 116, no. 437; Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 222; Ṭabrisī, *Makārim*, pp. 281, 288; *Biḥār*, XC, p. 53). The name *Sūrat al-rabb* given in the manuscripts of *KQ* appears to be unknown (it is not among the twenty names enumerated by al-Rāzī [XXXII, pp. 161–162]) and is probably an error for *Sūrat nisbat al-rabb*. For the latter half of the tradition cf. Ibn Wahb, *Jāmiʿ/ʿUlūm*, p. 286 (fol 21b ll. 7–8), Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil*, II, pp. 75–78, nos. 512–520 (this Sūra “equals one third of the Qurʾān” [*taʿdilu thulth al-qurʾān*]; whoever recites this Sūra has recited a third of the Qurʾān, etc.); Ibn al-Ḍurays, *Faḍāʾil*, p. 108, no. 242 (the Prophet declares concerning this Sūra: *thulth al-qurʾān aw taʿdilu*); Zarkashī, I, p. 445; cf. Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 127, no. 482 (*qul huwa llāh aḥad taʿdilu thulth al-qurʾān*); Qurṭubī, XX, p. 247; Bursī, *Mashāriq*, p. 56; Najafī, pp. 860–862, nos. 1–4 > *Biḥār*, XXXIX, p. 270, no. 46, p. 288, nos. 81–83; cf. **712\***. Cf. Ibn Khālawayh, p. 182, where

the Prophet is quoted as declaring: *man qara'a llāh aḥad fa-innahu ya'dilu l-qur'ān kullahu*; Saleh, *Formation*, p. 107. Cf. **720**, **721**. See also Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XI, p. 22.

**723** For this tradition see Ṭabrisī, XXX, p. 239 (with the addition of *fī nafsika* after *fa-qul*) > *Biḥār*, LXIII, p. 246, Ḥuwayzī, V, p. 717, no. 11; Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmi'*, II, p. 799. The text is also recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Umar (see Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, p. 716 [from Ibn al-Anbārī] > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 369, no. 10).

**724** *Akhbath al-shayāṭīn* ("the most wicked devil") is often identified with "*al-raǧīm*" (Satan); see Qummī, I, p. 390 (to Q 16:98) > *Biḥār*, LXIII, p. 195, no. 4, p. 234, no. 74; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 270, no. 67 (Samā'a < al-Ṣādiq) > *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, p. 155, *Biḥār*, LXIII, p. 255, no. 122, XCII, p. 215, no. 15, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 85, no. 225; 'Ayyāshī, II, p. 270, no. 68 (al-Ḥalabī < al-Ṣādiq) > *Biḥār*, XCII, p. 215, no. 16, Ḥuwayzī, III, p. 85, no. 226. For the meteors which pursue eavesdropping devils see Q 15:16–18, Q 37:6–10; cf. **459**.

**725** For the Qur'ānic *shayṭān* as referring to 'Umar/Zufar see **276\***.





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