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

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

Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn Hasan Tūsī, known as “Sheikh al-Ṭāʿifah,” is one of the brightest luminaries of the Islamic world. The period he lived was the peak of Shiʿa Islamic scholarship which began with the authors of the four major Shiʿa hadith collections: Sheikh al-Kulaynī (al-Kafti),
Shaikh al-Saduq (*Man la Yahduruh al-Faqih*), and the last two (*Tahdhib* and *al-Istibsar*) compiled by Shaikh Tusi. He also has written books on various subjects of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), principles of jurisprudence (*uşūl*), hadith, exegesis of the Qur’an (*tafsir*), Islamic theology (*kalām*), and genealogies of hadith narration (*rijāl*). Sheikh Tusi was born in 385 AH. When he was 23, he migrated to Baghdad in 408 AH where and entered the centre of Islamic culture and sciences of Baghdad and wound up spending the rest of his life in Iraq.

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

**Teachers**

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

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¹ *Rawḍat al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, p. 217. In addition to them, Sheikh Tūsī was taught by teachers such as Ibn Ghāḍā‘irī and Ibn Ṣalt Alhwāzī, (cf. *A‘yān al-Shī‘ah*, p. 9, pp. 159 - 160; *Millennium Commemoration of Sheikh Tūsī*, the lecture of Muḥammad Wā‘īz Zādīh, p. 47 & 51).

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

At the time of Sayyid Murtaḍâ’s life, Sheikh Tusi wrote some books
such as Tahdhib, Istibšar (among the Four major References of Shi‘a)
and al-Nihâyah, al-Mafṣah fi al-Imâmah, Rijāl and a part of "al-Fihrist".
He also wrote a summary of “al-Shâfi” (about imamate) which was
originally written by Sayyid Murtaḍâ. Sheikh Tusi finished writing his
summary 4 years before Sayyid Murtaḍâ passed away in 432 AH.

Students

The most famous students of Sheikh Tusi are: 1. Sheikh Abû ʿAlî, the
son of Sheikh Tusi; 2. Abû al-Salâḥ Halabî, Taqî Najm al-Dîn; 3. Abû
al-Fatḥ Karâchakî; 4. Sheikh Sulaymân ibn Hasan šahrushî; 5. the
judge, Ibn Barrâj ʿAbd al - ʿAzîz Fârâblusî Shâmi; 6. Ādam ibn Yûnûs
ibn Abî al-Muhâjir Nasâfi; 7. Abû Bakr ʿAhmîd ibn Husayn ibn ʿAhmîd
Abû Ibrâhîm Ismâ‘îl and Abû Fâlib Iṣhâq, sons of Muḥâammad ibn
Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Bâbiwayah Qumî; 11. Abû al-Khayr Barkah ibn
Muḥâammad ibn Barkah Asâdi; 12. Shams al-Īslâm Abû Muḥâammad
Hasan ibn Husayn ibn ʿAlî ibn Bâbiwayah Qumî; 13. Abû Muḥâammad
Hasan ibn Abd al-ʿAzîz ibn Muḥsin Jahânî; 14. Muḥyi al-Dîn Abû
ʿAbdullâh Husayn Muţaţar ibn Alî Hamdâni Nazîl Qazwînî; 15. Sayyid
Abû al-Samsâm Dhûl-Faţâr ibn Muḥâammad ibn Mu‘îd al-Husaynî

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

Sheikh Tusi was an eminent hadith scholar and his book “Tahdhib al-Aḥkām wa Istibšār” (among the Four Books4) manifested that.

Mabsut

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

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6 cf. Hizārih Sheikh Tusi, the section of lectures, Hāj Mīrzā Khalil Kamarih‘ī, p. 194; *Rawdāt*, vol. 6, pp. 9 – 228.

4 The most important hadith references of Shi‘a.
method of previous jurisprudents in traditional fiqh, where it simplified
the duties of Muslims.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Bara‘at al-Dhimmah
In *Al-Nihāyah*, I promised to write a book on secondary topics as an additional supplement so that it be completed in all subjects, whether in uṣūl or secondary topics; but I changed my mind and decided to write a separate book on all jurisprudential books.

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

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

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

Regarding Mabsut, Martyr Muṭahari said:

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

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

Books

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

His books on hadith:

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

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⁹ cf. [Proceedings of] Hezareh Sheikh Tūsī, the lecture of martyr Muḥārīrī, p. 355 up to the end, extracted from it.
Mufid’s life. At that time, Sheikh Tusi was 25 or 26 years old; the rest of the book was written after the death of Sheikh Mufid;

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

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

**His books on rijāl.**

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

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

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10 Full name: *Al-Istibṣār fī ma’al-Ikhtalafā min al-Akhbār*
The primary aim in writing this book was to mention and categorize the numbers of traditionists rather than praising, criticizing, or modifying their sayings;

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

**Books on tafsīr:**

1. *Al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʿān,* one of his greatest books; 2. *Al-Masāʾ il al-Damishqīyyah,* which consisted of 12 issues on Qur’anic exegesis, mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* and *Al-Masāʾ il al-Rajabiyyah.*

**His books on fiqh:**

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

His books on Uṣūl:

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

His books on kalām:


His books on dua:11


His history books


11 Supplication
His books on answering questions

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

Socio-political situation

The fall of the Buyids

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

Before the Fāṭimids, the governor of Egypt, Anūjuy, the son of Akhshīd, had close consultation with Mu‘izz al-Dawla. In the time of Fāṭimids, al-‘Azīz, Fatimid’s caliph, sent some letters to ‘Aḍud al-Dawla to strengthen his relation with him, but gradually the Buyids were involved in disputes and enmity and were thus weakened.

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12 *A’yān al-Shi’a*, vol. 9. pp. 6 – 165; Cf. ‘Alī Dawānī, *Ibid*, the part of the lecture of Sayyid Hāshim Rasūlī Maḥallātī, p. 209 to the end & Muḥammad Wa‘īz Zādīh, p. 66 to the end; the writer of *Rūdāt al-fannāt*, vol. 6, from p. 229, introduced a lot of Sheikh Tūṣī’s books.


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

Sharaf al-Dawla\(^\text{17}\) got ahead of his brother Abū Kālījār\(^\text{18}\) who was in Baghdād and after his father took reign of Shīrāz. A year after ʿAḍud al-Dawla passed away, when his brother Mūʾayyid al-Dawla passed away in Rey, Sāhib ibn 'Ubbād called Fakhr al-Dawla from Khurāsān and appointed him as the governor of Rey after Mūʾayyid al-Dawla. Both the caliph and Samṣām al-Dawla confirmed Fakhr al-Dawla’s office. At that time, Aḍud al-Dawla’s five sons disputed over the succession of their father. That time, their uncle Fakhr al-Dawla did not have much political influence; therefore, each one settled in a region to counterbalance each other. However, Sharaf al-Dawla attacked Baghdād and imprisoned Samṣām al-Dawla in a castle in Fārs and took its control. He passed away in 379 AH.

\(^{16}\) Hasan Pīrniya, 'Abbās Iqbal, Ṭārīkh Iran, p. 165.

\(^{17}\) 372-379

\(^{18}\) Or Samṣām al-Dawla
In 380 AH, after Sharaf al-Dawla passed away, Bahá’ al-Dawla compromised with Samṣām al-Dawla who seized Fārs and Bihbahān, while Bahá’ al-Dawla ruled over Khūzistān and Arabian part of Iraq. After Samṣām al-Dawla was killed in 388 AH, Bahá’ al-Dawla occupied that territory as well. He passed away in 403 AH.

Afterwards, Sultān al-Dawla\(^{19}\) succeeded his father and ruled Baghdād and Fārs. In 407 AH, his brother Abū al-Fawāras rebelled against him and occupied Shīrāz, though he could not resist and so asked for Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawi’s assistance and occupied Kirmān and Fārs with the support of the Ghaznavid army. However, Sultān al-Dawla was recaptured there.

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

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

\(^{19}\) 403-415

\(^{20}\) The son and successor of Mushrif al-Dawla
and Turkish army until the Turks rebelled against al-Malik al-'Azīz Abū Manṣūr, the son of Jalāl al-Dawla in Basra in 419 AH and called for the help of Abū Kālijār who was unconcerned about Kirmān at that time. But in 420 AH, when Abū Kālijār attacked Wāsit, Jalāl al-Dawla severely defeated him and also seized Ahwāz; in the next year, he defeated him and occupied Basra. These civil wars continued between the two Daylamite Emirs until 428 AH.

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

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

²¹ Cf. Tārīkh-e Da‘lālāmeh wa Ghaznavīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids), p. 129; Tārīkh Iran, p. 165 to the end.
The people then pledged allegiance to his son Abū Naṣr Khusro Fīrūz, nicknamed Malik Raḥīm. But Abū Kālījār had six sons, each of whom claimed the crown, and sped up the decline of the Buyids. For example, in 443 AH, Malik Raḥīm conquered Iṣtakhr and Shīrāz, and his brother Fūlād Sutūn asked Seljuk Toghrul’s assistance. Toghrul sent an army from Iṣfahān to help him. Fūlād Sutūn severely defeated Malik Raḥīm in Aḥwāz, and in 447 AH, Seljuk Toghrul arrived in Baghdad, and Malik Raḥīm was taken captive by him. The caliph then ordered to give a speech in the name of Toghrul, rendering Malik Raḥīm the last Iraqi Daylamite.

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

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

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23 440-447 AH
24 Tārīkh Iran, p. 176; Tārīkh-e Diyālameh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids), p. 137.
Finally, with the foundation of the Sunni Turkish Seljuk dynasty, the power and influence of the Turks increased since the stabilization of the caliphate of Mu'tašam. The expansion of the Seljuk territory and the domination on the lands that had been independent greatly influenced the promotion of formal ruling and the apparent position of the caliphs, although the caliphs were pawns in the hands of the Emirs.

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

Migration to Najaf

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

26 Quoted from 'Azizollah Bayāt, Ibid, pp. 148 – 149.
was stronger than their differences of opinion. Moreover, their opposition with the Umayyad and Abbasid governments strengthened their unity, which forced the Abbasids to have weak reaction against the Shi‘as. Conversely, apart from some differences of opinion in kalām, Shi‘a scholars maintained their unity and this provided an opportunity for them: until the time of the Buyid dynasty in Baghdad, they could teach and debate on Shi‘a kalām, fiqh, and uṣūl conveniently and write major works that were accepted by both friends and enemies. Shi‘a scholars in Tripoli were especially dedicated to Sheikh Tusi in fiqh through his student, Ibn Barrāj.

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

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

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27 For more information, refer to Jacques Nantes, Tārikh Lebanon (the history of Lebanon), pp. 179 – 180, in brief, the crusader passed Lebanon again and it was important for them as a connection. In April, 28th, 1104 CE (Sha‘bān, 498 AH) Raymond de Seine Gilles who planned to make his private emirate in Lebanon, turned from occupation of Jubail to Tripoli with the help of the Geneva navy that blocked the harbor; but he faced with a firm castle above the mountains that prevented him to occupy there. After he passed away, Guillaume de Seire Dane took the advantage of the absent of Fakhr al-Dawla ibn 'Ammar, the last independent Emir of Tripoli and on June 10th, 1109 CE (Dhi al-Qa‘dah, 502 AH) with the help of Seine Gilles's army and the support of Biduin I, who came from Jerusalem, started the attack while the Geneva navy prevented of the arrival of Fātimid navy who came to help them. Thus, on July, 12th, 1109 CE (Muharram, 503 AH), Tripoli was defeated. In this event, the famous library of city burned completely.
earlier Islamic and Christian historians who wrote about the capture of Egypt, and because of being recent, it became popular and spread in Europe through Tārīkh ibn ʿIbrāhīm Isawī which hid the true event of the firing of the Shiʿa Āl-e 'Amār library in Tripoli by focusing on the false story of firing the library of Alexandria.  

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

Since al-Qāʾīm bi Amrillāh and Toghruł Beg Seljuki (a bigoted Sunnite) conspired against Basāṣīrī at the time of Sheikh Tusi in 447 AH, the harsh treatment against the Shiʿa increased. Because the enemies of Shiʿism were free from the Buyid rule, it provided an opportunity for them to relieve their inferiority against Shiʿas and the influence of Shiʿa scholars during the previous century.

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

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28 ʿĀli Dawānī, Ibid, extracted from the lecture of Muḥīʾ Tabātabāʾī, p. 99 to the end.

29 Literally meaning: "Hay-e ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal."

30 Literally meaning: "Al-ṣalāt khayrun min al-naum."
Salamah, the first supreme chief, Abū Abdullāh Julāb, the chief of the drapers of Karkh, was hung at the doorstep of his store with the charge of exaggerating about Shiʿas. Sheikh Tusi hid himself, but his home was plundered.\(^{31}\)

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

According to Ibn Jawzī\(^{32}\) a series of bloody events took place at the times of the authority of Sheikh Muṣīd, Sayyid Murtaḍā, and Sheikh Tusi in 408 AH, in the month of Muḥarram,\(^{33}\) in Ashūrā,\(^{34}\) and in the month of Safar\(^{35}\) in which many were injured or killed, and the shops, houses, and possessions of the Shiʿas were plundered, but owing to the presence of the Shiʿa Buyid monarchs, these brawls were pacified.

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

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

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\(^{32}\) In *Al-Muntażam*, Ibn Hajar Ṭasqalānī in *Lisān al-Mizān*, Ibn Kathīr Shāmī in *Al-bidāyah wa al-Nahāyāh* and Ibn Atīr in *Al-Kāmil*

\(^{33}\) , 417 AH, 430 AH and 432 AH

\(^{34}\) 440 AH

\(^{35}\) 443 AH and 445 AH
brought to Karkh in 449 AH was accompanied by three flags carried by the Shi‘as during pilgrimage of Imam 'Alī.\(^{36}\)

The migration of Sheikh was very short in time, because in the next year when the power of Basāsirī\(^{37}\) increased and in the absence of Toghrul while ruling Baghdad he was ineffective, the Shi‘as seized the opportunity to take revenge on their opponents for the attacks in Karkh. But very soon Seljuk Toghrul returned to Baghdad. Basāsirī ran

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\(^{36}\) Cf. Ibn Jawzī, _Al-Muntazam_, “The events in 448 – 449 AH”; _A’yān al-Shi‘a_, vol. 9, p. 159; Rasūl Ja‘fariyān, _Tārikh Tashayyu’ dar Iran_ (the Shi‘ites history in Iran), vol. 1, p. 366.

\(^{37}\) When Toghrul resided in Baghdad, Arsalān Basāsirī with the support of Mustansir Fātimi and his followers in Algeria, attacked the province of Mosul. He fought with Quraysh ibn Badran, Emir of Mosul and Qutlumash, cousin of Toghrul in Sanjar. In this event, Nūr al-Dawlā, Emir of Halāh (backed) Basāsirī and Fātimid caliph. Basāsirī and Nūr al-Dawlā defeated Quraysh and Qutlumash severely. The caliph, Qā‘īm send Toghrul on duty to Algeria and Sūltān moved there after 13 month of his residence to make up for this failure which was a threat for his office and also to get rid of the armies of Toghrul that due to their long residence in Baghdad had caused of general bothering of people.

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

After return of Toghrul from Baghdad and his movement to Hamadān, Basāsirī found an opportunity to attack Baghdad and because the caliph, Qā‘īm could not resist his power, left the palace (Dār al-Khilāfah). Basāsirī entered the center of Abassid caliphate of Baghdad in 8th of the month “Dhī al-Qa‘dah” and gave speech in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustansir Billah; and this way, the name of ’Abbasids was omitted of speeches in Baghdad. After his arrival to Hamadan, Toghrul engaged in rebellion of his brother, Ibrāhīm Yanāl; so, Toghrul fought with him and defeated him near Rey. He was killed by order of Toghrul. Then, Toghrul moved quickly toward Baghdad to push Basāsirī out of there and brought Qā‘īm back to caliphate. In 451 AH, after one year staying in the palace (Dār al-Khilāfah) of Baghdad, Basāsirī left there for his fear of Toghrul and revolutionists. Both the caliph, Qā‘īm and Toghrul entered Baghdad. Toghrul fought with Basāsirī to prevent him from arriving at Damascus and killed him in 451 AH. Then, he sent the head of Basāsirī for the caliph in Baghdad. Toghrul passed away in 455 AH after 26 years ruling in Rey; and his cousin, Alp Arslan took the throne with the help of Khājah Niẓām al-Mulk. (cf. _Tārikh Iran_, p. 319)
away and later was killed, and Baghdad was occupied by the followers of the 'Abbasids. The public attacks to Karkh restarted; more houses and public places were plundered and the smoke of fire filled the entire city.

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

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

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

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

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

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43 Sheikh Tūsī, Al-Ghaybah, p. 2; Wa‘īz Zādih, in Hizārah Sheikh Tūsī, p. 64.

44 Born in Baghdad in 372 AH
minister in the time of Seljuk Alp Arslan in 457 AH, 9 years after the migration of Sheikh Tusi.\textsuperscript{45}

**Founder of the School of Najaf**

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{45} Wa‘īz Zādih, Ibid. p. 65.
and a hub for scholars. It flourished with the presence of Sheikh Tusi as he was the founder of the nine-hundred-year old seminary of Najaf.\footnote{A’yān al-Shi’ah, vol. 9, p. 160.}

**The demise of Sheikh Tusi**

Sheikh Tusi passed away in 460 AH. In 455 AH his honourable son, Sheikh Abū 'Alī Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Tusi who received permit of ijtihad five years before Sheikh Tusi passed away and became the Shi’a leader and head of seminary. Abū 'Alī\footnote{Demise 511 AH} included a commentary on his father's book, *al-Nihāyah* and authored others works as well. Abū 'Alī’s son, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Hasan was the remaining scholar and Shi’a leader from the family of Sheikh Tusi.\footnote{According to 'Allāmah Tehrānī in the introduction of *Tafsīr Bayān*}