

Shi'ite Authorities in the Age of Minor Occultation, Part III: Shaykh Saduq

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ABSTRACT: Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Babiwayh al-Qummi was one of the greatest scholars of Shi'a Islam. His honesty, which earned him the title *al-Saduq*, assisted him in his success as a great traditionist whose works deeply influenced those with a thirst for understanding Shi'a Islam, and particularly the teachings of Ahlul-Bayt (a). Though not exhaustive, this article makes accessible to the reader an understanding and reference of Sheikh Saduq's life, works, students, and teachers. A summary of the political conditions during his time is also offered as this had an impact on his role as a scholar in that it gave him the opportunity to exercise his knowledge.

Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Babiwayh al-Qummi, known as Sheikh al-Saduq, was the leading Shi‘a traditionist of the 10th century A.D. He was one of the greatest Islamic scholars of all time whose reputation for honesty earned him the title *Sheikh al-Saduq*. He lived close to the age of the Infallibles (a), and with that opportunity, he compiled the narrations of the Ahlul Bayt (a) and published tens of volumes that proved valuable to the Islamic world, and particularly that of Shi‘a Islam.

His educational journeys

Sheikh Saduq was educated in the holy city of Qum, the center of the study of Shi’ite religious learning. Being influenced by his religious schooling, he traveled widely to collect traditions and met many scholars as a result.

He experienced his first journey to Rey, the capital of the Buyid dynasty, on an unknown date. What is known about the date of his journey to Rey is that he heard a part of the traditions of ‘Aīn ibn Ibrāhīm Qummī and other traditions of Sharīf Hamzah ibn Muhammad ‘Alawī that he had been in Qum during the month of Rajab, 339 A.H.¹ and he had been in Rey in Rajab, 347 A.H.² After the death of Ibn Walid, Saduq’s closest teacher after his father, it is inferred that the Sheikh desired to leave Qum in 343 and reside in Rey.

In 352 in the month of Rajab, Sheikh Saduq planned to travel to Mashhad. He consulted with Emir Rukn al-Dawlah, who asked Saduq to pray for him at the holy shrine of Imam Rida (as). On his way to Mashhad, he stopped at Neyshabur and heard narrations from great religious scholars of the city such as Abd al-Wahid ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abdus Neyshaburi, Hakim Abu ‘Ali

¹ Ibn Bābwayh (Sheikh Ṣadūq), *Al-Khisāl; Ma‘ānī al-Akhhbār*, p.301; *‘Uyūn Akhhbār al-Ridā* (a), vol. 1, p.178, cited from Islamic Eencyclopaedia, p. 63.

² *Al-Khisāl*, p. 641.

Husayn ibn Ahmad Bayhaqi, Abu Tayyib Husayn ibn Ahmad Razi, and other scholars.¹

Upon his return, he left Rey to go on the Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*) in the late 353. No evidence shows he benefitted from religious scholars during this trip. In the early 354, he went to Fayd, Iraq and heard narrations from Abu 'Ali Ahmad ibn Abi Ja'far Beyhaqi. He also went to Kufah, where he gathered narrations from over ten great scholars and Baghdad, where he had the honor of meeting and learning from Sheikh Mufid. Sheikh Saduq left in the same year, and on his way to Rey, he stopped at Hamadan and continued to gather narrations from great scholars. This was the end of his journey in the west.

In 367, Sheikh Saduq began his journey in the east. After his travel to Mashhad, he went to Māwarā al-Nahr (present-day Sogdiana). On his way between Mashhad and Turkmenistan, he stayed for a short time in the cities of Sarakhs, Marv, Mervrūd, Balkh, and Samarkand where he met yet another group of great scholars.² Saduq had two journeys from Samarkand to the major cities of Turkmenistan, namely Fergana (southeast of present Uzbekistan) and Ilaq (near present Tashkent). It was in Ilaq that he wrote the book *'Man Lā Yahduruh al-Faqih*. He benefitted from groups of scholars in both areas. In Fergana, Saduq visited the villages of Akhsikat and Jubal Butag³ where he also gathered narrations.

Knowing that another one of his books *Kamāl al-Din wa Tamām al-Ni'mah* was written after his journey to Māwarā al-Nahr (Sogdiana), it is inferred from the introduction (footnote) that Saduq had traveled to Mashhad again to visit the holy shrine of Imam Rida (a). He also had a short stay in Neyshabur, where he

³ Sheikh Ṣadūq, *Al-Tawhīd*, pp. 328, 387, cited in *Ali Akbar Ghaffārī*, *Ibid.*, p. 20 and *Encyclopedia*, p. 63.

¹ Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 279, 291; quoted from *Encyclopedia*, *Ibid.*, p. 293.

² *Sheikh Ṣadūq, Kamāl*, p.473, cf., *Ibid.*

propagated the Shi'a belief of Occultation and wrote part of *Kamāl al-Din wa Tamām al-Ni'mah*.¹

Sheikh Saduq's method of presenting jurisprudential and theological issues

Sheikh Saduq held discussions with people of various religions and ideologies about theological issues. He held debates with followers of some Imamate ideologies, including those who held an exaggerated belief about the Imams (a) and those who ignored the Imams' (a) positions. As a result, he wrote *Ibṭāl al-Ghuluww wa al-Taqsīr*, portraying his refection of these two groups.

Saduq's discussions also included issues about Mahdism. To explain Mahdism from the viewpoint of the Shi'a Twelvers, Saduq wrote various books, the most important being *Kamāl al-Din wa Tamām al-Ni'mah* in which he refuted criticisms made by the Mu'tazilites, the Zeydis and other opposing groups. He made serious efforts to dismiss the opinions of those who believed in the existence of a break in the chain of Imamate. He also made efforts to remove doubt of those who were confused.

Another aspect of Saduq's theology was seen in his *al-Tawhid* which was an effort to refute the charges laid against the Twelvers about the belief of comparing God to creatures (the belief comparing of God about the unity of God) and determinism just as he mentioned in the introduction of the book (p. 17).

One of Saduq's important activities regarding the Twelvers' theology (*kalam*) was writing books used as ideological references rather than in a narrative or deductive format. His *Risālah I'tiqādāt* is the first famous example of these kinds of treatises in the Twelvers' theology (footnote). The continuation of

³ For more information: refer to *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif Islāmī*, vol. 3, "ibn," pp. 62 & 63; 'Alī Akbar Ghaffārī, The Introduction of *Ma'ānī al-Akhhbār*, pp.17-25 "Rihlatuh-u ilā al-Amsār wa Al-Buldān; Abū al-Qāsim Gurjī, *Tārīkh Fiqh wa Fuqahā'*, p.130-133.

his work is in *Madālis* 93, *Al-Amālī* (pp. 509-511) and the introduction to *al-Hidāyah* (pp. 46-48). His way was followed by Sayyid Murtadā in the first part of *Dumal al-'Ilm wa al-A'māl* and by Sheikh Ṭūsī in *I'tiqādāt* and also by other scholars.

In addition to his theological works, his jurisprudential works mainly consist of hadiths texts either protecting or omitting their sources. He sometimes offers the meaning of the hadiths instead of directly quoting them; however, Saduq usually suffices to offer the direct quote of the hadiths without presenting its interpretation. He uses the approach of finding similarities between contradicting hadiths, called *Aṣl wa Rukhsat*. He also provided references for unauthentic hadiths. This issue is discussed in the history of Uṣūl. If he came across two contradicting hadiths, one of which was agreed by the majority while the other was not, he preferred the hadith in which most people did not agree with. He regarded the hadith in harmony with the opinion of most people as an act of dissimulation.¹

The position of Sheikh Saduq among scholars

There is no doubt that Sheikh Saduq was the greatest of all Shi'a narrators and traditionists. He was also renowned for his scholarship of Islamic law (*shari'a*). For this reason, many scholars have praised him, some of which are mentioned in the following:

1. Sheikh al-Ṭā'ifāh in his *Ridāl* and *Fihrist*²
2. Nadāshī in his *Ridāl*, Khaṭīb Baghdādī in his *Tārīkh*
3. Rashīd al-Dīn Sarwī in *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā'*

¹ *Encyclopedia*, *ibid.*, p. 4-63.

² In page 304 of his book, *Al-Fihrist*, Sheikh al-Ṭā'ifāh praises Sheikh Ṣadūq and then states: "He is the author of nearly 300 books" and then Sheikh al-Ṭā'ifāh mentions names of some books of Sheikh Ṣadūq.

4. Allāmah Hillī in *Khulāsah*
5. Hasan ibn Dāwūd in *Ridāl*
6. Ibn Idrīs in *Sarā'ir*
7. Sheikh Husayn, the father of Sheikh Bahā'ī, in *Dirāyah*
8. Sayyid Shafī' Dāpulqī in *Al-Rawdat al-Bahīyyah*
9. Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn in his permission to Sheikh Shams al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Sadaqah
10. Muhaqqiq Karakī in his permission to Maysī, Shahīd al-Thānī in his permission to Sheikh Muhammad Taqī Majlisī and others¹.

His Works

Sheikh Saduq wrote 300 invaluable books used as a reference by great Shi'a scholars, some of which are:

1. *Ibtāl al-Ikhtiyār fī Amr al-Imāmah va Ithbāt al-Nass fī-hā*;
2. *Ibtāl al-Ghuluw va al-Taqsīr*;
3. *Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni'mah* on occultation of Imām Zamān (a);
4. *Al-Amālī* which is known as *Majālis*;
5. *Al-Tafsīr al-Jāmi'* & *Al-Tafsīr al-Saghīr*;
6. *Al-Tawhīd*;
7. *Thawāb al-A'māl*;

¹ Abū al-Qāsim Gurjī, *Ibid.*, p. 130.

8. *Al-Khisāl*;
9. *Da'ā'im al-Islām fī Ma'rifat al-Halāl wa al-Harām*;
10. *Ṣifāt al-Shī'ah*;
11. *'Iqāb al-A'māl*;
12. *'Ilal al-Sharāyi' wa al-Ahkām wa al-Asbāb*;
13. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā (a)*;
14. *Al-Ghaybah*;
15. *Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*;
16. *Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*.

His Teachers

Though there is no clear record on the exact number of his teachers, Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi quotes 252 of them in *Ma'ani al-Akhhbar*, some of whom are:

1. Sheikh Ṣadūq's own father, 'Alī ibn Bābiwayh Qummī
2. Muhammad ibn Hasan Walīd Qummī
3. Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhim Qummī
4. Hasan ibn 'Abdullāh 'Askarī
5. 'Alī ibn Muhammad Qazwīnī, Husayn ibn Ahmad 'Alawī
6. 'Alī ibn 'Abdullāh Wurrāq
7. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Alī Asadī

8. Muhammad ibn Ahmad Shaybānī.¹

His Students

Najashi writes:

Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Musa ibn Babiwayh Qummi settled in Rey. He was our jurisprudent and an outstanding Shi'a personality in Khurasan. He entered Baghdad in 355 and the great Shi'a scholars heard hadiths from him while he was young.

Considering what Najashi said indicates that Shi'a scholars received hadiths from Saduq during his young years. It is clear that he did not merely gather hadiths throughout his journeys; rather, he disseminated the science and propagated the hadiths of Ahl al-Bayt (a). During his lifetime, which is estimated to be over 70 years, he constantly wrote books, held sessions about hadiths, collected the principles of hadith, and spread jurisprudential rules. Therefore, it is inferred that he had many students as well as those who narrated from him. Translators have mentioned the names of a few of the great scholars among them:

1. Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Mūsā ibn Bābiwayh Qummī, Sadūq's brother;
2. Sheikh Thiqaḥ al-Dīn al-Hasan ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Mūsā ibn Bābiwayh, his nephew;
3. Respectable Sheikh, 'Alī ibn Ahmad ibn al-'Abbās, Sheikh Najāshī's father;
4. Respectable Sheikh, Abū al-Qāsīm 'Alī ibn Muhammad 'Alī Khazzāz, the author of *Kifāyah al-Athar*, etc.;

¹ Dawānī, *Ibid.* p. 183.

5. Respectable Sheikh, jurist scholar, Abū 'Abdullāh al-Husayn ibn 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ibrāhīm Ghadā'irī;
6. Great Sheikh, Abū al-Hasan Ja'far ibn al-Husayn Qummī, a teacher of Sheikh Ṭūsī;
7. Sheikh Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn al-'Abbās ibn Fākhir Dūrīyastī, Sheikh Ja'far Dūrīyastī's father, contemporary with Sheikh Ṭūsī;
8. Abū Zakarīyyā Muhammad ibn Sulaymān Hamrānī;
9. Sheikh Abū al-Barakāt 'Alī ibn al-Hasan Khūzī;
10. Sheikh Abū al-Hasan, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Shādhān Qummī;
11. Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amurī;
12. Grand Sheikh, the leader of community, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Nu'mān nicknamed 'Mufīd' that Sadūq had heard hadiths of him;
13. Grand Sheikh Abū Muhammad Hārūn ibn Mūsā Tal'ukbarā;
14. 'Abd al-Samad ibn Muhammad Qummī¹ and others whose name could be seen in detail in Rijālī books [references about narrators of hadith].

The political situation in the period of Sheikh Ṣadūq

Sadūq's respected father passed away during the reign of Muttaqī, the son of Muqtadir in 329/941 - 333/945 who became a caliph after Rādī's death with the agreement of the minister

¹ To find more information about the students of Sheikh Ṣadūq, see Ali Akbar Ghaffāri, the Preface to *Ma'ānī al-Akhhār*, pp. 68-72 and Abū Al-Qāsim Gurjī, *Ibid.*, pp. 4-133.

Abu al-Qāsim Sulaymān and other officials. In that period, some were involved in fighting over the ministry and the caliph had to act in favour of some and against the other.

In such a situation, the Buyid dynasty gained power in Iraq. This dynasty was the most important one in Iran and then Iraq along with the Sāmanids of Khurasan and of Māwarā' al-Nahr. The three brothers who founded the dynasty, namely Ali, al-Hasan, and Ahmad, named it after their father, Buyeh. Ten years before the Buyid dynasty had entered Baghdad in 324/936, Iraq was under absolute dominance of the first prime minister, Ibn Rā'iq¹ and the Abbasid caliph had been deprived of a real executive power. The Buyid dynasty had previously achieved dominance

¹ Rā'iq was a servant of Mu'tadid Abbāsī who was sent to fight with Husayn ibn Hamdān in 303 A.H. The sons of Rā'iq who had been appointed as the rulers of Basrah and its suburb gradually seized lands and gained wealth in those regions and extended their possessions to Ahwāz in the period of Qāhir the 'Abbāsīd. These lands were under the control of the sons of Rā'iq until Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Būyah gained control over them in the period of Rādī, the caliph, in 322 A.H. But because Abū al-Hasan 'Alī made peace with the caliph and returned to Fārs, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Rā'iq was appointed for the second time as the ruler over those regions. Abū Bakr was allied with Ibn Muqallah who was the minister and the enemy of Muhammad ibn Yāqūt. Afterwards, Muhammad ibn Yāqūt was sent to prison by Ibn Muqallah and died there. The power and glory of Abū Bakr ibn Rā'iq increased and attracted others.

Mardāwīj was later killed by his Turkish slaves in Isfahān; the Turkish murderers escaped from the fear of the brave Daylamite men. A group of Turkish slaves went to Shīrāz under the protection of Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Būyah and another group went to Ahwāz under the command of Badkūm and doined Muhammad ibn Rā'iq. Counting on them, Muhammad ibn Rā'iq openly refused to send tax and governmental properties to Baghdād in 324 A.H and sent a message to Baghdād that he himself needed the tax for military expenses. The caliph and his minister could not cope with him. Finally, Rādī removed Ibn Muqallah of his ministry position; he had changed him several times since he was incapable of working efficiently and was a stooge of militaries. Moreover, the agents of the suburban areas did not send money to Baghdād in such a terrible financial situation. To ease the situation, he called Abū Bakr ibn Rā'iq to Baghdād to handle the affairs of the ministry and charged him with all duties (Hasan Pīrnyā, 'Abbās Iqbāl: *Tārīkh-e Iran*, SectionU Tārīkh-e Islam, p. 151 and pp. 4 – 153.

over Fārs, Rey, Isfahān, and Jibāl. Kermān was under the command of Muhammad ibn Ilyās. Āl-e Hamdān had also dominance on Mūsil and Dīyārāt (Dīyār Rabī'ah, Dīyār Bakr and Dīyār Mudīr). Egypt and Damascus were under the dominance of Āl-e Muhammad ibn Ṭughd al-Akshhīd. West and Africa were under the command of the Fatimids. The Sāmānids were ruling over Khurāsān and Sogdiana. Ahwāz, Wāsiṭ, and Basrah were under the command of Baridīds.¹ Carmathians had occupied Yamāmah and Bahrain. Tabaristān and Jurjān were under the domination of Daylamites and Umayyads were ruling

¹ The Sāmānids (Sāmānī) are related to Sāmān Khajāt, the Īwānī family who ruled over Khurāsān, Sogdiana and a part of central Iran from 261 A.H to 389 A.H (874 – 999 AD). After Sāmān Khadāt, his son, Asad became the ruler of Khurāsān. The caliph Ma'mūn turned his attention to all four sons of Asad. He appointed each of them to rule on a region in 204 AH (819 AD). He appointed Nūh as a ruler in Samarkand, Ahmad in Fergana, Yahyā in Chad and Ilyās in Herat. Among those four brothers, Ahmad was superior to others. Ahmad's second son Ismā'īl ended the Ṣaffārīds' occupation of Khurāsān in 290 A.H (903 A.D) and defeated Muhammad ibn Zayd, the 'Alawī ruler of Tabaristān, and occupied all regions between Kavīr-e Lut and the Persian Gulf and border of India to the suburbs of Baghdad. Principally, the centre of power of Ismā'īl was in Sogdiana and during his period of ruling, Bukhārā and Samarkand developed so much that it helped the progress of civilization, sciences, literature, and art in most parts of the Islamic world. The Sāmānid government at the time of the successors of Ismā'īl were weakened because of the revolutions in Khurāsān and Sīstān, and the credit of the Daylamites aggravated this situation as well so that Sāmānids after Ismā'īl, in addition to Khurāsān and Sogdiana, ruled over another country for half a century; gradually, the Turkish slaves who were in the Sāmānid court took the reins of government. The Alp Tigin established the Ghaznavid dynasty in 384 A.H (994 AD) and it replaced the Sāmānids in the lands around the south of the Oxus (*Amu Daryā*) river and lands on the north of it were possessed by the rulers of Ilkhanate of Turkmenistan. These rulers were presided by Turkish tribes and ruled from *Farghānah* to China. After domination over *Sogdiana*, they also conquered Bukhara in 380 A.H (990 AD) and finally overthrew the Sāmānids in 389 A.H (990 A.D). (*Mu'īn* Dictionary, Proper Names Entry: *Sāmānids*). For more information about the beginning of history of Sāmānids refer to *Tārīkh-e Iran*, Hassan Pīrnyā and Abbās Iqbāl, ch. 5, p. 221.

over Spain.¹ Daylamite Buyids who descended from Shīrdel were living in the mountains of Gīlān south of the Caspian Sea. Secure shelter of the Daylamites gradually accepted ‘Alawīd refugees who had escaped from the tyranny and oppression of the ‘Abbāsids since 175 AH and these refugees had created a pocket of resistance in that area until 250 A.H. One of the ‘Alawīds,² Hasan ibn Zayd, Dā‘ī al-Kabīr (d. 270 A.H) propagated Shi‘ism in Daylam and established the ‘Alawī independent government in Daylam and Gīlān.³ After Hasan ibn Zayd, his brother, Abū ‘Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Dā‘ī Ila al-Haqq (d. 287 AH) succeeded to the throne after him;⁴ but after a while, the Sāmānīds overthrew the ‘Alawī government⁵ and established their own government for thirteen years. After that period, Hasan ibn Ali, known as Nāsir al-Aṭrush, reinstated the ‘Alawī government and ruled from 301 until the end of his life (304 A.H). He left the government before he died and taught jurisprudence and hadith in the school he built in Āmul where he

² Rasūl Ja‘farīyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyu‘ dar Iran (The History of Shi‘ism in Iran)*, vol. 1, p. 359.

¹ The ‘Alawīds of *Tabaristān*: A group of great ones among the descendants of Imam ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) known as ‘Alawī or Zaydī Leaders revolted in the 2nd century A.H in Tabaristān. Hasan ibn Zayd known as Da‘ī al-Kabīr rose in 250 AH and many dissatisfied persons as well as the Caliph’s minions (such as Ṭāhirīds) supported him. He propagated Shi‘ism and advocated the Family of Imam Ali (a) (*Dā‘ al-Khalq*). His successors ruled over Tabaristān from 250/864 to 424 A.H (1034 AD). His last successor was Abū Ṭālib Yahyā Nāṭiq Bil-Haq who passed away in 424 A.H. Their capital city was mostly Āmul. They were eventually ousted by the Sāmānīds and the Zīyārīds. (*Mu‘īn Dictionary*, vol. 5, ‘The ‘Alawīds of Tabaristān’. For more information see *Tārīkh-e Iran (The History of Iran)*, Ibid., p.109 to end.

² Sayyid Zāhīr ad-Dīn ibn Sayyid Nasīr ad-Dīn Mar‘ashī, *Tārīkh-e Tabaristān va Rūyān va Māzandarān*.

³ Mar‘ashī, op cit., p.211, cf. Alī ibn Muhammad (ibn Athīr) *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 6, p. 403.

⁴ Mar‘ashī writes in *Tārīkh-e Tabaristān*: "...after a while, *Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad Sāmānī* sought to gain control over Tabaristān and he sent Muhammad ibn Hārūn along with a large army to Tabaristān...The first one they killed was Dā‘ī (Muhammad ibn Zayd) and beheaded him." p. 214.

is currently buried.¹ He propagated Zaydī thoughts among the people of Deylam and Gīlān and reformed common social and political organizations.

From the beginning of the fourth century, the Daylamites penetrated the west of Iran chiefly by mercenary soldiers and armed bandits; very soon, the Daylamite commanders (Leylī ibn Nu'mān, Mākān ibn Kākī, Asfār ibn Shīrūyeh, and Mardāwīd ibn Ziyār) succeeded to establish small governments; however, none of these forked forces of the Daylamites had an influence comparable with the influence which the Buyids as the greatest family of the Daylamites had gained in the west.

After Mardāwīj died, the three brothers who had established the Būyid dynasty invaded Fārs, Kermān, and Khūzistān.² Later, the caliph Mūstakfī, nicknamed them respectively: 'Imād al-Dawlah, Rukn al-Dawlah, and Mu'izz al-Dawlah.

In this period, the political power of the 'Abbasid caliph was being weakened while it was shifting to the supreme commander. The first supreme commander, Ibn Rā'iq was overthrown by the commander of his army, Abū al-Hasan Badkum Turk in 324/936 – 326/938. After Badkum was dismissed from his position, a period of disorder began with the interference of the Baridids of Basra and Kūrankīd Deylamī and then regaining the throne by Ibn Rā'iq for the second time who was killed by the order of Hamdānī commander of Mosul, Hasan ibn 'Abdullāh (Nāsir al-Dawlah) in 330/942 who had become the supreme commander. Also, Nāsir al-Dawlah was removed by a Tūzūn Turk.³

⁵ *Mar'ashī*, op cit., p. 215 - 221; *Tārīkh-e Ṭabarī*, vol. 8, p. 33, "The events in 302 A.H", *Al-'Ibar, Tārīkh-e Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 3, p. 483.

¹ Mas'ūdī, *Murawwid al-Ḍahab*, vol. 5, p. 273.

² Doel Kremer, *Ihyāy-e Farhangī dar 'Ahd-e Āl-e-Būye* (Cultural Revival in the Period of Būyid Dynasty), pp. 67 – 72.

Muttaqī, the caliph who had previously sought refuge with Nāsir al-Dawlah Hamdānī in the disputes between the Baridid brothers and Tūzūn returned to Baghdad under the protection of Tūzūn, commander of army; however, the next day Tūzūn blinded him and appointed Mustakfī as the caliph. Tūzūn died in 334/946 and country affairs fell in the hands of Ibn Shīrẓād, the Tūzūn's hired writer.¹ He barely could pay the salary of the army and so allowed them to plunder people's properties. Thus, the throne was thrown into disorder. People were not physically and financially secure and so emigrated. In that situation, Ibn Shīrẓād sent an army with Yanān Kūshah and appointed him as the governor of Wāsiṭ and Takrīt; but they revolted and called Ahmad ibn Būyah to capture Iraq. Ahmad went to Baghdad with an army. Ibn Shīrẓād could not resist and escaped to Mosul and Ahmad ibn Būyah captured Khuzestan in 334/946 A.H and then entered Baghdad.² The next day, he went to Mustakfī and the caliph nicknamed him 'Mu'izz ad-Dawlah', his brother Ali as and his last brother 'Imād al-Dawlah' and Hasan as 'Rukn al-Dawlah.' With this, he ordered to forge these nicknames on the current money of that period, the dirham and dinar.³

³ 'Abbās Pazwīz, *Tārīkh-e Dīyālamēh va Ghaznawīyān* (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids), p. 75.

¹ 'Azizullāh Bayāt, Ibid, pp. 141-end, 'Abbās Pazwīz, Ibid, p. 69.

² Miskiwayh, Ibid, vol. 2, p. 85; 'Alī Asghar Faqīhī. *Shāhanshāh-ye 'Adud ad-Dawla*, p. 28. It is mentioned in page 45: *Daylamites* believed in the 'Alawītes' caliphate and considered 'Abbāsīds usurpers, so *Mu'izz ad-Dawla* appointed *Abū al-Hasan, Muhammad ibn Yahyā Zeydī* as a governor who was a well-mannered and pious man and *Abū al-Hasan* wanted to remove the 'Abbasids from the government. When *Abū Ja'far Muhammad Humayrī*, who was the minister, found out about that said to *Mu'izz al-Dawlah*, "If there is a man (sayyid) who is worthy of Imamate, will you obey him or not?" He replied, "I will try to keep him content of myself." The Minister answered, "If he said that you must resign from power and be satisfied with its titles, would you accept?" He replied, "He would not ask me such a thing." The minister asked, "What will you do if he does?" *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* answered, "I will forget government if I can convince my self, unless I will be a wrongdoer and will go to the Hell." *Humayrī* stated: "Why should not the caliph be someone who is contented with a title and do not expect obedience from you and if later he tries

Mu'izz al-Dawlah ordered to curse Mu'awiyah in written format and those who had seized the right of Fatima (a).¹ The caliph was obliged to obey the Buyid ruler. Mu'izz al-Dawlah publicized mourning for the Commander of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (a) in Baghdad in 352/963 and appointed 'Ashūrā as a public holiday. He ordered that women come out of their houses and mourn and lament for the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a) by hitting their chests and heads and disheveling their hair.²

to rule [strictly]? You could remove him and appoint someone else instead.” (Quoted from *Rawdah as-Şafā*, vol. 3, p. 520. and *Hamedānī, Takmileh-ye Tārīkh-e Ṭabarī*, p. 149)

³ Khānd Mīr (Ghīyāth ad-Dīn ibn Humām ad-Dīn al-Husaynī), *Tārīkh-e Habīb al-Sayyid*, vol. 2, p. 426.

¹ *Faqīhī*, Ibid, p. 119. Regarding the events of 352 AH, Ibn Dowzī says, “*Mu'izz al-Dawlah* ordered people gather on the Day of 'Ashūrā and express their grief. In 'Ashūrā, markets were closed. Buying and selling were stopped. Butchers did not slaughter sheeps. Those who were cooking Harīсах (a soft dish consisting of ground wheat and meat), did not cook. People did not drink water. They set up tents in market areas and hanged coarse woolen cloth from the tents. Women hit their heads and faces and wept for Imām Husayn (a). On that day, people mourned for Imām Husayn (a). (Abū al-Farad Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Alī ibn Muhammad ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-'Umam-i va al-Mulūk*, vol. 14, p. 150.); About the events of the same year, *Ibn al-Athīr* says, “Sunnites did not have power to prevent Shi'ites from doing these acts [of mourning] because they were many and the king supported them.” (*Al-Kāmil*, vol. 7, following the events of 352 A.H) Since then, the same ceremony was being performed every year until the end of the Būyid government.

In 'Ashūrā, the inhabitants of Karkh would gather and mourn. It is clear from the writings of *Ibn Athīr* and *Ibn Kathīr* that the Shi'ites of Karkh would simulate the events of Karbalā (*Al-Kāmil*, vol. 7, p. 51 and *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nahāyah*, vol.11, p. 275, quoted from *Faqīhī*, Ibid). However, after Daylamites' victory and removing the influence of the Caliph, the Shi'ites and Sunnites formed two political parties in this city. The Shi'a backed the Būyids and the Sunnites supported Sabuktigin and Turks. This favoritism led to many disputes and conflicts. In 363, the people of Baghdad were divided into two parties: the Sunnites shouted slogans for Sabuktigin, the great chamberlain, and the Shī'a shouted for 'Adud al-Dawlah Daylamī (*Takmalah Tārīkh-e Ṭabarī*, Hamadānī, p. 215, quoted from *Faqīhī*, Ibid, p. 126). This division initiated many fights. Blood was shed and houses were plundered (quoted from *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, p. 68; quoted from *Faqīhī*, Ibid, p. 127).

Contrary to the day of 'Ashura, Mu'izz al-Dawlah, would also order people to express their happiness in the Feast of Ghadīr. On the eve of Feast of Ghadīr in 'Shurṭah' neighborhood, fire was set on, drums were beaten, horns were blown, and people sacrificed a camel in the morning.¹

Only after some months of during the occupation of Baghdad, Mu'izz al-Dawlah was informed about Mustakfī's plot. He ordered two Daylamite chiefs to tie a turban around the caliph's neck and pull him from his residence to the seat of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. This way they deposed him of the caliphate and threw him into prison. After a few days, Mu'izz al-Dawlah deposed Mustakfī and appointed the son of Muqtadir, Abu al-Qāsim as caliph nicknamed 'al-Muṭī' Billāh'.²

Since then, the 'Abbāsīd caliphs fully obeyed the Būyids. Ahmad ibn Būyah and his successors would pretend to respect the caliphs in order to achieve their goals and benefit from their favor among the Sunnis.

Ibn Muqtadir (Muṭī' 'Abbasi) who attempted to achieve the caliphate in the time of Mustakfī, hid for a while. After Mustakfī's deposition, Mu'izz al-Dawlah appointed Fadl ibn Muqtadir as caliph nicknamed as 'Al-Muṭī'' in 334 A.H; but only Mu'izz al-Dawlah alone had full authority. During his caliphate, the north eastern regions of Iran were under the control of the Sāmānids and the western parts of the Caspian Sea were under the control of the Ziyārīds (Āl-e Ziyār). Also, the south and west of Iran were occupied by the Buyids. The Buyids ruled over Baghdad in place of the Chief Commander as well.

Muṭī' was deposed of being a caliph because of paralysis and was asked to leave the caliphate to his son, 'Abd al-Karīm, to

² Ibn Jawzi, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, p. 16; Faqīhī, *Ibid*, p. 121.

¹ Miskiwayh, *Tajārūb al-Umam*, vol. 2, p. 87.

which he accepted.¹ 'Abd al-Karīm, nicknamed Ṭā'i' 'Abbāsī, ruled from 361 to 381/991; the end of his rule coincided with Sheikh Sadūq's death in Rey.

During the rule of Ṭā'i', 'Azud al-Dawlah, son of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, was the ruler of Baghdad after his father's death; however, due to irresponsibility and conflicts among his companions, 'Adud al-Dawlah Daylamī, the son of Rukn al-Dawlah, took the ruling of Baghdad from him and ruled over the city and made significant changes in Baghdad.²

The political power of the 'Alawids in the time of Sheikh Sadūq

Fast and constant socio-political changes in the third and fourth centuries caused various Shi'a groups to meet many of their goals in the political-cultural fights. These changes were also a result of the dominance of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. Since then, the 'Abbasid Caliphs could not continue to exert violence and force against the Shi'a.

The most powerful Shi'a government in the fourth century was the Būyid government whose origin of emergence was sought among 'Alawī government of Tabaristān. Before the emergence of the Shi'a in Tabaristān, after being released from the Fakhkh movement, Yahyā ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Husayn (a) entered in Tabaristān and fought along with 170 of his Basrī, Kūfī, and Khurāsānī companions in the time of Mūsā and Hārūn ar-Rashīd in 172 A.H.³ Hārūn wanted Fadl ibn Yahyā Barmakī to capture him anyway.¹

² *Ibid*, vol. 2, pp. 337 & 338.

¹ *Bayāt*, *ibid*, p. 141 – 145.

² Research: Madelung, Wilferd (editor) - Arabic Texts Concerning The History of The Zaydi Imams of Tabaristan, Daylaman And Gilan, Franz Steiner, 1987 trans. as *Akhbār al-A'immah al-Zaydiyyah, fī Ṭabaristān wa Daylamān wa Jīlān*, Beirut, Dār al-Nashr; "*Al-Masābih, Abū al-'Abbās Hasanī*" pp. 55 – 57, quoted by Rasūl Ja'farīyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyū' dar Iran (The History of*

Fadl ibn Yahyā entered Daylam and a great crowd of people gathered around him. By sending a safe conduct from Rashīd, Fadl ibn Yahyā forced him to accept peace and was finally murdered in Rashīd's prison.²

In the first half of the third century, Tabaristān was ruled by the Ṭāhirīds. The intrusion of the Ṭāhirī dynasty on properties which did not have any owner in Gīlān and people had authority over them, led them to revolt and people sent out Jābir ibn Hārūn from this region. Two men, Muhammad and Ja'far, the sons of Rustam, were leaders of the revolt. Because they wanted to create a strong alliance among themselves, they decided to invite one of the 'Alawīds who lived in Rey to this region. The Daylamites invited one of the 'Alawīds of Tabaristān, Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm, but he did not accept and guided them toward Hasan ibn Zayd Hasanī [first Dā'ī or great Dā'ī, 250-270 A.H].³

Hasan ibn Zayd who was living in Rey, one of other 'Alawite centers, went to Tabaristān by this invitation; he took an allegiance of the people and fought with the rulers of Ṭāhirīds. After conquering them, he established his government in Āmul. Āmul, Sārī, Gurgān with Gīlān, and Daylam were among the regions ruled by the Daylamites for 20 years.⁴

Although Hasan ibn Zayd was a Zaydi, he believed in Hanafī jurisprudence. And although Zaydids were members of Ashāb

Shī'ism in Iran), vol. 1, p. 288. Other records are mostly quoted by professor Ja'farīyān and we thank him. About this issue, you may refer to Āyati, *Tardumah Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 3, pp. 9, 603.

³ Abū al-Farad Isfahānī, *Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibiyyin*, p. 465, 468; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibid.*

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibid.*, *Akhbār al-A'imma al-Zaydiyyah*, Al-Tājī, p. 11, *Al-Masābih*, Abū al-'Abbās Hasanī, pp. 57 – 70, quoted from Ja'farīyān, p. 288; *Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibīn*, p. 472.

² Mar'ashī, *op cit.*, p. 201 – 210.

³ *Akhbār al-A'imma*, Al-Tādī, p. 21, quoted from Ja'farīyān, *Ibid.*, p. 291.

al-Sayf ("Men of the Sword")¹ against Imāmīyyah, the Zaydī jurisprudence had shared several ideologies with Imāmīyyah jurisprudence.² During this period, the Ṭāhirīds and Ya'qūb Layth sometimes engaged in war with them. They would be defeated after a while and retracted, but the 'Alawites who followed the people would occupy these regions again.

During these years, the 'Alawites revolted many times in Egypt, Iraq, Hījdāz, and Iran that Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr have written a detailed account of them. The 'Abbasid caliphs would see the origin of all of such movements in Tabaristān; therefore, the 'Abbasids themselves or their stooges provoked other governments to attack this Shi'a government. For example, during the time of the Caliph Mu'tazz, they provoked the Saffārids to attack this government.

The successor of Hasan ibn Zayd was his brother Muhammad ibn Zayd who established his government in Tabaristān by taking the advantage of the conflict between 'Amr ibn Layth and the Sāmānids.³ Historians have written that Muhammad ibn Zayd supported the 'Alawītes who were under the dominance of Iraq and Hīdāz by sending financial help;⁴ but after the dominance of the Sāmānids over Sogdiana and overcoming on 'Amr ibn Layth in Khorasan, Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad Sāmānī sent an army to Tabaristān. This army killed Dā'ī in 287 A.H.⁵ and the Sāmānids had established their government in Tabaristān.

At that time, the Shi'ites revolted. Even the owner of al-Zand revolted having the claim of 'Alawīte descendant and Zangī army resisted for 15 years (255 – 270 A.H). He ruled many years as an 'Alawī (using 'Alawī identity) in the south of Iraq and Iran until

⁴ Zaydids would consider someone as an Imām who is one of the descendant of Fāṭimah (A), brave, generous and revolts by sword.

⁵ Ja'farīyān, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 292.

¹ Mar'ashī, *Ibid.*, p. 211.

² *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 4, p. 577.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 403.

he was finally suppressed; however, Shi‘i belief had attracted great numbers of people and even Muntasir. Contrary to his father, ‘Abbāsī, the son of Mutawakkil, had a tendency toward the Shi‘ites by being inclined toward the Household of the Prophet.¹ ‘Abbāsī respected the ‘Alawītes as a result.²

Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Shi‘i revolted in order to support of the Imām of Ismā‘īlītes and ‘Ubaydullāh al-Mahdī in 286 A.H and dominated Africa, Egypt, and Damascus. In Yemen, Yahyā ibn Husayn revolted in 290 A.H and achieved dominance over it.³

Hasan ibn Ali, known as Nāsir Kabīr al-Aṭrush, was a pious and virtuous man. He was one of the descendants of Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidin (a) and attempted to call people to Islam in Gīlān and Daylamān.⁴ He propagated Islamic names among them, taught them the Holy Qur’an and took revenge for Muhammad ibn Zayd’s death from the Sāmānids. He also seized Tabaristān from the Sāmānids in 301 A.H. He called himself al-Nāsir Li’l-Haqq and named Āmul as the capital of his government. After 3 years, he died in 304 A.H⁵ and was buried in Āmul.

¹ *Maqātil at-Ṭālibiyyin*, p. 636.

² Compiled by Muhammad Ramaānī and revised by Malik al-Shu‘arā Bahār, *Mudmal al-Tawārīkh va al-Qisas*, p. 368.

³ *Tārīkh ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 1, p. 13.

⁴ Mas‘ūdī, the well-known Islamic historian and great geographer, who was contemporary with Nāsir Kabīr, spoke about Nāsir Kabīr with the name of ‘Aṭrush’ in two places in his book ‘*Tārīkh-e Murūd al-Dhahab*’ and writes: “Aṭrush revolted in Tabaristān (now called ‘Māzandarān’) and expelled ‘Sīyāh Dāmegān’h who were followers of ‘Abbāsīds in 301 A.H. He had a comprehensive understanding and knowledge in religious beliefs. He lived among Daylamītes for a while. In that period, Daylamītes were Magian unbelievers who were ignorant (as if living in the Age of Pre-Islamic Ignorance). The people of Gīlān were the same in that period. Nāsir Kabīr called them to One God and they accepted Islam. At that time, the territory of Muslims reached to Qazvin, Chālūs and other parts of Tabaristān. He built many mosques in Daylam...” (*Murūd al-Dhahab*, vol. 5, p. 260)

⁵ *Akhhār al-A’immah al-Zaydiyyah*, p. 71, quoted from Da’farīyān, *ibid*, pp. 345 – 349, Cf. Sayyid Kāzim Rawhānī, *Nihzat-hāy-e Sīyāsī Dīnī-ye Iran*

It is stated that Ahmad, the son of Nāsir Kabīr, believed in Imamate¹ and criticized his father for being Zaydī. According to Madelung's report, the Būyids were the Daylamites of Lahidan who became commander by serving in the army of al-Nāsir Li'l-Haqq and his successor, Hasan ibn Qāsim. Although they later supported the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate for political reasons, they would support the 'Alawites' ruling in their own territory. The children of the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawlah respected Abu 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī, the son of Hasan ibn Qāsim Dā'ī and the next Zaydī Imām after him. Abū 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī was appointed as a leader of the 'Alawites with the privilege that neither did he have to wear black formal clothes nor did he attend the caliph's court. We mentioned previously that Mu'izz al-Dawlah considered him as his Imām.²

First, Būyah's sons were among Nāsir al-Haqq 'Alawī's army though they doined Mardāvid's army afterwards. Because of the great competence they demonstrated, Mardāvid appointed them as the rulers of Rey. From there, they entered Shiraz in 322 A.H and prepared themselves to occupy Baghdad. At the same time, they had constant conflicts with Mardāvid and his brother, Wushmgīr. Finally, Mu'izz al-Dawlah entered Baghdad in 334 A.H and after a while, he dismissed Mustakfī and appointed Muṭī' Lillāh.

One of the main causes of the growing Shi'a population in the 4th century lies in creating Shi'ite governments. Iraqi Fātimids were ruling Egypt, Būyids were ruling Iran, Hamdānī Shi'ites were ruling Syria, Zaydids were ruling Yemen, and the Qarmatians as extremist Shī'a were ruling some regions. Judge Abd al-Dabbār,

(Political-religious movements of Iran), pp. 3 – 20; Ismā'īl Mahdūrī, *Tārīkh-e Māzandarān*, pp. 86 – 122.

¹ Ibn Isfandīyār (Bahā al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan), *Tārīkh-e Tabaristān*, p. 97, quoted from Ja'farīyān, p. 347; *Tārīkh-e Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 3, p. 13.

² *Akhhār al-A'immah al-Zaydiyyah*, Madelung, quoted from Ja'farīyān, ibid, pp. 353-54.

the opponent of the Shi'ites, admitted to this matter.¹ However, before the entering Būyids, interest in Shi'ism was increasing in Baghdad. The activities of the Shi'a in the Burāthā mosque were the reason why Muqtadir 'Abbāsī ordered to ruin it to suppress revolt of Hanbalites in 313 A.H. Before that, it was warned that the Caliph would not force anyone who badmouthed the companions of the Prophet.² After the Buyids came to power, a fair degree of security was provided for the Shi'ites and during 113 years of Būyid government, Shi'ites could develop Shi'ite ideology using relative freedom and present their beliefs and hadiths in the form of books and treatises.

³ Judge' 'Abd al-Jabbār Hamidānī, *Tathbīt Dalā'il al-Nabuwwah*, p. 433, op. cit., p. 361. Another Shi'ite government was Hamdānīyyan government which was formed in the early 4th century. This Shi'ite government rose from the inside of Arabic tribes and gained independence autonomy against 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. The major cities of this government were in Mosul and Aleppo. Nāsir al-Dawlah Hamdānī was the ruler of Mosul since 317 AH. Sayf al-Dawlah Hamdānī became the ruler of Aleppo in 332. Shi'ite tendencies of this government were well-known (Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Mahāsīn Ūsuf Atābakī, *Fi al-Mulūk al-Misr wa al-Qāhirah*, vol. 4, 5; Abd ar-Rahmān Sayf Āzād, *Tārīkh-e Khūlafā-ye Fātimī* (History of Fātimīd Caliphs), cited in the journal of *Hawzah*, no. 54, Bahman and Isfand 1371 (Jan. & Feb. 1993 CE) (Millennium Memorial Sheikh Mufīd) p. 7. On remaining coins of Hamdānīyan government, Imamate and guardianship of Imām 'Alī (A) has been inscribed (Ahmad Amīn Misrī, *Zuhr al-Islam*, vol. 2, p. 74, quoted op. cit.). ... Hamdānīd government was a longer experience of a Shi'ite government. Although it did not last long in the north of Iraq and fell after some decades because of conflicts with Būyids, but Hamdānīyan government of Aleppo lasted until 394 AH and then it became one of the dependent territories of Fātimīd government.

The powerful Fatimid government was an experience of a Shi'ite government. Although it developed from the west of Africa, but quickly settled in the borders of 'Abbasid Caliphate and was considered as a serious danger to their government. Hostilities and competitions between 'Abbasids and Fatimids lasted three decades until Fatimid government was removed by Ayyubids (Cf. *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, vol. 5, p. 384 op cit., p. 8).

¹ Ibn al-Jawzī (Abū al-Faraj 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Alī) *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 13, pp. 313 & 314.

Political relation of Sheikh Sadūq with the Buyids

The Buyids supported famous scholars such as Sheikh Ṣadūq (d. 381 A.H). He also had relationships with Rukn al-Dawlah. Rey was the major city of his government. He is called the sole authority of Khurāsān.¹

The most distinguished student of Ṣadūq was Sheikh Mufīd (d. 413 A.H) who revived the Shi'a in different aspects, especially theologically at the time of Buyids' rule.

Sāhib ibn 'Abbād, Buyids' learned and powerful minister, was very fond of the Household of the Prophet (s). More than half of his poems are in praise of the Household of the Prophet (s).²

The Shi'ites built many libraries and schools during the Būyid period, some of which were destroyed by Sultān Muhammad Qaznawī who had deep prejudice against the Shi'a and oppressed the Shi'a as a result. However, Shi'ism continued to develop there. In the period of Būyids in Rey, an educated class of Shi'ites developed in the city who participated in politics and were remarkable authors of scientific works. One of them was Abu Sa'id Ābī who was the Madd al-Dawlah Buwayhi's minister and passed away in 421 A.H. He was one of the students of Sheikh Sadūq and is considered a Shi'ite minister of the Būyids. For the first time, he prepared an index of verses of the Qur'an according to their subjects called '*Nathr al-Durr.*' Sheikh Sadūq had a close relationship with the Būyids. He gifted the book '*Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā*' to Sāhib ibn 'Abbād. His brother, Husayn ibn Ali, wrote a

¹ *Rijāl Najāshī*, p. 389.

² Cf. *Dīvān of Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād*; About Ṣāhib's religion, refer to *Āl-e Yāsīn* with the titles inside such as Al-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād, Hayātuh-u wa Ādābuh, cited in Ja'farīyān, ibid, p. 339.

book to redect *Tashbīh* (comparison with God) and gave it to Sāhib ibn ‘Abbād.¹

Sheikh Sadūq tried to support the Shi‘ite government of the Būyids and lead them. The withdrawal of this Shi‘ite scholar would make the cruel ‘Abbasid caliphs and the contradictory religion more dominant; thus, the Bābiwayh family and Sheikh Sadūq settled in Rey for Islamic and Shi‘ite interests. They presented their books to the Būyid ministers, which proved to be effective in their assistance to Shi‘ism.

The Būyids could not satisfy the ‘Abbasid caliphs because they weakened the base of the caliphate and also supported the Shi‘ites. The ‘Abbasid caliphate wanted to put the Būyids under pressure in any possible way. One way of doing so was the zealous Sunni governments ruling the east of Iran. The Sāmānids and after them the Ghaznavids were both anti-Shi‘ite governments; their most significant action in Rey was Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī’s attack on it.² He carried out this attack to take revenge on the ‘Abbāsīd caliph who did not feel content by neither the Būyids, Shi‘ites, or the Mu‘tazilites. The attack of the Ghaznavids on Būyids’ land satisfied the caliph. Historians and Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī state that attacking Rey was to suppress the Shi‘ites and Mu‘tazilites. Khājah Nizām al-Mulk quoted from a letter of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī saying:

He has come here not to occupy Iraq but to improve the corrupted conditions of this region. In his letter, he mentioned the conflicts between Sunni Turks and

³ Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 306, quoted from *Ibid*, p. 401; *Ma‘ānī al-Akhhār*, Preface by ‘Alī Akbar Ghaffārī, p. 84.

¹ Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī rose in Khurāsān in 389 A.H and established a powerful government in the east of the Islamic caliphate through numerous victories. He demonstrated himself as a loyal person to ‘Abbasid caliphate. He knew himself as a implacable enemy against the enemies of the caliph, especially the Karmathians and Shi‘ites; this was favourable to the ‘Abbasids. (*The Hawzah Journal*, no. 54, 1371, p. 9)

the Daylamites who were Shi'ite. He wrote, "...I preferred to come to Iraq rather than attack India. I also appointed an army of pious Turks and Hanafite Muslims as chiefs over the Daylamites, atheists (Zindīqs) and Esotericists (*Bāṭinīs*) with the intention of destroying them completely. Some were killed by the Turks' swords, sent to prison, or became homeless. I ordered all masters and those who have occupied a property in Khurāsān to be Hanafī or a pure Shāfi'i. The two families of our enemy are the Bāṭinīs and extremist Shi'ah; both are in harmony with the Turks.¹

According to Ibn Kathīr, Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī informed the 'Abbasid caliph through a letter in 420 A.H and wrote that he had brutally killed Bāṭinis and Shi'as who lived in Rey. They were hanged and the properties of their leader worth 1000 dinars were seized.² According to Ibn Kathīr's report, the Sulṭān hanged the Bāṭinis who were companions of Madd al-Dawlah who spent their time studying, destroyed philosophical books, and exiled the Mu'tazilites to Khurāsān.³

The appearance of Shi'ite governments created a calm period for religious scholars. Shi'ite jurists, narrators of hadith, theologians, and philosophers recollected scattered Shi'ite resources and were able to both revive and refine collections of hadiths. They restated the truth of Shi'ite thoughts in jurisprudential and theological areas and wiped unreal extras out from them. They prepared the way for regaining new powers under the available social security. Religious scholars understood that the existing opportunity was an effective and useful means

¹ Khajeh Niẓām al-Mulk, *Sīyāsāt Nāmeḥ*, pp. 87 & 88, cited in ja'farīyān, *ibid*, p. 402.

² Abū al-Fidā' ibn Kathīr al-Damishqī, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nahāyah*, vol. 12, p. 26, cited from *Ibid*.

³ Mahdī Muhaqqiq, *Duvvumin Bist Guftār*, p. 221, Quoted from *Ibid*.

for spreading Shi'ite thoughts. They eventually established good relations with them.

When the Būyids dominated, the political situations changed in favour of the Shi'ites. It was then that the 'Abbasid caliphs became obedient to the Būyids and the history of the Shi'ites entered a new phase in which Shi'ite scholars changed their policies and came out of dissimulation. They approached Shi'ite governors and introduced and propagated thoughts of Imāms (a); thus, by using Shi'ite suitable political situation, Sheikh Saduq posed jurisprudential and theological subjects and wrote books in various Islamic fields with Shi'ite tendency. He took a big step in introducing Shi'a Islam, in protecting the foundation of Shi'ah intellectuals, and introducing truths for Islamic society which became well-known among the people. With regards to Saduq's travels to Baghdad, Khaṭīb Baghdādī in *Tārīkh-e Baghdād* wrote:

He came to Baghdād and narrated hadiths of his father to narrators of hadiths. He was a Da'fari follower and one of the most famous Rafidīs. Muhammad ibn Ṭalḥah Na'āl narrated hadiths from him for us.¹

The relationship between Ali ibn Bābiwayh and Rukn al-Dawlah in Rey was so close that king respected him in the meetings and would push him to speak in presence of Sunni scholars by asking questions about Imamate and guardianship (*wilāyah*).² The author of *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* writes:

In an independent treatise, Sheikh Ja'far Durīyastī counted some of the considerable fruits he had had in some meetings of Rukn al-Dawlah. Because his treatise was very rare and it was a sample of the

¹ Quoted from Mudarrisī Gīlānī, *Muqaddamah-ye Khisāl* (The Introduction of *Khisāl*), p. 7.

² 'Alī Asghar Faqīhī, *Shāhanshāhī-ye 'Adud al-Dawlah*, p. 117.

great Sheikh's thoughts and it was related with the goal of this book, speaking about virtues of that pious scholar became frequent among people. Malik Rukn al-Dawlah heard about Sheikh Sadūq's reputation for leadership and authority among Shi'ites and became eager to hear his delicate words. Showing great courtesy, Rukn al-Dawlah entreated to take Sheikh Sadūq to him. When he entered in Rukn al-Dawlah's meeting, Malik Rukn al-Dawlah seated him by himself and greatly respected him. When meeting started, he addressed Sheikh and said: 'O' Sheikh! A group of scholars have gathered here and have differences of opinion among themselves about those who are cursed by Shi'ites. Some say that cursing them is obligatory and some say it is not obligatory and not permissible either. What is your opinion about this? Sheikh said: 'O Malik! Be aware that God, the Exalted, does not accept servants' acknowledgment of His Divine Unity unless they reject whatever among gods or idols rather than Him; as in the expression of '*Lā Ilāh-a Illa'llāh*' (There is no god but Allah) and He would not accept savants' acknowledgment of prophethood of the holy Prophet (s) unless they reject every false prophet at that time; such as Musaylamah-e Kadhdhāb [liar], Aswad 'Ansī and Sajāḥ and the like. Allah would not accept savants' acknowledgment of Imamate of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (a) unless they reject those who dishonestly have come to power as the caliph instead of him. Malik admired his answer and praised him.¹

¹ Judge Nūrullāh Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, vol. 1, p. 456. To bring this issue to a conclusion refer to the thesis of the author under the title *Rīshehhāy-*

Malik Rukn al-Dawlah also asked many questions to which Sheikh Saduq answered. The following are a few of them:

Malik: 'Although our opponents consider Imamate necessary, they say that the holy Prophet (s) did not appoint anyone as his successor after his death; thus, the people appointed a caliph.'

Sheikh Saduq: 'If it is true, then the succession of the first and second caliphs was contrary to the action of the Prophet (s) and was null and void; and if their action was true, then the action of the Prophet (s) would have been wrong!

Would God (swt) make a mistake, or the people? If someone as simple as poor rural man with spades and baskets as his possession writes a will for his children and family, how would the holy Prophet (s) pass away and not mention anyone in his will about his successor? If the holy Prophet (s) did not really appoint anyone as his successor, then Abū Bakr acted contrary to the action of the holy Prophet (s) and appointed 'Umar as the next caliph after himself. Also, 'Umar acted contrary to Abū Bakr and the holy Prophet (s). He elected a council with six members to appoint his successor.'

Malik: 'What did they assume to appoint Abū Bakr as the Imām?'

Sheikh Saduq: They thought that the holy Prophet (s) had appointed him as the leader of the prayer during the time of his illness while the holy Prophet

e Rawābet-e 'Ulamāy-e Tashayyu' bā Şafavīyān [Roots of relations between Shi'ite scholars and Şafavids] available in the library of 'Imam Khomeini Education and Research Institute'.

went to the mosque with the help of Imām Ali (a) and ‘Abbās, and pushed Abū Bakr aside. They would also narrate from Hafsah [the daughter of Abū Bakr] that the holy Prophet (s) had appointed her father as the leader of the prayer... Why do we have to accept narrations of Hafsah and Ayisha while they did not accept what Lady Fāṭimah (a) said about Fadak according to the fact that the holy Prophet (s) had granted it to her before he (s) passed away?

This was done disregarding the position of Lady Fāṭimah (a) as the master of all women in the world. She was infallible and the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (a), Imām Hasan (a), Imām Husayn (a) and Umme Ayman could testify Fāṭimah's (a) claim. How could Abū Bakr and ‘Umar did not accept their testimony?

How can the reports of Hafsah and Ayesha be accepted while they themselves narrated [from the Prophet (s)] that the testimony of a daughter for his father is not credible. Also accepting the testimony of women is not credible in 10 dirhams and more unless a man gives testimony about it?

Malik: Why do the Shi'a insist on the existence of twelve Imams (as)?

Sheikh Saduq: It is due to the Divine statement through the holy Prophet (s) just as the general principles of prayer are mentioned in the holy Qur'ān though the number of rak'as was determined by the holy Prophet (s). With regards to Imamate, the Qur'an tells us to, '...Obey Allah and obey the Apostle and those vested with authority

among you ...' (4:59) which is in agreement with the statement of the holy Prophet (s) about the twelve Imams (a) after himself.¹

Thus, when Sheikh Sadūq found Buyids' political condition ready to launch his plans, he stopped hiding his beliefs and revealed the truth by explaining the Shi'ite sciences. He took advantage of the ideal political condition of the Buyids and wrote books to introduce the Shi'ite system from the political, jurisprudential, and exegetical viewpoints, all resources possibly adding up to 300 books.²

The political relation of Rukn al-Dawlah with Sheikh Şadūq and Şāhib ibn 'Abbād

Rukn al-Dawlah, the older brother of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, ruled over Isfahan, Qazwin, Rey, and Hamadan for more than 44 years. He was a Shi'a follower and was considerably interested in the household of the Prophet (s). When Sheikh Sadūq came to Rey by his invitation, Mu'izz al-Dawlah and people of Rey welcomed him warmly. He stayed there for a while and propagated religion and Imamate. When Sheikh Sadūq wanted to go to Mashhad, Rukn al-Dawlah asked him to pray for him in the holy shrine of Imām Ridā (a). Sheikh Sadūq wrote about this in one of his books:

It was Rajab in 352 A.H. I asked for permission from the prosperous Emir Rukn al-Dawlah to go to Mashhad for a visit. After I left him, he called me and said, 'Mashhad is a pure and holy place. I have visited there and prayed to God for my requests. He granted my requests; so do not forget me and pray for me, because prayer is accepted in that place.' [Sheikh Sadūq writes:] I accepted and kept my

¹ *Ibid.*

¹ *Rijāl*, Najāshī, p. 389.

promise. After returning from Mashhad, I paid him a visit. When he saw me, he asked if I prayed for him and made pilgrimage on his behalf to which I replied that I did.¹

The Būyid rulers tried to select their ministers and commanders from the followers of the Household of the Prophet (s). One of them was the pious scholar, Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād, the minister of Rukn al-Dawlah. He was the minister for 18 years and in this period, he offered valuable services for propagating Shi'ism. He composed many poems praising the Imams (a) and propagated his beliefs. Sheikh Sadūq deeply respected Sāhib ibn 'Abbād. We can find the depth of Sheikh Sadūq's respect for Ibn 'Abbād in the introduction of *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā'*.

Sheikh Ṣadūq wrote this book for Sāhib ibn 'Abbād and dedicated it to him. In the introduction of *'Uyūn Akhbār ar-Ridā'*, he writes:

The author of this book, Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābiwayh-e Qummī says: 'I saw two odes of Sahib ibn 'Abbād, (May God prolong his life) which were about offering salutations to Imām Ridā (a). I wrote this book for the library he has built because I did not find anything more valuable for him than the knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt (a). I want to bring up the two odes of him in the beginning of this book; it is these two verses that inspired me write this book.'²

Then Sheikh Sadūq mentioned three hadiths of the Imams (a) and stated:

Imām Sādiq (a) states: 'Whoever composes one couplet in praising us, God the Exalted grants him a

² *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā'*, vols. 1 & 2, p. 718.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

house in paradise. No poet composes poems for us unless the Holy Spirit helps him.' So God may grant great rewards to the composer of these poems, Sāhib ibn 'Ubbād, and fulfils his wishes, and may God grant him the intercession of those whose names are imprinted on his ring.'¹

Muhammad Taqī Majlisī stated about Sāhib ibn 'Abbād in *Naqd al-Rijāl*:

He [Sheikh Saduq] was the best jurist among early jurists and contemporary ones and he was superior to what is mentioned as the knowledge and eminence.²

There were twenty thousand books in the library of Sāhib ibn 'Abbād which were listed in ten volumes of books. Sheikh Sadūq benefited from that great library.

Sheikh Sadūq passed away in 381 A.H while he was a little over seventy years old. He is buried near the tomb of Abd al-'Azim al-Hasani in the city of Rey where people continuously visit to pay their respects and seek blessings.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

² Khānsārī wrote: "He was known as Shī'ite in Rijāl books and in *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, Sayyid Radī ad-Dīn (Ibn Ṭāwūs) and also the author of *al-Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā* praised him and considered him as the poet of Ahl al-Bayt (a) (*Rawdāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 2, p. 26).