

The Origins of Imāmī *Ḥadīth*:
A Bio-bibliographical Cross-Reference
Analysis

By

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Abstract

The academic study of the history of Islam still lacks a systematic and nuanced approach to analysing the *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths*, similar to the methodology developed and applied by Joseph Schacht and G.H.A. Juynboll to Sunnī *ḥadīth* compendia. This thesis develops and tests an *isnād*-analytical method for exploring the date, origin, and development of Twelver Shī'ī (Imāmī) *ḥadīth*. It argues that a culture of writing emerged during the times of the fifth and sixth Shī'ī Imāms, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir (d. 114/733) and Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), resulting in the production of numerous written records during their Imamates. The transmission of these records influenced the approaches of later Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilers to *isnād* and formed a connection between *isnāds* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to earlier written records provided in two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, both of which written in the 5th/11th century. The method proposed in this study for Imāmī *isnād* analysis, termed as "*bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis*", comprises three main steps, which are developed and explained in detail. This thesis demonstrates the validity of this method through the analysis of a well-known case in Imāmī *ḥadīth* literature, drawing significant conclusions about the provenance, transmission, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīth*.

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INTRODUCTION

This study develops and tests a novel *isnād*-analytical method for exploring the date, origin, and development of Twelver Shī'ī (Imāmī) *ḥadīth* with the use of bio-bibliographical information on the transmission of written sources. The validity of this method is supported by analysing and providing evidence for a culture of writing that emerged in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and continued until the compilation of the Imāmī *ḥadīth* corpus in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. By applying this method to a well-known case in Imāmī *ḥadīth* literature, significant conclusions are drawn about the provenance, transmission, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. These conclusions are then tested against external evidence.

The focus of this study is the *isnād* analysis of Imāmī *ḥadīth*, with the aim of determining its date, origin, and development. Since the 19th century, scholars have questioned whether *ḥadīth*, as a primary textual source for the history of early Islam, can be traced back to its claimed time. To address this question, scholars have relied on two key features of *ḥadīth*: *matn* (text) and *isnād* (chain of transmitters). The use of *isnād*-analytical methods to identify the origins of *ḥadīths* and reconstruct earlier *ḥadīth* sources has been a significant turning point in academic research on the history of *ḥadīth* and early written *ḥadīth* records, which are not preserved as separate works but included in later larger collections of *ḥadīths*. This study is situated within the context established by Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler on the development and transmission of *ḥadīth* during the 2nd/8th century.

This study argues that a culture of writing emerged during the times of the fifth and sixth Shī'ī Imāms, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir (d. 114/733) and Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), as a result of a scholarly movement began by Muḥammad al-Bāqir and carried on by his son, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, along with the growing practice of writing down *ḥadīths* in Medina. This culture culminated in the production of numerous written records during the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and continued until the collection of major Imāmī *ḥadīth* corpus in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. The study identifies that this culture of writing influenced the approaches of Imāmī *ḥadīth* transmitters to *isnād* and created a connection between *isnāds* and the transmission paths to earlier written

records provided in Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries. The understanding of this culture and connection is crucial to developing and testing an *isnād*-analytical method for determining the provenance and development of *ḥadīths* found in extant Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections.

The method of *isnād* analysis presented in this study, which I have termed as ‘*bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis*’, consists of three main steps. Firstly, all *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* under examination are collected, even if there is a single strand of transmission. Secondly, those *ḥadīth* transmitters, who have been listed as the authors of *ḥadīth* collections, are identified, mostly using two main Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*¹ by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058) and *Fihrist kutub al-Shī‘a wa uṣūlihim wa asmā’ al-muṣannifīn wa aṣḥāb al-uṣūl*² (hereon *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*) by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Thirdly, starting with the most recent or youngest of these *ḥadīth* compilers, the *isnād/isnāds* of this *ḥadīth* are compared and correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission lines to the written works of these *ḥadīth* compilers, which are found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. If these *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical lines correspond with some degree of certainty, it can be concluded that the original core of this *ḥadīth* does indeed date back to the time of this author. These three steps are repeated until the earliest provenance of the *ḥadīth* is determined. This study tests the effectiveness of the proposed bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, by examining the extent to which it can facilitate the process of *ḥadīth* analysis and how far back in time it can take us. In what follows, I will discuss the status of the current academic research on the *isnād*-based methods of dating *ḥadīth*, and the gap that this study hopes to fill.

Academic scholarship on *isnād*-based dating of Imāmī *ḥadīth*

The academic study of the history of Islam still lacks a systematic and nuanced approach to analysing the *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of

1 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Najāshī, *Fihrist Asmā’ Muṣannifī al-Shī‘a*, known as *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Qum: Mu’assasat al-nashr al-Islāmī, 1365 SH).

2 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shī‘a wa Uṣūlihim wa Asmā’ al-Muṣannifīn wa Aṣḥāb al-Uṣūl* (Qum: Maktabat al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, 1420 AH).

ḥadīths, similar to the methodology developed and applied by G.H.A. Juynboll to Sunnī *ḥadīth* compendia. Despite several academic works published on Shīʿī *ḥadīth* in the last five decades,³ the date, origin, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīth*, as well as the question of its transmission during the formative phase of Twelver Shīʿism,⁴ have not received as much attention as

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- 3 For some academic works on Shīʿī *ḥadīth* in general, see Etan Kohlberg, “Shīʿī *Ḥadīth*”, in A. F. L. Beeston (ed.), *Arabic Literature until the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 229-307; idem., “Introduction: Shīʿī *Ḥadīth*”, in Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shiʿi Islam: History, Theology and Law* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 165-179; Harald Motzki (ed.), *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. xxxii-xxxiii.
- 4 On the issues of the origin, development, and transmission of Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, see Kohlberg, Etan, “*al-Uṣūl al-arbaʿumīʿa*”, in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), pp. 128-166; idem., “Authoritative Scriptures in Early Imāmī Shīʿism”, in Evelyne Patlagean and Alain Le Boulluec (eds.), *Les retours aux Écritures: Fondamentalismes présents et passés* (Belgium: Peeters, 1993), pp. 295-312; Robert Gleave, “Muck and Brass: The Context for Analysing Early Imāmī Legal Doctrine” in Petra M. Sijpesteijn and Camilla Adang (eds.), *Islam at 250* (Brill, 2021: <https://brill.com/view/title/56981>), pp. 133-149; idem., “Early Shiite hermeneutics and the dating of *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*”, *Bulletin of SOAS* 78 (2015), pp. 83-103; Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shiʿite Literature* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003); Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shiʿism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, translated by David Streight (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Wilfred Madelung, “The Sources of Ismāʿīlī Law”, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35 (1976). pp. 29-40; idem., “Some Notes on Non-Ismāʿīlī Shiism in the Maghrib”, in *Studia Islamica* 44 (1977), pp. 87-97; Hasan Ansari, *Lʾimamat et lʾOccultation selon lʾimamisme* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 1-268; Kumail Rajani, “Between Qum and Qayrawān: Unearthing Early Shii *ḥadīth* Sources”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 84 (2021), pp. 419-442; Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shiʿism: Ḥadīth as Discourse between Qum and Baghdad* (UK: Curzon, 2000); Najam Haider, *The Origins of the Shiʿa: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Maria Massi Dakake, “Writing and Resistance: The Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Early Shiʿism”, in Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shiʿi Islam: History, Theology and Law* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 181-201; Mushegh Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shiʿi*

those of Sunnī ḥadīth. Moreover, there has not been a specific *isnād*-analytical method developed and tested for determining the provenance and development of Imāmī ḥadīth. Most of the academic methods for ḥadīth dating,⁵ which are based on the characteristic features of Sunnī ḥadīth development and transmission during the first three Islamic centuries, are not applicable to the transmission of the vast majority of Imāmī ḥadīths, which began in the first half of the 2nd/8th century, roughly coinciding with the official inception of written transmission of ḥadīth in Medina.

The development and transmission of Sunnī ḥadīths has been a subject of investigation among academic scholars due to the time interval between their alleged origins and their compilation in later larger collections.⁶ Similarly, the development and transmission of Imāmī ḥadīth during its 350-year formative phase, between the first half of the 2nd/8th and the 5th/11th centuries, raises questions about their origins and development. However, there is a fundamental difference between the history of development of Imāmī and Sunnī ḥadīths. Sunnī ḥadīths are believed to date back to the first half of the 1st/7th century, while Imāmī ḥadīths are mostly purported to go back to the first half of the 2nd/8th century, to the times of the fifth and sixth Shīʿī Imāms, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, which coincided with the official inception of writing ḥadīths in Medina. This indicates that, unlike Sunnī ḥadīths, the majority of Imāmī ḥadīths emerged in "an intellectual milieu which had just witnessed the emergence of the written transmission

Islam: The Ghulat Muslims and their Beliefs (UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Ron Buckley, "On the Origins of Shīʿī Hadīth", *Muslim World* 88 (1998), pp. 165–184; idem., "Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq as a Source of Shīʿī Traditions", in *The Islamic Quarterly* 43 (1999), pp. 37–58.

5 To know more about the methods of ḥadīth analysis developed based on the characteristics of Sunnī ḥadīth, see Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim traditions: A survey", in *Arabica* 52 (2005); Pavel Pavlovitch, "Dating", in Daniel W. Brown (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Concise Companion to the Hadith* (John Wiley & Sons, 2020), pp. 113–33. On the issues of the origins and developments of Sunnī ḥadīths, see Herbert Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); see Motzki, *Ḥadīth*; Belal Abu-Alabbas, Michael Dann, and Christopher Melchert (eds.), *Modern Hadith Studies: Continued Debates and New Approaches* (Edinburgh, 2020).

6 Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xv.

of *ḥadīth*".⁷ Hence, while both Sunnī and Imāmī *ḥadīths* pose questions about their origins and development, the historical context and timeline differ significantly.

Since the 19th century, the question of the origins and dates of *ḥadīths* has been a central issue in modern academic scholarship.⁸ Scholars hold differing opinions on the history and historicity of *ḥadīths*. Some like Ignaz Goldziher and Joseph Schacht argue that it is challenging to use *ḥadīths* to reconstruct the history of the time to which they allegedly refer,⁹ but they can be useful for understanding the time in which "they actually originated".¹⁰ These scholars employed methods of *matn*-based dating and *ḥadīth* analysis, and there is no doubt about the usefulness of *matn* in determining the origin and development of *ḥadīth*. However, the usefulness of *isnāds* found in Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections for determining the provenance and historical reliability of *ḥadīths* is still highly controversial. The same goes for those *isnāds* included in Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilations, which have received scant attention in the study of early Islam.

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- 7 Kumail Rajani, "Between Qum and Qayrawān: Unearthing Early Shii *ḥadīth* Sources", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (2021), p. 423.
- 8 Harald Motzki, *Hadith: origins and developments* (Routledge, 2016), p. xvii.
- 9 Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim traditions: A survey", in *Arabica* 52, no. 2 (2005), p. 205; idem., *Reconstruction of a Source of Ibn Ishāq's Life of the Prophet and Early Qur'an Exegesis* (N): Gorgias Press, 2017), pp. 10-11; Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien)*, edited by S.M. Stern, translated by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 17-37; Joseph Schacht, "A Revaluation of Islamic Tradition", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49 (1949), pp. 143-154; John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford, 1978), pp. ix-x; Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 3-11, 152 and 203-250; Michael Cook, *Muhammad* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 1-4; Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 14-15. To know more about the other academic scholars who are also doubtful about the alleged origin of *ḥadīths*, see Motzki, *Reconstruction of a source of Ibn Ishāq's life of the Prophet and early Qur'an exegesis: A Study of Early Ibn 'Abbās Traditions* (Gorgias Press, 2017), pp. 9-19; idem., *Ḥadīth*, pp. xiii-liii.
- 10 Motzki, "Dating", pp. 204-205; Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xviii; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 19.

Goldziher is considered one of the first scholars to have dealt with the question of the originality of *ḥadīth*. He believed that the vast stock of *ḥadīths* was the result of later forgery and “religious, historical, and social development”, which occurred during the era of the Umayyad caliphate and the first century of the ‘Abbāsids.¹¹ Unlike some scholars, Goldziher did not discuss or employ *isnād* in his analysis.¹² This may be due to his observation of inconsistencies in the *isnāds* found in Sunnī works,¹³ as well as his rejection of the assumed Muslim methods of transmitter criticism, which typically involves checking the trustworthiness of each transmitter mentioned in the *isnād*.¹⁴ Scholars like Goldziher argue that the *ḥadīths* found in the available *ḥadīth* collections were not compiled and selected based on investigating “the internal evidence provided by the texts themselves”, but rather on transmitter criticism, which cannot be historically trusted as a reliable approach.¹⁵

Joseph Schacht is one of the most well-known scholars, who have addressed the issue of appropriate historical methods for determining the origins of *ḥadīths*. He goes beyond Goldziher's skeptical position and argues that it is necessary to “abandon” the assumption that there is historically reliable information going back to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad.¹⁶ However, Schacht recognises the usefulness of *isnād* in determining the provenance of *ḥadīths*. He notes that *isnād* forms “the most arbitrary part” of a particular *ḥadīth*, but if one can discern “the tendencies underlying their creation and development”, it can be used to discuss the date and origin of that *ḥadīth*.¹⁷

Schacht is known for developing an influential method of *isnād* criticism called the “common-link theory”.¹⁸ This theory focuses on identifying the common link, which is the first transmitter who distributed and transmitted

11 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, pp. 5-19.

12 Motzki, Harald. “Dating Muslim traditions: A survey”, *Arabica* 52/2 (2005), p. 206.

13 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, p. 138.

14 Motzki, “Dating”, pp. 206-210.

15 Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xvi.

16 Joseph Schacht, “A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1949), pp. 146-47.

17 Joseph Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (1950), p. 163.

18 Motzki, “Dating”, pp. 219-223.

a particular *ḥadīth* to multiple individuals. According to Schacht, the common link can provide a "firm date to many traditions and to the doctrines represented by them" because it is responsible for creating the same core of information found in multiple *ḥadīths*.¹⁹ Schacht argues that the common link is either the originator of the *ḥadīth* or the first transmitter to whom it was ascribed by someone else.²⁰ Therefore, the time of the common link represents the earliest possible date for a *ḥadīth* under Schacht's theory.

The "common-link theory" developed by Schacht is based on the premise that all *isnāds* of *ḥadīths* with the same content consist of two parts: the fictitious part, which is a single strand from the common link to the earliest authority, and the real part that can be used for historical studies.²¹ Juynboll then went on to further develop and test this theory. Although Juynboll's approach to the main function of the common link is similar to Schacht's, he does not reject the possibility that the date of a particular *ḥadīth* can be older than the time of the common link. However, he claims that it is not possible to assume that the individual named by the common link is actually his informant.²² Juynboll's argument for considering the time of the common link as the earliest possible date for a particular *ḥadīth* seems inconsistent. It is possible for the common link to have received this *ḥadīth* from some transmitters but included the names of his other informants when transmitting it, which was common in *ḥadīth* transmission during the first half of the 2nd/8th century.²³

Gleave's application of Juynboll's common link theory to Shī'ī *ḥadīth* is a significant example in academic scholarship. He specifically focuses on dating a report mentioned in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, which is attributed to Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī (d. before 95/714) and is said to be a collection of sayings attributed to the first Shī'ī Imām, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), allegedly "the oldest surviving Shī'ite book".²⁴ The book's origin and

19 Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 175.

20 Ibid, 171-172; Motzki, Harald, *Dating Muslim traditions: A survey*, p. 222.

21 Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 171.

22 Motzki, Harald, *Dating Muslim traditions: A survey*, p. 226.

23 Ibid., p. 226.

24 See Modarressi, *Tradition*, pp. 82-86.

historicity have previously been studied.²⁵ Gleave analyses the *matn* of the first part of *Kitāb Sulaym*'s tenth *ḥadīth*, which discusses "the differences in transmission and Quranic interpretation found amongst the people".²⁶ He argues that this part dates back to the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries.²⁷ Using Juynboll's common link theory, he provides a diagram of all *isnād* variants of this *ḥadīth*,²⁸ but claims that dating based on the common link does not correspond with *matn*-based dating,²⁹ leading to "inconclusive results".³⁰

There are two main reasons why Gleave did not find any correspondence between the analysis of the *isnāds* of the first part of the tenth report of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* and his dating based on its *matn*. Firstly, Gleave examines the *isnāds* for all parts of this report, not only the first part, which he focuses on. As a result, analysing the *isnāds* provided by Gleave may lead to dating the original core, if any, of this report, not its first part, which Gleave suggests might date back to the late 2nd/8th century at the earliest. Secondly, when applying Juynboll's common link theory, Gleave considers the time of the common link as the earliest possible date of a particular *ḥadīth*. However, as argued in Chapter 5 of this study, the common link should typically be regarded as the first collector or professional disseminator of this *ḥadīth* or, in the case of Imāmī *ḥadīth* development and transmission, the collector of a

25 See Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition*, pp. 82–86; Dakake, "Love, loyalty and faith: defining the boundaries of the early Shi'ite community", PhD dissertation, Princeton (2000), pp. 346–56; Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, "Note bibliographique sur le *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, le plus ancien ouvrage shi'ite existant", in Amir-Moezzi, Bar-Asher and S. Hopkins (eds.), *Le shī'isme Imāmīte quarante ans après. Hommages à Etan Kohlberg* (Paris, 2009), pp. 33–48. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran Silencieux et le Coran parlant* (Paris, 2011), pp. 27–62; *ibid.*, "The silent Quran and the speaking Quran: history and scriptures through the study of some ancient texts", in *Studia Islamica* 108 (2013), pp. 143–74; Patricia Crone, "Mawālī and the Prophet's family: an early Shi'ite view", in Monique Bernards and John Nawas (eds.), *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 167–94.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

28 See *ibid.*, p. 100.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 99–101.

30 Gleave, "Muck and Brass", p. 148, footnote 24.

larger *ḥadīth* work that consists of several earlier written records. Chapter 5 provides a detailed examination of a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, and shows how the proposed bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis can shed light on the date of the original or old core of the *ḥadīths* found in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* through an investigation of its *isnād*.

There has been some debate about the premises of Schacht and Juynboll regarding the role of the common link.³¹ However, this does not necessarily mean that the time of the common link cannot be used for dating *ḥadīths*. Instead of assuming that the common link is the earliest transmitter, it is possible to view these common transmitters, excluding the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, as "the first major collectors and professional disseminators of knowledge in general, and of traditions about individuals of the first Islamic century in particular".³² This alternative approach allows us to use the time of the common link as the latest possible date of a *ḥadīth*, rather than the earliest.³³ Nevertheless, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that the common link might have fabricated a *ḥadīth* or altered its *matn*.³⁴ Therefore, other rigorous criteria must accompany and support the results obtained from *isnād* analysis to arrive at historically and methodologically sound conclusions regarding the dating of a *ḥadīth*.

Investigating the issue of whether *ḥadīths* were compiled in writing during the 1st/7th and first half of the 2nd/8th centuries can provide support for the view that the time of the common link should generally be treated as the latest possible date. This perspective has been proposed and developed by scholars such as Gregor Schoeler and Harald Motzki, who argue that from the end of the 1st/7th century onward, some Muslim scholars began to write down *ḥadīths* and disseminate their compilations or notes to students, often through lectures.³⁵ As a result, the primary sources of later *ḥadīth* collections produced after the 2nd/8th centuries "were not necessarily either genuine (compiled) or purely oral transmissions," but consisted of personal notes recorded by teachers and orally transmitted to

31 See Motzki, *Dating*, p. 204-253.

32 Ibid., pp. 227-228.

33 Ibid., p. 242.

34 Ibid., p. 228.

35 Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xv.

their audiences, who subsequently committed them to writing, either during or after the lectures.³⁶ Although most *ḥadīth* works compiled before the mid-2nd/8th century are not accessible,³⁷ it is sometimes possible to reconstruct their contents based on later *ḥadīth* collections, which are available today as distinct *ḥadīth* works.³⁸

By the middle of the 2nd/8th century, collecting and codifying *ḥadīths* had become an established practice in Medina.³⁹ The findings of scholars such as Motzki and Schoeler are also consistent with the earlier theory of William Muir, Aloys Sprenger, Reinhart Dozy, and Alfred von Kremer, who argued that at the end of the 1st/7th century, a combination of caliphal initiatives and personal motivations led to the compilation and written preservation of *ḥadīths* by their transmitters.⁴⁰ This historical context can also be applied to the formation of a culture of writing among the Imāmī community and the transmission of their *ḥadīth* works during the 2nd/8th century. Motzki's and Schoeler's theories on Sunnī *ḥadīth* development, transmission, and the role of the common link are discussed extensively in Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 5 of the present study.

One of the most significant results of the approaches taken by scholars studying the official inception of writing down and disseminating *ḥadīths* in written form during the last quarter of the 1st/7th and the first half of the 2nd/8th centuries is that parts of each *isnād* found in available Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections can be seen as a transmission path to earlier sources, whether in the form of books or lecture-notes written down by students during a

36 Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xxxi; Schoeler, "Oral Torah and *Ḥadīth*", pp. 67-108.

37 Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xv.

38 Motzki, *Muṣannaf*, pp. 1-21

39 See Schoeler, "Recording", in Daniel W. Brown (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Concise Companion to the Hadith* (John Wiley & Sons, 2020), pp. 91-112.

40 See William Muir, *Life of Mahomet* (London, 1858), pp. xxxii-xxxiv; Aloys Sprenger, "Über das Traditionswesen bei den Arabern", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 10 (1856), pp. 4-8; idem, "On the Origin and Progress of Writing Down Historical Facts Among the Musulmans", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 25 (1856), pp. 375-81; Reinhart Dozy, *De voornaamste Godsdiensten. Het Islamisme* (Leiden, 1863), p. 80; Alfred von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 138; idem., *Culturgeschichte des Islams unter den Chalifen* (Wien, 1875), vol. I, pp. 475-76.

teaching circle. This explanation of the development and transmission of *ḥadīths* can also be reconciled with the theory developed by another group of scholars, including Nabia Abbott, Fuat Sezgin, and Hossein Modarressi, on the origin and development of Sunnī and Shīʿī *ḥadīths*, respectively.⁴¹ According to this theory, *isnāds* represent later *ḥadīth* compilers' paths of transmission to earlier written records. Thus, whether a whole *isnād* or a part of it can be considered a written transmission line to earlier records, enabling the reconstruction of earlier written records that are not preserved as separate *ḥadīth* works. Chapter 3 will demonstrate how this reconciliation between the two groups of scholars is possible.⁴²

To avoid overstating the historical reliability of *isnāds* and transmission paths found in bio-bibliographical dictionaries, it is essential to consider whether and to what extent they can be trusted in determining the date and origin of a particular *ḥadīth*. According to Motzki, a reliable set of arguments or "criteria of authenticity" can be established to assess the likelihood that an early Muslim *ḥadīth* collector could have fabricated *isnāds*.⁴³ Therefore, by applying these criteria, one can determine the extent to which the information provided by compilers about their transmission chains is historically reliable.⁴⁴ While some of Motzki's arguments can be generalised and applied to Shīʿī *ḥadīth* collections, specific criteria must be developed to scrutinise the historical reliability of Imāmī *isnāds* based on the characteristics and presentation methods used in extant Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections such as the four major Imāmī *ḥadīth* compendia, collectively

41 See Sezgin Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 82 ff., Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary*; Modarressi, *Tradition*.

42 See Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte*; J.A. Bellamy, "Sources of Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā's *Kitāb Maqāt al-Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984): 3-19; Khalil Athamina, "The sources of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984): 237-262; Albrecht Noth, "Der Charakter der ersten grossen Sammlungen von Nachrichten zur frühen Kalifenzeit", *Der Islam* 47 (1971), pp. 168-199; Ursula Sezgin, *Abu Miḥnaf: Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der Umayyadischen Zeit* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Gernot Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madā'inīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen", in *Oriens* 23-24 (1974), pp. 103-133.

43 See Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 77-93.

44 Motzki, *Origins*, pp. xi-xvii.

known as *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* (the Four Books). Chapter 3 of the present study will explore the criteria for assessing the historical reliability of Imāmī *isnāds*.

As mentioned, Modarressi is among the few scholars in the field of academic scholarship on the history of *ḥadīth*, who has attempted to apply the assumption of written transmission to Imāmī *isnāds* to "locate and identify the written heritage of the Imāmīte Shīʿite branch of Islam in the first three centuries of its history".⁴⁵ As noted, he suggests that the *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* mostly represent "authors' chains of transmission to those earlier records rather than the oral transmission of individual quotations".⁴⁶ However, Modarressi neither discusses the historical reliability of *isnāds* and the information provided in bio-bibliographical dictionaries, nor uses this theory to develop an *isnād*-analytical method for determining the date of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. Modarressi's source reconstruction method, which is similar to Sezgin's, is based mainly on one step, which involves verifying whether the earliest common transmitter in a large number of reports is described by bio-bibliographical dictionaries as the author of any written work. If so, then these *ḥadīths* could be concluded to have been extracted from this work.⁴⁷ These approaches of Sezgin and Modarressi will be scrutinised and reviewed in Chapter 3.

One possible critique of Sezgin's or Modarressi's method of source reconstruction is that while their approaches can identify the earliest possible written sources of *ḥadīths*, they cannot determine the main sources used by later *ḥadīth* compilers, nor can they trace and examine the written

45 Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Tradition and survival*, p. xiii.

46 Ibid., p. xv.

47 Ibid. There are also several works written in Persian, in which methods similar to Modarressi's and Sezgin's have been employed. See, for instance, Reza Qurbānī Zarrīn, *Bāzshināsī manābiʿ Kāfī wa ta'thīr-i ān bar i'tibār-i sanadī-yi riwāyat*, Master's dissertation, University of Tehran, 1388 SH; Iḥsān Surkhī'ī, "Kitāb-i Ḥalabī manbaʿī maktūb dar ta'līf-i *al-Kāfī*", *ʿUlūm-i ḥadīth* 51 (1388 SH): 34-58; Sayyid Muḥammad ʿImādī Ḥāʾirī, "*Masāʾil-i Muḥammad b. Muslim dar al-Kāfī-yi Kulaynī*", *Buzurgdāsht-i thiqaṭ al-Islām Kulaynī* 1 (1388 SH): 47-76; Mohammad Ghandehari, "*Ḥadīth-i shahadat-i Khidr bar dawāzdah imām: barrisiyi iṣālat wa naḥwi-yi intighāl az uṣūl-i awwalī-yi bi jawāmiʿ-i ḥadīthī*", *Imāmat pajūhī* 12 (1392 SH): 217-254.

transmission and development of *ḥadīths*. Additionally, they do not include the cross-references that exist between *isnāds* and transmission paths found in bio-bibliographical dictionaries in their discussions. Another difference between Modarressi's (or Sezgin's) approach and the method developed in this study is that Modarressi begins his source reconstruction by analysing the oldest or earliest transmitter mentioned in the *isnād*, while the youngest or most recent transmitter is considered first in our method here. Despite this departure, it is possible for Modarressi's method and the method developed in this study to yield the same results in certain cases. For example, some of the earliest Imāmī written records such as *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*⁴⁸ and *Kitāb Ḥarīz*⁴⁹, which were written during the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq in the first half of the 2nd/8th century, were directly used by later Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.

In his recent article, "Between Qum and Qayrawān: Unearthing early Shii *ḥadīth* Sources", Kumail Rajani uses the assumption of written transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīth* to develop and test a method for reconstructing earliest Shīʿī *ḥadīth* sources.⁵⁰ Rajani calls his method "cross-regional textual analysis" and uses it to examine the transmission and development of an Imāmī *ḥadīth* record that is not preserved today as a separate work. He focuses on reconstructing the allegedly first Shīʿī *muṣannaḥ* (systematic legal work) from subsequent Shīʿī *ḥadīth* collections, such as *al-Kāfī fī ʿilm al-dīn*⁵¹ compiled by Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941) and Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's (d. 363/974) *al-Īḍāḥ*⁵² Rajani's article is one of the first and fundamental academic attempts to develop and test a method for reconstructing earliest Shīʿī *ḥadīth* sources, making it an important contribution to the field. To argue that there is a need to propose a more nuanced method of source reconstruction than that applied by Modarressi, Rajani poses four challenges to Modarressi's approach. These challenges

48 See *ibid.*, pp. 380-382.

49 See *ibid.*, pp. 244-247.

50 Rajani, "Between Qum and Qayrawān", pp. 419-442.

51 Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī fī ʿilm al-dīn* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1407 AH).

52 Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *al-Īḍāḥ* (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-aʿlamī li al-maṭbūʿāt, 2007).

may also be posed against the *isnād*-analytical method developed in the present study. Therefore, each of them is discussed and scrutinised in detail.

In his first criticism, Rajani argues that the transmission paths to earlier written records found in Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries cannot always be considered as "independent attestations for the genuine transmission of a book". He claims that these paths have been lifted from the *isnāds* of *ḥadīths* mentioned in Imāmī collections to advance the idea that the transmission of *ḥadīth* took place through writing.⁵³ Rajani cites a bio-bibliographical account on Ibn Buṭṭa (d. c. 330/942), "*kāna ... yu'alliqu al-asānīd bi al-ijāzāt*",⁵⁴ to support his claim that Ibn Buṭṭa blended *isnāds* of individual reports into transmission lines to earlier books.⁵⁵ However, there are two points that need to be clarified. Firstly, the mentioned bio-bibliographical account does not suggest that Ibn Buṭṭa blended *isnāds* found in *ḥadīth* collections into transmission paths to earlier records. Instead, it states that Ibn Buṭṭa blended his *ijāzāt* (his licenses from his teachers to transmit *ḥadīths* reported from certain individuals) into *isnāds* of *ḥadīths*. This means that Ibn Buṭṭa mentioned his *ijāzāt* when he received certain *ḥadīths* or, according to the assumption of written transmission discussed in the present study, a particular written record reported or written by an earlier *ḥadīth* transmitter without officially hearing these *ḥadīths* or the contents of this book from his teachers, who would themselves have officially received them through their authorities.

While Rajani suggests that bio-bibliographical transmission lines cannot always be trusted as independent attestations for the genuine transmission of a book, it is important to note that his reference to Ibn Buṭṭa's blending of *ijāzāt* into *isnāds* does not necessarily imply that all paths of written transmission are historically uncredible. Rather, it suggests that the *isnāds* or lines of written transmission provided by Ibn Buṭṭa cannot be relied upon. However, it is methodologically unsound to generalize this theory to all bio-bibliographical transmission lines. In fact, Najāshī's account on Ibn Buṭṭa can itself be seen as evidence that early Imāmī bio-bibliographers were aware of

53 Ibid., p. 7.

54 For this account, see Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī, *Fihrist Asmā' Muṣannifī al-Shī'a* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1365 SH), p. 373.

55 Rajani, "Between Qum and Qayrawān", p. 425.

the potential for errors and mistakes and were careful in providing information in their dictionaries.

Rajani's second challenge is to the historical reliability of *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths. He argues that "skeptics consider *isnāds* to be the most vulnerable component of a *ḥadīth*," and that the same can be said for bio-bibliographical transmission paths.⁵⁶ While it is true that some scholars have questioned the reliability of *isnāds*, it is still possible to establish the historical credibility of transmission chains found in a particular *ḥadīth* collection and those paths included in bio-bibliographical dictionaries by providing reasonable arguments or criteria of *isnād* authenticity. Furthermore, the fact that scholars like Goldziher and Schacht have proposed theories on the limitations of *isnāds* does not mean that *isnāds* are not useful for the historical study of *ḥadīths*, whether Sunnī or Shī'ī. Even Schacht, who is critical of *isnāds*, developed an *isnād*-based approach, i.e., the common-link theory. Additionally, Rajani himself somehow employs *isnāds* in developing his method of reconstructing *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* without examining their historical reliability.⁵⁷ Therefore, if Modarressi's approach or the *isnād*-analytical method developed here is accompanied by a set of convincing explanations and arguments for the historicity of *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical paths, Rajani's criticism might no longer be applicable.

Rajani raises a valid point regarding the limitations of the cross-references between *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical paths. He argues that this method does not take into account the redactions of early collections that are not listed in the bio-bibliographical dictionaries.⁵⁸ While this is true, it is important to note that, as it will be seen in this study, there are few cases whereby this method is entirely inapplicable. Additionally, Najāshī himself acknowledges in the introduction of his *Rijāl* that he does not provide a comprehensive list of all his transmission paths to earlier records.⁵⁹ However, this should not deter one from using bio-bibliographical cross-referencing. It is possible to reconstruct earlier Imāmī records and

56 Ibid.

57 See Ibid., pp. 428-433.

58 Ibid., p. 425.

59 See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 3.

determine the date, origin, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīth* based on these cross-references, as long as there is some correspondence between the *isnāds* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths. Therefore, while it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this method, which will be discussed in chapter 5, it remains a useful tool for the historical study of Imāmī *ḥadīth*.

Rajani points out a criticism of Modarressi's method by Devin J. Stewart, who claims that Modarressi assumes that Imāmī *ḥadīth* were primarily transmitted through writing, and therefore engages in "a great deal of educated guesswork".⁶⁰ However, it can be demonstrated that Imāmī *ḥadīths* were indeed transmitted through writing, not only by analysing the methods of presenting, truncating, and criticising *isnāds* used by compilers of Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* like *al-kutub al-arbaʿa*, but also by examining the context of *ḥadīth* transmission in the 2nd/8th century, during which the vast majority of Imāmī *ḥadīths* originated. While correlating *isnāds* with bio-bibliographical transmission paths may help to address this issue, Rajani and Stewart correctly point out that in some cases, Sezgin's and Modarressi's methods of source reconstruction may be misleading. Specifically, Modarressi may incorrectly ascribe a particular *ḥadīth* to an earlier written record, when in fact it was transmitted orally by the author of that record, not through their written work. One way to address or mitigate such errors is by utilising the proposed bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis. This analysis involves correlating *isnāds* with bio-bibliographical paths, and can assist in determining the accuracy of Modarressi's references to earlier written works.

Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries

The Imāmī tradition has a long history of compiling bio-bibliographical dictionaries (*fihrist*s), with the earliest known example being a work by Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī (d. between 299–301/911–913), a bio-bibliographical book, which is not preserved as a separate work.⁶¹ Two

60 Devin J. Stewart, "Review of Tradition and Survival: A Biographical Survey of Early Shīʿite Literature by Hossein Modarressi", *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008), p. 413; Rajani, "Between Qum and Qayrawān", p. 426.

61 See Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 215.

prominent extant Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries are *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, both of which were compiled in the 5th/11th century. *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* was written by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and provides a list of Shīʿī and, in certain cases, non-Shīʿī *ḥadīth* compilers. In addition to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, Ṭūsī also wrote *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*⁶², a biographical dictionary listing individuals, who have narrated *ḥadīths* from the Prophet Muḥammad and the Shīʿī Imāms. *Fihrist asmāʾ muṣannifī al-Shīʿa*, which is mistakenly known as *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, was written by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058). These two dictionaries contain valuable information on the *ḥadīth* compilers from the first five centuries of Islam.

There is another Imāmī biographical work called *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl*⁶³, which is also known as *Rijāl al-Kashshī*. This book was Ṭūsī's abridgement of the original book, which had allegedly written by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kashshī (d. c. 340/951). In addition to *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, and *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, there is another biographical dictionary known as *Rijāl al-Barqī*⁶⁴, which is allegedly attributed to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d. 274/888 or 280/894). These five works are collectively known as *al-uṣūl al-rijālīyya al-khamsa* (the Five Biographical Books). While there is a fundamental difference between *fihrist* and *rijāl* works, which will be discussed below, these works are generally used in later Imāmī traditional scholarship as the main tools for transmitter criticism or the detailed examination of the trustworthiness - or in some cases religious affiliation - of each *ḥadīth* transmitter mentioned in an *isnād*.

The key distinction between Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, such as *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, and biographical dictionaries like *Rijāl al-Barqī*, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, and *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, is that the former focus on listing the names of *ḥadīth* compilers, whereas the latter primarily list the names of *ḥadīth* narrators, regardless of whether they were compilers or not. In the introduction of his *Fihrist*, Ṭūsī states that his aim is to list written works

62 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (Qum: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1373 SH).

63 Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kashshī, *Rijāl al-Kashshī* (Mashhad: Muʾassisi-yi nashr dānishgāh Mashhad, 1409 Ah).

64 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī, *Rijāl al-Barqī* (Tehran: Intishārāt dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1342 SH).

(*‘amadtū ‘ilā kitāb yashtamil ‘alā dhikr al-muṣannafāt wa al-uṣūl*), which have been compiled since the time of Imam ‘Alī (d. 40/661).⁶⁵ In addition to the names of Imāmī compilers and their works, Ṭūsī, in certain cases, includes the names of non-Twelve Shi‘ī *ḥadīth* compilers as well. Najāshī's main purpose was also to gather the names of Shi‘ī compilers and their written works to demonstrate the written heritage of the Shi‘a.⁶⁶ However, like *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, non-Twelve Shi‘ī authors are also included in *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. For instance, ‘Ammār b. Mūsā al-Sābātī, a Faṭḥite⁶⁷, is an example of a non-Twelve Shi‘ī compiler included in Imāmī bibliographical dictionaries. He is described as the author of a reliable and significant book (*lahū kitāb kabīr jayyid mu‘tamad*),⁶⁸ from which a large number of scholars during the time of Najāshī and Ṭūsī quoted (*lahū kitāb yarwīh jamā‘ah*).⁶⁹

Rijāl al-Najāshī and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* occasionally describe the manuscripts of books that were available during the 5th/11th century. For instance, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* notes that various manuscripts of the book compiled by ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī⁷⁰ (d. 148/765) were available, and that the beginnings of these manuscripts differed to some extent.⁷¹ Moreover, the fame of a particular book is occasionally determined by using phrases like "many people quoted his book (*yarwīh ‘anhu jamā‘ah*)"⁷², "a number of our companions informed us of this book (*akhbaranā ‘idda min ‘aṣḥābinā*)"⁷³, "groups of people quoted this book from him (*hādha-l-kitāb yarwīh ‘anhu*)".

65 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 3.

66 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 3.

67 The Faṭḥite or *Faṭḥiyya* believed that the Imamate passed from Imam al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) to his son, ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aṭṭah and not to his other son, Imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm (d. 183/799) as the Twelver Shi‘īs hold.

68 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 335.

69 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 290.

70 ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī is considered the author of the first systematic legal work within Shi‘ī scholarship. See Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 380.

71 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 231.

72 Ibid., p. 20, p. 22, p. 23, p. 30, p. 71 and p. 72.

73 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 61, p. 155, p. 162, p. 167, p. 297, p. 310; Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 106, p. 116, p. 122, p. 123, p. 135, p. 140 and p. 148.

jamā‘āt mina an-nās)”⁷⁴, and other similar phrases.⁷⁵ More significantly, the reliability of the content of a book is occasionally evaluated by *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. In some cases, a whole book is considered reliable,⁷⁶ while in other cases, a whole book or some parts of a book or even just one particular book of a compiler are deemed unreliable.⁷⁷

Both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* provide important information beyond just the names of compilers and their works, which this study demonstrates can to a large extent be applied for analysing *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths*. Under the name of each *ḥadīth* compiler listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the work/works of this compiler through which these written records were transmitted to and received by the authors of these two bio-bibliographical dictionaries can be found. For instance, in their entries on Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī (d. before 148/765), who is attributed with several written works,⁷⁸ both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* include various paths of transmission through which they received Ḥarīz’s written records.⁷⁹ One of these bio-bibliographical transmission paths is: Ṭūsī ← Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu‘mān al-Mufīd ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Abū al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī al-Mūsawī ← Ibn Nahīk ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī. This kind of written or bio-bibliographical transmission paths can be found in almost all entries in both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. The main aim of this study is thus to show how the connection between these bio-bibliographical paths and *isnāds* mentioned in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīth* can inform an *isnād*-analytical method for determining the date, origin, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīth*.

74 Ibid., p. 116.

75 For other phrases, see, for instance, Ibid., p. 118, p. 127, p. 159, p. 189, p. 214 and p. 238.

76 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 158, p. 256, p. 285 and p. 335.

77 See, for instance, Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 416 and p. 329.

78 Ibid., 144; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 162.

79 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 162; Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 144-145.

Thesis structure

The first two chapters of this study will depict the connection - referred to here as the 'bio-bibliographical cross-referencing' - between *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths to earlier written records found in *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Chapter 1 will focus on the culture of writing that emerged within the Shī'ī community during the time of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, whose Imamates marked the starting point for the development and transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. The chapter will argue that this culture of writing, which was the result of the scholarly efforts of the two Imāms and the official collection of *ḥadīth* in Medina, led to the extensive production of written records by their companions and pupils. Chapter 2 will explore how this culture informs the approaches of the compilers of *al-kutub al-arba'a* to *isnāds* in order to uncover the connection between *isnāds* and their corresponding bio-bibliographical transmission paths. By conducting a comprehensive analysis of the influences of early Imāmī written records from the first half of the 2nd/8th century on the compilers of these four books, it will demonstrate the relevance of this bio-bibliographical cross-referencing. This connection sets the groundwork for the development of bio-bibliographical cross-referencing as a tool for determining the origin of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. Chapter 3 will propose a set of arguments to evaluate the historical credibility of *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīth* such as *al-kutub al-arba'a*, and by implication, bio-bibliographical transmission paths listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Chapter 4 then will spell out the three main steps of the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis by critically investigating the *isnāds* provided in *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, which is one of *al-kutub al-arba'a*, to illustrate how the bio-bibliographical cross-referencing can be used to determine the origins of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. Chapter 5 will finally test the proposed bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis to discuss the limitations of this *isnād*-analytical method and address how far back in time this method can lead, and to what extent it can show the development of a particular Imāmī *ḥadīth*. Using a Prophetic *ḥadīth* on the name of the Mahdi (the eschatological redeemer of Islam) as a case study, this chapter will compare and examine the result of dating the *ḥadīth* based on the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis along with its dating on other grounds.

CHAPTER ONE

The Formation and Consolidation of a Culture of Writing in Shī'ism

Introduction

This chapter examines the development of a culture of writing in Shī'ism¹ during the late 1st/7th century and the first half of the 2nd/8th century. It highlights the significance of understanding that the majority of Imāmī *ḥadīths* attributed to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir (d. 114/733; the fifth Shī'ī Imam) and Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765; the sixth Shī'ī Imam) were recorded during their Imamates and transmitted through writing. This enables us to trace a connection, which is referred to in this study as a bio-bibliographical cross-referencing, between *isnāds* (transmission chains) found in extant Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections and the references to earlier written works listed in two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries: *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a wa uṣūlihim wa asmā' al-muṣannifīn wa aṣḥāb al-uṣūl*² (hereon *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*) compiled by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and *Fihrist asmā' muṣannifī al-Shī'a*³, known as *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, by Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058). Investigating the mode of transmission and early recording of Imāmī *ḥadīths* is crucial in comprehending the formation of this bio-bibliographical cross-referencing, which lays a foundation for the *isnād*-based method that this study aims to develop and test for determining the origins, dates, and developments of Imāmī *ḥadīths*.

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- 1 The term "Shī'ī" is used here, as noted by Hossein Modarressi, to refer to the supporters and followers of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. See Hossein Modarressi, *Text and Interpretation: Imam Ja'far Al-Ṣādiq and His Legacy in Islamic Law* (PIL Harvard, 2022), pp. 2-4.
 - 2 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a wa uṣūlihim wa asmā' al-muṣannifīn wa aṣḥāb al-uṣūl* (Qum: Maktabat al-muḥaqqiq al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1420 AH).
 - 3 Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1365 SH).

Imāmī *ḥadīths* are believed to primarily go back to Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. The vast majority of the 41000 *ḥadīths* found in the major Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections, which are collectively known as *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* (the Four Books), are attributed to these two Imāms. *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* credit the companions and pupils of these two Imams with a large number of written records, which are mostly referred to as *kitābs* (books) and *aṣls* (foundational collections). In this sense, the 50-year period of their Imamates (95/713 to 148/765) was a crucial time for the development and transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. This chapter suggests that the scholarly movement was begun by Muḥammad al-Bāqir and carried on by his son, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, along with the inception of the *tadwīn* (official collection of *ḥadīth*) and later *taṣnīf* (arrangement of *ḥadīths* according to chapter content) movements in Medina, culminated in the formation and solidification of a culture of writing within the Shīʿī community, resulting in the composition of various written notebooks such as *kitābs* and *aṣls*.⁴

By presenting a number of *ḥadīths* found in extant Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections, the first part of this chapter will shed light on the scholarly movement of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and the significance placed by him and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq on writing, preserving, and disseminating their teachings and religious knowledge. To address the question of historicity and originality of these *ḥadīths*, they will be evaluated based on the established intellectual, social, and political context of the time that they are purported to belong to. However, as these *ḥadīths* will only be used for argumentative purposes in this chapter, a detailed examination of their *matns* (texts) and *isnāds* is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The second part of the chapter will then focus on the official collection of *ḥadīths* initiated in Medina during the last quarter of the 1st/7th century and the first half of the 2nd/8th century, highlighting that Imāmī *ḥadīths* are predominantly linked to the period in which the *ḥadīths* were being documented and transmitted through the medium of writing.

4 To know more about this culture of writing, see Sayyed Alireza Hosseini Shirazi, *Iʿtibār sangī-yi aḥādīth-i Shīʿa: zirsākhthā, farāyandhā, payāmadhā* (Tehran: Samt, 1398 SH).

The scholarly movement of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Šādiq

According to Shī‘ī theology, the statements, deeds, and tacit approvals of the Shī‘ī Imams hold the same weight and authority as those of the Prophet Muḥammad.⁵ As a result, the history of Imāmī *ḥadīths* spans 250 years, from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad to the alleged occultation of the twelfth Shī‘ī Imam, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī (b. 255/869), in 260/874. The most significant and authoritative Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths*, which are collectively known as *al-kutub al-arba‘a* (the Four Books), are the following: 1) *al-Kāfī fī ‘ilm al-dīn*⁶ (hereafter *al-Kāfī*) by Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941); 2) *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*⁷ (hereafter *al-Faqīh*) by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šadūq (d. 380/991); 3) *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*⁸ (hereafter *Tahdhīb*); and 4) *al-Istibṣār fī mā ukhtulifa mina al-akhbār*⁹ (hereafter *al-Istibṣār*), both by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). These four books contain over 41,000 *ḥadīths*. They serve as the main sources for subsequent Imāmī legal works and are believed to be based on earlier written material, most of which is not extant today,¹⁰ including *kitābs*, *aṣls*, *jawāmi‘* (comprehensive collections), *nawādir* (anthologies of miscellaneous reports), *muṣannafāt* (thematically arranged collections), and *mubawwabs* (topically arranged collections).¹¹

5 Kumail Rajani, “Between Qum and Qayrawān: Unearthing Early Shii *Ḥadīth* Sources”, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (2021), p. 2, footnote 2; see also, Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shī‘ī law: A bibliographical study* (1984), pp. 2-3. For this claim, Rajani also provides some references from earlier Imāmī sources. see *ibid.*, p. 2, footnote 2.

6 Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī fī ‘ilm al-dīn* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1407 AH).

7 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh* (Qum, Daftar-i intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1413 AH).

8 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1407 AH).

9 *Idem.*, *al-Istibṣār fī mā ukhtulifa mina al-akhbār* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1390 AH).

10 Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, pp. 4-5.

11 Rajani, “Between Qum and Qayrawān”, p. 2, footnote 4. Rajani, after enumerating the names of these genres of earlier *ḥadīth* sources, states: “A clear distinction between these genres is yet to be made, for often they are used inconsistently and

The term “*kitāb*” was generally used to refer to a collection of *ḥadīth*, while *aṣl* referred to a specific type of written record consisting of orally transmitted material from a Shī‘ī Imam. The compiler of an *aṣl* handed down *ḥadīths* he heard either directly from an Imam or through an informant transmitting what he had heard from an Imam.¹² It is said that 400 *aṣls*, collectively known as *al-uṣūl al-arba‘umi’a*, were composed during the times of Shī‘ī Imams.¹³ The number of *aṣls* may vary, given the information provided in Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries. Based on the extant bio-bibliographical dictionaries, Etan Kohlberg, for instance, lists 109 authors of *aṣls*. The majority of *aṣl* authors - 90 out of 109 names listed by Kohlberg - are Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s companions and pupils.¹⁴ However, this does not mean that the number of *aṣls* is not more than that identified by Kohlberg. The issue, as Kohlberg notes, is that “the word *kitāb* may refer either to a work based on earlier written material, or it may be used interchangeably with *aṣl*”.¹⁵ Therefore, it is possible that some *aṣls* might be referred to as *kitābs* in bio-bibliographical dictionaries, and it is improbable to conclude whether a particular work described as a *kitāb* is indeed an *aṣl* or not. Moreover, some of these *aṣls* have later been incorporated into larger *ḥadīth* works like *jawāmi‘*, which themselves served as the basis for later Shī‘ī works.¹⁶

A reading of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* shows that many *kitābs*, *aṣls* and other genres of *ḥadīth* collections, were allegedly written by the companions and pupils of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, and his father, Muḥammad al-Bāqir. The times of these two Imams were socially and doctrinally formative for the Shī‘a. However, the detailed examination of the social, political, and intellectual contexts of the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-

interchangeably, referring to early Shii *ḥadīth* or *ḥadīth*-based works. It is evident, however, that not all of these sources enjoyed the same status as *uṣūl* in serving as the primary source for the early *ḥadīth* material”. Ibid.

12 Etan Kohlberg, “*Al-Uṣūl al-arba‘umi’a*”, in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (Jerusalem, 1987), p. 129.

13 Ibid., pp. 129-131.

14 Ibid., pp. 143-147.

15 Ibid., p. 129.

16 Kohlberg, “Shī‘ī *Ḥadīth*”, in A. Beeston, T. Johnstone, R. Serjeant, and G. Smith (eds.), *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 301.

Ṣādiq is beyond the scope of this study.¹⁷ A vast and main body of theological and legal *ḥadīths* are quoted on the authority of these two Imams.¹⁸ They were both also known as distinguished scholars of their times and respected by Muslims as “profoundly learned men and indisputable authorities on the *sharī‘a*”.¹⁹ There is an account reported by Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), one of the greatest Sunnī historians and biographers, on the extent of Ja‘far’s religious knowledge. Dhahabī states that the famous theologian and jurist of the 2nd/8th century, al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767), known as Imam Abū Ḥanīfa and the eponymous founder of the Hanafī school of Sunnī jurisprudence, said: “I have never seen [any jurisprudent (*faqīh*)] more knowledgeable than (*mā ra‘aytu afqah min*) Ja‘far b. Muḥammad”.²⁰

By examining the context in which these Imams operated and their emphasis on writing and preserving their teachings, the significance of their role in the formation of a culture of writing in Shī‘ism can be highlighted. The fifth and sixth Imams, besides extensively disseminating their knowledge, encouraged their companions and pupils to spread what they heard from the Imams and to write down their sayings to preserve their teachings for future generations. The examination of the following *ḥadīth* reported from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq provides valuable insights into the intellectual and religious atmosphere before and during the Imamate of Muḥammad al-Bāqir:

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā narrates from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad from Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā from ‘Īsā b. as-Sarrī Abi al-Yasa‘ who says, Abū ‘Abd Allāh has said: “.... The Shī‘a before Abū Ja‘far [Imam al-Bāqir] did not know the rules of *ḥajj* (*lā ya‘rifūn manāsik ḥajjihim*), the lawful matters (*ḥalālāhum*) and the unlawful matters (*ḥarāmāhum*) until Abū Ja‘far came [Muḥammad al-Bāqir], and opened for them and explained to

17 For a detailed discussion of these context, see Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi‘ite Islam: Abū Ja‘far ibn Qība al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmīte Shi‘ite Thought* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993), pp. 3-18; idem., *Text and Interpretation*.

18 Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 11.

19 Ibid., p. 9.

20 Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmīyya, 1419 AH), vol. 1, p. 126.

them the rules of their *ḥajj*, the lawful and unlawful matters, to the extent that people (*an-nās*) realised that they needed them [Shi'ites] (*ḥattā ṣār an-nās yaḥtājūn ilayhim*) while before they [Shi'ites] would refer to these people for what they need [to know about the rules of their *ḥajj*, the lawful and unlawful matters] (*min ba'di mā kānū yaḥtājūn ilā-n-nās*)"²¹

In this account, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq describes the status of the Shī'ī community in Medina and how his father, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, began teaching and disseminating his religious knowledge. The report highlights the significant role of Muḥammad al-Bāqir in the history of Shī'ī *ḥadīths*. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq differentiates between *an-nās* (the people) and the Shi'ites, with the former referring to non-Shi'ites, or proto-Sunnites. He argues that, before Muḥammad al-Bāqir's Imamate, Shi'ites performed their *ḥajj* according to *an-nās* or proto-Sunni rituals, but during his Imamate, proto-Sunnites recognised the need for Shi'ites' knowledge. However, before using this *ḥadīth* as a historical account, its historicity and originality must be analysed. As mentioned previously, rather than deeply engaging with its *isnād* and *matn*, the context in which it belongs will be compared with another report.

In Sunni *ḥadīth* collections, such as Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's (d. 261/875) *Ṣaḥīḥ* and Ibn Māja's (d. 273/887) *Sunan*, an important account on the Prophet's *ḥajj*, quoted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir by his son, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, can be found.²² The inclusion of this report in these Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections itself supports Ja'far al-Sadiq's statement that non-Shi'ites referred to Shi'ites for knowledge on how to perform *ḥajj*. In this long report, which has been transmitted by Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl (d. 186/802) from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq from his father, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who related it from a prominent companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī (d. 78/697), Muḥammad al-Bāqir states that when he was young he entered the quarters of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who had become blind, and asked him about the

21 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol.2, pp. 19-21.

22 Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Cairo: Dar al-ḥadīth, 1412 AH), vol.2, p. 886; Ibn Māja, *Sunan Ibn Māja* (Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1418 AH), vol. 4, p. 513.

Prophet's *ḥajjat al-widā'* (farewell pilgrimage). Jābir described the rituals performed by the Prophet Muḥammad during his *ḥajjat al-widā'* in detail.²³

Once again, the critical scrutiny of the *matn* and *isnād* of this report and whether all the details in it can be attributed to Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, or Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is beyond the scope of this study. The reason for mentioning this account is to examine whether the scholarly context portrayed by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in the noted Imāmī *ḥadīth* on the status of the Shī'a during the time of his father can be used as a historical description of Muḥammad al-Bāqir's scholarly movement. In the account reported from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī on the Prophet's *ḥajjat al-widā'*, a non-Shī'ī *ḥadīth* transmitter, Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, transmits from a Shī'ī Imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. If it can be shown that this account, whether in this detailed form or not, has been transmitted by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the mentioned context of the scholarly movement of his father can be considered historically accurate.

The following five supporting arguments can strengthen the assumption that this report has probably been transmitted by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq to Ḥātim:

1. Analysing the *isnād*-bundle of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's report based on the common link theory, G.H.A. Juynboll, in the entry on "Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as-Ṣādiq", identifies him as "responsible for at least the narrative skeleton of this tradition".²⁴
2. Some *ḥadīths* included in *al-kutub al-arba'a* are transmitted by Ḥātim from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.²⁵
3. Shī'ī bio-bibliographical literature attributes to Ḥātim a notebook of "his transmissions from al-Ṣādiq",²⁶ and some of his transmissions,

23 For the English translation of this long report, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Brill, 2007), pp. 260-262.

24 Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 262.

25 See, for instance, Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 30; *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 224 and p. 425; *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 383, p. 469 and p. 475; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 7, p. 78; vol. 8, p. 201.

26 Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, p. 147; Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 258.

e.g., those going back to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, are found in subsequent Sunnī and Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths*.²⁷

4. Ḥātim is described as the compiler of a reliable notebook by Sunnī biographers.²⁸
5. There is no reason that a transmitter, who is considered Sunnī, or other Sunnī individuals named in the *isnād* of this report after him, would have fabricated such an account and projected back to a Shī‘ī Imām, while they could have attributed it to one of their Sunnī teachers, or even to one of the companions of Prophet Muḥammad to lend it more credibility.

These five arguments suggest, and Juynboll also argues, that this account or its original core, can be traced back to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and that he transmitted it to Ḥātim b. Ismā‘īl. However, it can also be argued that Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq himself fabricated this report and ascribed it to his father and Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī. Even if this was the case, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s assertion that non-Shi’ites’ needed Shi’ites’ religious knowledge on how to perform *ḥajj* aligns with Ḥātim b. Ismā‘īl’s reference to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Hence, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s *ḥadīth* on his father’s scholarly movement appears plausible in the scholarly context of Shī‘ī community in the first half of the 2nd/8th century.

Moreover, the large number of *ḥadīths* in Imāmī collections that are attributed to the fifth and sixth Shī‘ī Imams, especially Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, is another indication of the scholarly significance of the times of these two Imams in Shī‘ī *ḥadīth* history. Over 70 percent of the 41000 *ḥadīths al-kutub al-arba‘a* are based on the authorities of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Additionally, the companions and pupils of the fifth and sixth Shī‘ī Imams, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, are credited by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* with having produced a large number of written records. Even if the majority of these *ḥadīths* cannot historically be linked to Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, that later *ḥadīth* fabricators attributed so many *ḥadīths* to them is itself significant evidence of the importance of the first half of the 2nd/8th century in the development of

27 For a list of examples of Ḥātim’s reports found in both Sunnī and Shī‘ī *ḥadīth* sources, see *ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

28 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 258

Shī'ī *ḥadīth*. If not, there would be no reason for *ḥadīth* forgers to attribute such a large number of *ḥadīths* to Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq instead of the Prophet Muḥammad or earlier Shī'ī Imams.

The scholarly development in Shī'ism since the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq can also be illustrated by *ḥadīths*, in which they emphasised on the importance of gaining knowledge and disseminating it. In *al-Kāfī*, there is a section named "The Book on the Virtue of Knowledge" (*Kitāb faḍl al-'ilm*). In this section, there are several *ḥadīths* quoted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq on topics such as the importance of seeking knowledge, the significance of learning and disseminating religious knowledge, the divine rewards for the scholars seeking for knowledge, meeting scholars and associating with them, and some other topics on encouraging Shi'ites, whether explicitly or implicitly, to seek the Imams' knowledge.²⁹ To give an overview of *Kitāb faḍl al-'ilm*, here is a list of the chapters it contains:

1. Chapter on the obligation of knowledge, the necessity of seeking it, and the insistence upon doing so. (7 out of the 9 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)
2. Chapter on the attributes of knowledge, its excellence, and the excellence of the scholars. (2 out of the 9 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 5 to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)
3. Chapter on the categories of people. (3 out of the 4 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)
4. Chapter on the reward of the scholar and the learner. (2 out of the 6 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 3 to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)
5. Chapter on the characteristics of the scholars. (4 out of the 7 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)
6. Chapter on the rights of the scholar. (There is only one *ḥadīth* mentioned in this chapter, which is attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)
7. Chapter on the loss of scholars. (1 out of the 6 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 4 to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)

29 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, pp. 30-71.

8. Chapter on sitting in the company of scholars and frequenting them. (1 out of the 5 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 2 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
9. Chapter on asking questions of scholars and studying with them. (6 out of the 6 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
10. Chapter on sharing knowledge. (1 out of the 4 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 3 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
11. Chapter on the prohibition of speaking without knowledge. (3 out of the 9 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 6 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
12. Chapter on the one who acts without knowledge. (3 out of the 3 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
13. Chapter on the application of knowledge. (1 out of the 7 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 3 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
14. Chapter on those who make a profit from knowledge and boast about it. (1 out of the 6 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 4 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
15. Chapter on the burden of proof on the scholar and the added responsibility on him. (1 out of the 4 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 3 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
16. Chapter of rare occurrences. (2 out of the 15 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 11 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
17. Chapter on narrating books and *ḥadīth* and the virtue of writing and adhering to books. (13 out of the 15 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
18. Chapter on *imitation*. (2 out of the 3 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
19. Chapter on innovations, opinions and comparisons. (3 out of the 22 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 13 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
20. Chapter on referring to the Book [the Qurʾān] and the Prophetic practice (*sunna*), and that everything permissible and prohibited, and every matter needed by the people has been mentioned in the Book [the Qurʾān] and the Prophetic practice. (2 out of the 10 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 7 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)
21. Chapter on conflicting *Ḥadīth*. (2 out of the 10 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 7 to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.)

22. Chapter on following the Prophetic practice (*sunna*) and the evidence of the Book [Qur'ān]. (3 out of the 12 *ḥadīths* in this chapter are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 8 to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.)

Of the 173 *ḥadīths* in these 22 chapters, 118 (68 percent) are attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and 25 (14 percent) are from Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq also ordered some of his companions to disseminate the knowledge that they had received and learned from the Imam. One such companion was Abān b. Taghlib (d. c. 141/758), who was praised by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq for his ability to disseminate the Imam's knowledge. He asked Abān to sit in the Mosque in Medina, and give a *fatwa*.³⁰ There are several mentions of Abān b. Taghlib's numerous written works in both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.³¹ In line with spreading their knowledge and contributing to the scholarly development of the Shī'ī community, both the fifth and sixth Imams recommended their companions and pupils to hand down what they had learned and received. Some of the most important recommendations and reasons given by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq for why committing knowledge to writing is crucial are the following:

1. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq said: "The heart relies on writing (*al-qalb yattakil 'alā al-kitāba*)".³²
2. He said: "You must write down because you cannot preserve [your knowledge] until you write it down (*lā taḥfazūn ḥattā taktubū*)".³³
3. "You must preserve your books because you will soon need them (*fa-innakum sawfa taḥtājūna ilayhā*)".³⁴
4. He said: "You must write down (*ḥadīth*) and spread your knowledge among your brethren (*uktub wa buththa 'ilmak fī ikhwānik*). If you die your children will inherit your books. A time will come when people will face chaos, and they will find no comfort but with their books (*lā ya'nasūna fīhi illā bi-kutubihim*)."³⁵

30 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 10.

31 See *ibid.*; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 44.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 52, no. 8.

33 *Ibid.*, no. 9.

34 *Ibid.*, no. 10.

35 *Ibid.*, no. 11.

As will be discussed in the following section, these types of statements of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq emphasizing on writing and disseminating written works align with the intellectual context in which the official collection and written transmission of *ḥadīth* gradually became widespread in Medina.

Emergence of a culture of writing in Medina

The three main phases proposed and discussed by Gregor Schoeler as the history of *ḥadīth* development and transmission during the first three centuries of Islam are as follows: (1) “Unsystematic records (*kitāba*)” on “tablets, leaves and in notebooks” during the time of the Prophet himself, his companions and earliest successors; (2) The *Tadwīn* (the first official collections of *ḥadīths*) phase in the last quarter of the 1st/7th and the first half of the 2nd/8th centuries; (3) The emergence of *muṣannaf* writings (systematic legal collection of *ḥadīth*) “around 125/740 on into the third/ninth century and beyond”.³⁶ To demonstrate this timeline, Schoeler provides some “representatives of the first generation of successors”, who compiled juridical *ḥadīths* or historical accounts on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. For instance, he discusses ‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr’s (d. 94/712-713) effort to writing *ḥadīths* down.³⁷ Schoeler argues that during the reigns of two Umayyad caliphs, ‘Umar II (d. 101/720) and Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Mālik (d. 125/743) between 717-743, the “first official large-scale collections” of *ḥadīths* began.³⁸

According to the timeline presented by Schoeler and some other academic scholars like Fuat Sezgin,³⁹ the era of Muḥammad al-Bāqir witnessed the

36 To know more about the *tadwīn* and *taṣnīf* movements, see Gregor Schoeler, “Recording”, in Daniel W. Brown (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Concise Companion to the Hadith* (John Wiley & Sons, 2020), pp. 91-112.

37 For Schoeler’s studies on ‘Urwa b. Zubayr’s efforts to commit *ḥadīths* into writing, see Ibid., p. 94; Idem., *The Genesis of Literature in Islam: From the Aural to the Read* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 42; Idem., *The Biography of Muḥammad: Nature and Authenticity*, edited by James E. Montgomery (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 21.

38 Gregor Schoeler, “Recording”, pp. 94-95.

39 See Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), vol. 1, p. 55.

formation of the first collections of *ḥadīth*. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s Imamate, which was between 114/732 and 148/765, mostly witnessed the third phase, when the practice of committing *ḥadīths* to writing was established and *muṣannaḥ* writings emerged. This chronological sequence of *tadwīn* and *taṣnīf* movements can also be seen in Shī‘ī scholarship of the first half of the 2nd/8th century as well. For instance, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī (d. 148/765), who transmitted Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s *ḥadīths*, is said to have composed “the first systematic legal work ever written in the Shī‘ite community”.⁴⁰ If we assume the historical existence of such a book, as indicated by the time of al-Ḥalabī’s death, this book would have been compiled during the time of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. It is possible that the large number of written records attributed to the companions and pupils of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq may have been the result of the established practice of recording *ḥadīth* during his Imamate.

These written records were transmitted, whether separately like *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* or through later larger *ḥadīth* works such as *jawāmi‘* and *nawādir*, up until the 5th/11th century.⁴¹ A number of *ḥadīth* and bio-bibliographical reports support the transmission of these written works as well. There is a *ḥadīth* in Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī* attributed to the ninth Shī‘ī Imam, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jawād (d. 220/835), the great grandson of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. This *ḥadīth*, which is narrated by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Khālid⁴², reads as follows:

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Khālid al-Ash‘arī said to Muḥammad al-Jawād, “Our shaykhs have narrated [*ḥadīth*] from Abū Ja‘far [Muḥammad al-Bāqir] and Abū ‘Abd Allah [Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq]. At that time dissimulation (*taqīyya*) was severe (*wa kānat al-taqīyya shadīda*). They thus concealed their books and did not narrate from them. When they died their books came to us.” Imām al-Jawād said to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, “narrate from them; they contain the truth”.⁴³

40 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 380.

41 Kohlberg, “*Al-Uṣūl*”, pp. 132-135.

42 For Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Khālid, see Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-nashr al-Islāmī, 1373 SH), p. 366.

43 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 53.

This *ḥadīth* states that the companions of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and al-Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq recorded their *ḥadīths* and recorded them in their notebooks. It also refers to Imam Jawād’s permission for using these written records without the need for auditory transmission (*samā‘a*). However, the use of a copy of a book without *samā‘a* (known as *wijāda*) remains a topic for technical discussion, which is not within the scope of this study. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Khālid is named as a primary transmitter of the written records of four *ḥadīth* compilers – Idrīs b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī⁴⁴, ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d al-Ash‘arī⁴⁵, Zakarīyyā b. Ādam b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī⁴⁶ and Sa‘d b. Sa‘d al-Ash‘arī⁴⁷. Furthermore, according to *al-kutub al-arba‘a*, almost all *ḥadīths* transmitted by Idrīs b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī and ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d al-Ash‘arī are related from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.⁴⁸

Rijāl al-Najāshī and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* also provide some information supporting the theory that *kitābs* and *aṣls* were transmitted at least until the 5th/11th century. For instance, in *Rijāl al-Najāshī*’s entry on Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī (d. before 148/765), Najāshī states that he read (*qara‘a*) one of the written works of Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh to al-Qādī Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān, who read it to Abū al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mūsawī, who read it to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad, who read it to Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, who read it to Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā, who read it to Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.⁴⁹ Moreover, a number of *ḥadīth* transmitters, such as Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 259/873), Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥāzim (d. 261/874-5), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd (d. 262/875-876), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rajā (d. 266/880), Ḥumayd b. Zīyād (d. 310/923), Muḥammad b. Hammām al-Iskāfī (d. 332/943-4), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uqda (d. 333/944-5), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd al-Qummī (d. 343/954-5), Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh (d. 368/978-9), are

44 See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 104.

45 See *ibid.*, pp. 296-297; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 331.

46 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 174.

47 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 216

48 For instance, eight of the nine *ḥadīths* transmitted by ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh in *al-Kāfī*, and all six *ḥadīths* reported by Idrīs b. ‘Abd Allāh are quoted from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.

49 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 375. For some other examples, see *ibid.*, p. 48, p. 63, p. 65, p. 68, p. 106, p. 118, p. 124, p. 132, p. 145, p. 227, p. 228, p. 259, p. 294, p. 385, p. 392, p. 428, p. 444, p. 451, p. 461; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 66, p. 74, p. 290, p. 473, p. 537.

considered transmitters of *aṣls* written during the times of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.⁵⁰

Conclusion

The crystallisation of a culture of writing in Shīʿism during the times of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq had a significant impact on the development and transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. The majority of Imāmī *ḥadīths* attributed to these two Imams were recorded in notebooks such as *kitābs* and *aṣls* and transmitted through writing through three centuries. These early written records were received by the compilers of *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* - Kulaynī, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī - whether separately in their original form or through later larger compilations of *ḥadīths* like *jawāmiʿ* and *nawādir*. The next chapter will focus on how the written transmission of these *ḥadīth* works informed the *ḥadīth* compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century. The next chapter will thus focus on the approaches and perspectives with regard to the *isnāds*, which have been represented in *al-kutub al-arbaʿa*, to examine the impacts of the culture of writing established during the first half of the 2nd/8th century in Shīʿism on Kulaynī, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī. Understanding this will enable us to establish the bio-bibliographical cross-references between *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths to earlier *ḥadīth* works found in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.

50 Based on Shīʿī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, Kohlberg lists some of the *aṣl* transmitters after the time of al-Ṣādiq. Ibid., pp. 133-135.

CHAPTER TWO

Imāmī Bio-Bibliographical Cross-Referencing

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed how a culture of writing came to be established in Shī'ism during the Imamates of Muhammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. The most significant outcome of this culture was the composition of numerous *kitābs* and *aṣls*. This chapter further argues that the transmission of these *kitābs* and *aṣls*, whether individually or as part of later larger compilations of *ḥadīths*, had a considerable impact on the major Imāmī *ḥadīth* compendia, which are collectively known as the Four Books (*al-kutub al-arba'a*). A thorough examination of how the compilers of these four books were influenced by the transmission of early Imāmī written records from the first half of the 2nd/8th century reveals a connection, which is referred to here as a bio-bibliographical cross-reference, between Imāmī *isnāds* (transmission chains) and the transmission paths to these written works found in two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.

This chapter starts by reviewing the perspectives of two contemporary Imāmī *ḥadīth* critics, Sayyid Mūsā al-Shubayrī (b. 1928) and Sayyid Aḥmad Madadī (b. 1951) on Imāmī *isnāds*. It highlights that, even in later Imāmī traditional scholarship, some Imāmī scholars held that Imāmī *ḥadīths* were transmitted through the medium of writing. They also use the bio-bibliographical cross-referencing in their evaluations of the authoritativeness (*ḥujjiyya*) of *ḥadīths*. This chapter will go on to examine the approaches of the compilers of *al-kutub al-arba'a* (the Four Books), Kulaynī, Ṣadūq, and Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), towards the concept of *isnād*. Through a critical examination of some of their *ḥadīth* validation methods, it appears that the written transmission of earlier written records prior to the 5th/11th century resulted in the formation of a correlation between the contents of Imāmī *ḥadīths*, their *isnāds*, and the information provided in the Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries on earlier written records. It is true that the main concern of the Imāmī traditional scholars, both earlier or later ones, when examining the *isnād* or *matn* of each *ḥadīth* was generally to

investigate its authoritativeness (*ḥujjiyya*), and not its historicity and origin. However, in order to be able to pose the question of whether and how Imāmī *isnāds* can be used for determining the date, origin, and development of *ḥadīth*, it is necessary to first understand why early Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilers included *isnāds* in their collections of *ḥadīths*.

Later Imāmī scholarship on Imāmī bio-bibliographical cross-referencing

Sayyid Mūsā al-Shubayrī (b. 1928)

Sayyid Mūsā al-Shubayrī, a leading scholar of the seminary of Qum, is one of the contemporary Imāmī critics who asserts that early *ḥadīth* compilers such as Kulaynī, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī relied upon the written transmission of *ḥadīth*. He proposes a method of *ḥadīth* authentication based on this assertion, as well as the cross-reference between *isnāds* and the lines of written transmission found in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Shubayrī employs transmitter criticism, which involves evaluating the credibility of each transmitter mentioned in the *isnāds* as his method of authentication. However, when there is no information about the trustworthiness of a particular transmitter, he seeks to address this issue through the assumption of written transmission and the use of bio-bibliographical cross-referencing. One example of a transmitter whose trustworthiness has not been mentioned in Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār. As there is no explicit mention of his trustworthiness and the core aspect of transmitter criticism is to assess the trustworthiness of each transmitter found in the *isnād*, the authenticity of *ḥadīths*, irrespective of their contents, with the following *isnād* becomes questionable:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī
← Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.¹

1 For an example of a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār, see Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl* (Qum: Jāmi‘at mudarrisīn, 1362 SH), vol. 2, p. 417; idem., *al-Tawḥīd* (Qum: Jāmi‘at mudarrisīn, 1398 AH), p. 353.

As a solution to the lack of information about the trustworthiness of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, Shubayrī proposes a three-step method that blends transmitter criticism with the assumption of written transmission.² The first step is to determine the main source from which Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā's *ḥadīths* were selected by a *ḥadīth* collector like Ṣadūq.

Shubayrī argues that since these *ḥadīths* were quoted by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār under the authority of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh, who is known to have written several works,³ it can be assumed that these *ḥadīths* come from the written works of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh. This conclusion is supported by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, which introduces Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār as one of the transmitters of these written hadith records.⁴ According to Shubayrī, if it can be shown that the main source of these *ḥadīths* is one of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh’s written works, the above *isnād* can be modified to:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← *the written works of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh* ← Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

This *isnād* can now be divided into two parts:

- 1- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← *the written works of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh*.
- 2- *The written works of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh* ← Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

According to Shubayrī, the first part of the *isnād*, which is a transmission path to the works of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh, can be replaced with other bio-bibliographical paths of transmission to these written records that are found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and consist of trustworthy transmitters. One such path of transmission mentioned is:

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd ← *the written works of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh*.⁵

2 These three steps are discussed here based on Shubayrī's *Dars al-khārij* (higher Islamic studies), recorded January 06, 2018 (Dey 25, 1396 SH).

3 See Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, pp. 177-178; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 215-216.

4 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 216.

5 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 215.

The problematic *isnād* that includes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, whose trustworthiness cannot be established, is replaced with an *isnād* consisting of transmitters who are deemed trustworthy:

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh ← Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh.

Shubayrī argues that the trustworthiness of each transmitter in this revised *isnād* can be verified now, and as a result, the *hujjiyya* of the *ḥadīths* transmitted through this chain, including Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, can be demonstrated despite not being initially established through the application of transmitter criticism.

Another example of the application of this method of *isnād* criticism is related to a *ḥadīth* that is included in Ṭūsī’s *Tahdhīb*.⁶ The two *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī for this *ḥadīth*, which is reported by Zurāra b. A‘yan⁷ from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, are:

- 1- Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ← his father (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd) ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā - Ḥarīz ← Zurāra.
- 2- Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ← his father (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd) ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥarīz ← Zurāra.

The issue with these two *isnāds* is the presence of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who is a common transmitter in both chains. In this case, the trustworthiness of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan has not been commented on.

Shubayrī states that the problem with the trustworthiness of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan can be solved by knowing that the earlier written source for this *ḥadīth*, utilised by Ṭūsī in *Tahdhīb*, is one of the *ḥadīth* compilations of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd. Shubayrī first identifies the earlier source of this *ḥadīth* through the examination of bio-bibliographical transmission paths. He claims that, as per Imāmī bio-bibliographical literature, the collections of *ḥadīth* compiled by al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd were widely known

6 Idem., *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, vol. 1, p. 8.

7 Zurāra b. A‘yan is a companion of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. See Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 209-210.

among early Imāmī scholars, meaning that his books were readily available to them. Shubayrī notes that a similar *isnād*, which matches a portion of the first recorded *isnād* of this *ḥadīth*, can often be found in the *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* as well:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ← his father (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd) ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.

Shubayrī thus concludes that this information raises the likelihood that al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's books are the main sources for the *ḥadīth* reported by Zurāra. He further states that there are numerous bio-bibliographical transmission lines to al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's works. Shubayrī argues that the two aforementioned *isnāds* can be replaced with other bio-bibliographical transmission paths that include trustworthy transmitters.

Based on the two discussed examples, Shubayrī's proposed method of *ḥadīth* validation can be broken down into three steps. Utilising the assumption of written transmission and relying on the information found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, Shubayrī first identifies the main earlier written source of a particular *ḥadīth*. He then splits the *ḥadīth's isnād* into two parts: (1) the chain of transmitters from the author of a later *ḥadīth* collection to the compiler of the earlier written source of this *ḥadīth*, and (2) the chain of transmitters from this compiler to the ultimate authority to whom the *ḥadīth* is attributed. When the first part includes a transmitter whose trustworthiness cannot be determined, Shubayrī uses *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* to substitute it with another transmission path to the compiler of the earlier source, which then consists of trustworthy transmitters.

Sayyid Aḥmad Madadī (b. 1951)

Another prominent Imāmī scholar who emphasises the importance of assuming the written transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīths* is Sayyid Aḥmad Madadī. In traditional Imāmī scholarship he is known for developing a method of *isnād* criticism, which is referred to as a bio-bibliographical

analysis (*taḥlīl-i fihristī*).⁸ According to Madadī, this approach was used by early Imāmī scholars such as Kulaynī and Ṣadūq, when evaluating the *ḥujjiyya* of *ḥadīths*. He argues that early Imāmī *ḥadīth* scholars would consider a *ḥadīth* to be reliable even if transmitted by an untrustworthy transmitter, as long as it came from a reliable source book. Madadī highlights that the key difference between transmitter criticism and *taḥlīl-i fihristī* is that the former requires the evaluation of the trustworthiness of all transmitters mentioned in the *isnād*, while the latter only requires the assessment of the trustworthiness of the first transmitter, who is the compiler of a *ḥadīth* work and directly quotes from a Shīʿī Imām.⁹

Madadī believes that each *isnād* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* leads back to a specific version of an earlier written record. His method of bio-bibliographical analysis consists of three steps. Firstly, the earlier source of a particular *ḥadīth* must be identified by analysing its *isnād*. Secondly, using available Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries such as *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, the question of whether this source had multiple written copies or versions during its transmission is addressed. Finally, the validity of each of these written copies or versions of the *ḥadīth* source is evaluated to determine whether the copy used by a later Imāmī *ḥadīth* compiler, such as Ṣadūq, is reliable for the purpose of determining its *ḥujjiyya*.

The main difference between Madadī's method of authenticating *ḥadīth* and that of Shubayrī is that, while the latter puts emphasis on replacing an unreliable transmitter with a trustworthy one, Madadī places less importance on the trustworthiness of each individual transmitter. To illustrate this difference, consider the following *isnād* (irrespective of the contents of the *ḥadīth* it transmits):

Ṣadūq ← Aḥmad b. Zīyād b. Jaʿfar ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm.

8 Some books and articles on Madadī's *al-taḥlīl al-fihristī* have been published in Arabic and Persian. See Sayyid Aḥmad Madadī, *Nigāhī bi Daryā* (Qum, Shia Bib-Bibliographical Institute, 2014); Sayyid Mohammad ʿImādī Haʿirī, *Bazsāzī Mutūn Kuhan Ḥadīth Shīʿa: Rawish, Taḥlīl, Nimūna* (Tehran, 2010); idem., Criticism of Hadith: Bibliography and Textual Scholarship, in *Research Journal of ʿUlūm Ḥadīth* 10 (2005), pp. 52-69.

9 Madadī, *Nigāhī bi Daryā*, vol. 1, p. 361.

Using the method of transmitter criticism, this *ḥadīth* could be considered reliable as all transmitters in the *isnād* are trustworthy. However, according to Madadī, even though all transmitters are trustworthy, the *ḥujjiyya* of the *ḥadīths* transmitted through this *isnād* may still need to be questioned. Madadī argues that, through his three-step bio-bibliographical analysis, it could be discovered that ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim's books might be the main sources used by a *ḥadīth* compiler like Ṣadūq for the *ḥadīths* with this *isnād*. He states that there were multiple copies of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim's works, one of which was transmitted by Aḥmad b. Zīyād b. Ja‘far to Ṣadūq. However, Madadī notes that this particular copy was not well-known within the early Shī‘ī community and, as a result, the *ḥujjiyya* of the *ḥadīths* transmitted only by Aḥmad b. Zīyād b. Ja‘far to Ṣadūq cannot be accepted.¹⁰

Two key conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of Shubayrī and Madadī's methods of *isnād* criticism. First, both scholars base their approaches on the assumption that Imāmī *ḥadīths* were transmitted through written records until the 5th/11th century. Second, they both, although in different ways, make use of bio-bibliographical cross-referencing between the Imāmī *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Although the views of these contemporary Imāmī scholars do not serve as proof of the existence of bio-bibliographical cross-referencing, the next section will uncover this connection by examining the approaches of the Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilers of *al-kutub al-arba‘a* themselves, namely Kulaynī, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī.

***Al-Kutub al-arba‘a* on bio-bibliographical cross-referencing**

Al-Kāfī

Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*¹¹, the first of *al-kutub al-arba‘a*, is the earliest major Imāmī compilation of *ḥadīths*, which is extant today in its entirety.¹² Unlike the

10 Madadī, *Dars al-Khārij*, recorded 1387-88 SH, sessions 84 and 85.

11 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī fī ‘ilm al-dīn* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1407).

12 To know more about *al-kutub al-arba‘a*, see Amin Ehteshami, “The Four Books of Shi‘i Hadith: From Inception to Consolidation”, *Islamic Law and Society* (published online ahead of print 2021), doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685195-28040002>;

other three books of *al-kutub al-arbaʿa*, Kulaynī does not provide any personal comments or explanations, making it difficult to determine his approach to *isnād* or if he utilised *kitābs* and *aṣls* written during the 2nd/8th century. However, in a few rare cases, he does mention his sources, such as the *ḥadīth* work of Abū Nuʿaym al-Ṭaḥḥān (d. 229/843-844), who is a Sunnī *ḥadīth* transmitter.¹³ Although one isolated example is not enough evidence to conclude Kulaynī's approach to *isnāds*, it is possible to assume that several *kitābs* and *aṣls* were accessible for Kulaynī, since they existed as separate works until the time of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266).¹⁴ Additionally, based on the inclusion of *kitābs* and *aṣls* in later collections, it is still possible to assume that Kulaynī accessed these works through later compilations by his informants, ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm (fl. 307/919)¹⁵, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār (d. c. 3rd/9th century)¹⁶, Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qummī (d. 306/918)¹⁷, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir¹⁸.

Al-Faqīh

The study of Ṣadūq's introduction to *al-Faqīh*¹⁹, as the second of *al-kutub al-arbaʿa*, sheds further light not only on the transmission of *kitābs* and *aṣls* but also on the bio-bibliographical references between *isnāds* and the transmission paths provided in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Ṣadūq states that when he was in Īlāq,²⁰ he was asked by al-Sharīf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, known as Niʿma,²¹ to write a book on "*al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*" (the permitted and prohibited) and "*al-sharīʿa wa-l-aḥkām*" (law and rulings).

Robert Gleave, "Between Ḥadīth and Fiqh: The "Canonical" Imāmī Collections of Akhbār", *Islamic Law and Society* 8/3 (2001), pp. 350-382.

13 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 75.

14 See Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library* (Brill: 1992).

15 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 260; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 266-267.

16 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 353.

17 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 92; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 64.

18 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 66.

19 Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh* (Qum: Daftar intishārāt Islāmī, 1413 AH)

20 Īlāq is the medieval name of an area in what is now Uzbekistan.

21 His full name is Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See, Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, p. 2.

Şadūq claims to have had 245 books with him, and Ni‘ma heard or audited (*samā‘a*) from Şadūq all *ḥadīths* included in these books and copied them as well. Şadūq explains that he omitted *isnāds*, but he believes that providing the full *isnāds* would have been useful. However, in the last section of *al-Faqīh*, named *al-Mashyakha* or *al-Mashīkha*,²² Şadūq provides the complete *isnāds* for his *ḥadīths* in *al-Faqīh*.²³ The individuals named in his *Mashyakha*, as opposed to those listed in *Tahdhīb’s*²⁴ and *al-Istibşār’s*²⁵ *Mashyakha*, which will be discussed later, were not necessarily the authors of *al-Faqīh’s* sources.

Şadūq then highlights the direct use of earlier *ḥadīth* sources such as *kitābs*, *aşls*, *nawādir* and *jawāmi‘* in his work. He says: “All *ḥadīths* included in it [*al-Faqīh*] have been extracted from well-known and reliable books (*jami‘ mā fīh mustakhraj min kutub mashhūra ‘alayh al-mu‘awwal wa ‘ilayh al-marji‘*)”. Şadūq then lists some of his sources, including *Kitāb Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī*, which is also considered as an *aşl*,²⁶ *Kitāb ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī*, the books of ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār (d. 254/868)²⁷, the books of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd (d. after 254/868)²⁸, *Nawādir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā* (fl. 274/887)²⁹, *Kitāb Nawādir al-Ḥikma* compiled by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Imrān al-Ash‘arī (d. 280/893)³⁰, *Kitāb al-raḥma* by Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. between 299-301/911-913)³¹, *Jāmi‘* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 343/954)³², *Nawādir* of Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr (d.

22 To know more about “inventories of transmitters and chains of transmission”, see Hassan Ansari Sabine Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*. Vol. 7 (ISD LLC, 2017), pp. 365-397.

23 See Şadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 422.

24 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-islāmīyya, 1407 AH).

25 *Idem.*, *al-Istibşār fī mā ukhtulifa min al-akhbār* (Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-islāmīyya, 1390).

26 See Kohlberg, “*Uşūl*”, p. 144.

27 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 253-254; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 265-266.

28 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 58-60; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 149-160.

29 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 80-82; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 60.

30 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 348-349; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 408-411.

31 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 177-178; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 215-216.

32 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 383; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 442.

217/832)³³, *Kutub al-maḥāsin* by Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī (d. 274/888 or 280/894)³⁴, *Risāla* which Ṣadūq’s father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh (d. 329/941)³⁵, wrote to him. Ṣadūq notes that the written works of these 11 authors are not the only records he has employed, and that he has also utilised other *aṣls* and *muṣannaḥs*, to which his transmission lines are well-known in the bio-bibliographical dictionaries of his informants.³⁶ This reinforces the notion that *kitābs* and *aṣls*, like *Kitāb Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī* and *Kitāb ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī*, written by the companions and pupils of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, were received and used by *ḥadīth* compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.

As noted, the names mentioned in *al-Faqīh’s Mashyakha* may not necessarily correspond to the authors of Ṣadūq’s sources. However, as Ṣadūq lists some of his sources in his introduction to *al-Faqīh*, we are aware of 11 compilers of these sources. The *isnāds* mentioned in his *Mashyakha* under the names of these 11 individuals, therefore, can be considered as Ṣadūq’s transmission paths to their works. We know, on the one hand, that Ṣadūq directly used the *ḥadīth* works compiled by these 11 authors, and on the other hand, we can find Ṣadūq’s transmission to the *ḥadīths* related to these 11 individuals in his *Mashyakha*. Based on the written transmission assumption discussed in the preceding chapter, it can be concluded that, in the case of these 11 *ḥadīth* compilers, Ṣadūq’s provided *isnāds* in his *Mashyakha* are indeed his transmission paths to the books composed by these 11 compilers. To support this theory, one can examine the level of alignment between the *isnāds* to these 11 authors as mentioned in *al-Faqīh’s Mashyakha* and the bio-bibliographical transmission lines recorded in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. In what follows, Ṣadūq’s *isnāds* for the *ḥadīths* transmitted by each of these 11 *ḥadīth* compilers are analysed in 11 entries. These *isnāds* are then correlated with the transmission paths to the written records of these 11 authors to determine any correspondence between them.

33 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 326-327; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 404-406.

34 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 76-77; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 51-54.

35 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 261-262; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 273-274.

36 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 1, p. 2.

1. Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī

This is the *isnād* as listed by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha* for the *ḥadīths* reported from Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī:

Ṣadūq ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (Ṣadūq’s father) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Ḥimyarī and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār and Aḥmad b. Idrīs together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd and ‘Alī b. Ḥadīd and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Najrān together ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.³⁷

The transmission paths for the written works compiled by Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* match the *isnāds* listed by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha* for the *ḥadīths* he narrates from Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī. Ṭūsī mentions Ṣadūq as a transmitter of Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī’s works to a number of his informants like Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022).³⁸

2. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī

The following is the *isnād* recorded by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha* for the *ḥadīth* he narrates from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī:

Ṣadūq ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Ḥimyarī together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā and ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā together ← Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.³⁹

Fihrist al-Ṭūsī identifies Ṣadūq as the transmitter of the book through the same chain of *ḥadīth* transmitters mentioned in *al-Faqīh*. Ṭūsī’s bio-bibliographical transmission line runs as follows: Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq

37 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 443.

38 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 162.

39 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 429-430.

← the chains of transmitters in *al-Faqīh's al-Mashyakha* for the *ḥadīths* of 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Ḥalabī ← *Kitāb 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Ḥalabī*.⁴⁰

3. 'Alī b. Mahzīyār

Ṣadūq's *isnāds* for the *ḥadīths* he reports from 'Alī b. Mahzīyār are:

- (1) Ṣadūq ← 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (Ṣadūq's father) ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Aṭṭār ← al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq al-Tājir ← 'Alī b. Mahzīyār.
- (2) Ṣadūq ← his father ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī together ← Ibrāhīm b. Mahzīyār - 'Alī b. Mahzīyār.
- (3) Ṣadūq ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← al-'Abbās b. Ma'rūf ← 'Alī b. Mahzīyār.⁴¹

All the individuals in these three groups of *isnāds*, except al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq al-Tājir, are listed by both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as transmitters of 'Alī b. Mahzīyār's works up to the 5th/11th century.⁴²

4. Al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd

The following is the list of two *isnāds* recorded by Ṣadūq for the *ḥadīths* he narrates from al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd:

- (1) Ṣadūq ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd.
- (2) Ṣadūq ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd.⁴³

40 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 305-306.

41 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 446.

42 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 253-254; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 265-266.

43 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 490.

According to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, Ṣadūq and the other *ḥadīth* transmitters mentioned in these two *isnāds* are described as the transmitters of the books compiled by al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.⁴⁴

5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā

In his *Mashyakha*, Ṣadūq provides the following *isnād* for the *ḥadīths* he cites from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā:

Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Ḥimyarī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ashʿarī.⁴⁵

This *isnād* is consistent with the transmission lines provided in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* for the books composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā. Although, in this case, Ṣadūq is not specifically named as a transmitter of these works, the other individuals in the above *isnād* are recognised as the transmitters of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's written works.⁴⁶

6. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī

This is the *isnād* recorded by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha* for the *ḥadīths* transmitted by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī:

Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār and Aḥmad b. Idrīs together ← Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī.⁴⁷

These transmitters of the *ḥadīths* reported by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ashʿarī in *al-Faqīh* are also described in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as having been the

44 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 231.

45 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 530.

46 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 82-83; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 60-61.

47 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 475.

transmitters of the written works attributed to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī.⁴⁸

7. Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh

The following *isnād* is mentioned by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha* for the *ḥadīths* transmitted by Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh:

Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh.⁴⁹

Fihrist al-Ṭūsī introduces Ṣadūq, his father (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd as the transmitters of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh’s works.⁵⁰

8. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Walīd

Ṣadūq does not specify his *isnād* for the *ḥadīths* reported from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, likely because he received the *ḥadīths* directly from him.

Fihrist al-Ṭūsī lists Ṣadūq as one of the principal transmitters of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Walīd’s works.⁵¹

9. Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr

The following *isnād*, as listed by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha*, pertains to the *ḥadīths* transmitted by Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr:

Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Ḥimyarī together ← Ayyūb b. Nūḥ and

48 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 408-411.

49 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 424.

50 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 215-216.

51 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 383.

Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār together ← Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr.⁵²

This *isnād* resembles the following bio-bibliographical transmission lines described in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* for the written works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr:

Ṭūsī ← a number of *ḥadīth* transmitters ← Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Ḥimyarī together ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.⁵³

10. Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī

The following two *isnāds* are listed by Ṣadūq in his *Mashyakha* in relation to the transmission of *ḥadīths* by Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī:

(1) Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Mutawakkil together ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī ← Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī.

(2) Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī.⁵⁴

Both ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh are identified as transmitters of works by Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī, such as *al-Maḥāsin*, which contains 2606 *ḥadīths*. According to the bio-bibliographical transmission paths, these works were passed down by ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh to the generation of Ṣadūq's father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, who most likely transmitted them to Ṣadūq.⁵⁵

11. Ṣadūq's father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh

52 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 460.

53 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 404-406.

54 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 438.

55 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 51-54.

In his *Mashyakha*, Ṣadūq does not list the name of his father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, probably because he received *ḥadīths* directly from him.

Ṣadūq is considered by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as the main transmitter of this work and other written works of his father.⁵⁶

The examination of the *isnāds* of *ḥadīths* reported from these 11 individuals in *al-Faqīh* indicates a high degree of consistency between these *isnāds* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths. This gives rise to the conclusion that at least for the *ḥadīths* reported from these 11 *ḥadīth* compilers, there is a connection between the *isnāds* of *ḥadīths* reported by Ṣadūq from them and the bio-bibliographical paths to their written *ḥadīth* works, from which these *ḥadīths* was extracted Ṣadūq. Further examination of Ṭūsī’s *Mashyakha* appended to *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* can further clarify this connection, which is referred to here as bio-bibliographical cross-referencing.

Tahdhīb and al-Istibṣār

In the introductions of *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, both compiled by Ṭūsī, there is no explicit mention of whether he has employed earlier written records or not. However, the detailed examination of the last section of these two books, *al-Mashyakha*, not only suggests that he has directly used earlier written works, but also shows the bio-bibliographical cross-referencing between the *isnāds* he has mentioned in his *Mashyakha* of these two compilations of *ḥadīths* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths found in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. In his introductions to his *Mashyakha* of both *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, Ṭūsī mentions that he has truncated the majority of *isnāds* in these two *ḥadīth* collections to abbreviate them and prevent his books from becoming too lengthy. He then provides the removed part of these *isnāds* in his *Mashyakha* to complete all those shortened *isnāds*.⁵⁷

56 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 273-274.

57 See Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 4-5; Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, vol. 4, pp. 304-305.

Chapters 3 and 4 will delve into a comprehensive analysis of Ṭūsī's *isnāds* listed in his *Mashyakha*. However, to show the bio-bibliographical cross-referencing between the *isnāds* he has listed in his *Mashyakha* and the bio-bibliographical paths in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, a brief overview of his method of truncating and presenting *isnāds* is given here. The following truncated *isnād* of a *ḥadīth*, irrespective of its *matn*, serves as an example:

Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī ← 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← Ḥammād b. 'Uthmān ← Ḥarīz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī ← Zurāra b. A'yūn and Muḥammad b. Muslim and Yaḥyā Abū Baṣīr al-Asadī and Burayd b. Mu'āwīya and al-Fuḍayl b. Yasār together ← Imām al-Ṣādiq.⁵⁸

To learn more about the complete *isnād* of this *ḥadīth*, one must refer to *al-Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb*, where Ṭūsī lists the following three *isnāds* to Kulaynī:

1. Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī.
2. Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla'ukbarī and Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and al-Shaybānī and others together ← Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī.
3. Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī.⁵⁹

As stated, in *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, Ṭūsī acknowledges that he has abbreviated his *isnāds*, and then supplements these truncated *isnāds* by providing complete *isnāds* in his *Mashyakha*. In his introduction to the *Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, Ṭūsī clarifies that those first transmitters in the truncated *isnāds* in these two books are the compilers of the written sources he has used for compiling *Tahdhīb*, and the *isnāds* to these transmitters listed in this chapter are indeed his transmission lines to their earlier works. As a result, the source of the *ḥadīths* with the above truncated *isnād* starting with Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī is *al-Kāfī*, and

58 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 3.

59 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 5-29.

the three *isnāds* that Ṭūsī has listed to Kulaynī should be regarded as his transmission paths to *al-Kāfī*.

To further explore the bio-bibliographical cross-referencing, like the analysis of Ṣadūq's 11 sources mentioned in the introduction to *al-Faqīh*, these three *isnāds* to Kulaynī or transmission paths to his *ḥadīth* collection can also be correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to *al-Kāfī* listed in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.

One of Najāshī's bio-bibliographical path to *al-Kāfī* is:

Najāshī ← a number of his informants such as al-Mufīd, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Nūḥ together ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.⁶⁰

In addition, the following two transmission paths to *al-Kāfī* are found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*:

1. Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.⁶¹
2. Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← a number of transmitters such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī, Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi', Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla'ukbarī and al-Shaybānī together ← Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.⁶²

As can be observed, these three bio-bibliographical transmission paths, which are outlined in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, correspond with the three *isnāds* mentioned in the *Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb* for the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* including Kulaynī as the first transmitter.

Compilers of *al-Kutub al-arba'a* and *isnād* criticism

The impact of the culture of writing consolidated during the times of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq on the approaches of the compilers of *al-kutub al-arba'a* towards *isnāds* can also be studied by examining and identifying the methods of *ḥadīth* authentication used by these compilers.

60 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 377.

61 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 394.

62 Ibid., pp. 394-395.

Before this identification, it is worth mentioning here that there are some theories in later Imāmī scholarship on how the compilers of *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* were informed by this Shīʿī culture of writing. One such theory is presented by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1130/1621), known as Shaykh al-Bahāʾī, who suggests five principles for how early Imāmī scholars evaluated the authenticity of *ḥadīths*. According to Bahāʾī, a *ḥadīth* was considered authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) by earlier Imāmī scholars, like Kulaynī, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī, if it met one of the following five criteria:

1. It was present in multiple *aṣls*, which were transmitted to early *ḥadīth* scholar like Ṭūsī through connecting *isnāds* to the companions of Shīʿī Imams.
2. It was repeated in one or two *aṣls*, with several diverse and reliable *isnāds*.
3. It was extracted from a reliable *kitāb*, whether its author was Imāmī or non-Imāmī.
4. It was found in a famous *aṣl*, that was related to one of the Imams' companions, upon whose reliability early Imāmī scholars agreed, or whose transmitted *ḥadīths* were agreed upon as reliable.
5. it was derived from earlier *kitābs*, which were presented to one of the Shīʿī Imams.⁶³

The rules Bahāʾī outlines suggest that the *kitābs* and *aṣls* largely compiled during the time of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq were transmitted and passed on to the subsequent generations of *ḥadīth* compilers. Bahāʾī's assertion that early scholars evaluated the *isnāds* or transmission paths to the earlier *kitābs* and *aṣls* supports the idea of a connection between the *isnāds* in later larger *ḥadīth* works and their compilers' transmission paths to these *kitābs* and *aṣls*. Ṭūsī, who is himself one of the compilers of *al-kutub al-arbaʿa*, in his *al-Udda fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, also notes that when an Imāmī scholar proposes a novel, unprecedented legal opinion on a particular issue, others ask him about his source.⁶⁴ If he refers to a known *kitāb* or a famous *aṣl*, and the compiler of this *kitāb* or *aṣl* is deemed trustworthy, then his opinion will be accepted by

63 Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī, *Mashriq al-shamsayn wa iksīr al-saʿadatayn* (Mashhad: Āstāna al-raḍawīyya al-muqaddasa, 1414 AH), pp. 26-29.

64 See Ṭūsī, *Al-Udda fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Qum, 1417 AH), vol. 1, pp. 126-127.

other scholars. Ṭūsī states that this has been a common practice among Shī'ī scholars since the time of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Shī'ī Imams, particularly Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.⁶⁵ Two key points can also be derived from Ṭūsī's remarks. Firstly, early *kitābs* and *aṣls* hold significant importance in determining the authenticity of a particular *ḥadīth* among early Imāmī scholars. Secondly, Ṭūsī mentions that only the trustworthiness or reliability of the first compiler of the cited *kitāb* or *aṣl* was considered important among the scholars at that time.

Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī apply an *isnād*-based method of *ḥadīth* validation in works such as *al-Faqīh*, *Tahdhīb*, and *al-Istibṣār*, which also supports the two aforementioned points. We will herewith identify and discuss one of the methods of *ḥadīth* validation used by these scholars by critically analysing their comments on the authenticity of four particular *ḥadīths*. In these cases, both Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī use the same method of *isnād* criticism but arrived at different conclusions. They assessed the trustworthiness and religious affiliation of the first transmitter mentioned in the *isnāds* of these *ḥadīths*. This can be considered a form of transmitter criticism, similar to the approach used by later Imāmī scholars. However, a careful comparison of their comments and explanations in *al-Faqīh*, *Tahdhīb*, and *al-Istibṣār*, and taking into account bio-bibliographical information found in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, reveals a connection that they make between investigating the trustworthiness or religious affiliation of a particular *ḥadīth* transmitter and analysing the contents of his written record. This not only enables a better understanding of how the approaches of *ḥadīth* compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries towards *isnāds* were influenced by the culture of writing consolidated in Shī'ism during the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, but also allows for tracing bio-bibliographical cross-references.

Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī

In rare cases where two *ḥadīths* on the same topic contradict each other, Ṣadūq elucidates why he prefers one over the other. One such instance involves a contradiction between a *ḥadīth* reported from Wahb b. Wahb al-

65 Ibid.

Qurashī⁶⁶ and one attributed to al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb. The former, which appears in *Kitab al-Ḥudūd* (the chapter of divinely ordained punishments), reads as follows:

[Ṣadūq ← his father (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd ← his father (Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī) from]⁶⁷ Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī from Imām al-Ṣādiq relating this *ḥadīth* from his father, who reports it from his fathers:

A man who had unlawful sexual intercourse with his wife’s female slave and made her pregnant (*ūtīya bi-rajul waqa‘a ‘alā jāriya imra’atih fa-ḥamalat*) was brought to Imām ‘Alī. The man said: she gave her [female slave] to me, and his wife rejected [her husband’s allegation], and he [Imām ‘Alī] said: you [the man] should bring your evidence or [if not] I must stone you (*la-’arjumannak bi-ḥijāra*). When his wife saw this situation, she confessed [that she was lying] and Imām ‘Alī punished her.

Ṣadūq rejects this *ḥadīth* and states that:

This *ḥadīth*, in this form, is recited from Wahb b. Wahb, while he is *ḍa‘īf* (weak), therefore the *ḥadīth* according to which I give a *fatwā* is the *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb,⁶⁸ ... from ‘Abī Ja‘far [Imām al-Bāqir] about a man who has unlawful sexual intercourse with his wife’s female slave without his wife’s permission. His punishment is equal to the punishment of a *zānī* [male fornicator], which is flogging one hundred times. He [Imām al-Bāqir] said: Do not stone him if he has unlawful sexual intercourse with a Jewish or Christian woman or a female slave⁶⁹

Ṣadūq assumes that these two *ḥadīths* refer to the same case, but he finds their contents contradictory. According to the *ḥadīth* quoted from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, Muḥammad al-Bāqir considers the legal punishment for a man, who has unlawful sexual intercourse with the female slave of his wife, to be

66 For Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī, see Modarressi, *Tradition*, pp. 389-391.

67 This part of *isnād* is found in *al-Mashyakha* of *al-Faqīh*. See Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 478.

68 For al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, see Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 122.

69 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 35.

only one hundred floggings, while according to Wahb's *ḥadīth*, this man should be stoned. Ṣadūq rejects Wahb's *ḥadīth*, as he does not rely on unique *ḥadīths* reported by Wahb, and argues that he is an unreliable or untrustworthy transmitter. However, Ṣadūq accepts the *ḥujjiyya* of some of Wahb's other *ḥadīths*.⁷⁰ Ṣadūq's explicit explanation about the reason for his preference leads to the possible conclusion that the content of Wahb's other *ḥadīths*, which are considered reliable by Ṣadūq, are not in contradiction with other *ḥadīths* that Ṣadūq has received, according to his introduction to *al-Faqīh*, through earlier known *ḥadīth* works.

In contrast to Ṣadūq, Ṭūsī not only includes Wahb's *ḥadīth* in both *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, but also considers it to be reliable.⁷¹ However, like Ṣadūq, he believes that Wahb's unique *ḥadīths* for which he is the sole narrator (*al-ḥadīth fīmā yakhtaṣṣu bih*) are unreliable (*matrūk*).⁷² Regarding Wahb's *ḥadīth* in question, Ṭūsī argues that its content is not unique and seeks to demonstrate that the two *ḥadīths* are not contradictory. He suggests that there is another *ḥadīth* that is largely similar to Wahb's *ḥadīth* but relates to a different situation. According to Ṭūsī, the situation in the latter *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb pertains to a non-*muḥsan* man (a man who has not consummated his lawful marriage), while Wahb's reported *ḥadīth* is about a *muḥsan* man. Ṭūsī argues that the punishments for *zinā* (unlawful sexual intercourse) are different for *muḥsan* and non-*muḥsan*, which explains the different punishments in the two *ḥadīths*.⁷³ Ṭūsī's main objective is to reconcile the apparent contradiction between these two *ḥadīths* by showing that they relate to two different situations. He then cites a *ḥadīth* quoted by Ismā'īl b. Abī Ziyād al-Sakūnī to support his argument that the content of Wahb's *ḥadīth* is not unique:

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to 'Alī [Imām 'Alī] to ask him about a man who had unlawful sexual intercourse with a Jewish and Christian woman, then he [Imām 'Alī] wrote to him [Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr]: if he is *muḥsan*, stone him, if not, flog him⁷⁴

70 See for some instances: *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 101; *ibid.*, p. 189; *ibid.*, p. 198; *ibid.*, 264.

71 See Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 14; *idem.*, *al-Istibṣār*, vol. 4, p. 206.

72 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 48.

73 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, pp. 14-16.

74 *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 15.

The question now is the relationship between the methods of *ḥadīth* authentication used by Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī. Ṣadūq's rejection of a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Wahb was based on his untrustworthiness, which Ṣadūq explicitly discusses. Ṭūsī also emphasises Wahb's untrustworthiness in *al-Istibṣār*, using it as a reason to reject another of his unique *ḥadīths*.⁷⁵ This indicates that both Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī assume the untrustworthiness of Wahb, while accepting some of his *ḥadīths* and rejecting others. It appears that there is a connection between the contents of Wahb's *ḥadīths* and his untrustworthiness. In other words, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī reject only Wahb's unique *ḥadīths* instead of all of his *ḥadīths*, which would have been the result of simply applying transmitter criticism.

However, one may question why Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī only discuss the trustworthiness of Wahb and not the other individuals listed in the *isnāds* of Wahb's *ḥadīths*. The answer to this question lies in the aforementioned conclusion drawn from Ṭūsī's statement in *al-'Udda*, that the reliability of the first compiler of a *ḥadīth* was important to Imāmī *ḥadīth* scholars. Coupled with the previously noted link between the contents of Wahb's *ḥadīths* and his untrustworthiness, it appears that Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī accepted the *ḥujjiyya* of a particular *ḥadīth* reported by Wahb only if its content was not unique and could be found in earlier Imāmī written records compiled by trustworthy individuals like al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb. In other words, they accepted Wahb's *ḥadīth* irrespective of his trustworthiness or religious affiliation if its content could be found in other, well-known Imāmī written records. However, if the content of a *ḥadīth* reported by Wahb was unique, then both Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī rejected it.

The approaches of Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī to *ḥadīths* transmitted by Wahb reveal that his trustworthiness as the compiler of a written record from which these *ḥadīths* were derived is crucial, but not the trustworthiness of all the other individuals mentioned in the *isnāds* of these *ḥadīths*. If we accept that there is a connection between the trustworthiness of a *ḥadīth* compiler and the *ḥujjiyya* of the contents of their *ḥadīth* work, then we can infer that Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī were aware of the existence of Wahb's *kitāb*. Interpreted in this way, the remaining *isnāds* to Wahb's transmitted *ḥadīths* provided by Ṣadūq

75 Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, vol. 1, p. 48.

in *al-Faqīh* and Ṭūsī in *Tahdhīb* might be their transmission path to Wahb's written record. This hypothesis can be confirmed by checking the references to Wahb's *kitāb* in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.

Wahb is credited with a *kitāb*,⁷⁶ which contains his transmissions from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.⁷⁷ As noted, in *al-Faqīh*, the isnād provided for the ḥadīth reported from Wahb is: Ṣadūq ← his father (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd ← his father (Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī) ← Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī. *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* both list Ṣadūq's father, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh, as one of the transmitters of Wahb's *kitāb*.⁷⁸ More importantly, Ṭūsī, who includes several *ḥadīths* transmitted by Wahb in his *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, introduces Ṣadūq, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd as the transmitters of Wahb's books.⁷⁹ This, along with the fact that Ṭūsī includes the name of Wahb in his *Fihrist* and provides his transmission paths to his *kitāb*, shows that both Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī were aware of the existence of this book and its contents. However, since the name of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, whose written works were used by Ṣadūq in *al-Faqīh*,⁸⁰ is not mentioned as a transmitter of Wahb's *kitāb*, it is most likely that Ṣadūq extracted Wahb's *ḥadīth* from the works of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh. It is also worth mentioning that applying the *isnād*-based method of bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis proposed by this study can confirm this. However, this method, which will be extensively developed and tested in Chapter 4, has not fully been established yet.

Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ziyād al-Sakūnī

Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī have applied the same process of *ḥadīth* authentication to other instances, such as a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ziyād al-Sakūnī, which will be examined below. Sakūnī, a Sunnī transmitter, is

76 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 430; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 488.

77 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 390.

78 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 430; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 488.

79 Ibid.

80 See Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, pp. 3-4.

responsible for “a very large number of reports from Ja‘far al-Şādiq and is, by far, the most prolific non-Shī‘ite source of Shī‘ite *ḥadīth*”.⁸¹ While some of Sakūnī's transmitted *ḥadīths* are considered reliable in *al-Faqīh*, Şadūq rejects one of his *ḥadīths* in *Bāb Mīrāth al-Majūs* (the Chapter on the inheritance of Zoroastrians). Despite this, Şadūq did issue some *fatwās* based on other *ḥadīths* from Sakūnī. In the section discussing the inheritance of Zoroastrians, the only *ḥadīth* mentioned is the one transmitted by Sakūnī, who directly quotes from Imām al-Şādiq:

[Şadūq ← his father (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Sa‘d b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Nawfilī from]⁸² Sakūnī:

Imām ‘Alī gave inheritance [to the heir of] a Zoroastrian (*majūs*) man who had married his own mother ... through two means: as his mother and as his wife.⁸³

According to the Quran 4:11, when a man dies, his estate is divided between his living family members, such as his wife and mother. According to the *ḥadīth* reported from Sakūnī, because the Zoroastrian man had married his mother, as the deceased's wife, she not only inherits his assets as per the rights of the wife but also as per the rights of the mother. However, in this case, Şadūq argues that the mother cannot inherit as the son's wife due to their corrupt marriage (*al-nikāḥ al-fāsid*). Instead, she only inherits the estate as the son's mother, and thus, inherits only those assets that are rightfully hers as a mother.

Şadūq further states that he does not issue a *fatwā* based on Sakūnī's *ḥadīth* about the inheritance of a Zoroastrian man, as it is only transmitted by Sakūnī (*lā uftī bi-mā yanfaridu al-Sakūnī bi-riwāyatih*).⁸⁴ While he does not present any contradictory *ḥadīth* for this rejection, it can be argued that, according to his comments, the content of Sakūnī's *ḥadīth* contradicts the clear legal prohibition of marrying one's mother. Moreover, by stating that he does not trust the unique *ḥadīths* of Sakūnī, Şadūq implies that the content of this *ḥadīth* cannot be found in other reliable *ḥadīths*. Although Sakūnī is a

81 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 304.

82 For this part of the *isnād*, see Şadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 459.

83 Şadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 344.

84 Ibid., p. 344.

Sunnī *ḥadīth* transmitter, as with the case of Wahb's *ḥadīth*, Ṣadūq would accept Sakūnī's *ḥadīth* if its content could be found in other reliable *ḥadīths*.

Ṭūsī takes a different position from Ṣadūq and argues that the content of Sakūnī's *ḥadīth* can be relied upon. He believes that there are no *ḥadīths* from the Imāms that contradict Sakūnī's *ḥadīth*, and there is no Qur'anic evidence against it. Ṭūsī states that while marrying one's mother is forbidden in Islam, it was not prohibited in Zoroastrianism. Since the Zoroastrian man in question was following the laws of his own religion, his marriage to his mother was legal. As a result, Sakūnī's *ḥadīth* is reliable according to Ṭūsī.⁸⁵ Additionally, Ṭūsī cites two supplementary *ḥadīths* that he believes further support his argument:

A man insulted a Zoroastrian man in the presence of Imām al-Ṣādiq. So Imām al-Ṣādiq forbade him from that [insulting a Zoroastrian man]. A man said: [Why do you forbid me from insulting him, while] he has married his mother. Imām said: “Do you not know that this is [legal] marriage among them?”⁸⁶

Ṭūsī's argument is that since this type of marriage was permissible according to Zoroastrianism, a Zoroastrian man's mother could legally be considered his wife, which implies that she could inherit both the mother's share and the wife's share.⁸⁷

In contrast to Ṭūsī, Ṣadūq's position is that the mother of a Zoroastrian man is entitled only to the mother's share, not the wife's share. Ṣadūq argues that the content of Sakūnī's *ḥadīth* is unique, and he does not rely on such unique *ḥadīths* transmitted by Sakūnī (*lā uftī bi-mā yanfaridu al-Sakūnī bi-riwāyatih*).⁸⁸ However, unlike the case of Wahb b. Wahb, in which the reason for rejecting the unique *ḥadīths* of Wahb was his untrustworthiness, Ṣadūq does not explicitly state the reason for rejecting the unique *ḥadīths* of Sakūnī. However, by considering another example of a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Samā'a b. Mihrān, in which Ṣadūq provides an explanation for his preference, it can be inferred that the probable reason for rejecting the unique *ḥadīths* quoted by Sakūnī would be his affiliation with Sunnism.

85 Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, vol. 4, p. 189.

86 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, p. 365.

87 *Ibid.*

88 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 334.

Before discussing the *ḥadīth* transmitted by Samā'a b. Mihrān, let's analyse the *isnād* provided by Ṣadūq for the *ḥadīth* transmitted by Sakūnī. As mentioned in the case of Wahb, both Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī examine the trustworthiness of Wahb to determine whether they can rely on the unique *ḥadīths* extracted from his *kitāb*. Given this conclusion, one would expect that Sakūnī would have been attributed with a book which was received by Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī, whether directly or through later works. The examination of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* again shows that the *isnāds* listed by Ṣadūq in *al-Faqīh* correspond to the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Sakūnī. Ṣadūq's *isnād* for the *ḥadīths* he reports from Sakūnī is as follows:

Ṣadūq ← his father (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa'd b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Nawfilī ← Sakūnī.

All of the transmitters named in this *isnād*, except Ṣadūq's father and Sa'd b. ʿAbd Allāh, are listed by *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as the transmitters of Sakūnī's written records.⁸⁹ As with Wahb's *ḥadīth* discussed above, Sa'd b. ʿAbd Allāh's name appears in this case as well, suggesting that the works of Sa'd b. ʿAbd Allāh may be the main sources Ṣadūq used for those *ḥadīths* transmitted by Sakūnī. Not only does Ṭūsī provide the name of Sakūnī as a compiler of a written work, but he also introduces Sakūnī's two written records and lists his bio-bibliographical transmission paths through which he received these two works.

Samā'a b. Mihrān

In the chapter on the obligations for someone who intentionally or unintentionally breaks their fast or engages in sexual intercourse during Ramaḍān (*Bāb mā yajib ʿalā man aṭṭara aw jāma'a fī shahr Ramaḍān muta'ammidan aw nāsīyan*), Ṣadūq discusses a *ḥadīth* attributed to Samā'a b. Mihrān without including its *matn*. Ṣadūq mentions that because Samā'a is affiliated with a non-Twelve branch of Imāmī Shī'a, known as the

89 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 26; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 33.

Waqifites⁹⁰, he rejects his *ḥadīth*.⁹¹ However, Ṣadūq has used more than one hundred other *ḥadīths* narrated by Samā'a and considers them reliable. While Ṣadūq does not explicitly state that only the unique *ḥadīths* of Samā'a are unreliable, based on previous discussions, it seems that Samā'a's affiliation with a different religious sect causes Ṣadūq to reject his unique *ḥadīths*. This reasoning leads to the possibility that Ṣadūq also rejects the unique *ḥadīths* quoted by Sakūnī because of his affiliation with Sunni Islam.

According to Ṣadūq, the *ḥadīth* cited from Samā'a (without providing its *matn*) is in contradiction with the *ḥadīth* quoted by Ḥammād b. 'Īsā from Zurāra b. A'yan, in which Imām al-Bāqir said,

The time of *al-maghrib* is when the sun disappears. If you see it again after that and you have already prayed, then you must repeat your prayer. However, your fast continues and you should abstain from eating if you had already started.

Then, Ṣadūq states:

And likewise, Zayd al-Shaḥḥām reports from Abū 'Abd Allāh [Imām al-Ṣādiq], and with these reports, I issue a *fatwā* and I do not issue a *fatwā* according to the *ḥadīth* in which one [who sees the disc of sun after praying and eating something] is obliged to make compensatory fast (*awjaba 'alayhi-l-qaḍā*), because this is Samā'a b. Mihrān's *ḥadīth* and he is a Wāqifi.⁹²

The issue with this case is that Ṣadūq did not provide the *matn* of the *ḥadīth* he rejected, which differs from the cases of Wahb b. Wahb and Sakūnī. However, it is possible to infer the *matn* of the *ḥadīth* attributed to Samā'a based on its inclusion in Ṭūsī's work. In the same chapter, Ṭūsī, like Ṣadūq, also attempts to reconcile the *ḥadīth* quoted by Zurāra with a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Samā'a. Unlike Ṣadūq, Ṭūsī includes the *matn* of Samā'a's *ḥadīth*. Based on previous discussions, in which Ṭūsī defends the authenticity of *ḥadīths* rejected by Ṣadūq, it is likely that the *matn* of Samā'a's *ḥadīth* in *Tahdhīb* is the same one that Ṣadūq rejected.

90 The Waqifite Shi'a were an offshoot sect of Shi'a Islam that recognised the Imamate of the seventh Shī'ī Imām, Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799), but rejected the Imamate of his son, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818).

91 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 2, p. 121.

92 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 121.

Ṭūsī argues that the *ḥadīth* reported by Samā‘a is not in contradiction with the one narrated by Zurāra, and thus, considers it reliable. In addition to quoting the *ḥadīth* from Zurāra, Ṭūsī includes the one from Samā‘a:

Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb [al-Kulaynī] cites ... from Samā‘a [b. Mihrān] from Abī ‘Abd Allāh [Imām al-Ṣādiq] about the case of people who fast in the month of Ramaḍān when the sky is overcast by a black cloud at the time of sunset and they think it is night, and break their fasts, then the cloud clears and the sun emerges, he [Imām al-Ṣādiq] said: those who broke their fasts are required to make up a compensatory fast [because] Allāh says: “complete fasting until the night”, therefore, those who ate before the night need to make compensatory fast because they have deliberately eaten.⁹³

Ṭūsī argues that the two *ḥadīths* are not contradictory, but rather describes different levels of probability. In the *ḥadīth* attributed to Samā‘a, the presence of a black cloud at sunset makes it equally likely that it is either day or night, with no evidence favouring one over the other. In this scenario, breaking the fast requires making up the missed day. However, the *ḥadīth* from Zurāra describes a situation where evidence makes it more probable that it is indeed sunset.⁹⁴

When analysing Ṣadūq’s *isnād* for Samā‘a’s *ḥadīth*, it is important to note that while Ṣadūq does not include this particular *ḥadīth* in *al-Faqīh*, his *isnād* to Samā‘a can be found in his *Mashyakha* of *al-Faqīh*. This *isnād* is as follows:

Ṣadūq ← his father (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← ‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā al-‘Āmirī ← Samā‘a b. Mihrān.⁹⁵

Although Samā‘a is not listed in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, Ṭūsī does mention him in his *Rijāl* and credits him with a *kitāb* but without providing any transmission path for it.⁹⁶ In addition, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* lists a bio-bibliographical transmission line that overlaps to some extent with Ṣadūq’s *isnād*, both of which include ‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā al-‘Āmirī as the main transmitter of Samā‘a’s *ḥadīths* and *kitāb*. Najāshī’s bio-bibliographical transmission path to Samā‘a’s *kitāb* is as follows: Najāshī ← many people ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad

93 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 270; Ṭūsī, *Al-Istibṣār*, vol. 2, p. 116.

94 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 270.

95 See Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 427.

96 See Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, p. 337.

b. Sa'īd ← Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muḥammadī ← 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā al-'Āmirī ← Samā'a b. Mihrān's *kitāb*.⁹⁷

The three cases discussed: Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī, Ismā'īl b. Abī Ziyād al-Sakūnī and Samā'a b. Mihrān, illustrate one of the methods of *ḥadīth* authentication that were common among early Imāmī scholars. According to this method, the first step is to scrutinise the content of a *ḥadīth* in question. If the content is unique and cannot be found in other well-known earlier written records, the trustworthiness and religious affiliation of the first compiler of this *ḥadīth* are checked. If he is unreliable, untrustworthy, or non-Twelve Shī'a, the content of his unique *ḥadīth* is rejected. If he is trustworthy, his unique *ḥadīth* is considered reliable. If the content of a *ḥadīth* in question is not unique and can be found in other famous written records, without considering the trustworthiness or religious affiliation of its transmitters, early Imāmī scholars pronounce this content to be reliable.

Ḥuḍayfa b. Manṣūr

The three examples examined thus far demonstrate that only the unique *ḥadīths* cited by an untrustworthy or non-Twelve Shī'i *ḥadīth* compiler were considered unreliable by Ṭūsī and Ṣadūq, and not all of his *ḥadīths*. It remains to be seen whether it is valid to claim that if a *ḥadīth* compiler was trustworthy, all his *ḥadīths*, whether unique or not, which had been included in his *kitāb* or *aṣl* were deemed reliable. To address this question, we can examine Ṭūsī's comment on a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ḥuḍayfa b. Manṣūr. When scrutinising the *ḥujjiyya* of this *ḥadīth*, which concerns the number of days of the month of Ramaḍān, Ṭūsī states that it cannot be considered reliable. One of the reasons he cites for rejecting this *ḥadīth* is its absence in Ḥuḍayfa's famous *kitāb* and other known *aṣls*.⁹⁸ He argues that if this *ḥadīth* was accurately ascribed to Ḥuḍayfa, it would be present in his book, which was renowned in the 5th/11th century.⁹⁹

Ṭūsī's statement leads to two important conclusions. Firstly, it again highlights the significant role that Shī'i *kitābs* and *aṣls* played in determining

97 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 194.

98 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 169.

99 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 272.

the *ḥujjiyya* of a particular *ḥadīth*. Secondly, like the three examples discussed earlier, the trustworthiness or the religious affiliation of the first transmitter or compiler of this unique *ḥadīth*, i.e., Ḥuḍayfa b. Maṣṣūr, must be evaluated. This implies that Ṭūsī was aware of the contents of Ḥuḍayfa b. Maṣṣūr's *kitāb*. As noted by Ṭūsī, one reason for rejecting this unique content is that it could not be found in Ḥuḍayfa b. Maṣṣūr's compiled *kitāb*, which was available during Ṭūsī's time. Therefore, if this unique content could be found in Ḥuḍayfa b. Maṣṣūr's *kitāb*, who was the first compiler and transmitter of this *ḥadīth*, it would have been regarded as authentic. *Rijāl al-Najāshī* considers Ḥuḍayfa b. Maṣṣūr as a trustworthy transmitter.¹⁰⁰ This further demonstrates the close connection between the contents of the *ḥadīths* included in a *kitāb* or *aṣl* and *isnād* criticism used by early Imāmī *ḥadīth* scholars.

Through the examination of these four examples, the essential role that *kitābs* and *aṣls* played in the history of Shī'ī *ḥadīth* and their transmission to the times of Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī can be concluded. Receiving the earlier written records, whether directly or through other collections of *ḥadīths*, allowed these two Imāmī scholars to establish a correlation between the content of an earlier written record and the trustworthiness or religious affiliation of its compiler. In all four examples, Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī used the same approach, although their conclusions differed. The reason for these differences is that Ṭūsī aimed to demonstrate that the *ḥadīths* rejected by Ṣadūq were not unique and that their content could be found in other *ḥadīth* works. Both Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī, however, did not consider the trustworthiness or religious affiliation of the first compiler or transmitter of a particular *ḥadīth* as the primary factor. They first checked whether the content of the *ḥadīth* could be found in several books available to them. If it was indeed unique, they then examined the trustworthiness or religious affiliation of its first transmitter or compiler. If he was trustworthy, they accepted the unique content of his *ḥadīth*, but if not, they rejected it.

100 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 147-148.

Conclusion

In addition to shedding light on how the compilers of *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* were influenced by the culture of writing that was crystallised during the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the detailed analysis of *al-Faqīh* and *Tahdhīb*, including their methods of presenting and truncating *isnāds*, reveals that each Imāmī *isnād* found in early Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* conveys two important pieces of information: (1) the name of an earlier *ḥadīth* compiler from whose book a particular *ḥadīth* was extracted by a later compiler; and (2) the transmission path or paths through which this book was received by this later compiler. This, in conjunction with the assumption that early *kitābs* and *aṣls* were transmitted separately or through later larger *ḥadīth* works, leads to an important conclusion: Each person included in the *isnād* of a particular Imāmī *ḥadīth* is either the compiler of a source of this *ḥadīth* or the transmitter of a book that was its primary source. This approach to *isnād* is the main reason for the development of a bio-bibliographical cross-reference between the *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. The analysis of Imāmī *isnāds* based on this cross-referencing can reveal the origins, dates, and developments of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. However, before delving into this bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, two fundamental questions must be addressed: (1) Is the information on *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths provided by the Imāmī scholars of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries historically reliable? (2) To what extent can they be relied upon to trace the origins and developments of Imāmī *ḥadīths* back to the time of Shīʿī Imāms, especially the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq? The next chapter will explore and develop several arguments for the historical credibility of the information on *ḥadīth* transmitters and bio-bibliographical transmission paths given by the Imāmī sources of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.

CHAPTER THREE

Historical Reliability of Imāmī *Isnāds* and Bio-Bibliographical Transmission Lines

Introduction

The previous two chapters argued that a culture of writing emerged during the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, resulting in the creation of *kitābs*, *aṣls*, and other genres of *ḥadīth* literature within the Shī‘ī community. The transmission of these written records continued until the collection of *al-kutub al-arba‘a*. As a result of this written transmission, an inherent connection between *isnāds* and the written transmission lines to earlier written records provided in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* was formed. This chapter examines how one can assess the historical reliability of the information provided by Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilers on *isnāds* and the bio-bibliographical paths that these *isnāds* refer to and correlate with. Although academic scholarship has generally accepted the usefulness of *isnāds* for determining the earlier written sources of *ḥadīths*, and several *isnād*-analytical methods have been developed for finding these sources,¹

1 Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools* (Leiden, 2002), p. xii; Andreas Görke, “Eschatology, History, and the Common Link: A Study in Method”, Herbert Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 179-208; G.H.A. Juynboll, “Some *Isnād*-Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Women-Demeaning Sayings from *Ḥadīth* Literature”, in Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, 175-216; Gregor Schoeler, *The Biography of Muhammad: Nature and Authenticity* (Routledge, 2010), 80-122; Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth* (brill, 2009), 47-124; *idem.*, “The *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī as a Source of Authentic *Ḥadīths* of the First Century A.H.”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 50/1 (1991): 1-21; Görke, “The Historical Tradition about al-Ḥudaybiya: A Study of ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr’s Account”, in Motzki (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources* (Brill, 2000), 256–258.

the efforts of some scholars, such as Fuat Sezgin and Hossein Modarressi,² to identify and reconstruct early sources with the help of *isnāds* have been hindered by the lack of discussion on the historical validity of *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical information.

In order to address the issue of the historical reliability of the statements of transmission found in ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī's (d. 211/826) *Muṣannaf*, Harald Motzki proposes a set of arguments, which include detailed examination of “the use and quality of chains of transmitters”.³ Drawing inspiration from Motzki's work, this chapter critically examines the *isnāds* included in Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb* in order to present and develop arguments for demonstrating the historical reliability of Imāmī *isnāds*, and by extension, the bio-bibliographical information provided in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.

The choice of *Tahdhīb* for this study is motivated by the fact that it is one of *al-kutub al-arba‘a*, comprising many *ḥadīths* included in the other three major Imāmī collections of *hadīths*, namely *al-Kāfī*, *al-Faqīh*, and *al-Istibṣār*. Additionally, as will be seen, Ṭūsī's method of presenting and truncating *isnāds* simplifies the process of analysing them.

This chapter begins by discussing some of the arguments developed by Motzki to examine the historical reliability of *isnāds*, with a brief overview of one of the significant results of his arguments, which is source identification and reconstruction on the basis of *isnāds*. Since the number of *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb* is too numerous to examine in this study, an important sample, namely, the *ḥadīths* reported by ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī (d. 148/765), who is known as the compiler of “allegedly the first systematic legal work ever written in the Shī‘ite community”, has been selected.⁴

2 Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Brill, 1996); Hossein Modarressi Tabataba‘i, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī‘ite Literature* (Oneworld Publications, 2003).

3 See Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools* (Leiden, 2002), p. xiv.

4 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 380.

Criteria of authenticity

Academic scholars have developed various methods to examine the historicity of *ḥadīths* since the second half of the 19th century. One of the most significant methods is the "*isnād-cum-matn* analysis" proposed and developed by Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler. This approach is based on the idea that an analysis of the *matn* of *ḥadīth* is necessary to be supplemented with the examination of the *isnāds* to provide a broader basis for determining the origins and dates of *ḥadīth*.⁵ The main question this method addresses is "whether the *mutūn* [sing. *matn*] variants correlate with the *isnāds*".⁶ Motzki has tested his premises in various cases to demonstrate that the combination of both *matn* and *isnād*, rather than focusing on *matn* or *isnād* alone, leads to the most accurate conclusion on dating the origins of *ḥadīths* and the history of their transmission. However, this does not imply that *isnāds* alone are not useful for studying the history of *ḥadīths*. Several studies have demonstrated that *isnāds* can be used to identify and reconstruct earlier sources that are not separately available.⁷

Joseph Schacht's skeptical approach to the reliability of *isnāds*, which characterised them as "the most arbitrary part of the traditions",⁸ is no longer widely accepted.⁹ Instead, scholars like Motzki have developed "formal criteria of authenticity" that allow for a more nuanced investigation of the historical reliability of the *isnāds* included in the early collections of *ḥadīths* like 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* (d. 211/827).¹⁰ These criteria include detailed examination of "the use and the quality of chains of transmitters",¹¹

5 Motzki, "Theme Issue: Methods of Dating Early Legal Traditions", *Islamic law and Society* 19 (2012), p. 4.

6 Idem., "Theme Issue", 4.

7 See footnote 2.

8 Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1967), p. 163.

9 Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools* (Leiden, 2002), p. xiii; idem., "Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey", *Arabica* 52 (2005), 219-223.

10 Idem., *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools* (Leiden, 2002), p. xiv.

11 Ibid.

and more importantly, comparing the results of analysing the transmission structure of a particular *ḥadīth* collection and the information from bio-bibliographical literatures.¹² According to Motzki, by applying these criteria, one can determine whether the information about the provenance of the earlier sources” in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* is reliable.

According to Motzki, a representative sample of 3810 individual *ḥadīths* from ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* reveals that the majority of them come from just four transmitters: Ma‘mar (32 percent), Ibn Jurayj (29 percent), al-Thawrī (22 percent), and Ibn ‘Uyayna (4 percent). Motzki suggests that the sheer number of *ḥadīths* transmitted by Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, and al-Thawrī implies that “we may be dealing with either originally independent works - or at least parts of them- or with the contents of the teachings” of these three authorities “who could, judging from their age, be teachers of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, or both”.¹³

In order to eliminate the possibility that ‘Abd al-Razzāq himself created fake *isnāds* and attributed them to these four individuals, Motzki presents separate profiles for the informants of Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī, and Ibn ‘Uyayna. He shows that “each of these four collections of texts has quite an individual character”.¹⁴ For instance, according to Motzki’s summary, 28 percent of Ma‘mar’s *ḥadīths* in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* are traced back to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, 25 percent to Qatāda b. Di‘āma, 11 percent to Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma, around 6 percent to anonymous transmitters, 5 percent to Ibn Ṭāwūs, and 24 percent to 77 other names. Similarly, 39 percent of Ibn Jurayj’s *ḥadīths* come from ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, 8 percent from unnamed sources, 7 percent from ‘Amr b. Dīnār, 6 percent from al-Zuhrī, 5 percent from Ibn Ṭāwūs, and 37 percent from 103 other informants. Motzki provides similar profiles for al-Thawrī and Ibn ‘Uyayna.¹⁵

Motzki argues that the “highly divergent collections” of *ḥadīths* found in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*, as evidenced by the separate profiles of Ma‘mar,

12 Idem., “Theme Issue: Methods of Dating Early Legal Traditions”, *Islamic Law and Society* 19 (2012), pp. 2-6.

13 Motzki, “*Muṣannaf*”, p. 3.

14 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

15 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī, and Ibn ‘Uyayna, make it unlikely that a forger would have arranged them in a specific order and falsely labeled them.¹⁶ This suggests that ‘Abd al-Razzāq had access to these four sources and did not forge his *isnāds*. To further support this conclusion, Motzki compares the detailed examination of the *isnāds* in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* with the bio-bibliographical dictionaries that describe Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī, and Ibn ‘Uyayna as the teachers of ‘Abd al-Razzāq and as “the first authors of works of a similar type”.¹⁷ One significant result of Motzki’s study is that the *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq is mainly a compilation of texts from “older works of varying size”, which can be reconstructed, at least in part, from the *isnāds* of *ḥadīths*.¹⁸ This means that the written works or “the texts in the lectures” of Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī, and Ibn ‘Uyayna can be reconstructed with the help of *isnāds*.

After establishing that ‘Abd al-Razzāq did not forge any of the *ḥadīths* in his collection, the next important question is whether the four scholars, who were the main sources for ‘Abd al-Razzāq, provided reliable information about their *isnāds*. To address this issue, Motzki investigates Ibn Jurayj’s *ḥadīths*. He considers the diversity of authorities named by Ibn Jurayj as the origins of his *ḥadīths* and the differences between the characteristics of Ibn Jurayj’s *isnāds*, and concludes that “such a diversity can hardly be the result of systematic forgery.”¹⁹ Motzki also suggests that Ibn Jurayj quoted the largest part of his *ḥadīths* on the authority of ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733), indicating that ‘Aṭā’ was likely Ibn Jurayj’s teacher.²⁰

According to Motzki, the fact that Ibn Jurayj quoted different proportions of *ra’y* (opinions) to the *ḥadīths* transmitted by his informants also indicates that he did not forge his *isnāds*. For instance, 80 percent of the material transmitted by Ibn Jurayj from ‘Aṭā’ is *ra’y* (opinion), while it is respectively 42 and 31 percent for al-Zuhrī and ‘Abd al-Karīm.²¹ Motzki also cites the variation in the use of *isnāds* by Ibn Jurayj’s authorities and other criteria as

16 Ibid., p. 4.

17 Ibid., p. 5.

18 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

19 Ibid., pp. 6-9.

20 Ibid., p. 6.

21 Ibid., p. 7.

evidence to examine the authenticity of Ibn Jurayj's information on his sources. These "criteria of authenticity" aim to provide compelling evidence for the claim that later compilers of *ḥadīth* works have given trustworthy information about their sources.

Source identification and reconstruction based on *isnāds*

Motzki's analysis of the informants of 'Abd al-Razzāq and Ibn Jurayj led to another conclusion: When a large number of *ḥadīths* have been transmitted by the same transmitter to the next generation, that person was likely either the compiler of a written work (such as 'Abd al-Razzāq, Ma'mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī, and Ibn 'Uyayna) or a teacher (such as 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ) who transmitted a significant number of *ḥadīths* to their students, either through their written records or lectures. This assumption is useful in determining the main earlier sources of *ḥadīths* found in both Sunnī and Shī'ī collections available today, and has also been used by Fuat Sezgin, albeit in a slightly different way.²² While there have been some discussions on the possibility of generalising Sezgin's method of reconstructing earlier sources based on *isnāds*,²³ it can at least partially be considered useful in light of Motzki's evaluation of 'Abd al-Razzāq's sources for compiling his work.

Sezgin's method of source reconstruction centers on identifying the common names in the *isnāds* of a later *ḥadīth* collection. The process is as follows: First, all *isnāds* in the book are sorted by the name of the first transmitter. Second, common names among these *isnāds* are extracted. The last of these common names can be considered the author of an earlier source used by the compiler of the book. If only the first transmitter in all of these *isnāds* is the same, then they are the author of the earlier source. However, if the names of *ḥadīth* transmitters are common as far back as the second or third transmitters, the last common transmitter before the

22 Motzki, *Origins*, p. xii.

23 Motzki, "Dating", pp. 242-250; James A. Bellamy, "Sources of Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā's *Kitāb Maqṭal Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984), pp. 4-5.

branching off is considered the author of the source.²⁴ The final step is to check whether this name is listed in bio-bibliographical dictionaries as the author of a written work.²⁵ Once the sources of a book have been identified, the same method can be used to search for the sources of the sources.²⁶

Sezgin's method is partly in line with Motzki's research on the *isnāds* of 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*. As shown earlier, to trace the sources used for compiling *Muṣannaf*, Motzki identifies the first common names in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *isnāds*, including Ma'mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī, and Ibn 'Uyayna, who are known to have authored written works according to bio-bibliographical literature.²⁷ He then examines one of Ibn Jurayj's sources of *ḥadīths* and again investigates the common names present in the *isnāds*. One of the names he finds is 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ, who is not identified as the author of any written source. Although it might be expected that Sezgin's method would not be useful in such cases, Motzki's analysis of Ibn Jurayj's sources indicates that the first two steps of Sezgin's method can be applied even when a large number of *ḥadīths* are transmitted by a teacher, such as 'Aṭā', to his students.

Modarressi's method for source identification and reconstruction in Shī'ī *ḥadīths* is similar to Sezgin's approach, with both scholars relying on the assumption that *isnāds* in later *ḥadīths* works provide a path of transmission to earlier written records. Modarressi formulates his method as follows: If a large number of *ḥadīths* are quoted through the same *isnād* or several identical *isnāds* from an early *ḥadīth* transmitter, who is identified as the author in bio-bibliographical sources, then these *ḥadīths* have most probably been derived from this author's work.²⁸ However, both Sezgin's and Modarressi's methods have a major weakness in that they rely on *isnāds*, biographical and bibliographical reports without investigating their

24 Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Brill, 1996), vol. I, p. 82. I draw on the English translation of Sezgin's statement from Bellamy, "Sources of Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā's *Kitāb Maqtal Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984), pp. 4-5.

25 Bellamy, "Sources of Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā", p. 4; Motzki, "Dating", pp. 244-245.

26 Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. I, p. 82.

27 Motzki, "*Muṣannaf*", pp. 2-6.

28 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. xv.

historical reliability. Therefore, *isnāds* contained in a *ḥadīth* collection must be analysed using several criteria of authenticity to check whether the information provided by its compiler on his paths of transmission is reliable. If the *isnāds* are found to be reliable, then either Modarressi's or Sezgin's method of source reconstruction and identification can be employed to determine the earliest written source from which a particular cluster of *ḥadīths* was derived by a later *ḥadīth* compiler. These two steps together can help to mitigate the risk of overestimating the reliability of *isnāds*, which, according to Motzki, may result from solely adopting Sezgin's method.²⁹ However, given the limited access to many earlier sources written during the first two Islamic centuries, it remains to be seen to what extent the mere application of the combination of these approaches results in identifying and reconstructing earlier sources.

Motzki raises another criticism of Sezgin's approach that also applies to Modarressi's method. Sezgin appears to assume that the only system used by early *ḥadīth* transmitters was written transmission, and that the transmitters included in *isnāds* were either "authors or transmitters of written texts".³⁰ Motzki and Schoeler, however, propose that *ḥadīths* were transmitted through "both oral and written forms of passing information on" during the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries.³¹ They suggest that the main sources of *ḥadīth* collections composed in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries "were not necessarily either genuine (compiled) or purely oral transmissions", but were personal notes written by teachers and orally narrated to their students. These "lecture-note collections" were later committed to writing by the students, either during or after the lectures.³²

The first systematic *ḥadīth* works, which emerged in the mid-2nd/8th century and served as the primary sources for later *ḥadīth* collections compiled during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, were themselves

29 For Motzki's critiques of Sezgin's method of source reconstruction, see Motzki, "Dating", pp. 242-250.

30 Motzki, "Dating", p. 246.

31 Motzki, "Dating", p. 246.

32 Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, p. xxxi.

based on previous lecture-notes.³³ Schoeler addresses whether these *muṣannafs* "existed in written form" by citing examples of early written records compiled by scholars such as Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba (d. 156/773), Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198/813), Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyā' (d. 183/798), and others. His important conclusion is that these *muṣannafs* were indeed written down around the mid-2nd/8th century. However, the timing and method of making these written versions of ḥadīth works available to the public varied in each case.³⁴

Therefore, it can be considered quite certain that the *ḥadīths* found in the 3rd/9th- and 4th/10th-century works were transmitted in written form, either through the personal notes of the 1st/7th- and 2nd/8th-century teachers or by those who heard the *ḥadīths* and wrote them down for their own use. This has two significant implications. Firstly, it means that Motzki's criticism of Sezgin's method of source identification is no longer applicable. Secondly, it suggests that using any of the methods proposed by Motzki, Sezgin and Modarressi to identify whether a source or lecture-note dates back to the first half of the 2nd/8th century or later would likely result in the same findings, i.e., the contents of earlier sources (lecture-notes or books) that are not available today. This means that even if a particular *ḥadīth* transmitter is not listed in bio-bibliographical literature as the author of an early published *ḥadīth* work, Sezgin's method would still be effective. Schoeler explains that during the 2nd/8th century, there was a growing need to commit *ḥadīth* to writing instead of relying on memory alone in *ḥadīth* centers like Baghdad, due to the vast amount of material scholars had to deal with. This was particularly challenging when the material "was spread over several sessions with breaks" in between, and scholars "wanted to avoid mistakes".³⁵

As we have seen in Chapter 1, there are also some *ḥadīths* belonging in this context and found in Shī'ī *ḥadīth* collections like *al-Kāfī*. Considering Schoeler's idea of the growing interest in putting *ḥadīths* in writing during the 2nd/8th century, it makes sense to assume that several individuals,

33 Gregor Schoeler, "Oral Torah and *Ḥadīth*: Transmission, Prohibition of Writing, Redaction", in Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, pp. 67-108.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 75.

including the students of Ja‘far al-Šādiq, sought to commit *ḥadīths* they had heard to writing. However, since the reliability of the information contained in *fihrist* and *rijāl* sources is itself questionable, other historical evidence needs to be provided to demonstrate the historicity of the attribution of a written work to an earlier *ḥadīth* transmitter. This consideration, which has been neglected by Sezgin and Modarressi, is crucial for reconstructing earlier sources with the help of *isnāds*.

Historical reliability of Imāmī *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission lines

Let us now focus on the main objective of this chapter, which is to evaluate the historical reliability of *isnāds* included in *Tahdhīb* for tracing the origin of Imāmī *ḥadīths* back to earlier written sources. Due to the vast number of *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb*, we will select an important sample consisting of *ḥadīths* with a common earliest transmitter. The earlier the transmitter is, the more we can analyse the historical reliability of the *isnāds*. One of the earliest Shī‘ī *ḥadīth* compilers, whose *Kitāb* or *Jāmi‘* is considered as “the first systematic legal work ever written in the Shī‘ite community” is ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī (d. before 148/765).³⁶ According to *Tahdhīb*, Ḥalabī directly reports more than 500 *ḥadīths* from Ja‘far al-Šādiq. However, given the discussion of Motzki’s, Sezgin’s, and Modarressi’s methods of source identification and reconstruction, the large amount of *ḥadīths* attributed to Ḥalabī potentially raises questions about their reliability and provenance. These *ḥadīths* may have been drawn from *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*, his lecture notes, or even forged by a later *ḥadīth* transmitter. The historical existence of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* can also be demonstrated by sources beyond the two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. While early Shī‘ī bio-bibliographical literature does not describe it as an *aṣl*, Sayyid b. Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) uses the term “*aṣl*” rather than “*kitāb*” to describe Ḥalabī’s *ḥadīth* work.³⁷ This is further supported by an examination of the nature of Ḥalabī’s extant *ḥadīths* found in *al-kutub al-arba‘a*, about 98 percent of which are directly quoted from Ja‘far al-Šādiq.

36 Modarressi, *Tradition*, pp. 380-381.

37 Kohlberg, “*Al-uṣūl al-arba‘umi’a*”, p. 128.

It is believed that Ḥalabī authored *Kitāb al-masā'il*, in addition to *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*.³⁸ This book is also considered part of a larger version of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*.³⁹ Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974) provides information on his sources for *al-'Idāh*, which includes several *ḥadīths* derived from *Kitāb al-masā'il*. He distinguishes between the two books, using phrases such as "in al-Ḥalabī's book known as *Kitāb al-masā'il*" and "in *Jāmi' al-Ḥalabī*" at the beginning of *ḥadīths* reported from 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī.⁴⁰ This suggests that both *Kitāb* or *Jāmi' al-Ḥalabī* and *Kitāb al-masā'il* were accessible during the 4th/10th centuries. Additionally, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* describes various manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*, indicating that the book was accessible during the 5th/11th century. According to Najāshī, *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* was transmitted by many transmitters (*qad rawā hādha'l-kitāb khalq min aṣḥābinā*) through various paths of transmission (*aṭ-ṭuruq ilayhi kathīra*) and multiple manuscripts, some of which had slightly different beginnings (*al-nusakh mukhtalifat al-awā'il wat-tafāwut fihā qarīb*).⁴¹ This implies that the variations among the available versions of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* during Najāshī's time were minor.⁴²

There is additional evidence suggesting that the works of Ḥalabī, specifically his *Kitāb* or *Jāmi'*, were available to scholars during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. Ṣadūq, for example, mentions *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* as one of his main sources for his *ḥadīth* collection in the introduction to his *al-Faqīh*.⁴³ He also cites other early *ḥadīth* works in his compilation, as discussed in Chapter 2.⁴⁴ Additionally, Ibn Ṭāwūs includes direct quotations from *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* in his own works.⁴⁵ Taken together with Ṣadūq's use of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* and al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's references to it in *al-'Idāh*, it seems

38 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 381.

39 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 381.

40 For some instances, see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *al-'Idāh* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-a'lamī li al-maṭbū'āt, 2007), p. 68, p. 72, p. 74, p. 78.

41 Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, pp. 230-231.

42 See Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 381.

43 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, p. 3.

44 See *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

45 al-Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl* (Qum: Daftar tablīghāt Islāmī, 1376 SH), vol. 1, p. 48; *Idem.*, *Risāla 'adam muḍāyaqa al-fawā'it*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ṭabāṭabā'i, in *Turāthunā* 2-3, pp. 340-341.

likely that a book called *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* existed and was in circulation at least until the 7th/13th centuries, being used by authors of *ḥadīth* collections either directly or through earlier collections. However, it is still unclear whether the book can be attributed to Ḥalabī or at least to the first half of the 2nd/8th century, which requires further investigation.

While it may be argued that the existence of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* as a standalone work until the 7th/13th century, in addition to its incorporation into larger compilations of *ḥadīths* like *al-Faqīh*, may have prevented later compilers from altering or fabricating *ḥadīths* from this book, it is not sufficient to conclude that all of the *ḥadīths* included in this book are certainly from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī or date back to the first half of the 2nd/8th century. This is because several transmission paths have been attributed to this book, with the common transmitter being Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, who received the book from Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān.⁴⁶ It is possible that Ibn Abī ‘Umayr made some modifications to the text of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*. This hypothesis is supported by an important report from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, who claimed that those *ḥadīths* of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* beginning with “*wa fī ḥadīth ākhar*” (and in another *ḥadīth*) were added by Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.⁴⁷ Although this may not necessarily constitute *ḥadīth* forgery, it complicates the identification and reconstruction of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* based on its *isnāds*.

The majority of *ḥadīths* attributed to Ḥalabī have been transmitted by Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, who received them from Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān. As a result, the common part of the *isnāds* for almost all of Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* is: Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī. This is consistent with the transmission paths of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* as described in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.⁴⁸ However, without a detailed analysis of the historical reliability of the *isnāds*, it is not possible to definitively conclude that *ḥadīths* reported from Ḥalabī mainly come from *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* compiled by either Ḥalabī himself, Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān, or Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.

Based on the discussion in the preceding section, it appears that analysing *isnāds* using the approaches of scholars like Motzki, Sezgin, or Modarressi

46 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 305-306; Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 230-231.

47 Ṣadūq, *Ma‘ānī al-akhbār* (Qum: Daftar intishārāt Islāmī: 1403 AH), p. 150.

48 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 231; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 305-306.

may help to shed light on identifying and reconstructing the contents of Ḥalabī's book. However, since *Kitāb* or *Jāmi' al-Ḥalabī* is not available as an independent work for us to verify the results of these approaches, the question remains as to how much we can trust the *isnāds* provided by an early Imāmī compiler such as Ṭūsī in determining the earliest written sources of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. To address this question, several criteria of authenticity for Imāmī *isnāds* will be laid out in the following section.

Criteria of Imāmī *isnād* authenticity

In his *Mashyakha*, Ṭūsī identifies 35 authors as the sources of the majority of the *ḥadīths* included in *Tahdhīb*.⁴⁹ These authors are: Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941),⁵⁰ 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim (fl. 307/919), Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-'Aṭṭār (d. c. 3rd/9th century), Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 306/918), al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Naysābūrī, Ḥumayd b. Zīyād (d. 310/923), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d. 274/888), al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873), al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (d. 224/839), Sahl b. Zīyād (d. c. 255/869), 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. c. 300/912), al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Ash'arī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Maḥbūb, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣaffār (d. 290/903), Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 343/954), 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (d. 329/941), al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭāṭarī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣadūq, Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī, Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh (d. 368/978), Ibn Abī 'Umayr, Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī, 'Alī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī, Mūsā b. al-Qāsim, Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. c. 208/823), 'Alī b. Mahzīyār (d. 254/868), 'Alī b. Ja'far (d. c. 220/835), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī, Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī (d. 356/967).

49 See Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*. pp. 5-88.

50 The existence of Kulaynī's name in the *Mashyakha* of both *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* implies that *al-Kāfī* is most probably one of Ṭūsī's sources for compiling *Tahdhīb*. This can also be shown by comparing the *ḥadīths*, the truncated *isnāds* of which begin with Kulaynī with the *ḥadīths* provided by Kulaynī in *al-Kāfī*.

In his *Mashyakha*, Ṭūsī also lists his paths of transmission, through which he has received the written works of these 35 *ḥadīth* compilers. In order to illustrate the mechanism of truncating *isnāds*, consider the following example: ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← his father (Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim) ← Ibn ‘Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī.

Ṭūsī uses this truncated *isnād* for several *ḥadīths* of ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī in *Tahdhīb*, indicating that the written works of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm are the sources of these *ḥadīths*.⁵¹ As mentioned earlier, Ṭūsī provides the name of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm in his *Mashyakha*, along with his transmission paths to the written works of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm: (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm; (2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī and Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm; (3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm; and (4) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn together ← Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.⁵² These four paths represent the individuals through whom Ṭūsī received ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm’s books. However, the question regarding the historical reliability of Ṭūsī’s information on his sources and *isnāds* is not limited to the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* belonging to ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī, but rather extends to all the truncated *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb*. The concern is to what extent can this information be trusted to determine the historicity of the *ḥadīths* included in *Tahdhīb*.

To counter the possibility of Ṭūsī forging information on his sources, one should establish several criteria, as with Motzki’s method of analysing *isnāds* in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*. A detailed examination of the truncated *isnāds*, which include the name of ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī reveals that Ṭūsī’s main

51 For some instances of this truncated *isnād*, see Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, 2:35, 2:291, 2:323, 2:324, 2:330, 2:344, 2:375, 2:380, 3:233, 3:243, 3:261, 3:269, 3:325, 4:288, 6:160, 6:200, 6:201, 6:227, 6:229, 6:264, 6:272, 7:28, 7:34, 7:40, 7:70, 7:89, 7:112, 7:127, 7:142, 7:160, 7:169, 7:179, 7:183, 7:197, 7:204, 7:209, 9:140, 9:153, 9:180, 9/339, 9/349, 9:378, 9:383, 10:21, 10/28, 10:35.

52 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 31-32.

sources were the written works of 25 individuals. However, the names of 8 of these individuals, who only transmit 2 percent of Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* in total, are not listed in his *Mashyakha*. This suggests that their written works, if they had any, were not directly used by Ṭūsī in *Tahdhīb*, which deviates from his own approach. There are two likely possibilities: (1) Ṭūsī himself, intentionally or unintentionally, made these mistakes; and (2) This is the result of copying from earlier *ḥadīth* works. If the former is true, then Ṭūsī's *isnāds* can no longer be relied upon to identify or reconstruct earlier sources. However, if the latter is the case, it is still possible to claim that Ṭūsī did not falsify the *isnāds* mentioned in *Tahdhīb*.

Determining whether a particular *isnād* in *Tahdhīb* is truncated by Ṭūsī or simply copied from another source is crucial to evaluating the historical reliability of the *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb*. Sayyid Jawād al-Shubayrī, the son of the grand Ayatollah Sayyid Mūsā al-Shubayrī, proposes an approach to examining truncated *isnāds*, which is one of the first fundamental studies on the subject.⁵³ While some may argue that his approach is limited to the Imāmī traditional scholarship's concern with the authoritativeness (*ḥujjiyya*) of *ḥadīths*, this is not necessarily true. In fact, as we will see in this Chapter and further in Chapter 4, Jawād al-Shubayrī's ideas are highly relevant to the historical study of *ḥadīths* and can be applied to the question of whether one can trust Ṭūsī's truncated *isnāds*. His approach can help determine which of the two possibilities - Ṭūsī intentionally or unintentionally truncating *isnāds* or copying them from earlier sources - is more likely.

Jawād al-Shubayrī's argument is that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that in some cases, Ṭūsī included a particular truncated *isnād* that was truncated by the author of his source and not by Ṭūsī himself. This means that when copying *ḥadīths* from some of his sources, he occasionally did not change the *isnāds* included in them to the truncated type that he intends to provide in *Tahdhīb*. Jawād al-Shubayrī proposes an approach

53 Sayyid Muḥammad Jawād al-Shubayrī, “*Tahdhīb al-aḥkām wa naql az manābi’-i wāsiṭi*”, in Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Imādī Ḥā’irī, *Reconstruction*, pp. 455-491. This article is the Persian translation of some parts of Shubayrī’s “*Maṣādir al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī fī kitābihi Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*”, in *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth* 4 (Rajab – Dhu’l-ḥijja 1420 AH), pp. 168-224.

called “*al-akhdh bit-tawassuṭ*” (taking the middle path or source) to distinguish whether the truncated *isnāds* have been made based on Ṭūsī’s method of presenting *isnāds* or whether they were copied from his written sources. To establish whether the truncated *isnāds* have been organised based on Ṭūsī’s approach, Jawād al-Shubayrī compares the order of organising *ḥadīths*, their *matns*, and *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb* and earlier *ḥadīth* collections used by Ṭūsī such as *al-Kāfī*. Although no remains of most of his sources have survived, the assumption that some of the truncated *isnāds* have not been organised based on Ṭūsī’s approach is to a large extent established by exploring *ḥadīths* included in *al-Kāfī*, which is itself one of Ṭūsī’s main sources.

To illustrate how *al-akhdh bit-tawassuṭ* works, Jawād al-Shubayrī lists and discusses some examples of similar *ḥadīths* included in both *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb*.⁵⁴ For instance, volume six of *Tahdhīb* contains 18 *ḥadīths* in a row, organised to a large extent in the same order as 18 *ḥadīths* arranged by Kulaynī in his *al-Kāfī*.⁵⁵ Further evidence in support of the argument that *al-Kāfī* is the primary source of these 18 *ḥadīths* is the similarity of the *isnād* words in both *Tahdhīb* and *al-Kāfī*.⁵⁶ If it is accepted that, contrary to what the truncated *isnāds* of these *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb* show, the main source of all of them is *al-Kāfī*, then in some cases it appears that Ṭūsī himself modified an *isnād* included in *al-Kāfī*, which suggests that he used an earlier source than *al-Kāfī*. In others, he copied the truncated *isnāds* mentioned by Kulaynī exactly. Shubayrī explains this phenomenon as a process of reporting *ḥadīths* from an earlier *ḥadīth* work based on a later *ḥadīth* collection without attributing the latter as the main source. For example, one might refer to *Wasā’il al-Shī’a of al-Shaykh al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī* (d. 1104/1693) and find a *ḥadīth* from Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī* in it, and then directly attribute this *ḥadīth* to Kulaynī without mentioning *Wasā’il* as the primary source for the *ḥadīth*.⁵⁷

Applying Jawād al-Shubayrī’s method to a number of *ḥadīths* transmitted by scholars such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb shows that Ṭūsī sometimes copied an *isnād* from *al-Kāfī* without

54 Ibid., pp. 455-491.

55 Ibid., pp. 474-476.

56 Ibid., p. 477.

57 Ibid., p. 457.

changing it, even though his approach requires the truncated *isnād* to begin with the name of the author of *al-Kāfī*, i.e., Kulaynī, not with Aḥmad al-Barqī or al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb. This may give the impression that Ṭūsī received these *ḥadīths* from the books of these two Shīʿī scholars rather than from *al-Kāfī*, which is his main source. There are two possible explanations for this approach. First, it is possible that Ṭūsī simply forgot to change the *isnād* of a *ḥadīth* according to his own approach. Second, even if he extracted a *ḥadīth* from *al-Kāfī*, because he had access to earlier sources like al-Barqī's *al-Maḥāsin*, he may have been convinced that the *ḥadīth* came from *al-Maḥāsin* and thus kept the truncated *isnād* included in *al-Kāfī* instead of changing it to the type of truncated *isnād* he was supposed to provide.

By applying Shubayrī's *al-akhdh bit-tawassuṭ* method, it is sometimes possible to determine the main source of a particular *ḥadīth* used by Ṭūsī, as well as identify instances where he simply copies an *isnād* from an earlier source without truncating it. For instance, when examining the *ḥadīths* of Ḥalabī included in *Tahdhīb*, all the *isnāds* that begin with the name of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm were found to have been extracted from *al-Kāfī*, even though Ṭūsī claims that the main source for these *ḥadīths* is 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm's own works. A comparison of the references for the 22 identical *ḥadīths* quoted from Ḥalabī in both *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb* reveals that Ṭūsī largely follows the same order in which Kulaynī presents Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* from 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (table 1). Furthermore, not only are all the *isnāds* of these *ḥadīths* identical in both *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb*, but in some cases, Ṭūsī even copied the wording of the *matns* verbatim after Kulaynī had summarised them, and cited 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm as the first name in the truncated *isnād*, rather than Kulaynī. Taken together, these pieces of evidence strongly suggest that, with the exception of one *ḥadīth*,⁵⁸ *al-Kāfī* was the primary source for all of the *ḥadīths* reported from 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm by Ḥalabī and used by Ṭūsī.

58 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 227.

Table 1. Comparison of Selected *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb* and *al-Kāfī*.

No.	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>	<i>Tahdhīb</i>
1	Vol. 3, p. 34	Vol. 1, p. 99
2	Vol. 3, p. 34	Vol. 1, p. 101
3	Vol. 3, p. 49	Vol. 1, p. 143
4	Vol. 3, p. 33	Vol. 1, p. 362
5	Vol. 3, p. 4	Vol. 1, p. 408
6	Vol. 3, p. 157	Vol. 1, p. 437
7	Vol. 3, p. 166	Vol. 1, p. 451
8	Vol. 3, p. 431	Vol. 2, p. 35
9	Vol. 3, p. 294	Vol. 2, p. 269
10	Vol. 3, p. 318	Vol. 2, p. 291
11	Vol. 3, p. 336	Vol. 2, p. 303
12	Vol. 3, p. 365	Vol. 2, p. 323
13	Vol. 3, p. 365	Vol. 2, p. 324
14	Vol. 3, p. 367	Vol. 2, p. 330
15	Vol. 3, p. 359	Vol. 2, p. 344
16	Vol. 3, p. 388	Vol. 2, p. 375
17	Vol. 3, p. 409	Vol. 2, p. 380
18	Vol. 3, p. 431	Vol. 3, p. 233
19	Vol. 3, p. 427	Vol. 3, p. 243
20	Vol. 3, p. 296	Vol. 3, p. 261
21	Vol. 3, p. 378	Vol. 3, p. 269
22	Vol. 3, p. 186	Vol. 3, p. 325

It is likely that the *ḥadīths* reported by ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm from Ḥalabī in *Tahdhīb* but not found in *al-Kāfī* were taken from either ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm's own works or from other later *ḥadīth* collections. However, as discussed in the preceding section, when a large number of *ḥadīths* are reported from a particular *ḥadīth* transmitter like ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm, it is possible to conclude that he transmitted his records to the next generation, either directly by giving his notes or written books to others or through his lectures. Ṭūsī likely derived these *ḥadīths* from either ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm's works or later collections like *al-Kāfī* or both, considering that ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm's works were accessible to Ṭūsī.

Let us now turn to the 8 individuals who are the first transmitters in the truncated *isnāds* of Ḥalabī's 11 *ḥadīths*, who are not mentioned in *al-Mashyakha*. It can be hypothesised that these *isnāds* have been copied from Ṭūsī's sources, which would be an important criterion for establishing that Ṭūsī himself did not forge the *isnāds*. Additionally, despite the underlying problem of the reliability of Ṭūsī's claim on his method of presenting and truncating *isnāds*, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the *isnāds* included in Ṭūsī's works can still be used for reconstructing the contents of earlier works - as it has been demonstrated that he is not an *isnād* fabricator.

As previously noted, the truncated *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb* indicate that the works of over 20 individuals, including Kulaynī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, Mūsā b. al-Qāsim, al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, and Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, serve as sources for Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths*. However, applying Shubayrī's method to the *ḥadīths* of *Tahdhīb* suggests that a large number of other *ḥadīths* have also been quoted from Kulaynī, despite their truncated *isnāds* indicating otherwise. It is likely that *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* was accessible to Ṭūsī, as it was available at least until the time of Ibn Ṭāwūs in the 6th/13th century.⁵⁹ If Ṭūsī had been a forger, it would be expected that he would have presented *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* as the primary source for Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths*, rather than relying on works of those individuals whose books were written more than a century after Ḥalabī's death. This suggests that Ṭūsī likely used these sources in good faith, and that the *isnāds* included in his works can be trusted as reliable indicators of the chains of transmission.

59 Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim*, p. 126.

Further confirmation of Ṭūsī's claim regarding his sources can be found by examining Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* reported from Kulaynī. As *al-Kāfī* was available to Ṭūsī,⁶⁰ the truncated *isnāds* that start with the name of Kulaynī suggest that Ṭūsī used *al-Kāfī* as one of his sources for compiling *Tahdhīb*. This is also supported by comparing the *matns* of Kulaynī's *ḥadīths* included in *Tahdhīb* with those in *al-Kāfī*.⁶¹ Based on Ṭūsī's *isnāds*, Kulaynī cited Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* through different informants, one of whom was Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār. As mentioned earlier, Ṭūsī used Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār's written records as sources for *Tahdhīb* as well. Therefore, the name of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār in *Tahdhīb* serves two purposes: (1) as one of Kulaynī's informants, and (2) as a *ḥadīth* compiler whose works, like *al-Kāfī*, were used by Ṭūsī.

Motzki argues that it is highly unlikely for a compiler who intends to provide false information on *isnāds* to create such divergent collections of *isnāds* in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, which would make the act of forgery more challenging.⁶² This argument applies similarly to the *ḥadīths* reported on the authority of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār or from his works. If Ṭūsī had aimed to fabricate his sources, he would have no reason to mention Kulaynī as a source for several *ḥadīths* that were transmitted by Kulaynī through Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār's authority. Instead, he could have cited Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār's works as his source, as he did with some other *ḥadīths*.

It appears unlikely that the names of sources given by Ṭūsī for Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* were the result of deliberate and systematic fabrication. The *isnāds* of these *ḥadīths* were most likely the result of Ṭūsī's method of truncating *isnāds* or his copying of earlier sources. This leads to the conclusion that Ṭūsī himself probably did not forge the *isnāds*, and instead made an effort to accurately convey the *isnāds* of his sources. However, a question remains: can one conclude that Ṭūsī's sources provided reliable information concerning the *isnāds*? To address this issue, one can again follow Motzki's

60 See Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 393-395.

61 This kind of comparison can be done by using Jami' al-Ḥadīths Software: https://abrenoar.ir/en/app/abrenoar_jamiahadith.

62 Motzki, *Muṣannaf*, p. 6.

method of examining the historical reliability of *isnāds* in the *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. The first step is to identify the sources used by Ṭūsī for Ḥalabī’s *ḥadīths*. Based on his *Mashyakha*, it is known that although Ṭūsī most likely had access to *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*, he relied on a later *ḥadīth* compilation like *al-Kāfī*, most probably to employ the same order that Kulaynī used for organising *ḥadīths* in *al-Kāfī*.

As shown, the first part of each truncated *isnād* either identifies the author of Ṭūsī’s source or, according to the method of *al-akhdh bit-tawassuṭ*, the compiler of an earlier *ḥadīth* work used by Ṭūsī’s source. Among the *ḥadīths* attributed to Ḥalabī, around 26 percent come from Kulaynī, 24 percent from al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, 16 percent from ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm, 10 percent from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, 7 percent from Mūsā b. al-Qāsim, 4 percent from Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī, 2 percent from ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl, 2 percent from Ibn ‘Abī ‘Umayr, 1 percent from al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Sufyān, 1 percent from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Imrān al-Ash‘arī, 1 percent from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb, and the remaining 6 percent from 14 other individuals, each of whom transmitted less than 1 percent. However, according to *al-akhdh bit-tawassuṭ*, the percentage attributed to Kulaynī must be increased by at least 16, as Ṭūsī did not directly use the written works of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm for the *ḥadīths* of Ḥalabī.

Of the 516 *ḥadīths* attributed to Ḥalabī, 42 percent can be traced back to Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī* through Ṭūsī’s *Tahdhīb*. Additionally, another 20 percent of Ḥalabī’s material used by Ṭūsī can also be found in *al-Kāfī*, meaning that about 320 of these *ḥadīths* are common to both works. Since *al-Kāfī* is the only available *ḥadīth* collection mentioned by Ṭūsī as a source for these *ḥadīths*, it is safe to assume that *al-Kāfī* was his main source. As a result, the only way to assess the historical reliability of *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī’s sources is to critically examine the chains of transmission mentioned by Kulaynī. The same method of *isnād* criticism used above to analyse the *isnāds* of *Tahdhīb* can also be applied to *al-Kāfī*.

Regarding the main *ḥadīth* informant of Kulaynī in the case of Ḥalabī’s *ḥadīths*, one possibility is that Kulaynī received *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* through Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.⁶³ Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī* contains 504 *ḥadīths* attributed to

63 446 of 504 *ḥadīths* of Ḥalabī in *al-Kāfī* has been transmitted by ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm to Kulaynī.

Ḥalabī, and of these, 446 were transmitted to Kulaynī by ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm. Alternatively, it is possible that Kulaynī's main source for Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* is the *ḥadīth* work of a transmitter like Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim, or both. It's difficult to determine which of these possibilities is true, especially since not all of these *ḥadīths* were transmitted by ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm. Furthermore, the fact that Kulaynī may have had access to earlier *aṣls* and *kitābs* cannot be taken as proof that he directly used *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*. It's worth noting that *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* was also accessible to Ṭūsī, yet he has extracted Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* from later sources.

Therefore, it's challenging to determine with certainty the exact source of Kulaynī's material on Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths*, and further investigation is needed to shed more light on this matter. However, given the written system of *ḥadīth* transmission in Shī‘ism during the 2nd/8th century, which were discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, it may only be possible to conclude that *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* was ultimately used by Kulaynī, whether through the work of an earlier *ḥadīth* transmitter or through *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* itself.

To examine whether Kulaynī may have forged the *isnāds*, the wording of the *isnāds* he provides for Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* is carefully examined and compared. Although the majority of these *ḥadīths* are transmitted through ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm and his father, Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim, the wording and style of the *isnāds* differ to some extent. Kulaynī mentions *ḥadīths* reported by Ḥalabī in more than 58 different ways. Some of the most common are listed below:

- 1- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* (his father, i.e., Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim) ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* with this wording has been used for 297 *ḥadīths* in *al-Kāfī*.

- 2- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī *wa* (and) Muḥammad b. Muslim.

This *isnād*, repeated five times in *al-Kāfī*, is a combination of two *isnāds* - one from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Ḥammād from Ḥalabī, and another from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Ḥammād from Muḥammad b. Muslim.

- 3- ‘Alī ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is mentioned in *al-Kāfī* for 20 *ḥadīths*.

- 4- ‘Anhu (‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm) ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is used by Kulaynī five times.

- 5- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is repeated 43 times in *al-Kāfī*.

- 6- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh wa* Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ‘an Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā *jamī‘an* (together) ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād*, which is used three times by Kulaynī, has also resulted from the integration of two following *isnāds*: (1) ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī; and (2) Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī. This shows that Kulaynī reports some *ḥadīths* transmitted by ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī through both ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā.

- 7- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh wa* Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad *jamī‘an* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is repeated 13 times in *al-Kāfī*. This also consists of two *isnāds* with some common *ḥadīth* transmitters: (1) ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← his father ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī; and (2) Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Ash‘arī ← ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.

- 8- ‘Alī ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is also mentioned as the *isnād* of two *ḥadīths*.

- 9- Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī.⁶⁴

This is repeated twice in *al-Kāfī*.

- 10- Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ← Ibn Faḍḍāl ← Ibn Bukayr ← ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is provided twice by Kulaynī.

- 11- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī *wa* Zurāra.

This *isnād* is listed once in *al-Kāfī*, which shows that Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān is reporting this *ḥadīth* from both al-Ḥalabī and Zurāra.

64 Based on the previous *isnāds* in the chapters in which these two *ḥadīths* are included, Kulaynī most probably removed the name of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim from the beginning of the *isnāds* of these two *ḥadīths*.

12- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī ← Zurāra.

This *isnād* is only mentioned once.

13- ‘Alī ← *abīh* ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.⁶⁵

This *isnād* is also provided once in *al-Kāfī*.

14- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh wa* Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ‘*an* (from) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā *jamī‘an* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is also mentioned once by Kulaynī, and it includes two *isnāds* that were mentioned earlier in number 7.

15- *Idda min aṣḥābinā* (some of our companions) ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.

This *isnād* is mentioned once in *al-Kāfī*.

16- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī *wa* Muḥammad b. Muslim.

This *isnād* is also provided once.

17- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Jamīl ← ‘Abī ‘Abd Allāh (Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq) *wa* Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← al-Ḥalabī.

This is listed once as well.

18- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Jamīl ‘*an* Abī ‘Abd Allāh (Imām al-Ṣādiq) *wa* Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ‘*an* al-Ḥalabī ‘*an* Abī ‘Abd Allāh.

This *isnād* is mentioned once. It consists of two *isnāds*: one from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Jamīl from Imām al-Ṣādiq, and the other from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Ḥammād from al-Ḥalabī.

19- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← *abīh* ← Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād ← al-Ḥalabī *wa* ‘Abd Allāh b. Sinān.

This *isnād* is used once by Kulaynī, and it consists of two integrated *isnāds*: (1) Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān ← ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī, and (2) Ibn Abī ‘Umayr ← ‘Abd Allāh b. Sinān.

65 Considering that the vast majority of Ḥalabī’s *ḥadīths* have been transmitted through Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, his name most probably has unintentionally been removed from this *isnād* as a result of a printing error.

A significant conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of these mixed forms of *isnāds*, indicating that it is highly unlikely that a forger would have intentionally created such divergences. Additionally, the variations in language and style found among the 58 types of *isnāds* examined are only present in 504 of Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths*, despite *al-Kāfī* containing over 16,000 *ḥadīths*. Moreover, the *isnāds* that are integrated into a larger chain (such as numbers 2, 6, 7, 14, 18, and 19), and are transmitted by Ibn Abī 'Umayr, suggest that Kulaynī likely relied on sources other than *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* in those instances. This is further supported by the fact that 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm and his father are cited as the transmitters of Ibn Abī 'Umayr's *ḥadīth* works in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist Ṭūsī*.⁶⁶

The comparison of the *matns* and *isnāds* of the *ḥadīths* attributed to Ḥalabī in *al-Kāfī* and *al-Faqīh* provides evidence that Kulaynī and the two most common *ḥadīth* transmitters, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim, did not forge these *ḥadīths*. As noted above, in the introduction of *al-Faqīh*, Ṣadūq explicitly identifies *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* as one of his main sources, indicating that this book was accessible until the 7th/13th century. Although not all *ḥadīths* attributed to Ḥalabī in *al-Faqīh* directly derive from *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*, it is possible to say that Ṣadūq generally uses this book. Ṣadūq introduces two paths of transmission for the *ḥadīths* of Ḥalabī. The first path is:

Ṣadūq ← his father ('Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan together ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥimyarī together ← Aḥmad and 'Abd Allāh (the sons of Muḥammad b. 'Īsā) ← Ibn Abī 'Umayr ← Ḥammād ← 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī.

The second path is: Ṣadūq ← his father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and Ja'far b. Masrūr together ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir ← 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir ← Muḥammad b. Abī 'Umayr ← Ḥammād ← 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī.⁶⁷

The fact that the last three names - Ibn Abī 'Umayr, Ḥammād, and Ḥalabī himself - are only common between Ṣadūq's transmission paths and those provided by Kulaynī suggests that Kulaynī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, and his father did not intentionally fabricate or falsify Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths*. This commonality strengthens the idea that Ibn Abī 'Umayr and Ḥammād may have either transmitted *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* from Ḥalabī to their next generations or created

66 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 326-327; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 404-406.

67 Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 429-430.

a book and ascribed it to Ḥalabī. However, upon examining the context in which Ibn Abī ‘Umayr and Ḥammād lived and transmitted *ḥadīths*, it seems unlikely that they could have been the forgers of Ḥalabī’s *ḥadīths* or that they intentionally created a book and named it *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*. Nevertheless, it is still possible that they made some unintentional or deliberate changes to the *ḥadīths* mentioned in *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*.

Based on their dates of death, it is evident that Ibn Abī ‘Umayr and Ḥammād lived during the time of notable Shī‘ī Imams such as Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, Mūsā al-Kāzim, and ‘Alī al-Riḍā. Both of these *ḥadīth* transmitters are also directly associated with a number of *ḥadīths* from these Imams as seen in *al-kutub al-arba‘a*. Additionally, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* portray Ibn Abī ‘Umayr and Ḥammād as the compilers of certain *ḥadīth* works.⁶⁸ It is unlikely that Ibn Abī ‘Umayr or Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān would have intentionally forged *ḥadīths* since they could have easily attributed them to the Shī‘ī Imams, rather than making the process of fabricating *ḥadīths* more complicated by ascribing them to Ḥalabī. Furthermore, Ibn Abī ‘Umayr has been mentioned in more than 2,800 *isnāds* in *al-Kāfī* and quotes *ḥadīths* from over 100 informants, while Ḥammād relates more than 700 *ḥadīths* from about 24 different individuals. As a result, it is highly probable that both Ḥammād and Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, who are key figures in all *isnāds* of Ḥalabī’s *ḥadīths*, might have simply been transmitters of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* or its contents to their subsequent generations.

The preceding analysis allows us to conclude that the transmission paths of *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* or its *ḥadīths* to the authors of *al-kutub al-arba‘a* were not intentionally fabricated or falsified *isnāds*, and were not falsely attributed to Ḥalabī. This conclusion is supported by the evidence presented, which suggests that the *isnāds* from Ṭūsī to Ḥalabī can be considered historically reliable.

68 For the profile of Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān, see al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 143; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 156. For Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, see al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 326-327; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 404-406.

Conclusion

In order to identify and reconstruct earlier written sources using *isnāds*, it is crucial to analyse their historical reliability. This chapter has demonstrated the criteria used to evaluate whether the information provided by later Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections about the origins of their material can be used to identify earlier sources, using *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* as an example. Although some criteria, such as the method of *al-akhdh bit-tawassuṭ*, are specific to *Tahdhīb*, significant divergencies in the informants of a particular *ḥadīth* transmitter can be an important criterion for indicating that the compiler of an Imāmī *ḥadīth* collection or bio-bibliographical dictionary is not an *isnād* forger. By comparing the results obtained from analysing the *isnāds* of Ḥalabī's *ḥadīths* with Motzki's studies of the transmission chains found in the *Muṣannaḥ* of 'Abd al-Razzāq, it appears that the *isnāds* provided in major Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections can be used to trace written sources back to the first half of the 2nd/8th century. After examining the historical reliability of the information provided by Imāmī *ḥadīth* compilers on *isnāds*, the next question is how the cross-referencing between Imāmī *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths inform academic scholarship in determining the origins, dates, and developments of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. The following two chapters will delve into this question in greater depth.

CHAPTER FOUR

Bio-bibliographical Cross-Reference Analysis and the Origins of Imāmī Ḥadīths

Introduction

Chapter 1 outlined the development of a culture of writing in Shi'ism during the Imamates of the fifth and sixth Shī'ī Imāms, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/743) and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). In Chapter 2, the production and transmission of numerous *kitābs* and *aṣls* during the 2nd/8th century were explored, showing how these informed the Imāmī compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. The chapter identified a bio-bibliographical cross-referencing between Imāmī *isnāds* and the transmission paths to earlier written records listed in two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries of the 5th/11th century, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Chapter 3 addresses the historical reliability of the information contained in the *isnāds*, and by implication providing arguments to support its validity.

This chapter argues that analysing Imāmī *isnāds* with the aid of bio-bibliographical cross-referencing can provide valuable insights into the origins, dates, and development of Imāmī ḥadīths. The bulk of the chapter consists of bio-bibliographical cross-reference analyses of *isnāds* found in the major Imāmī ḥadīth compendia, collectively known as *al-kutub al-arba'a* (the Four Books), which include *al-Kāfī*, *al-Faqīh*, *Tahdhīb*, and *al-Istibṣār*. The focus is on the *isnāds* presented in Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb*, which is well-suited for this purpose due to Ṭūsī's method of presenting and truncating *isnāds*. In the last chapter of *Tahdhīb* in his *Mashyakha*, Ṭūsī lists the names of 35 ḥadīth transmitters and claims that they authored earlier written sources used for compiling *Tahdhīb*. However, as shown in Chapter 3, this is not always the case, and Ṭūsī sometimes uses a middle source while introducing an earlier ḥadīth work as his main source. This chapter demonstrates that by correlating *isnāds* found in Tahdhīb's *Mashyakha* with bio-bibliographical transmission paths, one can significantly uncover these middle sources employed by Ṭūsī.

By closely examining the *Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb* and applying bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, one is able to analyse over 90% of the roughly 13,500 *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb*. In *Tahdhīb*, Ṭūsī truncates most of his *isnāds* for brevity, and later, in *al-Mashyakha*, he completes his transmission chains. Ṭūsī claims that the first transmitter in each truncated *isnād* ought to be considered the author of an earlier book from which he has derived a particular *ḥadīth*. He then lists the names of these first transmitters/alleged authors in his *Mashyakha* and provides his *isnāds* to them to complete his truncated *isnāds* mentioned in *Tahdhīb*. The present chapter begins with outlining the steps involved in bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis. In 46 entries, which are the names introduced by Ṭūsī in his *Mashyakha* as the authors of his main sources, we will analyse all of his *isnāds* to identify the sources, whether middle or not, which he has actually used for compiling *Tahdhīb*. The 46 entries provided here are organised in the order presented by Ṭūsī in his *Mashyakha*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis

Based on two assumptions - that Imāmī *ḥadīths* were transmitted through writing, and that there is a bio-bibliographical cross-reference between the *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* and the transmission paths mentioned in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* - earlier sources used by the compilers of these collections can be identified. As discussed in Chapter 3, in academic scholarship on the Imāmī written heritage, Hossein Modarressi has applied the bio-bibliographical information to identify earlier Imāmī written records.¹ He explains his method as follows: "Quotation through the same chain of transmission [*isnād*], or at least the ultimate [oldest] transmitter, that early bibliographies [like *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*] identify as the transmitter of a work from the author may most probably have originated from the work in question."²

As Shī'ī *ḥadīths* were recorded at a very early stage of their transmission, and the earliest Shī'ī written records were often transmitted, either directly or through later, larger *ḥadīth* works, Modarressi's method can be used to

1 Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. xv.

2 Ibid.

determine the earliest origins of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. However, it should be noted that this method does not shed light on the development of the transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīths*, nor does it identify the main sources used by later *ḥadīth* compilers, such as Kulaynī, Ṣadūq, and Ṭūsī. To clarify these issues, let us consider the following five *isnāds*, which are frequently cited in Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb*, as examples:

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā ← Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.
2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā ← Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.
3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī ← ʿAlī b. al-Sindī ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā - Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.
4. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī ← ʿAlī b. al-Sindī ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā - Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.
5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā ← Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

Modarressi's approach suggests that the earliest written source of all *ḥadīths* that include these *isnāds* might be the written records composed by Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī³. This implies that according to Modarressi, all *ḥadīths* with the name of Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī in the *isnāds* might have been extracted from his works. However, as discussed later in this

3 On the works written by Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī, see Modarressi, *Tradition*, pp. 244-247.

chapter, Ṭūsī did not directly use any of Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī’s works in *Tahdhīb*. Instead, in these five *isnāds*, there are nine other *ḥadīth* transmitters, including Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd⁴, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār⁵, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār⁶, Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh⁷, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā⁸, Aḥmad b. Idrīs⁹, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Imrān al-Ash‘arī¹⁰, al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd¹¹ and Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā¹², who were the authors of several *ḥadīth* works according to *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Therefore, each of these *ḥadīth* compilers could potentially be considered as Ṭūsī’s source for *ḥadīths* reported from Ḥarīz b. Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

In order to apply the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis that the present study aims to develop, let us now analyse these five *isnāds*. Based on this *isnād*-analytical method, the latest or youngest *ḥadīth* compiler is determined. As Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd is not attributed with any written work, his father, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd, is identified as the latest or youngest *ḥadīth* compiler for these five *isnāds*. Both *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* consider Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd as a *ḥadīth* compiler. Ṭūsī also introduces his son, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, as one of the transmitters of his father’s written records,¹³ which suggests that these five *isnāds* correspond to the bio-bibliographical transmission lines to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd.

However, before concluding that the probable sources for all *ḥadīths* with these five *isnāds* are the written works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd, the rest of these *isnāds* must also be analysed. It is possible to conclude that the earlier works are the actual sources used by Ṭūsī if these five *isnāds* correspond to the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the written

4 See Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, p. 373; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 442.

5 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 353.

6 Ibid., p. 354; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 408.

7 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 177-178; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 215-216.

8 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 81-83; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 60-61.

9 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 92; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 64.

10 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 348-349; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 408-411.

11 Ibid., pp. 149-150.

12 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 142-143; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 156-157.

13 Ibid., p. 442.

works of other earlier *ḥadīth* compilers named in these five *isnāds*. These earlier compilers include Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, Aḥmad b. Idrīs, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Imrān al-Ash‘arī, al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā and Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

Fihrist al-Ṭūsī identifies Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd as the transmitter of the works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Imrān al-Ash‘arī, and al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd.¹⁴ In the first *isnād*, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān, who directly transmits from al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, is not reported to have any written record. According to both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān is one of the transmitters of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd's works to the generation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd.¹⁵ Additionally, there is no mention of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān as a transmitter of the written works of Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā or Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī. Thus, the first *isnād* corresponds to the following transmission paths to the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← works of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd. This correspondence, determined through bio-bibliographical cross-referencing, suggests that the primary source for all *ḥadīths* with the first *isnād* for Ṭūsī is the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd.

The second and fifth *isnāds* mentioned above both include Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, who is known to have written several works.¹⁶ In *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, the following transmission paths to these records are found: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← *the works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā*.¹⁷ Collating these bio-bibliographical transmission paths with the above second and fifth *isnāds* indicates that the sources used by Ṭūsī for the *ḥadīths* with these two *isnāds* are the written works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā. One may pose why Ḥarīz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī, Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā, or even al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, whose works were

14 See respectively Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 61; *ibid.*, p. 409; *ibid.*, p. 150.

15 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 59; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 150.

16 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 81-83; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 60-61.

17 *Ibid.*

used by Ṭūsī for the *ḥadīths* with the first *105snad*, cannot be considered the actual sources for the second and fifth *isnāds*. The main reason for this is that the transmission paths to the works of these three *ḥadīth* compilers do not correspond to the second and fifth *isnāds* as closely as the bio-bibliographical lines to the written works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā do.

The third and fourth *isnāds* mentioned above can be traced back to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī through bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd being the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in these two *isnāds*. As the following two transmission paths to the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī correspond to the third and fourth *isnāds*, Ṭūsī's main sources for *ḥadīths* associated with these two *isnāds* are the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī. These two bio-bibliographical transmission paths are as follows:

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← *the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī*.
2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← *the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī*.¹⁸

Overall, the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the above five *isnāds* suggests that Ṭūsī used the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd for *ḥadīths* with the first *isnād*, the works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā for those with the second and fifth *isnāds*, and the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī for those with the third and fourth *isnāds*. These conclusions are consistent with the findings of the application of bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis to the *isnāds* found in *al-Mashyakha*, which will extensively be discussed in the following section.

The same process of bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis can also be used to determine the primary sources used by al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī. For example, if one accepts that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā was Ṭūsī's main

18 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 409.

source for the *ḥadīths* with the second and fifth *isnāds* mentioned above, these two *isnāds* can be divided into two parts:

1. From Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, which in the second *isnād* is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, and in the fifth *isnād* is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Walīd ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.
2. From Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā to Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī, which in both the second and fifth *isnāds* is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā ← Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

To determine Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's source for the *ḥadīths* that he reports from Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī, the first step is to analyse the second part, which is common to both the second and fifth *isnāds*. In this part, rather than Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, three other *ḥadīth* compilers: al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā, and Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī are also named. According to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is not only one of the transmitters of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd,¹⁹ but he is also considered to have transmitted Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā's written works through al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.²⁰ Moreover, one of the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī is identical to the second part, namely Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd ← Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā ← Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.²¹ This suggests that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā may have directly used the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā, and Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī, as he is introduced as a transmitter of their works, and his *isnād* to Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī matches the transmission path to the written records of Ḥarīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijistānī.

The bio-bibliographical cross-reference analyses discussed above demonstrate the potential of using this method to trace the development and written transmission of a particular Imāmī *ḥadīth*. The question now is

19 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 150.

20 Ibid., p. 157.

21 Ibid., p. 162.

whether this method can be generalised to analyse all the *isnāds* found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths*. To address this question, the *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī in his *Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb* will be examined in the following section. As previously discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, Ṭūsī claims that he has listed the authors of sources he has used for compiling *Tahdhīb* in *al-Mashyakha*. However, he sometimes uses later works, referred to here as middle sources, while still mentioning earlier written records as his main sources. The upcoming section will demonstrate that these middle or later sources can be detected and identified by applying bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis to the *isnāds* Ṭūsī mentions in his *Mashyakha*. By examining these *isnāds*, one can apply bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis to the *isnāds* of over 12,000 *ḥadīths*, including those found in *al-Kāfī*, *al-Faqīh*, and *al-Istibṣār*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of *Tahdhīb's isnāds*

This section aims to identify the actual sources used by Ṭūsī in his compilation of *Tahdhīb* by using bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis. The section is organised into 46 entries, following the order in which Ṭūsī presents them in *al-Mashyakha*. As noted, Ṭūsī truncates his *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb* to abbreviate them, and in *al-Mashyakha*, he provides complete *isnāds*. In *al-Mashyakha*, he introduces the individuals listed in his entries as the authors of his main sources for the *ḥadīths* included in his collection. In this section, each entry's *isnād/isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī are first mentioned and then analysed using bio-bibliographical cross-referencing. Finally, the actual source/sources employed by Ṭūsī are provided for each entry. It is worth noting that some entries pertain to the same *ḥadīth* transmitters but with different *isnāds*. For instance, there are five entries on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, two on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī, two on al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, six on al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (in three of which al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb is mentioned together with al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd al-Ahwāzī), and five on al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd al-Ahwāzī (in three of which al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd is mentioned together with al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb). As the *isnāds* in each of these entries differ, they are analysed separately and not integrated.

1. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī²²

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī and Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī*.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

As discussed in Chapter 3, one of the primary sources utilised by Ṭūsī is Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. This can be demonstrated not only through the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the three groups of *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī in his *Mashyakha*, but also by comparing the *matn* and *isnād* parts of *ḥadīths* found in *Tahdhīb* with those included in *al-Kāfī*, which is available today. These three *isnāds* are listed by Ṭūsī as his *isnāds* to the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* beginning with Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī. In conducting bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of these three *isnāds*, the first step is to determine the latest or youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler among them. According to two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, Kulaynī, the author of *al-Kāfī*, is considered the latest common *ḥadīth* compiler in these *isnāds*. The second step involves correlating these *isnāds* with bio-bibliographical transmission paths to Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. If there is a level of confidence in their correspondence, then *al-Kāfī* is regarded as Ṭūsī's source. All the transmitters mentioned in these three *isnāds*, except for Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn, are also mentioned by *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as the transmitters of Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.²³ Ṭūsī does not portray Kulaynī as a transmitter of any

22 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 5-29.

23 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 394-395; Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 377-378.

other earlier *ḥadīth* work. Therefore, based on bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, whenever a particular *isnād* in *Tahdhīb* or *al-Mashyakha* contains the name of Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī* or a later *ḥadīth* work is considered to be Ṭūsī's source. If it were otherwise, one would expect to see the name of Kulaynī in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as a transmitter of an earlier work.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *al-Kāfī*.

2. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim (fl. 307/919)²⁴

Ṭūsī's isnāds:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla'ukbarī and Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm.

(4) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn together ← Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī ← *'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The four *isnāds* to 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm can be divided into two groups: one group includes Kulaynī, and the other group contains Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī, who is introduced in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as a transmitter of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm's *kitābs*.²⁵ As mentioned in the previous entry, Kulaynī is not named in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as a transmitter of any earlier written record.

24 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 29-32.

25 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, p. 260.

Therefore, by providing the first three *isnāds*, in which the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler is Kulaynī, Ṭūsī aims to demonstrate that he has used *al-Kāfī* as one of his sources for ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm’s reported *ḥadīths*.

The fourth *isnād*, which includes Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī, is a combination of the following three *isnāds*:

1. Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.
2. Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.
3. Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn together ← Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī is the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in these three *isnāds*, while the oldest is ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm.²⁶ According to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, al-Mufīd, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn transmitted the written records of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī.²⁷ Both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* consider him one of the transmitters of the works of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm to the generation of Ṭūsī through al-Mufīd and many other *ḥadīth* transmitters.²⁸ These three *isnāds* to ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm correspond to the bio-bibliographical paths to his works. Based on bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, it can be concluded that some of the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* beginning with ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm were derived by Ṭūsī from ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm’s works.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

- (1) *Al-Kāfī*.
- (2) The works of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.

3. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Attār (d. c. 3rd/9th century)²⁹

26 For al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza, see Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 135; Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 64.

27 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 135.

28 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 260; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 266-267.

29 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 32-34.

Ṭūsī's isnāds:

- (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār.
- (2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār.
- (3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār.
- (4) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← *Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In a similar fashion to ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, Kulaynī's name appears in the first three *isnāds* listed in the entry for Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār in *Tahdhīb's al-Mashyakha*. Since Kulaynī is the youngest common compiler in these three *isnāds* and is not considered by Ṭūsī as a transmitter of any earlier work, a bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis suggests that *al-Kāfī* may have been used by Ṭūsī as a middle source for some of the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* that begin with Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār as the first transmitter. This hypothesis is further supported by comparing the *matns* and *isnāds* of *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* beginning with Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār with those found in Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. To that end, all 128 of *Tahdhīb's ḥadīths*, whose *isnāds* begin with Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār, have been collected, and their *matns* and *isnāds* have been compared with those in *al-Kāfī*. This comparison shows that 125 out of these 128 *ḥadīths* are identical to those found in *al-Kāfī*, indicating that Ṭūsī likely sourced these 125 *ḥadīths* from Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.

The fourth *isnād* listed by Ṭūsī in this entry features Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār himself as the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler. *Rijāl al-Najāshī* identifies Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, the son of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-

‘Aṭṭār, as the main transmitter of his *Kitāb al-nawādir*.³⁰ While *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* does not mention any of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār's written works, it is possible to assume that Ṭūsī had access to *Kitāb al-nawādir*, as he cites Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār as his alleged written source in *al-Mashyakha*. This, alongside providing the above fourth *isnād*, gives a rise to the conclusion that Ṭūsī has most probably utilised *Kitāb al-nawādir*.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) *al-Kāfī*.
- (2) *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār.

4. Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 306/918)³¹

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

- (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī* ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs.
- (2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī and Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī* ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs.
- (3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī* ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs.
- (4) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh together ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān ← *Aḥmad b. Idrīs*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The cross-reference analysis of the first three *isnāds* indicates that *al-Kāfī* is also a major source for some of the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds*, with Aḥmad b. Idrīs as the first transmitter, that were used by Ṭūsī. By comparing these truncated *ḥadīths* with those in *al-Kāfī*, it can be observed that all of

30 Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, p. 353.

31 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 34-35.

these *ḥadīths* except for one are present in *al-Kāfī*. The exception, found in *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 43, has an *isnād* that includes four individuals, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī, and Aḥmad b. Idrīs, as its first transmitters. The *isnād* is as follows:

Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī and Aḥmad b. Idrīs together ← Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī 'Uthmān ← 'Abd al-Jābbār al-Nahāwandī ← Abū Ismā'īl ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Thuwayr b. Abī Fākhita.

This truncated *isnād* contains more than one transmitter mentioned at the beginning, indicating that it was not truncated in accordance with Ṭūsī's typical method of presenting *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb*. It is possible that he copied this *isnād* from an intermediary source and did not modify it according to his own approach. This possibility gains further support from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān al-Mufīd's *Kitāb al-mazār*, which reports the same *ḥadīth* from Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh. In Mufīd's *isnād* for this *ḥadīth*, the youngest *ḥadīth* compiler is Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, and given that Ṭūsī occasionally uses intermediary sources, it is likely that the main source for this *ḥadīth* is Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh. As seen in what follows, Ṭūsī has used Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh's works in *Tahdhīb*.

As previously mentioned, all of the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* and Aḥmad b. Idrīs as the first transmitter can be found in *al-Kāfī*, which according to the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the first three *isnāds* mentioned above, is the source that Ṭūsī is referring to for these *ḥadīths*. However, Ṭūsī also provides another *isnād*, in which the youngest or latest common compiler is Aḥmad b. Idrīs himself. This *isnād* is actually a combination of two *isnāds*, one through Mufīd and one through al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh. As this *isnād* corresponds exactly to the bio-bibliographical transmission path to Aḥmad b. Idrīs's *Kitāb al-nawādir*,³² it appears that Ṭūsī had access to and used this work. The reason for providing this *isnād* may be that Ṭūsī is trying to show that he has had access to and used *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Idrīs. However, for some reason, such as the ease of using *al-Kāfī* or Ṭūsī's preference for Kulaynī's versions of *ḥadīths*, he has

32 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 92; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 64.

decided to use *al-Kāfī* and follow the order in which al-Kulaynī presents *ḥadīths*, even though he had *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Idrīs at his disposal.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) *al-Kāfī*.
- (2) *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Idrīs.

5. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. 'Imrān³³

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

- (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. 'Imrān.
- (2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla'ukbarī and Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. 'Imrān.
- (3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. 'Imrān.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Ṭūsī mentions only three *isnāds* for al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. 'Imrān, and again all three contain the name of Kulaynī. While *Rijāl al-Najāshī* refers to Kulaynī as the transmitter of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir's *Kitāb al-nawādir*,³⁴ *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* does not include his name as a *ḥadīth* compiler. Therefore, based on this bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, one can infer that Ṭūsī's primary source is *al-Kāfī* and not *Kitāb al-nawādir* of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. 'Imrān. This can be verified by comparing the 18 *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb* that begin with the name of

33 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 35-37.

34 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 66.

al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Imrān with those reported by Kulaynī from the same transmitter. All 18 *ḥadīths* are also present in *al-Kāfī*, which indicates that Ṭūsī relied on *al-Kāfī* as his main source for these *ḥadīths*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) *al-Kāfī*.

6. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Naysābūrī³⁵

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī* ← Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Naysābūrī.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī and Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī* ← Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Naysābūrī.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi‘ and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī* ← Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Naysābūrī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

As these three *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī include Kulaynī as the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler, it can be inferred that Ṭūsī’s primary source for the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnād* begging with Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Naysābūrī is *al-Kāfī*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) *al-Kāfī*.

35 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 37-38.

7. Humayd b. Ziyād (d. 310/923)³⁶

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← Ḥumayd b. Ziyād.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← Ḥumayd b. Ziyād.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← Ḥumayd b. Ziyād.

(4) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī ← *Ḥumayd b. Ziyād*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in the first three *isnāds* is Kulaynī, which, as discussed earlier, indicates *al-Kāfī* as the actual source. In the fourth *isnād* to Ḥumayd b. Ziyād, which is a single strand, Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn³⁷ is the latest *ḥadīth* compiler. However, Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn is not mentioned in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as an author of any *ḥadīth* book, but rather as a transmitter of the works of Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī to Ṭūsī.³⁸ Additionally, one of the transmission paths mentioned in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* to the works of Ḥumayd b. Ziyād is Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī ← *kitābs* of Ḥumayd b. Ziyād.³⁹ Therefore, a bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis suggests that both the *ḥadīth* works of Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī and Ḥumayd b. Ziyād could be Ṭūsī's probable sources. To determine which source he has used, one approach is to collect those *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* starting with the name of Ḥumayd b. Ziyād and correlate them with *al-Kāfī*. There are 12 *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb* with these truncated *isnāds*, and the *isnād* and *matn* parts are found identically in *al-Kāfī*. This suggests that neither the written works

36 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, al-Mashyakha, pp. 38-41.

37 For Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn, see Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 87.

38 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 296-297.

39 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 155.

of Ḥumayd b. Zīyād nor those of Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī were used by Ṭūsī for the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* including Ḥumayd b. Zīyād as the first transmitter. However, similar to the case of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, it appears that Ṭūsī included the fourth *isnād* to demonstrate that the works of Ḥumayd b. Zīyād were available to him, when compiling *Tahdhīb*, despite only using *al-Kāfī* for these *ḥadīths*.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) *Al-Kāfī*.
- (2) The works of Ḥumayd b. Zīyād.

8. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā (fl. 274/887)⁴⁰

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

- (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.
- (2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.
- (3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the first three *isnāds* indicates that *al-Kāfī* is the middle source used by Ṭūsī for the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* that start with the name of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

40 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 42-43.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Al-Kāfī*.

9. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d. 274/888 or 280/894)⁴¹

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this entry, one of two entries on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī, Ṭūsī provides three *isnāds*, in which the youngest or latest common compiler is Kulaynī. Barqī's *al-Maḥāsin*⁴², is partially extant, and it seems highly probable that Ṭūsī had access to it. This likelihood can be further supported by examining the *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī in his entry on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (see entry number 42 below).

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Al-Kāfī*.

41 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 44 and p. 85.

42 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin* (Qum: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1371 AH).

10. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873)⁴³

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl together ← al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl together ← al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl together ← al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Tahdhīb's Mashyakha lists two entries on al-Faḍl b. Shādhān. The first entry contains the three *isnāds* mentioned above, with Kulaynī being the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler. These three *isnāds* correspond entirely to the bio-bibliographical transmission lines to Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. Since Kulaynī is not mentioned by Ṭūsī as a transmitter of earlier works, Ṭūsī's provision of these three *isnāds* again suggests that he is introducing *al-Kāfī* as one of his sources for *ḥadīths* with al-Faḍl b. Shādhān as the first transmitter of their truncated *isnāds*.

By including the second entry on al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (see entry number 44), Ṭūsī seems to be indicating that he has utilised additional sources, apart from *al-Kāfī*, for the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* that start with al-Faḍl b. Shādhān. Similar to other cases, such as Aḥmad b. Idrīs (see entry number 4) and Ḥumayd b. Zīyād (see entry number 7), it is possible that Ṭūsī has had these works at his disposal. In comparing all *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* beginning with al-Faḍl b. Shādhān with his transmitted *ḥadīths* found in *al-Kāfī*, it can be discovered that although the content of all the *ḥadīths*

43 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 47-51.

mentioned in *Tahdhīb* can be found in *al-Kāfī*, some of them, like *Tahdhīb*, vol. 7, p. 355 and *al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 186, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, p. 164 and *al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 167, have slightly different wording. This indicates that, in addition to *al-Kāfī*, Ṭūsī used other sources, which can be identified through the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the second entry on al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (entry number 44).

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Al-Kāfī*.

11. Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (d. 224/839)⁴⁴

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfiʿ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī* ← ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In *al-Mashyakha*, there are six entries on al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, and in three of them, he is mentioned along with al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd. Analyzing these entries and the *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī can help identify the sources he has used for the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* that begin with al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb. In the first entry, the three above-mentioned *isnāds*, in which Kulaynī is the

44 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 52-54.

youngest common compiler, can be seen. This implies that Ṭūsī used *al-Kāfī* as one of his sources for some of these *ḥadīths* that have been quoted from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Al-Kāfī*.

12. Sahl b. Zīyād (d. c. 255/869)⁴⁵

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Sahl b. Zīyād.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī and Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla'ukbarī and Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh and Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and al-Shaybānī and others together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Sahl b. Zīyād.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← Aḥmad b. Abī Rāfi' and 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Naṣr together ← *Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī* ← a number of our companions ← Sahl b. Zīyād.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

As can be seen, Ṭūsī attributes the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* and Sahl b. Zīyād as the first name to Kulaynī. This suggests that Ṭūsī has used a middle source such as *al-Kāfī*, rather than relying directly on written works compiled by Sahl b. Zīyād.⁴⁶

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Al-Kāfī*.

45 See Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 54-55.

46 For bio-bibliographical entry on Sahl b. Zīyād, see Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 185; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 228.

13. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl (d. c. 300/912)⁴⁷

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl.

Description:

The youngest compiler mentioned in this *isnād* is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl himself. This *isnād* is consistent with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan’s *ḥadīth* works mentioned by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.⁴⁸ Furthermore, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* provides detailed information on how these works were transmitted. Ṭūsī states that Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn transmitted the works of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl to him. Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn had heard the *ḥadīths* included in these books and had the authorisation to transmit them from ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr.⁴⁹

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl.

14. Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, what I [Ṭūsī] took from his *muṣannafs* and *kitābs* (*mā akhaḍtuhū min muṣannafātihi wa kutubihī*)⁵⁰

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr ← Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Azdī ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s *muṣannafs* and *kitābs*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b.

47 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 55-56.

48 See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 257-259; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 272-273.

49 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 273.

50 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 56-63.

Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā and Mu‘āwīya b. Ḥakīm and al-Haytham b. Abī Masrūq together ← *al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s muṣannafs and kitābs*.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā and Mu‘āwīya b. Ḥakīm and al-Haytham b. Abī Masrūq together ← *al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s muṣannafs and kitābs*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The entry that refers explicitly to the compilations of *ḥadīths* composed by al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb is the second of the six entries on him in *al-Mashyakha*. If this claim is correct, one would expect the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the *isnāds* listed in this entry to lead to these works as well. Indeed, the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in these three *isnāds* is al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb. By collating these three *isnāds* with the transmission paths to al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s *muṣannafs* and *kitābs* listed in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, one can confirm Ṭūsī’s claim that he has used these works. To make this correlation more visible, below are all the bio-bibliographical paths to the written works of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb:

1. Ṭūsī ← a number of his companions ← Ṣadūq ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh ← Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā and Mu‘āwīya b. Ḥakīm and al-Haytham b. Abī Masrūq ← *al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s muṣannafs and kitābs*.
2. Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā and Mu‘āwīya b. Ḥakīm and al-Haytham b. Abī Masrūq ← *al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s muṣannafs and kitābs*.

The following individuals are depicted as transmitters of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb’s *muṣannafs* and *kitābs*: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, Ṣadūq, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (Ṣadūq’s father), Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh, al-Haytham b. Abī Masrūq, Mu‘āwīya b. Ḥakīm, Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr, Aḥmad b.

al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Azdī, and some other *ḥadīth* transmitters.⁵¹ It can be seen that, except for al-Mufīd, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, all other individuals mentioned in the above three *isnāds* in this entry are considered transmitters of the works of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) *Muṣannafs* and *kitābs* of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

15. Al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd (d. after 254/868)⁵²

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← *al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← *al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd*.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā ← *al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Ṭūsī, like with al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, has several entries on al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd. The first entry on al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd contains three *isnāds*, which share two common *ḥadīth* compilers, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd and al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, with the former being the younger of the two. Two bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd correspond exactly to these three *isnāds*: (1) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, and (2) Ṭūsī ← a group ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← works of Muḥammad b.

51 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 122-123.

52 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 63-66.

al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd.⁵³ To determine if there is any correspondence between the bio-bibliographical transmission lines to the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and Ṭūsī's aforementioned three *isnāds* in *al-Mashyakha*, one must correlate them. For example, one of these bio-bibliographical lines found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* is as follows: Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← *ḥadīth* compilations of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.⁵⁴ This written transmission path is the same as the second Ṭūsī *isnād* noted above. Additionally, both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* list al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān as one of the main transmitters of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's works.⁵⁵

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.

16. Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd 'an (from) al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd⁵⁶

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← *al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd* ← al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān ← *al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd* ← al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd.

(3) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid al-Qummī ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā ← *al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd* ← al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd.

53 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 442.

54 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 150. For other transmission paths to al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's collections of *ḥadīths*, see Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 58-60.

55 See *ibid.*, p. 59; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 150.

56 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 66-71.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In his second entry on al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, Ṭūsī indicates that he has provided the sources for the *ḥadīths* he has transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd, Zarʿa b. Muḥammad, and Samāʿa b. Mihrān, as well as those he has reported from al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd from Faḍḍāla b. Ayyūb, Naḍr b. Suwayd, and Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā.⁵⁷ Ṭūsī then provides three *isnāds* that he had already mentioned in his previous entry on al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd (see entry number 15 above). Therefore, the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of this entry is similar to the previous entry and suggests that Ṭūsī's primary sources for these *ḥadīths* are also the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.

17. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī (d. 280/893)⁵⁸

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn together ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and Aḥmad b. Idrīs together ← *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī*.

(3) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī*.

(4) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn together ← al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 71-72.

Bazawfarī together ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In the four *isnāds* provided in *al-Mashyakha*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī is the youngest compiler common to all of them. These *isnāds* are consistent with the transmission paths for *Nawādir al-ḥikma* attributed to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī, as mentioned in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.⁵⁹ For example, two transmission paths found in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* are also present in the four *isnāds* provided in *al-Mashyakha*: (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Ibn Abī Jayyid together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← *Nawādir al-ḥikma* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī, and (2) Ṭūsī ← a group ← Ṣadūq ← his father (‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Atṭār together ← *Nawādir al-ḥikma* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī.⁶⁰ Therefore, based on the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, it can be inferred that Ṭūsī used the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī in compiling his *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) *Nawādir al-ḥikma* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī.

18. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb⁶¹

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Atṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Atṭār ← *Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

59 For these bio-bibliographical transmission lines, see Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 348-349; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 408-411.

60 *ibid.*

61 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 72.

In this single *isnād*, three *ḥadīth* compilers are mentioned: al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb. However, one of the transmission paths provided by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* is the same as the aforementioned *isnād*.⁶² This suggests that, according to a bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of this single strand, Ṭūsī used the works of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb for compiling *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb

19. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā⁶³

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← *Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb* ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

This *isnād* consists of a single strand linking Ṭūsī to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, with four other *ḥadīth* compilers – al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb – in between. Starting with the youngest compiler, i.e., al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, this *isnād* must be correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission lines to the works of these *ḥadīth* compilers. As noted in the previous entry on ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, one of the transmission paths to his written works is Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb. Correlating this bio-bibliographical path with the *isnād* listed by Ṭūsī in this entry on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā suggests that Ṭūsī used a middle source, namely the works of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb, for some of the *ḥadīths*, whose truncated *isnāds* begin with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā.

62 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 411.

63 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 72-73.

However, based on the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the aforementioned *isnād*, one cannot conclude that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's own written records were Ṭūsī's sources, as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb is not introduced by *Rijāl al-Najāshī* or *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as a transmitter of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's works.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) The works of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb.

20. Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb⁶⁴

Ṭūsī's isnāds:

- (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← *Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb* ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

This is the first of three entries in which al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan are listed together, suggesting that Ṭūsī has used sources other than the works of these two scholars. If he had relied solely on their works, there would be no need for him to provide multiple entries with different *isnāds* for them. Similar to the previous entry on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, this *isnād* for both al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb lists Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb. By tracing the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb (see entry number 18 above), and noting that he is not introduced as a transmitter of the works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, one can conclude that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb's works are the main sources used by Ṭūsī.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) The works of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb.

64 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 73.

21. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār (d. 290/903)⁶⁵

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn together- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Both of the *isnāds* mentioned by Ṭūsī in this entry include two common *ḥadīth* compilers: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār. While Ibn Abī Jayyid and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, the son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, are both credited with transmitting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd's works to Ṭūsī,⁶⁶ a closer look at the three bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the *ḥadīth* collections of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār suggests that Ṭūsī's actual sources are the works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār himself. Specifically, the three transmission paths are: (1) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār; (2) Ṭūsī ← a group ← Ṣadūq ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār; and (3) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār ← works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār.⁶⁷

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār

65 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 73.

66 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 442.

67 Ibid., p. 408.

22. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [b. ʿĪsā]⁶⁸

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār* ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār* ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this third entry on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, Ṭūsī lists two *isnāds* that are similar to those in his previous entry on Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār. Through these two *isnāds*, which correspond to bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, Ṭūsī intends to show that he has used these works as his middle source for some of the truncated *ḥadīths* that begin with the name Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā. It appears that Ṭūsī's main purpose in providing different entries on the same transmitters is to demonstrate to his readers that he has relied on various sources for the truncated *ḥadīths* that mention these transmitters.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār.

23. Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb and al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd⁶⁹

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b.

68 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 73.

69 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 73.

al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār* ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb and al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār* ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb and al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Once again, the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār appears in two *isnāds* listed by Ṭūsī, which is in line with the transmission paths to the works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār listed in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (see entry number 21 above).

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār.

24. Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī (d. between 299-301/911-913)⁷⁰

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← his father (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh) ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The two *isnāds* mentioned both share Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī as the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler. By comparing these two *isnāds* to the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the written records of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh provided in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, it appears that they are consistent with these records. Both of these Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries list Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, his father (Muḥammad b.

70 Ibid., pp. 73-74.

Qūlawayh), al-Mufīd, Ṣadūq, and Ṣadūq's father as transmitters of the works of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh through paths similar to those found in the two isnāds mentioned.⁷¹

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī

25. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [b. 'Īsā]⁷²

Ṭūsī's isnāds:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← Ṣadūq's father ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

As previously noted (see entry number 24 above), these two *isnāds* correspond to the bio-bibliographical transmission paths of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī's works. While Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh is known to have transmitted the works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā,⁷³ neither Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, Ṣadūq, nor his fathers, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh are recognised as transmitters of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā's works.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī.

71 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 177-178; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 215-216.

72 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 74.

73 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 61.

26. Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb together (maʿan)⁷⁴

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← Ṣadūq's father ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Similar to the previous two entries, these two *isnāds* also align with the transmission paths to the works of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, who is the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in both.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī.

27. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, what I [Ṭūsī] took from his *Nawādir* (al-laddī akhadtuhū min Nawādirih)⁷⁵

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn together ← al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bazawfarī together ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's Nawādir*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Ibn Abī Jayyid together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's Nawādir*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

74 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 74.

75 *ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

In the title of this entry, Ṭūsī explicitly mentions his use of the *Nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, which is confirmed by the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the two *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī. These two *isnāds* have two common *ḥadīth* compilers, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, and starting with the youngest one, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh, his works are likely sources for Ṭūsī as he had access to them, according to *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*.⁷⁶ However, analyzing the numerous bio-bibliographical transmission paths to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's *Nawādir* listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, it is concluded that Ṭūsī employed this work in his *Tahdhīb*, as these two *isnāds* correspond exactly with the transmission paths to *Nawādir*.⁷⁷

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

28. Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb⁷⁸

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn together ← al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bazawfarī together ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā* ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Ibn Abī Jayyid together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā* ← al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

This is one of six entries in *al-Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb* on Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, and in this entry, Ṭūsī refers to two *isnāds* to al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb through

76 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, p. 425.

77 For these bio-bibliographical transmission paths, see Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 81-83; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 60-61.

78 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 75.

the same transmission chains he listed in the previous entry. However, analysing these two *isnāds* would be redundant since they are the same as the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the two *isnāds* listed in the preceding entry on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's *Nawādir* (see entry number 27 above).

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) *Nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

29. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 343/954) and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (d. 329/941)⁷⁹

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← *al-Ṣadūq* ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The title of this entry refers to both Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh, and Ṭūsī's *isnāds* to these two *ḥadīth* transmitters have been combined into one. The two common *ḥadīth* compilers in these two *isnāds* are Mufīd and Ṣadūq. Starting with the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler, Mufīd, it is mentioned in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* that Ṭūsī has had access to his works.⁸⁰ However, Mufīd is one of the main transmitters of Ṣadūq's works to Ṭūsī.⁸¹ Therefore, based on the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of this entry, it can be concluded that Ṭūsī's main sources were the works of Ṣadūq.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of al-Ṣadūq.

79 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 75.

80 Idem., *Fihrist*, pp. 444-446

81 Ibid., p. 444.

30. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a (companion of Mūsā al-Kāzīm)⁸²

Ṭūsī's isnāds:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī ← Ḥumayd b. Zīyād ← *al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn together ← al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī ← Ḥumayd b. Zīyād ← *al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in these two *isnāds* is al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a himself. Ṭūsī directly employed the works of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a in *Tahdhīb*, as confirmed by correlating the two isnāds in this entry with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to his kitābs mentioned in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Two of these paths are as follows: (1) Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī ← Ḥumayd b. Zīyād ← al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a; (2) Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn ← 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr ← 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl ← al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a.⁸³ It is also worth noting that al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a is considered a reliable source by Imāmī bio-bibliographers, despite being a non-Imāmī *ḥadīth* compiler.⁸⁴

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a

31. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī (companion of Mūsā al-Kāzīm)⁸⁵

Ṭūsī's isnāds:

82 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 75.

83 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 134. For other bio-bibliographical paths to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a's *kitābs*, see *Najāshī*, *Rijāl*, p. 42.

84 *Najāshī*, *Rijāl*, pp. 40-42; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 133-135.

85 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 76-77.

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr ← Aḥmad b. ‘Amr b. Kaysaba ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

This *isnād* features ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī as the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler, and identifies Aḥmad b. ‘Amr b. Kaysaba as the transmitter of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī’s compilations of *ḥadīths* in both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.⁸⁶ However, there is no *ḥadīth* work attributed to Aḥmad b. ‘Amr b. Kaysaba in Imāmī bio-bibliographical literature. Based on bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, it is possible to conclude that Ṭūsī’s main sources for the *ḥadīths*, including the truncated ones with ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī as the first transmitter, are ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī’s works.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī

32. Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd (d. 332/944 or 333/945)⁸⁷

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā ← Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

According to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*’s entry on Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd, Ṭūsī had access to all of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd’s *ḥadīth* compilations and transmissions through Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Ṭūsī states, "Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ahwāzī informed us of all his [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd’s] *ḥadīths* and books, and there was with him [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ahwāzī] the handwriting of Abū al-‘Abbās [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd] with the permission to transmit and

86 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 254-255; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 72-73.

87 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 77.

comment upon his reports and books (*sharḥ-i riwāyātihī and kutubihī*) from Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd.”⁸⁸ This is supported by the bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the *isnād* to Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd provided in *al-Mashyakha*, where the youngest common compiler is identified as Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd, and his works were transmitted by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, which is consistent with the information given in the above statement from *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd.

33. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Shaykh Ṣadūq (d. 381/991)⁸⁹

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq.

Description:

In entry number 29, it was previously demonstrated that Ṣadūq’s works were utilised by Ṭūsī. This *isnād* features two *ḥadīth* compilers, Mufīd and Ṣadūq. As Mufīd is depicted as one of the primary transmitters of Ṣadūq’s works,⁹⁰ it is possible to conclude that Ṭūsī also has made use of Ṣadūq’s collections of *ḥadīths*. A detailed examination of *ḥadīths* reported in *Tahdhīb* with the truncated *isnāds* that begin with Ṣadūq, reveals that *al-Faqīh* must also be one of Ṭūsī’s sources. In some instances, Ṭūsī directly quotes *ḥadīths* provided by Ṣadūq word for word, and even includes the truncated *isnāds* used by Ṣadūq, which is consistent with Ṣadūq’s approach to presenting and

⁸⁸ Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 69.

⁸⁹ Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 77-78.

⁹⁰ Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 442-444.

truncating *isnāds*, which was discussed in Chapter 2, rather than Ṭūsī's own approach.⁹¹

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Ṣadūq.

34. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī⁹²

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd* ← Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

This *isnād* contains the names of three *ḥadīth* compilers: al-Mufīd, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd,⁹³ and his father, Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī⁹⁴. According to both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, al-Mufīd transmitted the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd,⁹⁵ which based on bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, leads to the conclusion that either Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd's works or his father's *Kitāb al-nawādir* served as Ṭūsī's sources for the truncated *ḥadīths* beginning with Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī.

To determine which source Ṭūsī has actually used, one must compare the *isnād* provided in this entry with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd and Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī. *Rijāl al-Najāshī* attributes only *Kitāb al-nawādir* to Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī and does not provide any biographical transmission path for this work.⁹⁶ On the other hand, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* lists only one biographical

91 See, for instance, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 113, and compare it with Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, vol. 1, p. 454.

92 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 78.

93 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 384-385; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 395-396.

94 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 95; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 70.

95 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 385; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 395.

96 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 95.

transmission path for *Kitāb al-nawādir*: Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī’s *Kitāb al-nawādir*.⁹⁷ However, both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* provide the same bio-bibliographical transmission path for the works of Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī’s son, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī: Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī ← al-Mufīd ← Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī.⁹⁸ This path seems to be more consistent with the *isnād* listed by Ṭūsī in this entry. Therefore, according to this bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, one can conclude that Ṭūsī has used the works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd as his middle sources for the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* beginning with his father, Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī, rather than *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd.

35. Abū al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh (d. 368/978)⁹⁹

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh together ← *Abū al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in this *isnād*, lived one generation before Ṭūsī and is known for several *ḥadīth* works such as *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, *Kitāb al-jumu‘a*, *Kitāb al-zīyārāt*, and *Kitāb al-qaḍā’ wa ādāb al-ḥukkām*.¹⁰⁰ Najāshī read one of Ibn Qūlawayh’s books, *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, to al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allā,¹⁰¹ both of whom are

97 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 70.

98 Ibid., p. 396.

99 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 79.

100 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 123; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 109.

101 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 95.

also identified as transmitters of Ibn Qūlawayh's ḥadīth works in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.¹⁰² Based on this bio-bibliographical cross-reference, it is reasonable to conclude that Ṭūsī also used the works of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh in *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh.

36. Ibn Abī ʿUmayr (d. 217/832)¹⁰³

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh together ← Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Mūsawī ← ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk ← *Ibn Abī ʿUmayr*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this *isnād*, three *ḥadīth* compilers are commonly found: Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh (as mentioned in the previous entry number 35), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk¹⁰⁴, and Ibn Abī ʿUmar¹⁰⁵. However, this *isnād*, which is mentioned by Ṭūsī for the *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* beginning with Ibn Abī ʿUmayr, matches the transmission lines found in both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. *Rijāl al-Najāshī* lists ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk as one of the transmitters of Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's works,¹⁰⁶ and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* also identifies Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Mūsawī, and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk as transmitters of Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's written records.¹⁰⁷ It provides the following transmission path, which matches the above *isnād*: Ṭūsī ← a group ← Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← Jaʿfar b.

102 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 109.

103 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 79.

104 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 232.

105 Ibid., pp. 326-327; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 404-406.

106 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 327.

107 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 404-406.

Muḥammad al-‘Alawī al-Mūsawī ← ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk ← works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.¹⁰⁸

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.

37. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī (d. 268/881)¹⁰⁹

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh together ← Abū Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī ← Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) b. Hawḍa ← Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this *isnād*, two *ḥadīth* compilers can be identified: Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī¹¹⁰ and Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī¹¹¹. *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* does not consider Hārūn b. Mūsā or Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) b. Hawḍa as the authors of any written work. However, Ṭūsī explicitly states in his *Rijāl* that Hārūn b. Mūsā reported and transmitted all earlier *aṣls* and *muṣannafs*.¹¹² Additionally, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Abū Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī are both described as transmitters of the works of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī.¹¹³

One of the bio-bibliographical transmission paths noted by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* for the works of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī is as follows: Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī ← Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Sa‘īd al-Bāhilī ← works of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī.¹¹⁴ A search for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Bāhilī in *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* reveals that he is actually Aḥmad

108 Ibid., pp. 405-406.

109 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 79-80.

110 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 439.

111 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 19; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 19.

112 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 449.

113 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 16.

114 Ibid.

b. Hawḍa, who was mistakenly referred to as Muḥammad b. Hawḍa. In his entry on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, Ṭūsī states: “al-Bāhilī, known as Ibn Abī Harāsa, whose father was nicknamed Hawḍa, heard [*ḥadīth*] from al-Tallaʿukbarī [Hārūn b. Mūsā].”¹¹⁵ This gives rise to the conclusion that the *isnād* mentioned above is identical to the bio-bibliographical transmission path listed by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* for the works of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī. Based on this analysis, it can be concluded that Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī's own works are the main sources for the *ḥadīths* that begin with his name, as identified by Ṭūsī in *Tahdhīb's al-Mashyakha*.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) The works of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī.

38. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī¹¹⁶

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

- (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh together ← al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Shaybān al-Qazwīnī ← ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

The youngest *ḥadīth* compiler identifiable in this *isnād* is ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī. While *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* do not attribute any book to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Shaybān al-Qazwīnī, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* does mention him as the transmitter of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim's works.¹¹⁷ Therefore, there is no middle source in this *isnād*, and Ṭūsī's sources for *ḥadīths* with the truncated *isnāds* that begin with the name of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim is ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī's own *ḥadīth* works.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

- (1) The works of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī.

115 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, p. 409.

116 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 80-81.

117 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 71, p. 145 and p. 285.

39. Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab (companion of ‘Alī al-Riḍā and Muḥammad al-Jawād)¹¹⁸

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh together ← al-Faḍl b. Ghānim and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā together ← *Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this combined *isnād* consisting of four individual *isnāds*, four common *ḥadīth* compilers are identified: al-Mufīd, Ṣadūq, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, and Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab. The bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of al-Mufīd, Ṣadūq, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd correspond to this combined *isnād*. However, according to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*’s transmission path, Ṭūsī has utilised the *ḥadīth* works of Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab: Ṭūsī ← a group ← Ṣadūq ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh together ← al-Faḍl b. ‘Āmir and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā together ← *works of Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab*.¹¹⁹

The name of al-Faḍl b. ‘Āmir mentioned in this bio-bibliographical path can also be found in *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, and Ṭūsī considers him to have transmitted *ḥadīths* from Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh.¹²⁰ In the *isnād* provided by Ṭūsī in *al-Mashyakha* on Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab, al-Faḍl b. Ghānim, who also transmitted from Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh, can be found. If one accepts that al-Faḍl b. ‘Āmir was mistakenly referred to as al-Faḍl b. Ghānim in *al-Mashyakha*, then it can be concluded that the above *isnād* corresponds completely to the noted bio-bibliographical transmission path to the works of Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab. Based on bio-bibliographical cross-references analysis, it can be deduced that Ṭūsī has used these works in *Tahdhīb*.

118 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 81.

119 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 453.

120 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 435.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu'āwīya b. Wahab.

40. Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. c. 208/823)¹²¹

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī and 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim together ← Ismā'īl b. Marār and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Sanadī together ← Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. 'Ubdūn together ← al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī ← 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd ← Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

(3) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh ← Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shaybānī ← Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Razzāz ← Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd ← Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself is the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in these three groups of *isnāds*. Almost all the individuals mentioned in these *isnāds* can be traced back to the bio-bibliographical transmission paths listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. To make this comparison more apparent, a list of those who are depicted by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as the transmitters of Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's works through transmission paths similar to these three groups of *isnāds* is provided: Ṣadūq, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, Ibn Abī Jayyid, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, Muḥammad b. 'Alī Mājilawayh, Ismā'īl b. Marār, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Sanadī, and Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd.¹²² Based

121 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 82-84.

122 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 446-448; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 511-512.

on this, it can be inferred that Ṭūsī has used the written works of Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as a source for his own *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

41. ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār (d. 254/868)¹²³

Ṭūsī’s isnāds:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Ḥimyarī and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār and Aḥmad b. Idrīs together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā ← al-‘Abbās b. Ma‘rūf ← ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

This combined *isnād* includes five common *ḥadīth* compilers: al-Mufīd, Ṣadūq, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, al-‘Abbās b. Ma‘rūf¹²⁴, and ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār¹²⁵. Interestingly, this *isnād* in the same form is also mentioned in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as a bio-bibliographical transmission path to the works of ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār.¹²⁶ This correspondence suggests that the works of ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār have directly been used in *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of ‘Alī b. Mahzīyār.

123 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 85.

124 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 281; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 337.

125 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 253-254; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 265-266.

126 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 266.

42. Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī]¹²⁷

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī*.

(2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← Ṣadūq’s father and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd together ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī*.

(3) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī ← ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī ← *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In Ṭūsī's first entry on Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī (see entry number 9), it was discussed that one of Ṭūsī's sources for the *ḥadīths*, with truncated *isnāds* beginning with Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī, is *al-Kāfī*. The bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis in the current entry shows that another source for these *ḥadīths* is the works of Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī, such as *al-Maḥāsin*, part of which is available today as a separate work. In the three *isnāds* provided by Ṭūsī in this entry, the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler is Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī himself. One of the bio-bibliographical transmission paths listed in both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* to the works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī is: al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī - ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī ← works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī.¹²⁸ This path corresponds to the third *isnād* mentioned above. *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* also includes other bio-bibliographical transmission paths that align with the first and second *isnāds*, such as this one: (1) Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b.

127 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 85.

128 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 77; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 54.

al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī ← works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī.¹²⁹

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī.

43. ‘Alī b. Ja‘far (companion of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, Mūsā al-Kāzīm and ‘Alī al-Riḍā)¹³⁰

Ṭūsī’s isnāds:

(1) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār ← al-‘Amrakī al-Naysābūrī ← ‘Alī b. Ja‘far.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this *isnād*, three *ḥadīth* compilers can be identified: al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, and finally, ‘Alī b. Ja‘far¹³¹ himself. Upon examining the bio-bibliographical transmission paths leading to the works of these compilers, it can be concluded that Ṭūsī did not use *Kitāb al-masā’il* or *Masā’il* of ‘Alī b. Ja‘far as one of his sources. Instead, based on the above-mentioned *isnād* Ṭūsī provides in *al-Mashyakha* for ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, he has used *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, which has already been discovered as Ṭūsī’s source (see in entry number 3 above).

Al-‘Amrakī al-Naysābūrī is considered the primary transmitter of ‘Alī b. Ja‘far’s *Kitāb al-masā’il* or *Masā’il*,¹³² and both Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and his father are listed as separate transmitters of the same work through separate bio-bibliographical transmission paths.¹³³ However, the bio-bibliographical transmission path to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār’s *Kitāb*

129 Ibid., p. 54.

130 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 86.

131 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 251-252; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 264-265.

132 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 264.

133 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 251-252; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 264-265.

al-nawādir, which is Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār’s *Kitāb al-nawādir* (as mentioned in entry number 3), seems to be more consistent with the *isnād* provided in this entry.

Another piece of evidence supporting this conclusion arrived at through bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis is that upon detailed examination of *ḥadīths* reported from ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, which have truncated *isnāds* that either begin with his name or a later *ḥadīth* transmitter, only approximately 15 percent of these *ḥadīths* have been mentioned with truncated *isnāds* beginning with the name of ‘Alī b. Ja‘far.¹³⁴ The majority of the *isnāds* of the rest begins with other *ḥadīth* transmitters/compiler such as Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥbūb, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, and Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb Kulaynī.¹³⁵ If Ṭūsī had used *Kitāb al-masā’il* of ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, one would expect to see a higher percentage of *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* beginning with ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, not just 15 percent.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) *Kitāb al-nawādir* of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār.

44. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān¹³⁶

Ṭūsī’s *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn together ← Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī ← ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Qutayba ← *al-Faḍl b. Shādhān*.

134 For some instances, see Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 418, vol. 2, p. 224, vol. 3, p. 283, vol. 4, p. 317, vol. 5, p. 128, vol. 6, p. 346 and vol. 8, p. 201.

135 See, for example, Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 423, vol. 2, p. 225, vol. 3, p. 199, vol. 3, p. 329, vol. 5, p. 55.

136 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, pp. 86-87.

(2) Ṭūsī ← Al-Mufīd and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn together ← Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← *al-Faḍl b. Shādhān*.

(3) Ṭūsī ← al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-‘Alawī ← Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣafwānī ← ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm ← Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim ← *al-Faḍl b. Shādhān*.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In these three groups of *isnāds*, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān himself is the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler. To determine whether Ṭūsī has used the works of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, one can examine the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to his works, which are listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. These transmission paths are as follows: (1) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Qutayba ← al-Faḍl b. Shādhān;¹³⁷ (2) Ṭūsī ← al-Mufīd ← Ṣadūq ← al-Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī ← Abū Naṣr Qanbar b. ‘Alī b. Shādhān ← ‘Alī b. al-Faḍl b. Shādhān ← al-Faḍl b. Shādhān;¹³⁸ (3) al-Najāshī ← ‘Abbās b. Nūḥ ← Aḥmad b. Ja‘far ← Aḥmad b. Idrīs ← ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Qutayba ← al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.¹³⁹ While *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* do not provide multiple bio-bibliographical transmission paths to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān's works, the first transmission path includes ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Qutayba, who is mentioned by both sources as a transmitter of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān's *ḥadīth* works.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, since al-Faḍl b. Shādhān is the youngest common *ḥadīth* transmitter in these three *isnāds*, it seems possible to conclude that Ṭūsī may have used his written works, despite the lack of high consistency between the three *isnāds* and the mentioned transmission paths.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.

137 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 263.

138 Ibid.

139 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 307.

140 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 306-308; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 361-363.

45. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī¹⁴¹

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh together ← Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī is considered the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in this *isnād*. According to *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn is a transmitter of al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān's works, which corresponds with the aforementioned *isnād*.¹⁴² Although *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* does not mention Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān's name, Ṭūsī attributes some books to him in his *Rijāl* and states, "he has books that we mentioned in *al-Fihrist* ... and a group of people informed us about him [his transmitted *ḥadīths* and books], including Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān [al-Mufīd], al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, and Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn".¹⁴³ According to the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, this correspondence between Ṭūsī's *isnād* in this entry and the bio-bibliographical transmission path to al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān's works suggests that Ṭūsī has utilised these works in his *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī's actual source:

(1) The works of al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī.

46. Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī (d. 356/967)¹⁴⁴

Ṭūsī's *isnāds*:

(1) Ṭūsī ← Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn ← *Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī*.

141 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 87.

142 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 68.

143 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 423.

144 Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, *al-Mashyakha*, p. 88.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis:

In this *isnād*, Aḥmad b. ‘Ubdūn¹⁴⁵ is identified as the youngest *ḥadīth* compiler, but he is recognised as the main transmitter of written works of Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī as well.¹⁴⁶ This suggests that Ṭūsī has used these works in the compilation of *Tahdhīb*.

Ṭūsī’s actual source:

(1) The works of Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī.

Based on the above bio-bibliographical cross-reference analyses of the *isnāds* provided in *al-Mashyakha* of *Tahdhīb*, a list of Ṭūsī’s actual sources can be concluded (see Table 1). The table is organized based on the number of entries presented above. In the first column, the title of each entry, which according to Ṭūsī’s method of presenting *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb*, must be considered as being the authors of his alleged sources are mentioned. In the second column, the names of the authors of his actual sources, which bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis has arrived at, are provided. In certain cases, the name of a book is used to identify Ṭūsī’s actual source like *al-Kāfī*. Contrary to this, for the majority of the entries in the second column, it’s the names of the people that are mentioned, rather than ‘the works of...’.

145 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 87.

146 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 232-233; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 296-297.

Table 2. Ṭūsī's alleged and actual sources for compiling *Tahdhīb*.

Entry number	Ṭūsī's alleged source	Ṭūsī's actual source (bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis)
1	Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
2	‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim	(1) <i>Al-Kāfī</i> ; (2) ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim
3	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār	(1) <i>Al-Kāfī</i> ; (2) <i>Kitāb al-nawādir</i> of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār
4	Aḥmad b. Idrīs	(1) <i>Al-Kāfī</i> ; (2) <i>Kitāb al-nawādir</i> of Aḥmad b. Idrīs
5	Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Imrān	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
6	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Naysābūrī	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
7	Ḥumayd b. Zīyād	(1) <i>Al-Kāfī</i> ; (2) Ḥumayd b. Zīyād
8	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
9	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
10	al-Faḍl b. Shādhān	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
11	Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
12	Sahl b. Zīyād	<i>Al-Kāfī</i>
13	‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl	‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍḍāl

14	Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, what I [Ṭūsī] took from his <i>muṣannafs</i> and <i>kitābs</i>	<i>Muṣannafs</i> and <i>kitābs</i> of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb
15	Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd	Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd
16	Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd ʿan (from) al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd
17	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī	<i>Nawādir al-ḥikma</i> of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī
18	Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb	Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb
19	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā	Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb
20	Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb
21	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār
22	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [b. ʿĪsā]	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār
23	Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb and al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār
24	Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī	Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī
25	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [b. ʿĪsā]	Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī
26	Al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī
27	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, what I [Ṭūsī] took from his <i>Nawādir</i>	<i>Nawādir</i> of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā
28	Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	<i>Nawādir</i> of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā

29	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 343/954) and ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh	Shaykh al-Ṣadūq
30	Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā‘a	Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā‘a
31	‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī	‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī
32	Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd	Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd
33	Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq	Shaykh al-Ṣadūq
34	Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd
35	Abū al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh	Abū al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh
36	Ibn Abī ‘Umayr	Ibn Abī ‘Umayr
37	Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī	Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmarī
38	‘Alī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī	‘Alī b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī
39	Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab	Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Mu‘āwīya b. Wahab
40	Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān	Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān
41	‘Alī b. Mahzīyār	‘Alī b. Mahzīyār
42	Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī]	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī

43	‘Alī b. Ja‘far	<i>Kitāb al-nawādir</i> of Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-‘Aṭṭār
44	Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān	Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān
45	Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī	Al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazawfarī
46	Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī	Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī

Based on the comparison of Ṭūsī's alleged and actual sources, it can be concluded that while he had access to earlier works, he has occasionally opted to use middle sources because he has preferred their selection, organization, and presentation of *ḥadīths*. For instance, in the cases of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb or al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, Ṭūsī has utilised both their own *ḥadīth* works and other middle sources for the *ḥadīths* with truncated *isnāds* beginning with al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb or al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd. Identifying Ṭūsī's sources for compiling *Tahdhīb* by applying bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis also highlights the careful arrangement of *isnāds* in *al-Mashyakha* and the transmission paths in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.

Conclusion

This chapter has developed and demonstrated the value of using bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis to gain insights into the origin, date, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. This *isnād*-analytical method, applied throughout this chapter, consists of three main steps. Firstly, all *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* under analysis should be collected, even if there is only one strand of transmission. Secondly, using *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, the common *ḥadīth* compilers in these *isnāds* are identified. Thirdly, starting with the latest or youngest of these compilers, these *isnād/isnāds* are correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths provided to their books by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. If the *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical lines match with some level of confidence, it can be concluded that the original core of this *ḥadīth* comes from the work/works of this *ḥadīth* compiler. However, it remains to be seen how, and to what extent, the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis developed and discussed throughout this chapter can be used for dating Imāmī *ḥadīth*. the next chapter will address these questions by investigating the origin, date, and development of a particular *ḥadīth*

CHAPTER FIVE

Date, Origin, and Development of the *Ismuhū Ismī Ḥadīth*

Introduction

This study thus far has demonstrated that a culture of writing emerged and developed during the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/743) and Jaʿfar al-Šādiq (d. 148/765), and this culture persisted until the compilation of the major Imāmī *ḥadīth* compendia, collectively known as *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* (the Four Books). Through this culture of writing, a connection between Imāmī *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical paths was established. In the previous chapter, a method of *isnād* analysis was developed, called bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, to identify the earlier sources of *ḥadīths* found in existing Imāmī collections. In this chapter, the applicability of this method will be investigated and tested to determine how, and to what extent, it can be used to examine the date, development, and changes that occurred to the original core of a particular Imāmī *ḥadīth* on different topics rather than legal Imāmī *ḥadīths*, the origins of which have already been discussed in Chapter 4 through the application of bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis to Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb*.

To accomplish this, this chapter adopts a procedure similar to that used by scholars such as Michael Cook¹ and Andreas Görke². Specifically, it subjects the results of an *isnād*-based dating of a *ḥadīth* to the scrutiny of a dating based on other grounds. Eschatological or apocalyptic *ḥadīths* are particularly useful for this kind of comparison, as they can often be dated based on “other grounds with some certainty”.³ Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the origin and date of the *ḥadīths* known as ‘*ismuhū ismī*

1 Michael Cook, “Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions”, in Harald Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, pp. 217-241.

2 Andreas Görke, “Eschatology, History, and the Common Link: A Study in Method”, Herbert Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

3 Görke, “Eschatology”, p. 180.

purportedly attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, which state that the name of the Mahdī (the eschatological redeemer of Islam) will be the same as the Prophet's name, i.e., Muḥammad.

Eschatological *ḥadīths* present unique challenges regarding their suitability as representatives for the application of the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, initially proposed based on the development and transmission of legal *ḥadīths*. Unlike other genres, analysing eschatological *ḥadīths* is typically not a straightforward task. During the process of transmission, the historical content of these *ḥadīths* may have become even more obscured, potentially leading to alterations in their development compared to legal *ḥadīths*. This inherent nature of eschatological *ḥadīths* complicates the assessment of their historical accuracy and reliability. However, despite these challenges, it is still worthwhile to explore whether the eschatological genre of *ḥadīths* can be analysed using the proposed bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis. Considering that *ḥadīth* compilers such as Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī, whose approaches to *isnāds* have extensively been discussed in previous chapters, have also incorporated this type of *ḥadīth* into their collections, it becomes crucial to explore the extent to which this method of *isnād* criticism can be utilised for analysing such a challenging genre and to identify the general challenges that arise in this endeavour.

In this chapter, the dating and origin of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* are first reconsidered. These *ḥadīths* contain the phrase "*ismuhū ismī*" and are found in Sunnī *ḥadīth* sources. Previously, Görke has dated them to the time between 110/728-729 and 145/762 based on their *matn* and *isnād* variants.⁴ However, this chapter aims to demonstrate that the original core of these *ḥadīths* dates back to the second half of the 1st/7th century, before the revolt of the Kūfan proto-Shī'ī leader Mukhtār al-Thaqafī (d. 67/687) in 66/685 at the latest, rather than the first half of the 2nd/8th century. Using this finding, the chapter then tests the results obtained from the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the *isnāds* of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* found in Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections. It argues that by applying this *isnād*-analytical method, it is possible to trace the historicity and originality of Imāmī *ḥadīth* back at least to the time of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

4 Andreas Görke, "Eschatology", pp. 179-208.

A Reconsideration of Andreas Görke's premises

This section critically examines Andreas Görke's premises of *matn*-based and *isnād*-based dating, which he uses to date *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* to the first half of the 2nd/8th century.⁵ Through this examination, the section develops arguments to support the claim that the original core of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* should be dated back to the second half of the 1st/7th century. Görke's article primarily focuses on demonstrating a method for differentiating between the "true paths of transmission" and those "which display forged" *ḥadīths*.⁶ He focuses on prophetic *ḥadīths* that report that the name of the Mahdī will be the same as the Prophet's (*ismuhū ismī*), and that his father's name will be the same as the Prophet's father's (*ismu abīhi ismu abī*).⁷ Hence, the name of the Mahdī should be Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. Some *ḥadīths* only mention the Mahdī's name, while others include both the names of the Mahdī and his father. It is discussed in the following why the date of these two groups of *ḥadīths* should be examined separately.

Görke's article operates under the core assumption that the apocalyptic and eschatological *ḥadīths* were fabricated by a later transmitter and ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad to increase their credibility.⁸ Görke further assumes that, because the fabricator was "unable to correctly predict future events", the forged *ḥadīths* were only "in agreement with historical events" in certain parts.⁹ Other scholars have previously used this assumption,¹⁰ including Michael Cook, who states:

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 179.

7 Ibid., pp. 179-208.

8 For instance, he states that the "apocalyptic traditions often contain prophecies *ex eventu*" and "they claim to predict events that in fact already have happened; the traditions claim to be older than they are". He adds that "assuming that such a tradition is invented at a certain time and then traced back to a former authority, the forger will include some historical facts (but in the form of prophecies) to lend it more credibility." Ibid., p. 180.

9 Ibid.

10 Michael Cook, "Eschatology and the Dating", pp. 217-241; Suliman Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3/1 (1991), pp. 173-307.

“In appearance, an eschatological tradition is a prediction of later events by an earlier authority. In reality, it is fabricated at a certain point in time. ... First, he [the inventor] ‘predicts’ what is in fact the past, and does so more or less correctly.”¹¹

While it is true that some of these *ḥadīths* may be the result of fabrication and falsification, certain questions arise regarding the general assumption made by academic scholars about this particular type of *ḥadīth*. One question is why these scholars propose such a broad assumption, while simultaneously criticising Joseph Schacht for generalising his theories without detailed examination of the specific case at hand. Additionally, it may not be methodologically consistent to conclude, before dating these *ḥadīths*, that they cannot all be ascribed to the time of the Prophet. It is also worth considering the possibility that the Prophet Muḥammad or a later authority may have even falsely or by chance predicted and said something about the future.

In his article, Görke employs two distinct methods of dating: (a) *matn*-based dating and (b) *isnād*-based dating. He uses these methods to distinguish between original and forged *ḥadīths* and argues that the accuracy of his conclusions can be tested by comparing the results of dating based on *isnāds* with those based on external grounds or *matn*-based dating.¹² Through this process, he seeks to reassess the conclusions of Cook’s article on dating three eschatological *ḥadīths* and highlight the weaknesses in Cook’s arguments.¹³ However, as discussed below, upon closer examination of the date and origin of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*, it becomes clear that while some aspects of Cook’s findings on Schacht’s common-link theory are challenged, others are supported.

***Matn*-based dating**

These scholars actually apply Paul J. Alexander’s approach towards the Byzantine eschatological and apocalyptic tradition to Islamic eschatological and apocalyptic reports. On Alexander’s approach and premises, see his “Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources,” *The American Historical Review*, 73 (1968), pp. 997–1018.

11 Michael Cook, “Eschatology and the Dating”, p. 219.

12 Görke, “Eschatology”, p. 179.

13 Ibid., pp. 196-199.

By examining Görke's argument as a whole, some fundamental rules for dating Sunnī *ḥadīths* on the name of the Mahdī with the help of external grounds or matn-based dating can be identified:

1. *Ḥadīths* on the name of the Mahdī cannot be ascribed to the time of the Prophet due to the assumption that "the idea of the Mahdī developed only in later times".¹⁴ This rule shows that Görke is most probably in favour of the *ex silentio* argument which holds that having not used a particular *ḥadīth* at a certain time means that it did not exist at that time.¹⁵
2. By identifying the "event" to which a particular *ḥadīth* refers, it is possible to "at least give a date after which a tradition came into circulation".¹⁶ Görke considers the revolt of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (d. 145/762), *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*, as the event for these *ḥadīths*.¹⁷
3. It is also possible "to give a date before which the tradition was circulated, e.g., through a vision of the future that did not come true",¹⁸ which in this case is the death of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* because he could not establish a just Islamic order which he was expected to do.¹⁹

Although Görke argues that the idea of the Mahdī developed only in later times and, therefore, rejects the possibility of the Prophet Muḥammad having said anything about the name of the Mahdī, he provides no concrete evidence to support this claim. Görke refers to Wilferd Madelung's statement in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* that "after the death of Mu'āwīya [d. 60/680], the term [al-Mahdī] came first to be used for an expected ruler who would restore Islam to its original perfection".²⁰ However, this cannot rule out the possibility that there were reports on, and using the term, al-Mahdī during the first half of the 1st/7th century, which are now lost. It is even possible

14 Ibid., p. 200.

15 To know more on *ex silentio* argument, see Motzki, "Dating", pp. 214-219.

16 Görke, "Eschatology", p. 181.

17 Ibid., pp. 200-201.

18 Ibid., p. 181.

19 Ibid., pp. 200-201.

20 Wilferd Madelung, "al-Mahdī", in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954-), vol. 5, p. 1231.

that the Prophet himself uttered these *ḥadīths* on the name of the Mahdī, and after about 50 years, his followers attempted to find examples of these *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*. As Motzki argues against the *ex silentio* argument, there may be multiple reasons for a *ḥadīth* not being used by someone, and non-existence is just one of them.²¹

The second and third rules presented by Görke are premised on the assumption that the *ḥadīths* in question were fabricated by a later authority and not stated by the Prophet Muḥammad. While this assumption may be reasonable, it is important to note that the second and third rules have limitations and cannot claim to be universally applicable. Görke suggests that two individuals, namely Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* (93/711–712 to 145/762), or Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the third ‘Abbāsīd caliph (127/744–745 to 169/785; r. 158/775–169/785), may be the possible reference points of *ḥadīths* on the name of the Mahdī.²² He attempts to identify those individuals who were given the nickname (*laqab*) of al-Mahdī and whose names were Muḥammad. However, it is worth noting that Madelung has pointed out that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya ²³ (d. 81/700) was also described as al-Mahdī,²⁴ which is not discussed in Görke's article.

To better understand the historical context of the term al-Mahdī, it is worth examining the case of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya before discussing another important figure not mentioned by Görke. Mukhtār's attempt to present Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as the expected Mahdī suggests that the term was already in use during the second half of the 1st/7th century. The fact that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya shared the same name as the Mahdī introduced in the prophetic *ḥadīths* further supports the possibility that these *ḥadīths* were available to Mukhtār or, following Görke's argument, were invented by him. In addition, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān, Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), a prominent Imāmī scholar of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, notes that the Kaysanites²⁵ cited the prophetic

21 Motzki, “Dating”, p. 215.

22 Görke, “Eschatology”, p. 200.

23 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the son of the first Shī‘ī Imām, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

24 Madelung, “al-Mahdī”, p. 1232.

25 Al-Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra* (Qum: Kungirah Shaykh Mufīd, 1413 A.H.), p. 297.

ḥadīth on the name of the Mahdī (*ismuhū ismī*) to argue that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was the expected Mahdī. While the reports on the use of the *laqab* "al-Mahdī" by Mukhtār need to be critically examined, they suggest that there was another person who, according to Görke's rule, should be considered as a possible "event," and more importantly, one that predates that of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*.

Several Shī'ī *ḥadīth* sources also contain *ḥadīths* stating that the name of the Mahdī is Muḥammad.²⁶ These *ḥadīths* identify the twelfth Shī'ī Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī, who is allegedly still alive and disappeared in 260/874 and is believed to return one day to establish justice. Therefore, when examining the possible individuals referred to in *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name, rather than just two, at least four individuals can be considered as reference points: (1) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya; (2) Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*; (3) Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the third 'Abbāsīd caliph; and (4) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the Twelfth Shī'ī Imam. It is important to note that the *matn*-based dating of *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name can shift the date from the time of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* to the time of Mukhtār. This has significant implications when considering these individuals as possible reference points for the Mahdī.

To examine the third rule used by Görke, it would be helpful to divide the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* into two categories: (1) *ḥadīths* that only mention the name of the Mahdī, and (2) *ḥadīths* that introduce both the Mahdī's name and his father's name. According to Görke, there are 30 *ḥadīths* in the latter

26 For those *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* found in Shī'ī *ḥadīth* collections, see Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī (d. 76/678), *Kitāb Sulaym* (Qum: al-Hādī, 1405 A.H.), vol. 2, p. 958; 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (d. 329/941), *al-Imāma wa-l-Tabṣira min al-Ḥayra* (Qum; Madrasa al-Imām al-Mahdī, 1404 A.H.), pp. 119-120; 'Alī b. Muḥammad Khazzāz Rāzī, *Kifāya al-Athar fīn-Naṣṣ 'alā al-'A'imma al-Ithnā 'Ashar* (Qum: Bīdār, 1401 A.H.), pp. 66-67; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Nu'mānī (d. 360/971), *al-Ghayba li-l-Nu'mānī* (Tehran: Nashr Ṣadūq, 1397 A.H.), p. 231; Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991), *Kamāl al-dīn wa tamām al-ni'ma* (Tehran: Islāmīyya, 1395 A.H.), vol. 1, p. 286; *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 287; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 411; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), *al-Ikhtisāṣ* (Qum: Dār al-Mufīd, 1413 A.H.), p. 208. Without mentioning their *isnāds*, al-Mufīd also includes some *ḥadīths* with the content on the *ism* of the Mahdī in his other works such as *al-Irshād*. See, for instance, al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād* (Qum: Dār al-Mufīd, 1372 SH), pp. 340-341.

category out of a total of 80 *ḥadīths* found in Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections. While Görke separates these two groups of *ḥadīths*, his dating results based on the *isnād* or *matn* (external grounds) do not differ because he assumes both groups were invented to support *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* as the sole reference point. However, in some theoretical cases where Muslims tried to find the example of al-Mahdī solely based on *ḥadīths* that mention his name and not his father's name, it is possible that only the second part of the second group of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*, in which the father's name of the Mahdī is described, was invented in favour of the claim that *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* was the expected Mahdī. In this sense, the third and even the second rules are useful for dating that part of the second group of *ḥadīths* where the Mahdī's father's name is mentioned.

Additionally, there are reports indicating that the sixth Shī'ī Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, opposed the claim made by *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*'s father that his son was the expected Mahdī referred to by the Prophet Muḥammad.²⁷ In one such report, when 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, the father of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*, attempted to persuade Ja'far al-Ṣādiq to endorse the movement of his son, *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq responded by saying, "If you believe that your son is the expected Mahdī, then be aware that he is not the Mahdī, and the time of his emergence has not yet come".²⁸ There are other reports in which Imām al-Ṣādiq more generally rejects *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*'s claim to the Imamate,²⁹ and in some instances, he explicitly states that *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* will not become caliph.³⁰ While some scholars may argue, following Görke's approach, that these Shī'ī *ḥadīths* were fabricated later to

27 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, pp. 358-366; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, pp. 190-193; Nu'mānī, *al-Ghayba*, pp. 229-230; Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī* (Qum: Dār al-thaqāfa, 1414 A.H.), pp. 412-413; Ibn Shahr Āshūb (d. 588/1192), *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (Qum: 'Allāma, 1379 SH), vol. 2, p. 249.

28 al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 192.

29 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, pp. 23-27; 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), *Ithbāt al-Waṣīyya li-l-Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* (Qum: Anṣārīyān, 1426 A.H.), p. 184; Ṭūsī, *Tahdīb*, vol. 6, pp. 148-151; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār (d. 290/903), *Baṣā'ir ad-Darajāt fī Faḍā'il Āl Muḥammad* (Qum: Maktabat Ayat Allāh al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1404 A.H.), vol. 1, p. 156.

30 Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 242; Mas'ūdī, *Ithbāt al-Waṣīyya*, p. 186; Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir ad-Darajāt*, vol. 1, p. 168; *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 169; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 193.

delegitimize *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*'s movement and to explain his failure after the fact, their significant number at least underscores the importance of considering Shī'ī *ḥadīths* when discussing the dating of *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī.

The dating of Shī'ī *ḥadīths* containing "*ismuhū ismī*" will be explored in the following sections. However, the fact that these *ḥadīths* are present in Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections weakens the argument that *ḥadīths* about the name of the Mahdī were fabricated solely to support *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*. The fact that two opposing groups used the same *ḥadīths* for their own purposes reinforces the theory that these *ḥadīths* were circulated during the 1st/7th century, whether by the Prophet or someone else. Mukhtār's attempt to present Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as the Mahdī also supports this theory. Therefore, taking into account both Sunnī and Shī'ī *ḥadīths* about the name of the Mahdī, one can tentatively conclude that *ḥadīths* mentioning only the Mahdī's name could date back to the second half of the 1st/7th century, after the uprising of Mukhtār in 66/685. On the other hand, those including the father's name likely emerged in support of the revolt of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* during the first half of the 2nd/8th century. Nevertheless, this conclusion does not rule out the possibility that these *ḥadīths* were transmitted on the authority of the Prophet.

Isnād-based dating

The question of whether *isnāds* can be used to date *ḥadīths* has been a topic of scholarly debate since the mid-20th century when Joseph Schacht's influential work was published.³¹ Schacht's methods of *isnād* criticism have had a significant impact on subsequent academic research on this topic, with scholars either advocating for or opposing his methods. While there is general agreement that the *isnād* can provide insights into the origin and date of a particular *ḥadīth*, scholars differ in their approaches to analysing *isnāds* and the extent to which they can be used for dating *ḥadīths*.³² Schacht

31 Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1967).

32 For some examples of scholars who use *isnāds* for dating *ḥadīths*, see G.H.A. Juynboll, "Some *Isnād*-Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Women-Demeaning Sayings from *Ḥadīth* Literature", in Motzki, *Ḥadīth*, pp. 175-216; Gregor Schoeler, *The Biography of Muhammad: Nature and Authenticity*

is credited with developing the theory of the "common link," which is one of the most important concerns in academic scholarship on the methods of *isnād* criticism. The common link refers to the first common transmitter in the *isnād* variants of a particular *ḥadīth*, who transmitted it to several other individuals.

The role of the common link in circulating *ḥadīths* has been a subject of study among academic scholars, who are generally divided into two groups. The first group includes scholars such as Schacht and G.H.A. Juynboll, who believe that the common link can only give a "*terminus post quem*" (the earliest possible date) if the common link is considered a forger or authority to whom a particular *ḥadīth* was ascribed by a later transmitter.³³ The second group considers the time of the common link as a "*terminus ante quem*" (the latest possible date) if the common link is the collector "who first systematically spread the *ḥadīth*".³⁴ Determining the common links is thus essential for dating "a particular *ḥadīth* or complex of *ḥadīths* with the same content" and, in some cases, identifying the main earlier written sources of *ḥadīths*, "which according to their *isnāds*, derive from the same informant of a collector".³⁵ However, there is a debate among academic scholars about which of these two understandings of the time of the common link should be generalised.³⁶

The claim that the time of the common link provides the earliest possible date for a particular *ḥadīth* has been extensively refuted through several studies criticising Schacht's approaches. Scholars seeking to reject Schacht have taken two approaches: questioning his premises, methods, and the

(Routledge, 2010), pp. 80-122; Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth* (brill, 2009), pp. 47-124; idem., "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic *Ḥadīths* of the First Century A.H.", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 50/1 (1991), pp. 1-21; Görke, "The Historical Tradition about al-Ḥudaybiya: A Study of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr's Account", in Motzki (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources* (Brill, 2000), pp. 256-258.

33 Schacht, *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, 172; Juynboll, "Some *Isnād*-Analytical Methods", 175-216.

34 Görke, "Eschatology", 188; Motzki, "Dating", pp. 219-242.

35 Ibid., p. 219.

36 On different approaches to the concept of the common link, see Ibid., pp. 219-242.

logic of his approaches to *isnāds*,³⁷ and subjecting his methods of *isnād* criticism to a case study.³⁸ However, this does not necessarily mean that Schacht's approaches are completely invalid, but rather that they are not as generalisable as he and his followers claim. Cook's article on three eschatological *ḥadīths* is a significant example of a study following the latter approach, showing that dating based on Schacht's theory of the common link does not always align with *matn*-based dating. These studies, irrespective of their proposed methods of dating *ḥadīths*, suggest that the time of the common link is not always the *terminus post quem*.

Regarding the dating of Sunnī *ḥadīths* on the Maḥdī's name, Görke suggests that the time of the common link only provides the *terminus post quem*.³⁹ However, his conclusion is based on the assumption that these *ḥadīths* are invented traditions.⁴⁰ As discussed in the section on *matn*-based or external dating, even if these *ḥadīths* were forged, the date of forgery is still to go back to the second half of the 1st/7th century. This raises the same issue that Cook raised regarding Schacht's theories on the time of the common link: what if a particular *ḥadīth* was fabricated "at a date earlier than the floruit of the common link"?⁴¹ The question then becomes whether the common link theory is as "poorly" conceived as Cook claims.⁴²

Motzki argues that Cook's criticism of the usefulness of the common link in dating *ḥadīths* is due to his "slavish" adherence to Schacht's concept of what the common link represents.⁴³ Motzki suggests that the common link

37 See, for example, Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 109; Muhammad Mustafa Azami, *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Islamic Texts Society, 1996); Harald Motzki, "Dating", pp. 219-242.

38 Josef van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṭ und Theologie. Studien zum Entstehen prädestinatianischer Überlieferung* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 1-30, p. 104; Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 27-28; idem., "Muṣannaḥ", 1-21; idem., "Der Fiqh des-Zuhrī: die Quellenproblematik", *Der Islam*, 68 (1991), pp. 1-44.

39 Görke, "Eschatology", pp. 201-207.

40 Ibid., p. 203.

41 Cook, "Eschatology and the Dating", p. 218.

42 Ibid., p. 229.

43 Motzki, "Dating", p. 238.

can be useful in dating *ḥadīths* if an alternative interpretation is proposed.⁴⁴ He argues that in many cases, common links were “the first major collectors and professional disseminators” of *ḥadīths*, rather than forgers or authorities to whom *ḥadīths* were ascribed by later transmitters.⁴⁵ Motzki's theory posits that the time of the common link is the *terminus ante quem*, and when applied to the eschatological *ḥadīths* examined by Cook, external dating matches well with “the position of the common link in the bundles”.⁴⁶ Evidence supporting Motzki's theory includes the correspondence between the time of the common links (between 100 and 175 A.H.)⁴⁷ and the time in which the first substantial collections of *ḥadīths* were compiled and transmitted.⁴⁸

The question now is whether Motzki's understanding of the role of the common link applies to Görke's dating of *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name. Görke believes that the time of the common link represents the earliest possible time of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*. By examining the variants of the *isnāds* of Sunnī *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name, the common link appears to be ‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd (also known as ‘Āṣim b. Bahdala) who died in 127/744-745.⁴⁹ ‘Āṣim transmits these *ḥadīths* on the authority of Zirr b. Ḥubaysh (d. 81/700-701), who was one of the Successors (*tābi‘ūn*). To determine ‘Āṣim's role in circulating the *ḥadīths* of Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, one must examine all the *ḥadīths* reported by ‘Āṣim. Based on the available Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections, more than 44 percent of all *ḥadīths* transmitted by ‘Āṣim derive their authority from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, and over 76 percent of transmissions from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh can be traced back to ‘Āṣim.⁵⁰ Since both of these *ḥadīth*

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid. That the common link can be regarded as the collector or disseminator of a particular *ḥadīth* has been established by Motzki in several studies on dating *ḥadīths* on the basis of *matn* and *isnād*. See, for instance, Motzki, “Muṣannaʿ”, 1-21; *idem.*, *origins*; *idem.*, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth* (Brill, 2009), pp. 1-46.

46 Motzki, “Dating”, p. 238.

47 Ibid., 239; Schacht, *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 174-175.

48 Motzki, “Dating”, pp. 239-240.

49 Görke, “Eschatology”, pp. 201-207.

50 For this statistic, I used the software *Jāmi‘ Khādim al-Ḥaramayn ash-Sharīfayn*: <https://sunnah.alifta.gov.sa>, accessed 15 July 2021.

transmitters are from Kūfa, these two figures suggest a close relationship between Zirr and ‘Āṣim because ‘Āṣim would be the common link for a large number of *ḥadīths* reported from Zirr.

Two possibilities can be suggested for the relationship between ‘Āṣim and Zirr: (1) ‘Āṣim fabricated *ḥadīths* and intentionally ascribed them to Zirr; or (2) the relationship is that of a pupil to his shaykh or teacher. While it is not possible to completely rule out the possibility of the former, the following evidence suggests that the latter is more likely: (a) ‘Āṣim died in 127 AH which falls within the time period (100-175 AH) during which *ḥadīths* were systematically compiled and transmitted; (b) the divergent authorities to whom ‘Āṣim ascribed his *ḥadīths* make it unlikely that he was a *ḥadīth* fabricator who tried to arrange forged *ḥadīths* in a specific order;⁵¹ (c) the earlier discussion on dating *ḥadīths* on the basis of external grounds, in which *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name were dated to the time of Mukhtār, supports the assumption that Zirr, who was alive at the time of Mukhtār and lived in Kūfa, transmitted these *ḥadīths* to his pupil, i.e., ‘Āṣim; and (d) in biographical Sunnī literature, ‘Āṣim is known as the transmitter of Zirr's *ḥadīths*.⁵²

From the above discussion on the relationship between ‘Āṣim and Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, it can be concluded that ‘Āṣim most likely heard the *ḥadīth* on the Mahdī's name from Zirr and then transmitted it to his pupils and other *ḥadīth* transmitters. Thus, in this case, the time of the common link can be considered a *terminus ante quem*. However, there remains a crucial issue: why do about 50 of the 80 Sunnī *ḥadīths* on this subject only include the Mahdī's name, while the rest include both his name and his father's name? Since the common link for both versions is ‘Āṣim, it seems unlikely that he himself made changes to Zirr's version. If he had, he would not have related the version that only mentions the name of the Mahdī. Therefore, it is more probable that one or some of the approximately 20 individuals, who

51 According to the software *Jāmi‘ Khādim al-Ḥaramayn ash-Sharīfayn*, ‘Āṣim quoted *ḥadīths* on the authority of more than 70 *ḥadīth* transmitters.

52 Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938), *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-l-Ta’dīl* (Dā’irat al-ma’ārif al-islāmīyya, 1952), vol. 6, p. 341; Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* (Dā’irat al-ma’ārif al-islāmīyya), vol. 6, p. 487.

transmitted these *ḥadīths* from ‘Āṣim,⁵³ are responsible for adding the name of the Mahdī's father to the main version related by ‘Āṣim from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh.

As Görke notes, the two most important figures in the *isnāds* of *ḥadīths* that mention the name of the Mahdī's father are Fiṭr b. Khalīfa (d. 153/770) and Zā'ida b. Qudāma (d. 160/776-777).⁵⁴ These two transmitters are the only ones to report versions that include both the Mahdī's and his father's names.⁵⁵ It is likely that one or both of them added "*ismu abīhi ismu abī*" to the original version of Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, which only included "*ismuhū ismī*". However, determining which of these two transmitters made the change is a complex matter. The year of their deaths is not helpful in this regard since both died after the revolt of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah* in 145/762. Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), a famous Sunnī scholar of the 3rd/9th century, attributes the change to Zā'ida b. Qudāma.⁵⁶ On the other hand, in Shī'ī *ḥadīth* literature, Fiṭr b. Khalīfa is the transmitter of the only *ḥadīth* that includes both the Mahdī's and his father's name.⁵⁷ However, this *ḥadīth* is reported by Ṭūsī, who lived about two centuries after Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, which leaves open the possibility that during this interval, Fiṭr b. Khalīfa's and Zā'ida b. Qudāma's *ḥadīths* were blended together by someone like ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, who transmits both Fiṭr b. Khalīfa's and Zā'ida b. Qudāma's versions of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*.

The conclusion drawn thus far is that Zirr b. Ḥubaysh transmitted a *ḥadīth* that only included the name of the Mahdī, which was then disseminated by ‘Āṣim to over 20 individuals, one or two of whom - namely Fiṭr b. Khalīfa and Zā'ida b. Qudāma - made some modifications to Zirr b. Ḥubaysh's version in favour of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*. However, it cannot be established whether this change was intentional or influenced by the context of *al-Nafs al-Zakīyah*'s

53 The number of individuals who transmitted *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* on the authority of ‘Āṣim can be obtained based on the software *Jāmi‘ Khādim al-Ḥaramayn ash-Sharīfayn*.

54 Görke, "Eschatology", pp. 201-207.

55 Ibid., p. 205.

56 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Dār al-risāla al-‘ālamīyya, 1430 A.H.), vol. 6, p. 337.

57 Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba*, pp. 181-182.

uprising. In comparison to Görke's findings, this chapter argues that the time of the common link, 'Āṣim b. Bahdala, is the *terminus ante quem*, but not the *terminus post quem*, as Görke claimed. The most important contribution of the above discussion is that it moves the date of *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name back by half a century, from between 110 and 145 A.H. to the time before the revolt of Mukhtār in 66/685. This does not necessarily mean that this *ḥadīth* cannot be attributed to the Prophet, but rather that the critical examination of *isnāds* and external information presently leads to the earlier of the two suggested datings.

Bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the Imāmī *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*

As noted in the previous section on *matn*-based dating, *ḥadīths* containing the Mahdī's name can also be found in Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths*. However, the phrasing of these *ḥadīths*, with a few exceptions, differs from those in Sunnī collections, though all include the phrase "*ismuhū ismī*". Since, according to Twelver Shī'ī doctrine, the Mahdī is considered the twelfth Imam, dating *ḥadīths* in which the Mahdī or twelfth Shī'ī Imam is depicted as having been described by an earlier authority, such as the Prophet, is of prime importance. The crucial issue concerning these types of Imāmī *ḥadīths* is whether they were circulated within the Shī'ī community of the 2nd/8th century or were produced by Shī'ī scholars soon after the death of the eleventh Shī'ī Imām, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī (d. 260/874), to establish belief in the Imamate of his son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (b. 255/869), and subsequently consider him as the awaited Mahdī. The main objective of this section is thus to examine the date and development of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* found in Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections, using the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis developed in this study. This analysis will be used to determine the extent to which the results of this *isnād*-analytical method correspond to the dating discussed in the preceding sections.

Before delving into the analysis of the *isnāds* of these Imāmī *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*, it is important to briefly recap the main steps of the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis that will be employed here. Firstly, all *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* under analysis are collected, even if there is only one strand of transmission. Secondly, based on the two main Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, namely *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, those

common *ḥadīth* transmitters who have been listed as the authors of *ḥadīth* works are identified. Thirdly, starting with the latest or youngest of these *ḥadīth* compilers, their *isnād/isnāds* are compared and correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths mentioned to their written works in *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. If there is a level of confidence in the correspondence between these *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical lines, one can conclude that the original core of this *ḥadīth* dates back to the time of this author. These three steps are repeated until the earliest provenance of this *ḥadīth* is identified.

Ṣadūq's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*

The following *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* comes from Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991), a renowned Imāmī scholar of the 4th/10th century:

Al-Ṣadūq ← his father ('Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Mutawakkil together ← Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Aṭṭār together ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā and Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and Aḥmad b. 'Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Barqī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb together ← *al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb* ← Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn ← Abū Baṣīr ← Imām al-Ṣādiq from his ancestors that the Prophet Muḥammad said, "The Mahdī is from my offspring, his name is my name (*ismuhū ismī*), and his agnomen is my agnomen (*kunyatuhū kunyatī*). He will resemble me the most in his appearance and behaviour compared to all people. He will have an occultation and confusion (*ḥayra*) until people deviate from their religion. At that time, he will appear like a shooting star (*kal-shihāb al-thāqib*) and he will fill the earth with justice and equity just as it had been brimming with injustice and oppression".⁵⁸

This *ḥadīth* is transmitted through a combination of 36 *isnāds*. Ṣadūq received it from three individuals who themselves reported it on the authority of three other persons, who quoted it from four *ḥadīth* transmitters, who reported it from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (d.224/839), from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn, from Abū Baṣīr, from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Ṣadūq also mentions a slightly different wording of this *ḥadīth* in the same book, with an *isnād*

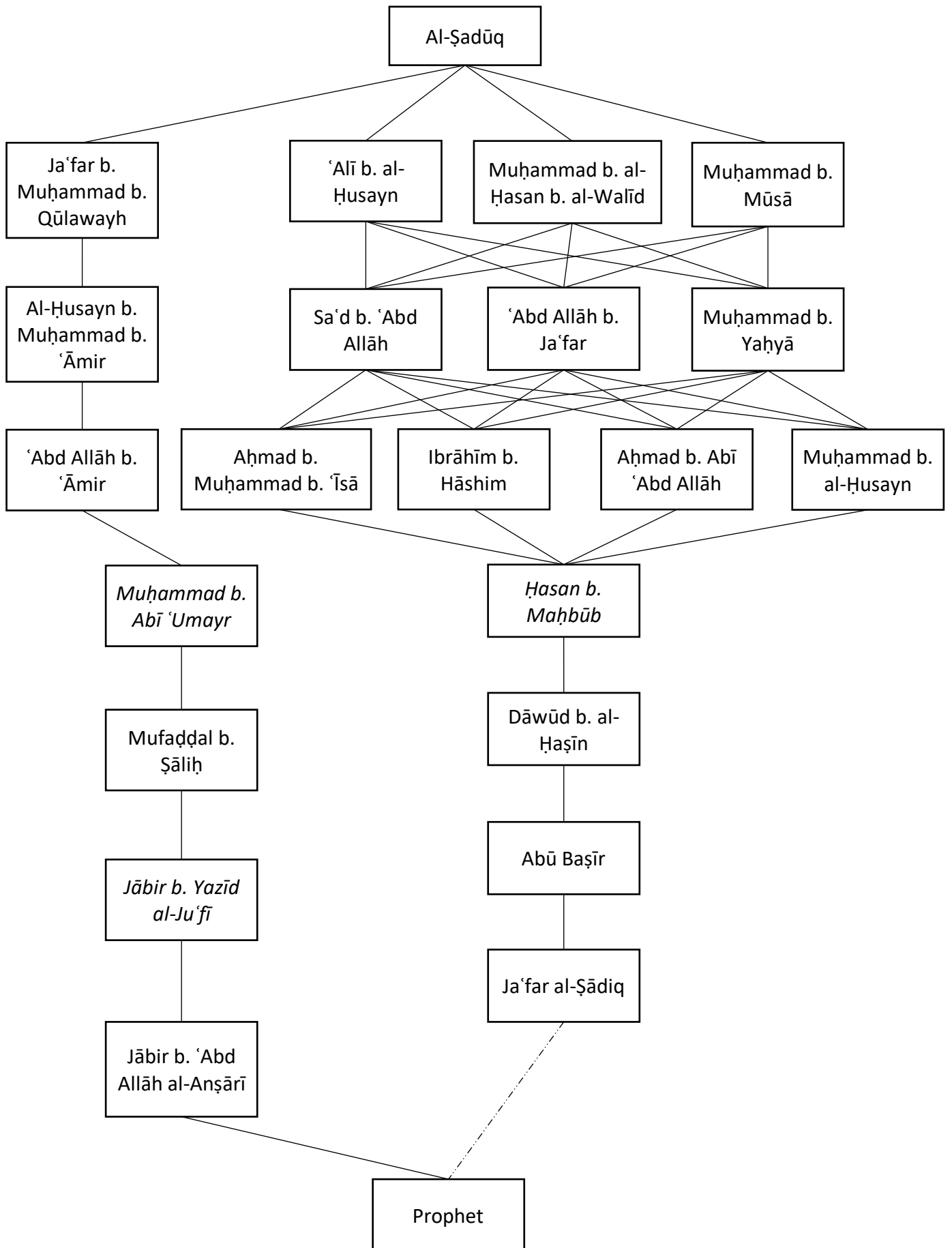
58 Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn*, vol. 1, p. 287.

that includes a single strand from him, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, from al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir, from Ibn Abī ‘Umar, from Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar, from Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from Prophet Muḥammad.⁵⁹

As shown in Figure 1, this *isnād* does not have any names in common with those in the 36-*isnād* bundle, indicating that they must be analysed separately. *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī* consider some of the names mentioned in both this single strand of transmission and the 36-*isnād* bundle as the authors of *ḥadīth* works. Moreover, based on the assumption of the written transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīths* discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the fact that Ṣadūq, despite the same content, does not merge the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* transmitted through Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī with those 36 transmission chains through al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb indicates that the sources of these two *ḥadīths* are likely different, and therefore, they should be dated separately.

59 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 286.

Figure 1. *Isnāds* of Ṣadūq's two *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī's name.



As illustrated in Figure 1, al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb is the youngest common *ḥadīth* compiler in the 36-*isnād* bundle. Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb is recognised as one of the most active companions of the seventh Shīʿī Imām, Mūsā b. Jaʿfar al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799), and the eighth Shīʿī Imām, ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818),¹ and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* attributes several written records to him,² many of which were accessible until the time of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266).³ In order to conclude that the original core of this Imāmī *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* reported by Ṣadūq goes back to the written works of Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, this bundle must be correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb provided in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. According to *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, Ṣadūq is one of the main transmitters of Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb's works.⁴ One of the bio-bibliographical transmission paths that corresponds to the 36-*isnād* bundle is: al-Ṭūsī ← many of his companions ← al-Ṣadūq ← his father (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn) ← Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← *the works of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb*.⁵ Another bio-bibliographical transmission path to the works of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb that also aligns with this bundle is: al-Ṭūsī ← Ibn Abī Jayyid ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā ← *the works of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb*.⁶ In the two bio-bibliographical transmission paths presented, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (al-Ṣadūq's father), and most notably, Ṣadūq himself, all of whom are included in the 36-*isnād* bundle, are identified as the transmitters of Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb's works.

The correspondence between the 36-*isnad* bundle and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths suggests that Ṣadūq has extracted the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* from Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb's works. While both *Rijāl al-*

1 Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (Qum: Muʿassissat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1373 SH), p. 334 and p. 354.

2 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 122.

3 Etan Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library* (Brill: 1992), 124 and 264.

4 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 122.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

Najāshī and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* attribute a book to Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn,⁷ it is unlikely that Ṣadūq used it. If he had, based on bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, one would expect to see Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb as the transmitter of Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn's work, and Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb would have transmitted more than just one *ḥadīth* from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn in all of Ṣadūq's *ḥadīth* works. Additionally, the written record of Abū Baṣīr cannot be Ṣadūq's source for this *ḥadīth* because there is also no correspondence between the 36 *isnāds* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths mentioned for Abū Baṣīr's *kitāb* listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.⁸

The bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the 36-*isnād* bundle of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* narrated by Ṣadūq suggests that Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb's written works are the main source of Ṣadūq's *ḥadīth* on the Maḥdī's name. Therefore, it can be concluded that the date of the original core of this *ḥadīth* goes back to before the death of Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb in 224/839 and before the Imamate of the tenth Shī'ī Imām, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī (d. 254/868). As noted, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn, from whom Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb transmitted this *ḥadīth*, was the author of a book that has been introduced by both *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* and *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. Both Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb and Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn were Kūfan and companions of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, and there was no external event during the time of Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb that could have triggered such a fabrication by him. It seems possible to conclude that Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb extracted this *ḥadīth* from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn's written record or heard it from Dāwūd himself. Based solely on the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the 36-*isnād* bundle, it is difficult to ascertain whether Ja'far al-Ṣādiq himself uttered this *ḥadīth*, or if it was attributed to him by Abū Baṣīr or Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn.

Let us now examine the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the second *isnād* provided by Ṣadūq for his other transmitted *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*. As mentioned above, the *isnād* is as follows: al-Ṣadūq ← Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir - 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir ← Muḥammad b. Abī 'Umayr (known as Ibn Abī 'Umayr) ← Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ ← Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī ← Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī ← Prophet

7 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 159-160; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 181.

8 For the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to Abū Baṣīr's written record, see Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 441; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 504.

Muḥammad. All individuals mentioned in this single strand of transmission, except for Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, are considered to be *ḥadīth* compilers. Although Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh⁹ is the youngest *ḥadīth* compiler among these names, by correlating the *isnād* provided by Ṣadūq for this *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* and bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of these *ḥadīth* compilers, it is demonstrated that Ṣadūq has used the works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr as his source for this *ḥadīth*. Ṣadūq himself is mentioned by *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* as a transmitter of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr’s works.¹⁰ Moreover, one of the bio-bibliographical transmission paths listed by *Rijāl al-Najāshī* to the written works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr is: al-Najāshī ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir ← ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir ← works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.¹¹ This transmission path exactly matches Ṣadūq’s *isnād* mentioned above, which, according to bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, implies that Ṣadūq’s source for this *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* is the works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.

Continuing the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, one can determine the main source used by Ibn Abī ‘Umayr as well. If one accepts that Ibn Abī ‘Umayr’s works were Ṣadūq’s source for his transmitted *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*, one can divide Ṣadūq’s *isnād* into two parts: (1) al-Ṣadūq ← Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh ← al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir ← ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir ← works of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr; and (2) the works of Ibn Abī ‘Umar ← Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ ← Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī ← Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī ← Prophet Muḥammad. In the second part, which is Ibn Abī ‘Umayr’s *isnād*, there are two *ḥadīth* compilers: Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ¹² and Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī¹³. *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* notes that Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ transmitted one of Jābir b. Yazīd’s works, which is consistent with the second part of al-Ṣadūq’s *isnād*.¹⁴ This indicates that Ibn Abī ‘Umayr’s main source for the *ismuhū ismī* was the works of Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī.

Based on the previous discussion of dating Ṣadūq’s two *ḥadīths* with the

9 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 123-124; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 109.

10 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 405.

11 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 327.

12 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 475.

13 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 128-129; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 116.

14 Ibid.

same content but slightly different wording, it can be concluded that the original core of these *ḥadīths* dates back to the time of Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī and Dāwūd b. al-Ḥaṣīn, both of whom were Kūfan. Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī is considered an older *ḥadīth* transmitter, indicating that the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* provided by Ṣadūq, based on bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, goes back to before Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī’s death in 128/746. This conclusion aligns with the dating arrived at based on *matn*-based and *isnād*-based analysis of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* found in the preceding section, which indicates that this *ḥadīth* was circulating in Kūfa before the death of ‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd in 127/744-745.

This chapter does not aim to delve into an in-depth examination of the *matn* of Imāmī *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*, but it is worth noting that the original core of Ṣadūq’s *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī’s name can be determined by comparing the *matns* of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* found in Sunnī collections (without the added phrase “*ismu abīhi ismu abī*”) with those mentioned by Ṣadūq. While variations in ‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd’s *ḥadīths* do exist,¹⁵ the content of the narrations is generally similar:

‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd ← Zirr b. Ḥubaysh ← ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd ← Prophet Muḥammad said, “The Hour (Last Judgement) will not come until (or in some versions, “even if only one day remains before the end of the world, Allāh will lengthen the day to the extent that”), a man from my descendants (or “my family”) will reign, his name will be the same as my name (*ismuhū ismī*), he will fill the earth with justice and equity (*yamla’u al-arḍ qisṭan wa ‘adlan*), just as [before him] it was filled with tyranny and oppression (*kamā muli‘at ḡulman wa jawran*)”.¹⁶

15 Görke, “Eschatology”, 200.

16 For some of the Sunnī *ḥadīths* that only include “*ismuhū ismī*”, see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-risāla, 1414 A.H.), vol. 13, p. 284; ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥaythamī, *Mawārid al-Zam‘ān ilā Zawā’id Ibn Ḥibbān* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya), p. 464; Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 106; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Kitāb al-Muṣannaf fī-l-ḥadīths wa-l-Āthār* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-rushd, 1409 A.H.), vol. 2, p. 110 and 111; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1415 A.H.), vol. 7, p. 54 and vol. 8, p. 178; Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* (Cairo: 1313 A.H.), vol. 1, p. 376, 377, 430 and 448; Abū Bakr al-Isma‘īlī, *Mu‘jam al-Shuyūkh* (Medina: Maktabat al-‘ulūm wa-l-ḥikam, 1410 A.H.), vol. 2, p. 512 and 513; al-Dānī, *al-Sunan*

By comparing the phrases used in Ṣadūq's *ḥadīths* with those of 'Āṣim, one can see that (1) al-Ṣadūq's phrase "The Mahdī is from my offspring" corresponds to 'Āṣim's phrase "a man from my sons' or my family," (2) the phrase "*ismuhū ismī*" is the same in both Ṣadūq's and 'Āṣim's *ḥadīths*, and (3) the phrase "he will fill the earth with justice and equity just as it would be brimming with injustice and oppression (*yamla'uhā 'adlan wa qistan kamā muli'at jawran wa ḡulman*)" is similar to the last two phrases of 'Āṣim's *ḥadīth*. This comparison enables the identification of the original core of Ṣadūq's *ḥadīths* and complements the bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the 37 *isnāds* provided by Ṣadūq.

There are two issues that cannot be addressed through bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the *isnāds* of these two Imāmī *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*. The first issue is the difficulty of proving the ascription of Ṣadūq's *ḥadīth* to Imām al-Ṣādiq, but it is at least possible to conclude that this *ḥadīth* dates back to his time, i.e., before 148/765 AH. The second issue concerns the rest of the *matn* of *ḥadīths* transmitted by Ṣadūq, which include phrases such as "his agnomen is my agnomen (*kunyatuhū kunyatī*)", "he resembles me the most in his appearance and behaviour compared to all people", "he will have an occultation and confusion (*ḥayra*) until people deviate from their religion", and "at that time, he will appear like a shooting star". To determine the date of these phrases, additional analysis is required, which exceeds the scope of this study.

Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*

Another version of the *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* is present in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, a highly debated Shī'ī work. It is claimed to have been compiled by Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī (d. before 95/714) and is regarded as "the oldest surviving Shī'ite book and one of the rare examples of works surviving from the

al-wāridah fi-l-fitān wa ḡhawā'ilahā wa al-sā'ah wa ash-rāṭihā, vol. 5, p. 1041, 1042, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1050, 1051 and 1052; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, 1967), vol. 5, p. 75; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risāla, 1402/1982–1405/1985), vol. 11, p. 472.

Umayyad period".¹⁷ The *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* reported from Sulaym reads as follows:

Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān ← al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Faḍḍāl and Ibn Abī Najrān ← Ḥammād b. ‘Īsā ← ‘Abd Allāh b. Muskān ← Abān b. Taghlib ← Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī from Salmān al-Fārsī who said: The Prophet Muḥammad said: “Shall I give you the news of the Mahdī?” They (people) said: “Yes”. The Prophet said, “Know that Allāh will be sending in my *umma* a just Sultan and an equitable Imām who will fill the earth with equity and justice as it was filled with oppression and tyranny. He [the Mahdī] is the ninth from the sons of my son al-Ḥusayn (*huwa at-tāsi‘ min wuldi waladī al-Ḥusayn*), his name is my name, and his agnomen is my agnomen (*kunyatuhū kunyatī*). Know that there is no good in the life after him, and the end of his government will be 40 days before the Judgment Day”.¹⁸

Academic scholars have disputed the date of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*.¹⁹ While most scholars view the book as a result of a fabrication process that occurred during the 2nd/8th century, this assumption may be too harsh and generalised. However, the examination of this issue is beyond the scope of this chapter. Hossein Modarressi, on the other hand, argues that the original core of the work, which is preserved to a great extent in the current version, dates back to the reign of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 105–25). He also suggests that, despite the numerous insertions and additions, it is possible to distinguish the original core of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*.²⁰

17 Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, p. 83.

18 Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* (Qum: al-Hādī, 1405 AH), vol. 2, p. 958.

19 To review the scholarly research on the dating of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, see Robert Gleave, “Early Shiite hermeneutics and the dating of *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*”, *Bulletin of SOAS* 78 (2015), pp. 85-86.

20 Modarressi, *Tradition*, pp. 83-86. Some academic scholars like Patricia Crone and Robert Gleave focus on the date of a particular *ḥadīth* included in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, “in order to build up a picture of the development of the material within the book before its collection”. The *ḥadīth* examined by Crone has been dated to between 762 and 780, while Gleave argues that the report in his question goes back to “the early ninth century [CE] (or at least, the late eighth century [CE])”.

Before examining the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*, it is necessary to address two crucial issues concerning the *isnād* mentioned for this *ḥadīth*. Firstly, the inclusion of Abān b. Taghlib in this *isnād* raises doubts because the only *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abān b. Taghlib from Sulaym found in Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections is Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*. One possible explanation is that this *ḥadīth*, along with others attributed to Sulaym, was actually transmitted by Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh. However, due to an unintentional error in the course of handwritten transmission, Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh's name was mistakenly replaced with Abān b. Taghlib. Furthermore, the name of 'Abd Allāh b. Muskān also appears out of place in this *isnād*. Although it is possible that Ḥammād b. 'Īsā received a *ḥadīth* from Ibn Muskān through oral transmission, based on both the bio-bibliographical approach and a detailed examination of the *isnād* of another Sulaym's *ḥadīth*, it is likely that the name of 'Abd Allāh b. Muskān should be changed to 'Umar b. Udhayna.

There are several pieces of evidence supporting this claim. Firstly, Ḥammād b. 'Īsā is known to have received *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* primarily through 'Umar b. Udhayna and Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Yamānī.²¹ Secondly, there is no mention of 'Abd Allāh b. Muskān as being a transmitter of Sulaym's book. Thirdly, there is only one other *ḥadīth* attributed to Sulaym and allegedly transmitted through Ibn Muskān to Ḥammād b. 'Īsā. This *ḥadīth* is found in some Shī'ī sources, irrespective of its *matn*, with the following *isnād*: Ḥammād b. 'Īsā ← 'Abd Allāh b. Muskān ← Abān b. Taghlib.²² However, interestingly, in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, this particular *ḥadīth* with the same wording is reported by Ḥammād from 'Umar b. Udhayna from Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh.²³ Fourthly, if Ibn Muskān had transmitted Sulaym's book, it

However, Gleave's arguments reveals that he indeed determines the time during which some changes and additions occurred to the main version which was most probably older than the late eighth century. (Gleave, "Early Shiite hermeneutics", 83-103.)

21 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 8; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 230.

22 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (Ṣadūq's father), *al-Imāma wa al-tabṣira min al-ḥayra* (Qum: Madrasat al-Imām al-Mahdī: 1404 AH), p. 110; Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-dīn*, vol. 1, p. 262; idem., *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 2, p. 475.

23 Sulaym, *Kitāb Sulaym*, vol. 2, p. 940, *ḥadīth* number 77.

would be expected that more than just two of Sulaym's *ḥadīths* would have been reported by him.

After analysing the discussion regarding the names of 'Abd Allāh b. Muskān and Abān b. Taghlib, it is apparent that they could respectively be replaced with 'Umar b. Udhayna and Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh. This substitution leads to the following *isnād* for Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*: al-Faḍl b. Shādhān ← al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl and Ibn Abī Najrān ← Ḥammād b. 'Īsā ← 'Umar b. Udhayna ← Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh ← Sulaym b. Qays. This *isnād* is a combination of two separate *isnāds*, one through al-Ḥasan b. Ali b. al-Faḍḍāl and the other through Ibn Abī Najrān. There are three common *ḥadīth* compilers in this *isnād*: Ḥammād b. 'Īsā²⁴ (d. 208/823 or 209/824), 'Umar b. Udhayna²⁵ and Sulaym b. Qays²⁶. By correlating this *isnād* with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the works of Ḥammād b. 'Īsā, as listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, it becomes apparent that both al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl and Ibn Abī Najrān transmitted Ḥammād b. 'Īsā's works to the generation of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.²⁷ Furthermore, neither al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl nor Ibn Abī Najrān are known to have transmitted the works of 'Umar b. Udhayna or Sulaym. Therefore, based on a bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis, the high correspondence between the aforementioned *isnād* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to the written works of Ḥammād b. 'Īsā suggests that al-Faḍl b. Shādhān's main source for Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* was the written works of Ḥammād b. 'Īsā.

Similar to Ṣadūq's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths*, it is possible to conduct bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the above *isnād* to identify the main sources used by Ḥammād b. 'Īsā. This *isnād* can be divided into two parts: (1) al-Faḍl b. Shādhān ← al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl and Ibn Abī Najrān ← works of Ḥammād b. 'Īsā; (2) the works of Ḥammād b. 'Īsā ← 'Umar b. Udhayna ← Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh ← Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī. There is a high level of correspondence between the second part of the *isnād* and the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*. Moreover,

24 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 142-143; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 156-157.

25 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 283-284; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 324-325.

26 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 8; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 230.

27 Ibid., p. 157.

Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā is introduced as a transmitter of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* by both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.²⁸ *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* also considers Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (d. 138/755) as the main transmitter of this book through the following transmission path: Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā ← Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh ← *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*.²⁹ However, considering the death dates of Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh in 138/755 and Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā in 208/823 or 209/824, it is highly unlikely that Ḥammād himself directly received *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* from Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh. This is supported by the fact that a significant number of Sulaym's *ḥadīths* found not only in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* but also in other Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* are reported by ʿUmar b. Udhayna. Therefore, it is more probable that Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā had access to *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* through someone like ʿUmar b. Udhayna, as suggested by the *isnāds* of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* and Sulaym's other *ḥadīths*. Nevertheless, even if one does not accept this, there is still a high degree of correspondence between the second part of the *isnād* of Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* (from the works of Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā to Sulaym) and the bio-bibliographical transmission path to *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*.

After conducting a bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis of the *isnād* of Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth*, it appears that the original core of the *ḥadīth* dates back to before the death of Sulaym b. Qays, which is believed to have occurred before 95/714,³⁰ or at the latest, before the death of Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh in 138/755. Although the date of Sunnī *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* supports this dating, it is important to note that this particular *ḥadīth* may have been fabricated by Sayyid Muhammad Mūsawī (d. between 1083-1087/1672-1677), also known as Mīrlawḥī, and bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis alone may not be sufficient to detect such fabrications. Even though this *ḥadīth* is included in the current edition of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* edited by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Anṣārī, it is not found in the available manuscripts of the book. In other words, the last 23 of 93 *ḥadīths* included

28 Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 8; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 230.

29 Ibid.

30 The date of Sulaym's death is not known. However, Modarressi states that "He went into hiding in the town of Nawbandagān in Iran's southern province of Fārs where he later died while Ḥajjāj (d. 95/714) was still in power". See Modarressi, *Tradition*, p. 82.

in the current form of this book come from other *ḥadīth* sources. Al-Anṣārī argues that because earlier Shīʿī scholars like al-Faḍl b. Shādhān had access to the *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* and the paths of transmission mentioned in Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries correspond to the *isnāds* of these 23 *ḥadīths*, it is possible to conclude that all of these 23 *ḥadīths* attributed to Sulaym come from his book.³¹

The *ḥadīth* in Sulaym's book that includes the phrase "*ismuhū ismī*" has been derived from *Kifāya al-muhtadā fī maʿrifa al-Mahdī* written by Mīrlawḥī.³² However, those *ḥadīths* that Mīrlawḥī ascribes to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873) have been demonstrated to be fabricated by him.³³ Mīrlawḥī claims to have directly used *Ithbāt al-rajʿa* written by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān. Mīrlawḥī has chosen his *isnāds* from different sources such as al-Ṣadūq's *Kamāl al-dīn* and used them for his fabrication. Therefore, while the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis works, the *matn* of this Sulaym's *ismuhū ismī ḥadīth* seems to be fabricated by Mīrlawḥī.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the date of the Prophetic *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* on the expected Mahdī have been discussed to address the question of how, and to what extent, bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis can assist in tracing the origin, date, and development of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. The bio-bibliographical cross-reference analyses of the *isnāds* of two different versions of *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* found in Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections have been compared with *isnād*-based and *matn*-based dating of those *ismuhū ismī ḥadīths* included in Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections. From this comparison, it has been concluded that

31 Sulaym, *Kitāb Sulaym*, vol. 1, p. 118-120.

32 Mīrlawḥī, *Kifāya al-muhtadā fī maʿrifa al-Mahdī* (Qum: Dār al-tafsīr, 1426 AH), p. 683.

33 For the detailed discussion on *Ithbāt al-rajʿa*, see Ali Adelzadeh, 'Naqsh-i Mīrlawḥī Sabzawārī dar Piydāyish-i Mukhtaṣar *Ithbāt al-rajʿa* Mansūb bi Faḍl b. Shādhān, *Pajoheshha-e Mahdavi* 11 (2022): 7-44; Hassan Ansari, 'Chand nukti darbāri-yi Faḍl b. Shādhān Nayshābūrī wa du kitāb-i al-Qā'im wa al-Rajʿa-yi 'ū'. <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/4401>, posted 26/03/2020, accessed 10/03/2023; idem. 'Huwīyyat-i wāqī'i-yi kitāb-i Ithbāt al-rajʿa mansūb bi Faḍl b. Shādhān'. <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1286>, posted 19/01/2008, accessed 10/03/2023.

the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis can date a particular Imāmī *ḥadīth* back to at least the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century. However, it can only suggest the date of the original core and not determine it. To extract the original or old core of an Imāmī *ḥadīth*, another means of establishing the date is necessary, such as a detailed examination of the *matn* or using other external grounds.

CONCLUSION

Assuming that Imāmī *ḥadīth* was predominantly transmitted and preserved in writing during the 350-year formative period of Twelver Shī'ism, this thesis argues that the majority of Imāmī *ḥadīths* can be traced back to the late 1st/7th and first half of the 2nd/8th centuries. The present study utilises bio-bibliographical transmission lines found in two Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries - *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* - to develop and test a nuanced *isnād*-analytical method called "*bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis*". This method checks for potential cross-references between transmission paths to earlier records found in these dictionaries and *isnāds* mentioned in available Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections such as *al-kutub al-arba'a*.

The vast majority of *ḥadīths* found in Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections are attributed to the fifth and sixth Shī'ī Imams, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, whose Imamates coincided with the growing practice of recording *ḥadīths*. As a result, Imāmī *ḥadīth* transmitters such as 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Ḥalabī and Ḥarīz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī began recording *ḥadīths* at the same time, leading to the formation of a culture of writing within the Shī'ī community. This culture resulted in the production of numerous *kitābs* and *aṣls* between 95/713 and 148/765. There is considerable evidence to suggest that these Imāmī written records were transmitted to *ḥadīth* compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, either directly, such as with *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī* and *Kitāb Ḥarīz*, or through later, more extensive *ḥadīth* works, such as those compiled by al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī and al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb. This written transmission of *kitābs* and *aṣls* facilitated a connection between the *isnāds* mentioned in the extant Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* and their compilers' transmission lines to earlier written records.

The detailed analysis of *isnāds* included in the *Mashyakha* of Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* suggest the careful organisation of the bio-bibliographical transmission paths under the name of each *ḥadīth* compiler listed in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. This led us to conclude that by correlating Imāmī *isnāds* with these bio-bibliographical transmission paths, one can determine, not only the primary later sources used by *ḥadīth* compilers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries but also, the earliest sources of Imāmī *ḥadīths* to

have mostly been written during the first half of the 2nd/8th century, as Sezgin and Modarressi have previously claimed. In *Tahdhīb*, Ṭūsī claims that he has listed the compilers of the earlier written records he has used for compiling his book and provided his paths of written transmission to these sources in his *Mashyakha*. However, he does not directly employ all the *ḥadīth* works he notes and in several cases, he takes the middle *ḥadīth* works like *al-Kāfī*, while introducing earlier collections of *ḥadīths* like those of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb as his main sources. This practice does not mean that Ṭūsī is providing inaccurate information about his sources. By examining the bio-bibliographical cross-reference between the *isnāds* provided in *al-Mashyakha* with those found in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, one can locate the middle sources al-Ṭūsī has employed.

Moreover, the historical reliability of the information found in Ṭūsī's *isnāds* can be supported by several factors, including his method of presenting and truncating *isnāds* in *al-Mashyakha*, his use of middle sources, and his application of bio-bibliographical cross-referencing. These arguments collectively suggest that Ṭūsī's *isnāds* can be considered as a trustworthy source for understanding the transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīths*. Upon a critical examination of the *isnāds* in *Tahdhīb* and two of its main sources, namely *al-Faqīh* and *al-Kāfī*, which are now available as separate works, it can generally be argued that the information provided in *al-kutub al-arbaʿa* regarding *isnāds* is reliable for the historical discussion of the dates and origins of Imāmī *ḥadīths* until the contrary is proven. Since these Imāmī collections of *ḥadīths* were supposedly based on earlier written works, it is unlikely that the compilers of those works, whether active during or after the time of the Shīʿī Imams and belonging to different regions such as Medina, Kūfa, Baghdad, Qum, and Ray, would have been able to fabricate such divergent collections of *isnāds* that perfectly correspond with the bio-bibliographical transmission paths to earlier works mentioned in *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*.

Based on the noted bio-bibliographical cross-reference, each person mentioned in an Imāmī *isnād* can be considered as either the compiler of a written work from which a particular *ḥadīth* was extracted by a later *ḥadīth* collector, or the transmitter of an earlier written work in which this *ḥadīth* was written, to a later *ḥadīth* collector. Therefore, the structure of each *isnād* of a particular Imāmī *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq typically looks like this: Compiler of a written source ← Compiler of a

written source or the transmitter of an earlier written work ← Compiler of a written source ← and so on ← Compiler of a *kitāb* or *aṣl*, who orally received Muḥammad al-Bāqir's or Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's *ḥadīths* directly or through their companions or pupils. As the written transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīth* continued after the time of the fifth and sixth Shī'ī Imams, this formula can also be applied to the *ḥadīths* reported from the subsequent Imams, namely Mūsā al-Kāẓim, 'Alī al-Rida, Muḥammad al-Jawād, 'Alī al-Hādī, and Ḥasan al-'Askarī.

The proposed bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis for dating the original core of Imāmī *ḥadīths* assumes a written transmission of the *ḥadīths*. The analysis involves collecting all *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* in question, even if there is only a single strand of transmission. Next, *ḥadīth* transmitters who have been described as *ḥadīth* compilers are identified based on *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*. Starting with the youngest and latest of these individuals, their *isnāds* are compared and correlated with the bio-bibliographical transmission lines mentioned for their *ḥadīth* work(s). If there is a correspondence between these *isnāds* and bio-bibliographical transmission lines, it can be concluded that the original core of the *ḥadīth* goes back to the time of this author. This process is repeated until the earliest provenance of the *ḥadīth* can be found.

However, this *isnād*-analytical method has some limitations due to its reliance on *isnāds* and Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries. Some of these limitations are:

- 1- This method cannot address the question of whether Imāmī *ḥadīths* can be attributed to Shī'ī Imams. The ultimate transmitters of the *ḥadīths*, like 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Ḥalabī or Ḥarīz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī, heard Imāms' *ḥadīths* orally and wrote them down, making it difficult to establish their ascription to the Imāms through bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis alone.
- 2- Like other *isnād*-based dating methods, this method cannot detect the original part of a *ḥadīth*, and additional examination is necessary to identify the factual and original core of each Imāmī *ḥadīth*.
- 3- If a *ḥadīth* compiler or transmitter of an earlier book is not listed in one of the Imāmī bio-bibliographical dictionaries, the bio-bibliographical cross-reference analysis cannot be applied. However, based on the analysis conducted in this study, it appears that there are very few cases, if any, that cannot be analysed by this method.

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