

Shaykh Mufid's Account of Imamate in *Al-Irshād*

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Introduction

Theologian, jurist, traditionalist and logician Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al Nu'man, Abu Abdillah, known as Shaykh al-Mufid is one of the world's great Islamic scholars. Shaykh Mufid was known as "a triumphal sun and morning light" in the shi'ite history. He addressed many different theological issues. He provides resolutely a theological, logical and historical analysis of the role of Imamate in shaping the Islamic social system.

The most important focus of his attention was to illuminate the role and the nature of Imamate (divinely appointed leadership) in the course of Islamic history. Consequently Mufid synthesised some popular themes that have engaged theologians of religious sciences throughout the ages. Specifically, he seeks to show links between the two significant key themes, *nass* (designation) and *'ilm* (knowledge). According to Shaykh Mufid these two components are considered as the basic principles in Imamate doctrine.

Nass means that the Imamate is a prerogative bestowed by God and only with the guidance of God it can be transferred from one Imam to his successor. Therefore Imamate in this sense is restricted, through all-political circumstances and secular spheres.

The second principle in the doctrine of Imamāt is that of *‘ilm*. This means that an Imam has an extraordinary knowledge of all affairs not possessed by anyone else. Consequently an Imam has an exclusive and authoritative source of knowledge. This repository of God’s knowledge includes both the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) meanings of the Qur’an. The esoteric and exoteric knowledge of religion is concluded in *Wilāyah*, which God entrusted to the Prophet, who in turn, handed it to his successor with the guidance of God.

Imamate in Twelver Shi‘ism rotates around *nass* and *‘ilm*. Because of these two principles, the Imam must be inerrant (*ma‘sum*). Inerrancy of the Imam guarantees the infallibility of his decisions in religion as well as in the matters of law. This paper provides a study of Shaykh Mufid’s theological account of Imamate in his *Al-Irshād*. Firstly, I will look briefly at the Shaykh Mufid’s works and, in particular, his *Al-Irshād*. Secondly, I will focus on Shaykh Mufid’s theological account of Imamate in *Al-Irshād*.

A study of the works of Shaykh Mufid

Shaykh Mufid’s full name was Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Nu‘mān al-Hārithi al-Baghdadi al-‘Ukbari; his *kunyah* was Abu

‘Abdillah. As well as being called Shaikh Mufid, (Shaikh mean “scholar” and Mufid means ‘one who brings benefit’) he was known in both Shi‘i and non-Shi‘i circles as Ibn al-Mu‘allim. He was born in the year 338/949 and was brought up in a village. His father brought him to Baghdad for his education. There he studied under Shi‘i and Mu‘tazili scholars. He showed such potential that one of his teachers recommended that he study under one of the leading scholars of the period, Ali b. ‘Isā al-Ramani. He also studied under the leading Shi‘i scholar of hadith, Shaykh al-Saduq.¹

He was an outstanding theologian and jurist, and a brilliant polemical writer on behalf of the Shi‘ites. He became head of the Shi‘i scholars in Baghdad and took part in many debates and discussions with his opponents.

During his life, Mufid was not only a brilliant debater, he was a fine teacher and prolific writer. As a teacher he will be remembered for the greatness of his three most outstanding pupils: al-Sharif al-Raḍiyy, al-Sharif al-Murtaḍā and Shaykh Al-Tusi. Al-Sharif al-Raḍiyy is perhaps best remembered as the compiler of *Nahj al-Balāghah*, a collection of sermons, letters and wise-sayings of Imam Ali b. Abi Talib. His brother al-Sharif al-Murtaḍā was a brilliant theologian and an outstanding writer. The other pupil was Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi who was to become Shaykh al-Tā’ifah (the Master of the Shi‘a community).

The writings of al-Shaikh Mufid were numerous. Al-Tusi tells us in the *Fihrist* that they numbered nearly two hundred. A number

of these still survive; some have been published and some are still in manuscript form. Among them is *al-Muqni'ah*, a work on tradition, which al-Tusi used as the basis for his great work *Tahdhib al-Ahkām fi Sharh al-Muqni'ah*.²

Shaikh Mufid died in the month of Ramadan (on Thursday) in the year 413/1022. One report says that over 80,000 people attended his funeral.³ Al-Sharif al-Murtada led the funeral prayers and gave an eulogy. After being buried in his own house, his body was later removed and buried near the great shrine of two of the Imams in Baghdad, known as al-Kazimayn.⁴

Al-Irshād (the guidance)

This book sets out to describe the lives of the twelve Shi'i Imams. 'Imam' literally means 'the leader' or 'guide'. It briefly describes the circumstances of the Imamate of each Imam, the miracles that each performed by which he gave evidence of his Imamate, the virtues of each Imam, and the circumstances of the death of each of the eleven Imams and the disappearance of the last Imam. It also gives an outline of the *nass*, or the nomination of each Imam.

The Imamate of Ali b. Abi Talib (A) after the Prophet (S) is the cornerstone of the Shi'i view of succession and the Imamate in general. Therefore it is natural that the book should devote considerable space to Imam Ali. Nearly half of the book is concerned with him. In particular Mufid pays great attention to Imam Ali's career during the life of the Prophet. Ali is revealed as the person of outstanding merit during that period, the one who

most deserved and was most entitled to succeed the Prophet (S). The hadiths by which the Prophet (S) is said to have made Ali's succession clear are fully reported, especially the tradition of Ghadir- e Khumm.

In addition several speeches of Imam Ali (A) are provided in the book. Mufid gives an account of some of Ali's legal decisions during the time of the three Caliphs.⁵

He explains that Imam Ali, although entitled to the office of the Caliphate, held back from attempting to seize the office or expressing public discontent. Little space is given to Imam Ali's reign as Caliph, perhaps because these events had been discussed elsewhere by the author in *Kitāb al-Jamal* for instance. The circumstances of Imam Ali's murder by Ibn Muljam are given in full and the author quotes from historical authorities, such as Abu Mikhnaf and Ismā'il b. Rashid.

One of the important things that Mufid provides is a rational substratum for the Imamite faith during the absence of the Imam. He had to meet not only the objections of outsiders but also the demands of believing Shi'ites for an explanation of how what is proposed for belief does not contradict what they already knew.

Al-Irshād represents a valuable contribution to the history of the Imamate. It serves also as a defence of the Imami Shi'i perspective on the issue of Imamate and tries to provide believers with the evidence of the Imamate. In establishing the Imamate of Ali, the doctrine of *nass* is shown by the author to be legitimate.

Its legitimate use is carried on by Imam Ali and his successors. In the author's view, the proof for the Imamate of each of the Imams is expressed in the miracles performed by each Imam. Important moments in the lives of the Imams, such as the martyrdom of Imam Husayn and the occultation of the last Imam, are dealt with in some detail.

Shaykh Mufid's theological account of Imamate in *Al-Irshād*

Definition of Imamate

According to Mufid, the Imams “take the place of Prophets in informing religious rulings, seeing to the execution of the legal penalties, safeguarding Islam, and educating mankind”.⁶

In Islamic terminology *al-imāmah* (*Imamate*) means “universal authority in all religious and secular affairs, in succession to the Prophet”.⁷

Therefore Imamate is defined as a divine position proceeding over all the Muslim's affairs both spiritually and materially whether individual or social, internal or universal. Consequently, the Imam is an authoritative teacher of mankind in all their affairs.

According to Twelver Shi'a Islam, recognition of the Imam is the absolute duty of every believer. The Prophet has said:

Whoever dies without recognising the Imam of his time, has left the world with ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*)”.⁸

The reason for this is that during the Age of Ignorance (pre-Islamic era of ignorance) the people were polytheists; they knew nothing of either monotheism or of Prophethood.

One aspect in Mufid’s theology is the vital need for the Imamate to entail the management of the affairs the Muslim society.

In his *Al-Iḥsāh*, Mufid elaborates on a fourfold proof of the need for an Imam:

From the Qur’an, from tradition, from consensus, and from reason and experience. And the last part of the proof, from reason and experience, rests upon two premises: one, that it is impossible to carry out the legal duties of the believer without an Imam, and, second, that God does not oblige what is impossible.⁹

Mufid also argues against the Ash‘arites that God is just and does not command man beyond what he is capable of.¹⁰

This leads him also to consider whether God acts for man’s best interests, and whether God does so because He is obliged in justice, or whether He puts Himself under a kind of moral obligation rising from His nobility and generosity.¹¹

According to Shi‘i Islam, the Imamate is a covenant between God and mankind. The Imams are the *hujjah* (proof) of God on earth; their words are words of God, their verdicts are the verdicts of God and their commands are the command of God, because they are inspired by God.

Designation by God

Does the accession to the position of Imamate depend on designation by God or is the question of succession to be decided by people? Shaykh Mufid provides many references from the Qur’an and Sunnah of the Prophet (S), which expresses that Imamate is a divine covenant. Therefore it totally depends on God’s designation.

It is for this reason the Shi‘ah (The Twelvers) believe that only Allah can appoint a successor to the Prophet; that the *Ummah* has no choice in this matter; its only duty is to follow such a divinely-appointed Imam or caliph.

And thy Lord creates what He wills and chooses;
they have no right to choose; glory be to Allah, and
exalted be He above what they associate!¹²

This clearly shows that people have no right to make any selection here; it lies entirely in the hands of Allah. Also as Allamah Hilli puts it: “*Imamate* is not an acquired job; it is a position bestowed by Allah.”¹³ In contrast, the Sunni Muslims believe that it is up to the *Ummah* to appoint a caliph. However, the Qur’an confirms that only God can appoint an Imam or

successor to the Prophet. Consequently, before creating Adam (A), God informed the angels:

Verily I am going to make a caliph on the earth.¹⁴

And when the angels demurred politely at the scheme, their protest was brushed aside by a curt reply:

Surely I know what you know not.¹⁵

Therefore, if the infallible angels were given no say in the appointment of a caliph, how can fallible humans expect to take the whole authority of such an appointment in their own hands?

Another evidence from the Qur'an is that Allah Himself appointed Prophet David (A) as caliph on the earth:-

O David! Verily, We have made thee (Our) caliph on the earth...¹⁶

In every case God attributes the appointment of the caliph or the Imam exclusively to Himself. Likewise, the call went to Prophet Abraham (A):

(Allah) said: "Surely I am going to make you an Imam for men." (Abraham) said: "And of my offspring?" He said: "My covenant will not reach the unjust."¹⁷

This verse leads us to the correct answers of many important questions concerning *Imamate*.

I. Allah said: “Surely I am going to make you an Imam for men.” This shows that *Imamate* is a divinely appointed status; it is beyond the jurisdiction of the *Ummah*.

II. “My covenant will not include the unjust.” This clearly says that a non-*ma‘sum* cannot be an Imam. Logically and rationally, we may divide mankind into four groups:

1. Those who remain unjust throughout their lives;
2. Those who are never unjust;
3. Those who are unjust early in their lives but later become just;
4. Those who are just early in their lives but later become unjust.

The Prophet Abraham (A) was too wise to request *Imamate* for the first or the fourth group. This leaves two groups (the second and the third) which could be included in the prayer. However, God rejects one of them i. e., those who are unjust early in their lives but later become just. This leaves only one group which can qualify for *Imamate*: those who are never unjust throughout their lives i.e. *ma‘sum* (inerrant).

III. Reflecting on God’s answer to Abraham i.e. “*My covenant will not reach the unjust*”, we realise that God did not say the unjust would not reach my covenant; because it would have implied that it was within the power of man (albeit a just one) to attain the status of *Imamate*. The present sentence does not leave room for any such misunderstanding; it clearly shows that

receiving *Imamate* is not within human jurisdiction; it is exclusively in the hands of Allah and He gives it to whom He pleases.

Then as a general rule, it is stated in the Qur'an:

And We made them Imams who were to guide by
Our command ...¹⁸

When Prophet Musa (A) wanted a vizier to help him with his responsibilities, he did not appoint someone by his own authority. He prayed to Allah:

And make for me a vizier (helper) from my family,
Aaron (Harun) my brother. Give me support
through him and make him participate in my affair
so that we may glorify You much and we may
remember You much ...¹⁹

And God, the Most Exalted said:

You are indeed granted your petition, O Moses!²⁰

This verse confirmed that Aaron had a share with Moses in prophecy and in helping in delivering the message and his support was strengthened through him by his aid. Moses also told Aaron of deputising for him (when he said):

.... Deputise for me among my people. Act for
(their) benefit and do not follow the path of the
corrupters.²¹

This confirms his succession by the precise statement of revelation. On the other hand, there is the Prophet's (S) statement to Imam Ali at the time of setting out to (the battle of) Tabuk:

You are in the same position with respect to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me.²²

Thus he required him to have the office of helping (i.e. administering) and to be characterised by love and outstanding merit over everyone. He also required his deputising for him both during his life and after his death.

Therefore when the Apostle of God (S) gave all the ranks, which Aaron had from Moses, to Imam Ali (A) except for prophecy, all such things were required of him as helping the Apostle, giving him support, outstanding merit, love and deputyship. The expression "except that there is no prophet after me" shows that these qualities continue even after the Prophet's demise and this turns deputyship into successorship.

Divine selection is made known to the *Ummah* through the prophet or the preceding Imam. This declaration is called *nass* (designation of the succeeding Imam by the prophet or preceding Imam). According to the Shi'i belief, Imam must be *mansus min Allah*, i.e., designated by Allah for that status. This point will be discussed later.

Another reason for the Shi'ites' support for Imam Ali (A) was what the Prophet (S) said on the day of the assembly at his house.

He had especially gathered the Banu ‘Abd al-Muttalib in order to make the (following) solemn pledge:

Whoever helps me in this matter will be my brother, my testamentary trustee (*wasiyy*), my helper, my heir and my successor after me.²³

Then Imam Ali who on that day was the youngest of them, stood up before the Prophet among all the gathering of the people and said:

O Apostle of God, I will help you.²⁴

Then the Prophet (S) said:

Sit down, you are my brother, my trustee, my helper, my heir and successor after me.²⁵

This is a clear statement about the succession after the Prophet.

Furthermore, Imam Ali (A) had been specially singled out by the Prophet from among (all) his relations because of (the qualities) which no other relation, apart from him, shared with the Prophet and because of the nomination (*nass*) of his authority (*wilāyah*) by God in the Qur’an where He says:

Your authority is God and His Apostle and those believers who perform the prayer and pay alms (*zakat*) while they are bowing (in prayer).²⁶

It is known that no one except Imam Ali paid alms while bowing (in prayer).

Shaykh Mufid emphasised that it has been established in language that waliyy means “the most appropriate for authority” (*awlā*), without there being any opposition to this definition.

In addition, there is also what the Prophet (S) said on the day of Ghadir Khumm. The community had gathered to listen to the sermon (in which he asked):

Am I not more appropriate for authority (*awlā*)
over you than yourselves?²⁷

“Yes”, they answered. Then he spoke to them without any interruption in his speech:

Whomsoever I am the authority over (*mawlā*), Ali
is also the authority over him.²⁸

Thus the Prophet required for Ali through laying down obedience to him and his authority over them the same authority as he had over them, and which he made them acknowledge and which they did not deny. This is clear evidence of the designation of him for the Imamate and for succession to his position.

After ceremony a great commotion appeared among the Muslims and they all congratulated Imam Ali (A) for his new post. Abu Baker, ‘Umar and ‘Uthman in the presence of the crowd said to Imam Ali (A):

Congratulation to you, O son of Abu Talib, you
have become our leader and the leader of all
believing men and women.²⁹

It was exactly on this sacred occasion that the holy verse was revealed.

On this day I have perfected your religion.
Completed my favours to you. And chosen Islam
as your religion.³⁰

Then the Prophet said “I praise Allah for the completion of his message through the leadership of Ali (A) after me”.

Did the Prophet mean “friend” or “leader”?

There is no doubt in the authenticity of the *hadith* of Ghadir, but some scholars try to downplay its significance by saying that the word “*mawlā*” in this *hadith* means 'friend', and the Holy Prophet wanted to announce that: “Whoever whose friend I am, Ali is his friend!” But the problem is that not a single person, who was present in Ghadir, grasped this meaning. Hassān b. Thābit, the famous poet of the Holy Prophet, composed a poem and recited it before the audience, in which he said:

The Prophet then said to him: “Stand up, O Ali, as
I am pleased to make you Imam and Guide after
me.”

Let us examine logically and rationally the meaning of *mawlā* in this context;

1) The occasion, place and time:

Imagine the Holy Prophet breaking his journey in midday, waiting for those who were far ahead and also waiting for those who were far behind the group. Also imagine the Prophet detaining more than one-hundred-thousand pilgrims under the terrible heat and burning sun of the Arabian desert, making them sit in a thorny place on the burning sand, and making a pulpit of camel saddles; then imagine him delivering a long lecture and at the end of all those preparations coming out with an announcement that: "Whoever whose friend I am, Ali is his friend!"

Is it plausible that the Prophet would detain everyone in the unbearable heat just to tell them Ali was their friend?

2) After the sermon of the holy Prophet everyone congratulated Imam Ali (as)

Congratulations to you, O son of Abu Talib, you have become our leader and the leader of the people, men and woman who have faith.

'Umar b. Khattab congratulated 'Ali in these words:

Congratulations son of Abu Talib, this morning and evening you are the patron of every believing men and woman.

If *mawlā* meant only ‘friend’ then there would not be any need for the congratulations. And was Ali ‘enemy’ of all believing men and women before that time, such that ‘Umar b. Khattab could have meant ‘this morning’ you became friend of them all?

3) Imam Ali (A) himself wrote to Mu‘āwiyah:

And the Messenger of Allah granted to me his authority over you on the day of Ghadir Khumm.³¹

4) *After the sermon Holy Prophet prayed to God and said:*

O Allah! Be the Guardian of those whose guardian is Ali! Be enemy of who has enmity against Ali! Help the one who helps Ali! Forsake the one who forsakes Ali!³²

Can this prayer and supplication be just for friendship?

5) Many scholars of the Qur’an, Arabic grammar and literature have interpreted the word “*mawlā*” as “*awlā*” which means “having more authority”.³³

In fact all the historical and logical evidence gives clear indications that *Mawlā* here could not mean ‘friend’.

Proofs similar to these are so numerous that it would make the essay unduly long to mention them all.

Protection from sin and error

In Al- Mufid's perspective Imams must be inerrant and immune from all sins. Inerrancy of the Imams in order to fulfil their duties without leading the community into error also guarantees the infallibility of his decision in religion and law. Moreover inerrancy of the Imams preserves the purity and sanctity of the person responsible for such a great task. Therefore Imams are protected to the extent that:

They cannot commit small sin, except such as were mentioned as being possible to the Prophets. Nor can they be negligent in anything pertaining to religious duty. Nor can they forget any of the rulings of the Law.

This is the doctrine of all the Imamites, except those who are eccentric and sticks to the letter of traditions, even if they have interpretations contrary to their pernicious opinions in this matter. All the Mu'tazilites oppose it, allowing grave sins and even apostasy to occur on the part of the Imams.³⁴

According to Mufid even the dreams of the Imams and Prophets are protected from all errors:

I say that the dreams of the apostles, prophets and Imams are true and that God has protected them from false dreams. Widespread traditions have come from them clearly indicating this.³⁵

However inerrancy is a very powerful inner attribute of self-restraint. It is derived from vision of the supersensible and supernatural world, extensive knowledge and the very essence of all creation, and it is so effective that it prevents the one endowed with this capability from embarking on any kind of sin or error.

In contrast, the Sunni perspective is that it is not an essential component to accept anyone as caliph or Imam with any precondition. Also they do not insist on inerrancy and immunity from sin. But the problem is that if Imams were not free from sins then we would face many fundamental difficulties:

Contradiction in method: If Imams were not free from sins or not protected from error that would mean people would be bound to follow him in that sin as well. The untenability of such a position is self-evident; for obedience in sin is evil, unlawful and forbidden. Moreover, it would mean that he should be obeyed and disobeyed at one and the same time; that is, obedience to him would be obligatory yet forbidden, which is manifestly absurd.

Authority will be held in contempt: If it would be possible for an Imam to commit sin it would be the duty of other people to prevent him from doing so (because it is obligatory on every Muslim to forbid other people from unlawful acts). In such a case, the Imam will be held in contempt; his prestige will come to an end and instead of being the leader of the ummah he will become their follower, and his Imamate will be of no use.

Fallible cannot be entrusted: Moreover, the Imam is the defender of the divine Law and this work cannot be entrusted to fallible hands nor can any such person maintain it properly. For this very reason, infallibility has been admitted to be an indispensable condition to Prophethood; and the considerations which make it essential in the case of a prophet make it so in the case of an Imam and caliph as well.

In the context of Mufid's system, the Imamate and prophetic office are basically given by God's favour. It is impossible for a just God to mislead people by asking people to follow those who are fallible.

Based on the perspective of Shaykh Mufid, the Imams are human but are infallible i.e. they can commit sin but they do not, as they possess an inner attribute of self-restraint. This can be illustrated in an example where a stranger can walk up to someone and cause injury to him; however, most people are prevented from doing these sort of actions as their conscience forbids them doing so. Some people in society can be seen to be infallible in some cases, (but the Imams are infallible in comprehensive sense) such as pious persons who have so much dignity and respect to uphold, that perpetuating any sin such as walking through the streets naked, even though he is capable of doing so would not be imaginable. When Imam Ali (A) was asked why the Imams were infallible he replied that for an Imam to commit sin would render them impure and hence make them incapable to be an Imam.

Another aspect is that any undesirable act is the result of not knowing how harmful and ugly the act is. If one is aware of the danger of committing an act, his faith seeks to warn and alert him, and that creates a certain immunity in man, to not commit that undesirable act. Let us observe what, Muhammad b. Abi 'Umayr says:

I asked Hisham (a celebrated pupil of Imam Sadiq A) about inerrancy of Imam Sadiq (A), whether he possessed the quality of immunity. He answered, yes he did. Then I asked him to contextualise for me the concept of inerrancy.

Hisham replied:

Several things lie at the origin of rebellion and sin—greed, envy, lust, anger and so forth—and none-of these can penetrate the soul of the Imam. How might he be greedy, considering that he has everything at his disposal, including even the treasury of Muslims? How might he be envious, for there is no station for him higher than the Imamate. As for anger, it is impossible that the Imam can be angered by any worldly concern, for God has entrusted to him the implementation of His laws. But in connection with anything touching on the hereafter, anger is not at all undesirable. The Imam will never fall prey to lust, for he is well aware that the pleasure and desirable things of this

world are transitory and valueless when compared with the reward that God shall bestow on His worshippers on the day of resurrection.³⁶

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¹ On al-Shaikh al-Saduq cf. *A-Serat* Vol.II No.2, June, 1976, 19-22

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¹⁰ *Awā'il*, pp. 24-25, *Theology*, p. 156

¹¹ *Awā'il*, p. 26, *Theology*, p. 77

¹² Qur'an 28:68

¹³ Al-'Allamah al-Hilli: *Al-ābu'l-Hādi 'Ashar*, Eng. tr W.M. Miller, p.68

¹⁴ Qur'an 2: 30

¹⁵ Qur'an 2: 30

¹⁶ Qur'an 38:26

¹⁷ Qur'an 2:124

¹⁸ Qur'an 21:73

¹⁹ Qur'an 20:29-35

²⁰ Qur'an 20:36

²¹ Qur'an 7:142

²² *Irshad*, p.4.

²³ Ibid, p. 3.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 3.

²⁵ Ibid. pp. 3 & 4.

²⁶ Qur'an 5:55

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²⁹ (*Al-Musnad* Ahmad bin Hanbal v4, 281 *Tafsir al-Kabir* by fakharuddin Razi v12, pp. 49-50) *Noor al-Absār* by Shablanji, p4

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³¹ Amini, *Al-Ghadir*, vol. I, p. 340

³² *Irshad*, also, Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Al-Musnad*, vol., 4 p.368, 372; *Ali in the Books of Sunnis*

³³ *Irshad*, p.3, also the names of the following scholars may be quoted here as examples: Ibn 'Abbas (in his *Tafsir*, on the margin of *Al-Durr al-Manthur*, vol. 5, p. 355); al-Kalbi (as quoted in *Al-Tafsir al-Kabir* of Razi, vol. 29. p.227; Alusi, *Ruh al-Ma'āni*, vol. 27, p. 178); al-Farrā', (Razi, *ibid.*; Alusi, *ibid.*); Abu 'Ubaydah Mu'ammār b. Muthanna al-Basri (Razi, *ibid.*; and al-Sharīf al-Jurjani, *Sharh al-Mawāqif*, vol. 3, p. 271); al-Akhfash al-Awsat (in *Nihāyat al-'Uqul*); al-Bukhari (in *Sahih*, vol.7, p. 240); Abu'l-'Abbas Tha'labi (in *Sharh al-Sab'ah al-Mu'allaqah of al-Zuzani*); at-Tabari (in his *Tafsir*, vol.9, p. 117);

al-Wahidi (in *Al-Wasit*); al-Tha‘labi (in *Al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*); Zamakhshari (in *Al-Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 435); Bayḍāwī (in his *Tafsir*, vol.2, p. 497); Nasafī (in his *Tafsir*, vol. 4, p. 229); al-Khazin al-Baghdadi (in his *Tafsir* vol. 4, p. 229); and Muhibb al-Din Afandi (in his *Tanzil al-Ayāt*). (See Amini, *Al-Ghadir*, Vol. 1, pp. 344-50, for detail references.

³⁴ *Awā’il*, p. 35, quoted from McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh Al-Mufid*, 1978, Beirut. p.107

³⁵ *Awā’il*, p. 42, quoted from McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh Al-Mufid*, 1978, Beirut. p.107

³⁶ Saduq, *Al-Amāli*, p.376, quoted from *Imamate and leadership*, by Lari, Sayyid Mujtaba Musavi, 1996, pp. 166-167.