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**The Abbasid Vizier ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn
(124-182/741-798); The Man and
His Role in Early Šī‘ite History**

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Summary

The present study discusses ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn, an important Šī‘ite figure of the 2nd 8th century, a student of the sixth imam Ġa‘far al-Šādiq and the seventh imam Mūsā al-Kāzim, and analyzes his role in the shaping of Šī‘ism and Šī‘ite religious jurisprudence. Ibn Yaḡḡīn held the post of vizier under two Abbasid caliphs, al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rašīd. He used his position within the Abbasid regime in two ways: he obtained information relevant to the confrontation between the Šī‘ites and their enemies and gave it to the imams, and he gave very generous financial support to needy Šī‘ites. The study also describes ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s personal characteristics, his piety, and the 186 traditions which he reported in the names of the two imams Ġa‘far al-Šādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim, by which he enriched Šī‘ite religious law.

Keywords: Abbasid vizier, ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn, Early Šī‘ite history, Ġa‘far al-Šādiq, Mūsā al-Kāzim, Šī‘ite religious jurisprudence, Abbasid caliphs, al-Hādī, Hārūn al-Rašīd.

Political and Historical Background

‘Alī b. Yaqtīn lived in the 2nd/8th century and personally experienced the events of his age in Baghdad and al-Madīna. He was born in the reign of the tenth Umayyad caliph Hišām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, whose rule began in the year 105/723. ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn lived for about three years under Umayyad rule; however, this period was a time of great popular opposition to and revenge against this dynasty. The Abbasids then seized power. The first Abbasid ruler was Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh al-Saffāh (ruled 750-754). He entered al-Kūfa as a governor in the year 132/749 and spent most of his time in power purging his state of the Umayyads and strengthening the foundations of the new regime. He did not persecute the adherents of ‘Alī, both because his regime was not yet strong enough, and because the Abbasids seized power supposedly in their name. Al-Saffāh died in 136/754. He was followed by his brother Abū Ğa‘far al-Manṣūr (ruled 754-775), who did persecute ‘Alī’s followers. As a result ‘Alid rebellions against the Abbasids broke out. The first such rebellion was led by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (d. 762), known as He of the Pure Soul (ḏū’l-naḥs al-zakiyya), who himself had aspirations on the caliphate after the Umayyad downfall, since the Hāšemites promised him their allegiance. He refused to recognize the Abbasid regime and did not swear allegiance either to al-Saffāh nor to his successor al-Manṣūr. When Abbasid persecution of the ‘Alids intensified he revolted against them and seized al-Madīna in the year 145/762. Al-Manṣūr sent a large army against him, consisting of two divisions, one commanded by ‘Īsā b. Mūsā and another commanded by Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’ī. The Abbasid army besieged al-Madīna, quelled the rebellion and killed its leaders. The residents of the city suffered greatly under the oppression of the Abbasid forces (al-Layṭī 1976: 138 ff.). This rebellion was followed by another in the same year (762) which broke out in al-Baṣra. This second rebellion, led by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Alawī, met the same fate as the first (ibid.: 147).

The Abbasids relentlessly pursued all ‘Alids and their adherents, even those who did not participate in the rebellion directly. The Abbasid authorities applied ever growing pressure on the sixth imam Ğa‘far al-Šādiq, who was perceived as the moving spirit behind the people’s rebelliousness. Šī‘ite sources accuse the caliph al-Manṣūr of having ordered his governor in al-Madīna to end al-Šādiq’s life unobtrusively; they claim that the governor poisoned some grapes which the imam then ate and died (148/765); however, this accusation remains unsubstantiated.¹ The imam al-Šādiq was followed by the twenty-year-old Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 799). He led his congregation with care and wisdom until the death of the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr in 158/774, after a reign which lasted for twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his son al-Mahdī (ruled 775-785), who began his reign with a general amnesty for all political prisoners. He also returned all the money which his father had confiscated to the rightful owners, including that which al-Manṣūr had seized from the imam al-Šādiq, which he gave to the latter’s son Mūsā al-Kāzim.

The caliph al-Mahdī was a wanton profligate who ruled for eleven years (774-785). He once had the imam Mūsā al-Kāzim arrested because he

perceived the latter's great popularity as a threat. He had him taken from al-Madīna to his own capital Baghdad and put in prison. However, he released him after he had a vision in a dream,² treated him with respect and returned him to al-Madīna. Al-Mahdī was followed by his son Mūsā al-Hādī (ruled 785-786), a young man of twenty-five who was quite hostile to the Šī'ites (al-Layṭī 1976: 258 ff.). At the beginning of his reign he adopted a policy of repression against them, which provoked an 'Alid uprising, led by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the grandson of the imam al-Ḥasan, in the year 169/789, who was killed together with his companions in the Battle of Faḥḥ (786) near Mecca. Although the Abbasid authorities were aware of Mūsā al-Kāzīm's pro-revolutionary sympathies, they could find no hard evidence against him. For this reason the caliph al-Mahdī immediately accused the imam the moment he heard about the uprising and threatened to have him killed. Mūsā al-Hādī died not long thereafter, in 170/786, about one year and two months after he came to power. He was followed by his brother Hārūn al-Rašīd (ruled 786-809), who pursued two different policies towards the 'Alids and their followers, at first quite tolerant and then very repressive. He killed a number of 'Alid leaders and members of the Prophet's family, among them 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan Abū 'Alī, the son of the imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh b. Ġa'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

The imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm faced great tribulations in that period. He spent much of his life in prison, was threatened with death many times, and was tortured as well. He was killed in the prison of al-Sindī b. Šāhak in the year 183/799. Al-Kāzīm's death in al-Sindī's prison was described by Abū al-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī (al-Iṣfahānī 1995: 503-4), who related that al-Sindī rolled him into a carpet and ordered a servant of his to sit on his face until he died (al-Qurašī 1993: II, 86); Hārūn al-Rašīd ordered him killed in this way so that people would not accuse him of the murder (al-Iṣfahānī 1995: 417).

After the imam's death the 'Alids remained quiescent for the ten years which remained of Hārūn al-Rašīd's reign (he died in 193/808). During that period they abandoned their overt activities and began to operate clandestinely, adopting a policy of what they called taqiyya³ «dissimulation» and kitmān «concealment». These were the circumstances under which 'Alī b. Yaḥyā lived.

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s Life⁴

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Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Yaḡḡīn, a client of the Banū Hāšim tribe, or according to some of the Banū Asad tribe, was born in al-Kūfa in the year 124/741, towards the end of the Umayyad period. His father Yaḡḡīn was a supporter of the Abbasids and a prominent Šī‘ite propagandist. The Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḡammad (127-132/744-750) sought to capture him and he therefore went into hiding and his wife and his two sons, ‘Alī and ‘Ubayd, fled to al-Madīna. When the Umayyads fell from power and the Abbasid state was established, Yaḡḡīn came out of hiding and his wife returned with their children to al-Kūfa. Yaḡḡīn joined the Abbasid caliph Abū al-‘Abbās al-Saffāḡ (750-754), and he remained also with his brother Abū Ğa‘far al-Manšūr (754-775). He was a Šī‘ite and a supporter of the imamate, as his son ‘Alī, who was already active in the days of the sixth imam Ğa‘far al-Šādiq (d. 765) and transmitted traditions about and in the name of the imam ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḡā (d. 818). ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn died in Baghdad during the imamate of al-Kāzim in the year 182/798 at the age of nearly fifty-seven, and was buried in Baghdad. He had two children. One, al-Ḥasan (al-Ṭūsī s.d.a: 354, no. 5246-7; al-Ḥillī 1990: 39, no. 4), was a transmitter, jurist and theologian, who transmitted traditions in the name of the father of the two imams Mūsā al-Kāzim and ‘Alī al-Riḡā (al-Ṭūsī s.d.a: 355, no. 5259-20; Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī 1963: 115, nos. 440-41; al-Barqī 1963: 51; al-Ḥillī 1990: 49, no. 3). The other, al-Ḥusayn, was a companion of Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Riḡā. He wrote a book entitled Masā’il Abī al-Ḥasan Mūsā ‘alayhi al-salām («Issues of Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsā peace be upon him»); al-Naḡāšī s.d.: 45, no. 91; al-Ṭūsī s.d.b: 48, no. 155). ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn had two grandsons, one from each son. Al-Ḥasan’s son, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan (Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī 1963: 493, no. 385; al-Ḥillī 1990: 248, no. 7), cognomen Abū Muḡammad, lived in Qumm. Al-Ḥusayn’s son was called al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī 1963: 540). He also had three brothers: Ya‘qūb (al-Kulaynī s.d.: III, 340, no. 14; 379, no. 4), al-Ḥusayn (ibid.: III, 518, no. 5; IV, 451, no. 1) and Ayyūb (ibid.: IV, 160, no. 2). Šī‘ite ḡadīḡ collections quote a number of traditions in their name.

His Master

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s master in faith was Abū Muḡammad Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḡmān, a very prominent Šī‘ite born in the reign of the caliph Hišām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (724-743). He met the sixth imam Ġa‘far al-Šādiq between al-Šafā and al-Marwa; no traditions have been transmitted in his name. The imam ‘Alī al-Riḡā publicly praised his knowledge and legal opinions. The imam gave him a great sum of money as a religious endowment and never reproached him. He was said to have one of four men who were the last with knowledge of prophecy, namely Salmān al-Fārisī, Ġābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, Sayyid and Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḡmān.⁵ When people came to the imam al-Riḡā and asked him who would instruct them in the features of their faith he would refer them to Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḡmān. Šī‘ite tradition also relates that when he presented his book ‘Amal al-yawm wa’l-layla («Work of Day and Night») to the imam Abū al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (d. 873) the latter said that God would give the author a light for each letter on the Day of Resurrection. Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḡmān composed more than thirty books, including Ġāmi‘ al-Āḡār, Kitāb al-šarā‘i‘, Kitāb al-‘ilal, Iḡtilāf al-ḡadīḡ, Masā’il ‘an Abī al-Ḥasan Mūsā b. Ġa‘far ‘alayhi al-salām and others. The traditions which he quotes in his books are considered reliable and authoritative (al-Ṭūsī s.d.b: 181, no. 789).

His Companions

Šī‘ite sources mention that ‘Alī b. Yaqīn had a number of companions, the most prominent among whom was Naġiyya b. al-Ĥārīt (al-Ĥillī 1990: 176, no. 2; al-Kaššī 1929: 452, no. 852). He also had a muezzin, whose cognomen was Abū Muḥammad (al-Kaššī 1929: 145-46, no. 231; 215, no. 384). It seems that before he became a vizier for Hārūn al-Rašīd he was a modest spice merchant (al-Ĥillī 1990: 91, no. 3; al-Kaššī 1929: 430, no. 805).

His External Appearance

We know very few details about his appearance, except that he had two locks of hair (al-Kaššī 1929: 433, no. 812). The imam Mūsā al-Kāzim compared him to the Prophet's companions. On one occasion the imam said to some of his companions when 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn approached «Whoever would gladly see one of the Prophet's companions, let him look at this approaching man». One of those who were present said: «He must then be one who will go to Paradise», to which the imam replied: «Indeed I can testify that he will go to Paradise» (ibid.: 431, no. 810).

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s Writings

In addition to the many traditions which he transmitted, he also left three books, which are no longer extant. Only their names are still known today (al-Ṭūsī s.d.b: 91, no. 378; al-Naḡāṣī s.d.: 273, no. 715; al-Māmaqānī 1930: II, 315):

A. Masā’il ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn ‘an al-imām al-Ṣādiq min al-malāḡim. The book’s title «On Battles Reported by ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn in the Name of the Imam al-Ṣādiq» would seem to indicate that it dealt with prophecies made by al-Ṣādiq concerning future strife, in answer to questions posed to him.

B. Munāzara li’l-ṣākk bi-ḡaḡrat al-imām al-Ṣādiq «Disputation of a Doubter in the Presence of the Imam al-Ṣādiq», as its name shows, apparently contained a debate between the imam and an unknown doubter.

C. Masā’il ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn ‘an Abī al-ḡasan Mūsā b. ḡa’far. The title of this book «Topics which ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn took from Abū al-ḡasan Mūsā b. ḡa’far» indicates that it dealt with subjects that ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn had learned from the imam Mūsā al-Kāzim. The number of compositions which ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn is known to have written is quite modest in comparison with other students of the imam al-Riḡā. The reason for this may perhaps be found in his political preoccupations, which took up most of his time. Ṣī’ite sources indicate that al-Ṣayḡ al-Mufīd (Muḡammad b. Muḡammad al-Nu’mān al-‘Ukburī, d. 413/1022) mentioned ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s books. It is also related that the latter’s son al-ḡusayn passed on his books to his brother al-ḡasan, who then transmitted them to Aḡmad b. Muḡammad, who transmitted them to Aḡmad b. Idrīs, who transmitted them to Muḡammad b. Yaḡyā, to al-ḡimyarī, to Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāḡ, and to Muḡammad b. al-ḡasan (al-Ṭūsī s.d.b: 91, no. 378).

The Imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm Performs a Miracle for Hārūn in the Presence of ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn

According to Twelver Šī‘ism the imam is a miracle worker,⁶ in contrast to the Sunnī creed, which believes that only prophets are capable of performing miracles. In fact, performing miracles is only one of the special powers possessed by imams according to Šī‘ite belief. Such traits are used by Šī‘ites to argue for the legitimacy of their imams and to strengthen their claims that imams are on a par with prophets. The imam Ġa‘far al-Šādiq is said to have performed more miracles than any other. Al-Mağlisī (d. 1698) in his *Biḥār al-anwār* quotes 227 accounts of miracles ascribed to him, a number which is exceeded only by the miracles of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm, for example, is mentioned as a worker of miracles in only 106 traditions.⁷ It is therefore not to be wondered that an imam was reported to have performed a miracle for Hārūn al-Rašīd and his companions in the presence of ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn. Šī‘ite sources relate a miracle performed by the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm that was witnessed by ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn, who also reported it, as follows: the caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd summoned his chamberlain Ḥumayd b. Mihrān, a sorcerer, in order to make light of the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm. When the table was set Ḥumayd b. Mihrān cast a spell over the bread, and when the imam al-Kāzīm’s servant tried to take a piece of bread it flew out of his hands. This occasioned much amusement and Hārūn al-Rašīd broke out in laughter. The imam al-Kāzīm then raised his head in the direction of a picture of a lion that was painted on one of the curtains and spoke to it: «O lion of God, take the enemy of God», whereupon the picture was transformed into a real lion, which leaped out of the picture and devoured the sorcerer Ḥumayd b. Mihrān. Hārūn al-Rašīd and his companions fell to the ground in a faint, in terror of what they had seen. When they recovered Hārūn al-Rašīd asked Mūsā al-Kāzīm to bring back the man whom the lion had devoured, and the imam pleaded for his return (Ibn Šahrāšūb 1959: IV, 299; Sindawi 2007). The account of this miracle shows that Šī‘ites believe that their imam has the power to turn an inanimate picture into a living animal in the presence of others, in order to prove to them that as a legitimate imam he possessed super-human powers, not only to create a living lion out of a picture, but also to command the lion to devour anyone who dared ridicule him.⁸ The act by which the imam turned the picture of the lion into a real animal consisted of raising his head towards the picture and addressing it as follows: «O lion of God, take the enemy of God», whereupon the lion immediately leaped out of the picture and did as he was ordered. The imam’s call was thus answered immediately and the lion did his bidding forthwith. The act of devouring is depicted as violent and fear-inspiring, perhaps as a Šī‘ite warning to its enemies not to mock its imams. It would thus seem that this type of miracle serves as a kind of compensation whereby the imams were able to take vengeance on their enemies who had deprived them of their rights and prevented them from becoming the leaders of the Muslim state. God, according to this view, compensated them by giving them spiritual powers which they were able to utilize in times of trouble.

‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn and the Poet Abū al-‘Atāhiya

‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn is reported to have had a close relationship with poets and poetry, perhaps as a stratagem for hiding his true interest, namely to further the Šī‘ite cause using his position as vizier. In the biography of the Abbasid poet Abū al-‘Atāhiya (Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim, d. 826) ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn is mentioned as a friend of the poet. Abū al-‘Atāhiya was known for his impudence and for his adherence to the Abbasid state. ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn always showed kindness to him and regard for his circumstances and every year gave him a generous gift, but one year he was late with the gift. Still, whenever Abū al-‘Atāhiya met him or came to him he showed his joy and praised him. It is related that once ‘Alī met Abū al-‘Atāhiya as the latter was about to go to the caliph’s house. He stopped him and Abū al-‘Atāhiya recited the following poem for him:

Until when, o Ibn Yaqṭīn, will I wait for something which you have not brought?

Greetings and a friendly smile in a man of your standing do not satisfy me This is the time in which men demand from me the haughtiness of kings and the morals of the poor

Do you not know that God will compensate you and increase your grace, o Ibn Yaqṭīn?

Save me with your gift in this world, not on the Day of Judgment.

The moment Abū al-‘Atāhiya finished reciting these verses ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn said to him: «I refuse to allow either of us to leave this place until you are satisfied», and ordered that he be given what he used to send him every year. This was brought immediately, and Ibn Yaqṭīn remained standing there until he received it (al-Amīn 1960: VIII, 41, 371; Abū al-‘Atāhiyya 2003: 418, no. 528). In my opinion ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn was fully familiar with Abū al-‘Atāhiya’s reputation as an impudent poet, and yet maintained an overt friendship with him and brought him an annual gift in order to draw attention away from his political activities and hide his Šī‘ite connections.

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s Pro-Šī‘ite Leanings

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn was pro-Šī‘ite. As a vizier to two caliphs, al-Hādī (ruled 785-786) and Hārūn al-Rašīd (ruled 786-809) he helped the Šī‘ites financially and spiritually. It is related that Hārūn al-Rašīd himself gave an order that ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn should personally see to the collection of taxes from the Šī‘ites and the supporters of the Prophet’s family. ‘Alī secretly asked the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm (d. 799) for advice on this matter. The imam proposed to him that he return the money to its Šī‘ite owners. And indeed, he would collect taxes from the Šī‘ites quite openly, and then return it to them clandestinely, without Hārūn al-Rašīd’s knowledge. In addition, ‘Alī provided the Šī‘ites, and especially the imam al-Kāzīm, with vital information about the regime, its strength, its ability to face up to challenges, and about its plans to purge its Šī‘ite opponents.

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn was thus of considerable importance to the Šī‘ites at the time. One example for his valuable assistance concerns the events of the Battle of Faḡḡ (786),⁹ an uprising in which the ‘Alid forces lost. After this defeat the Abbasid caliph Mūsā al-Hādī threatened the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm. He even planned to travel to al-Madīna and unearth the graves of four imams, al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī (d. 661), ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 713), Muḡammad al-Bāḡīr (d. 733) and Ġa‘far al-Šādiq (d. 765), in the cemetery of Baḡī‘ al-Ġarḡad in al-Madīna, and to exhume their mortal remains. He threatened to kill Mūsā al-Kāzīm and accused him of having been behind the uprising. ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn immediately sent this information to the imam, who took the needed precautions. He went on pilgrimage to his grandfather’s grave and there recited the call of «Ġawšan al-Šaḡīr»¹⁰ repeatedly, performed the supererogatory rites, and a few days later the unexpected happened, when the caliph al-Hādī was killed at the hand of his own mother (al-Maḡlisī 1984: XLVIII, 151, no. 25). ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn was concerned lest his close association with the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm would be discovered by Hārūn al-Rašīd, especially in light of the fact that the latter had sent out spies to ferret out Šī‘ite sympathizers in his government. Indeed, were it not for the imam’s advice to ‘Alī to keep his activities hidden from Hārūn al-Rašīd he would certainly have been killed.

Šī‘ite writers report two instances in which the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm advised ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn to keep his activities secret. The first incident, known as the Durrā‘a Affair (durrā‘a: a long garment open at the front): ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn was in the presence of Hārūn al-Rašīd when the latter received a present from the Byzantine emperor. Among the presents was a black durrā‘a of silk brocade with gold threads. ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn looked at the presents and the caliph gave them to him as a present. ‘Alī then sent all the garments to the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm, including the durrā‘a, and also added some money which he had prepared out of the «fifth»¹¹ of his assets. All this came to the imam, who kept the money and the clothes, but nine months later he sent the durrā‘a back to Ibn Yaḡḡīn with instructions not to let it out of his possession since he would eventually need it. When ‘Alī received the imam’s letter he was frightened, but kept the durrā‘a. A few days later ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn dismissed one of his servants, who knew of this employer’s close relations with Mūsā al-Kāzīm and the things which Ibn Yaḡḡīn sent him. He

informed Hārūn al-Rašīd that Ibn Yaqtīn recognized Mūsā al-Kāzīm as imam and sent him a fifth of his income every year, and also gave him the durrā‘a. The caliph was incensed and said that he would investigate the matter, and if he found that it was true then he would kill ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn. He immediately sent his men to bring Ibn Yaqtīn. When the latter was brought into his presence he asked him: «What did you do with the durrā‘a with which I covered you?» Ibn Yaqtīn answered: «O Commander of the Faithful, I keep it in a sealed and perfumed basket. I have guarded it well. I open it, look at it and kiss it, then put it back in its place, every morning and every evening». According to another version, ‘Alī said that he wore it during prayer.

Hārūn al-Rašīd asked Ibn Yaqtīn to bring it to him immediately. The caliph called a servant and sent him to Ibn Yaqtīn’s house. The servant brought the durrā‘a to Hārūn, who saw that it was indeed folded in a perfumed container. Hārūn’s anger subsided and he asked ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn to put the garment back in its place. He said to him: «From this day on I shall not believe any slander». He gave Ibn Yaqtīn a prize and ordered the servant to be given a thousand lashes, but after about five-hundred he died.¹² The second incident, known as the Ablution Affair: ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn had the habit of performing the ablution before prayer in the Sunnī manner,¹³ in accordance with the principle of taqiyya (dissimulation). He sent a request to the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm to instruct him in the Šī‘ite manner, but the imam commanded him to continue to perform the ritual as the Sunnīs do, until the proper time came, when he would teach him the Šī‘ite manner of ablution. And indeed, after a time someone slandered ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn and told Hārūn al-Rašīd that he was a Šī‘ite, an adherent of the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm who performed the ablution in the manner of the latter. Hārūn al-Rašīd then summoned ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn and asked him to perform a number of duties in his home. When the time for prayer came al-Rašīd hid behind a wall in order to observe ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn unseen. ‘Alī performed the ablution as the imam had told him, that is in the Sunnī manner, whereupon Hārūn al-Rašīd rose and said to ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn: «Whoever claimed that you were Rāfiḍī¹⁴ “defector” or “deserters” is a liar». After this the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm sent a letter to ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn in which he told him that from then on he may perform the ablution in the Šī‘ite manner, and explained¹⁵ to him the way it was to be done.

How ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn Maintained Contact with the Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim

The two maintained contact in a number of ways, which were kept secret in order to prevent the Abbasid caliph from discovering their relationship.

Occasionally ‘Alī sent letters to the imam via messengers. According to one tradition ‘Alī once sent ‘Abd al-Raḡmān b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ to the imam with a request that the imam pray for him. The imam asked ‘Alī’s messenger if ‘Alī wanted him to supplicate God for this world or the next. The messenger replied that Ibn Yaḡḡīn wanted his supplication for the world to come, whereupon the imam al-Kāẓim placed his hand on the messenger’s chest and said to him: «You may ensure ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn that the fire [of hell] will never touch him» (al-Kaššī 1929: 431, nos. 807-10).

The Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim Manifests His Love for 'Alī b. Yaqtīn

The imam loved 'Alī dearly. He not only promised him that he would go to heaven and that he would be saved from the fires of hell (Būḥamsīn 1990: 64-67), but also expressed his love on several occasions, as in the following instances:

A. One day 'Alī b. Yaqtīn visited the imam al-Kāzim, who was sitting with his companions at home. When 'Alī appeared the imam looked at him and said to his companions: «Whoever would be happy to gaze at a companion of the Prophet of God, let him gaze at this man who has just come», and pointed at 'Alī. One of those present asked excitedly:

«Is he one who will go to Paradise?». The imam replied: «I testify that he will».

B. Another time 'Alī b. Yaqtīn sent a messenger to the imam al-Kāzim, in which he asked him to pray for him. When the messenger arrived he said to the imam: «O son of God's Messenger, Ibn Yaqtīn sent me to you so would supplicate God for him». The imam asked him: «For the world to come?» and the messenger answered: «Yes», whereupon the imam said to him: «You may ensure 'Alī b. Yaqtīn that the fire [of hell] will never touch him».

C. On yet another occasion Dāwūd al-Raqqī¹⁶ gave the following report: «I came into the presence of my father al-Ḥasan (the imam Mūsā al-Kāzim) on the Day of Immolation» (the 10th day of the month of Dū'l-Ḥiġġa, the first day of the Feast of Sacrifice) and he said to me: «No one took notice of my when I was at al-Mawqif (a place of pilgrimage during the ḥaġġ near Minā) except for 'Alī b. Yaqtīn, who stayed with me and did not leave me».

D. In a fourth report the imam Mūsā al-Kāzim said of 'Alī b. Yaqtīn: «It is 'Alī b. Yaqtīn's good fortune that I mentioned him at al-Mawqif» (Būḥamsīn 1990: 66).

‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn Supports the Šī‘ite Poor

‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn helped the Šī‘ite poor. On the imam al-Kāzīm’s directions he gave great sums and sent a fifth of his earnings to the imam. The fifth which he sent annually was a considerable amount of money, occasionally reaching hundreds of thousands of dirhams. ‘Alī also supported the imam in times of trouble and need. Whenever the imam al-Kāzīm was needy, or wanted to help someone for whom he cared, he would write to ‘Alī and ask him to buy or arrange what was needed (al-Kaššī 1929: 269, no. 484). Two of ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn’s companions relate that he sent them the following message: «Buy two female camels and stay off the road». He gave them money and letters and told them to bring them to the imam al-Kāzīm and to take care that no one discover what they were doing. They reported what happened: «We came to al-Kūfa and bought two female camels, took supplies and left. We travelled off the road until we came to Baṭn al-Rimma, where we tied the camels, put feed before them and sat down to eat. As we were eating a rider came with a mule, and as he approached we saw that it was the imam al-Kāzīm. We rose and greeted him, and gave him the letters and the other things we had with us». He took some letters out of his sleeve and gave them to us. He said: «These are the replies to the letters you brought». We said: «Our supplies are low. With your permission, we would like to enter al-Madīna, visit God’s Messenger and buy some supplies». He said: «Show me your supplies». We took out our provisions and he turned them over in his hand and said: «This will be enough for you until you reach al-Kūfa, and as for God’s Messenger, you have seen him» (ibid.: 436-37, no. 821).

Among those whom ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn supported was one ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kāhilī, Abū Muḥammad and his family. This he did at the request of the imam al-Kāzīm, who promised him in return that he would go to Paradise. ‘Alī fulfilled his obligation towards al-Kāhilī and his family until the latter’s death. According to the reports what he sent was enough to support al-Kāhilī’s family and his relatives as well (al-Ḥillī 1990: 108-9, no. 31; al-Kaššī 1929: 448, no. 841; al-Naḡāšī s.d.: 222, no. 580).

Secrecy and Concealment in ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn’s Religious Behaviour

It is reported of ‘Alī that he kept his religious tendencies secret and did not perform Šī‘ite rites, out of fear that his Šī‘ite leanings would be found out. ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn prayed often, but in secret (Būḡamsīn 1990: 128; al-Qurašī 1993: II, 285). He also concealed his pilgrimage to Mecca in a variety of ways. In fact, every year he asked people to perform this duty for him. His secretary, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn, states: «One year I counted one-hundred-and-fifty people who went on pilgrimage for ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn, to each of which he gave at least ten-thousand dirhams» (al-Kaššī 1929: 437, no. 824). If there is any truth in this tradition, it means that Ibn Yaḡḡīn’s income must have been very large indeed. It would seem that he used the pilgrimage as a means for giving support to Šī‘ites in a way which would not arouse his enemies’ suspicions. This conjecture is supported by the fact that among the people he helped were important personages such as ‘Abd al-Raḡmān b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ and ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḡyā al-Kāhīlī, who were companions of the imam and disliked by the authorities (al-Ṭūsī 1970: 435). One final point in this respect is the fact that ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn included not only Šī‘ite elders in his plan but others as well, for the purpose of making the Šī‘ite creed known and to dispute with the other religious sects. ‘Alī was thus able to conceal his connection with Šī‘ism and the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm. In fact, he did this so well that a senior Šī‘ite complained to the imam that he suspected ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn of being a dissimulator who only pretended to be a Šī‘ite and an adherent of the imam. The imam asked him if he had evidence for his accusation. He replied that one day he was at a gathering in the home of a prominent man in Baghdad, and ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn was also present. The host asked ‘Alī if he thought that Mūsā b. Ḡa‘far was the imam rather than the reigning caliph. ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn replied: «I do not say this. Rather, I say that Mūsā is not imam, whoever is not imam then Mūsā is not him, and I agree that this is my imamate and I reject the imamate of anyone else». The host then said: «May God give you recompense and may He curse those who slander you». The imam then said to the man who brought him this report: «It is not as you thought. ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn is better versed in jurisprudence than you are». When he said «Mūsā is not imam» he meant that whoever is not imam, Mūsā is not like him, that is, he is imam, and he reiterated this by saying «this is my imamate» and rejected «the imamate of anyone but me». The imam then added: «O ‘Abdallāh, when will you cease from such suspicions about your brother. Do penance before God». When the man realized what the imam meant he was greatly distressed and said to him: «I do not possess money, but I have give half of my devotions and prayers to you, family of the Prophet, and my curses to your enemies». Thereupon the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm said to him: «Now you have escaped hellfire» (al-Maḡlisī 1984: LXXII, 195, no. 7; al-Ṭabrisī 1982: 394-95; al-‘Askarī 1988: 359-60).

‘Alī b. Yaqtīn as Vizier

Our written sources do not tell us the circumstances under which ‘Alī b.

Yaqtīn was appointed to the post of vizier by Hārūn al-Rašīd and the specific function he had. Šī‘ite sources relate that ‘Alī had a close relationship with the Abbasids, by whom he was appointed to senior posts, and that Hārūn al-Rašīd chose him to be his vizier. ‘Alī agreed to take the position after he had secretly sought the advice of the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm, al-Kāzīm who urged him to agree to the appointment. Later ‘Alī asked the imam a number of times for permission to resign, but the imam refused to accede to his request (al-Mağlisī 1984: XLVIII, 158, no. 32), and explained that his position was important for the preservation of Šī‘ite lives, property and rights. The imam said to ‘Alī: «Safeguard me one tuft and I will safeguard you three». ‘Alī asked him: «What are they?», and the imam replied: «The three which I will safeguard you are: that the heat of iron will never strike and kill you, that you will never know poverty, and that you will never be put in prison; and the one thing you will guarantee is that you will respect every religious leader who comes to you». ‘Alī b. Yaqtīn accepted this request, and the imam guaranteed him the three (ibid.: 136, no. 10).

The imam al-Kāzīm said to ‘Alī: «We (the Šī‘ites) have a friend in you and your brothers have strength in you. May God through you mend a fracture, and through you may He break the enmity of those who oppose His supporters» (ibidem).

‘Alī b. Yaqtīn remained true to his commitment and continued to give succour to the Šī‘ites during his entire term of office and helped them in those dire times to maintain their lives and their independence.¹⁷

‘Alī b. Yaḡṡīn’s Complaints About His Job as Vizier of Hārūn al-Rašīd

The imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm once came to Iraq and met secretly with ‘Alī b. Yaḡṡīn. When the latter complained about his work as vizier the imam said to him: «O ‘Alī, God has supporters with the supporters of darkness, with whom He defends his own supporters, and you are one of them» (al-Maḡlisī 1984: LXXII, 349-50, no. 56; al-Kaššī 1929: 43, no. 817). As mentioned above, ‘Alī b. Yaḡṡīn asked the imam a number of times for permission to resign, but the imam refused, out of concern for the lives of the Šī‘ites.

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn as a Transmitter of Traditions

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn played an important role in the life of the imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim and his reports are often quoted in Šī‘ite ḡadīḡ and history collections.

In Šī‘ite traditional sources ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn is often quoted as a reliable source of information about pronouncements which he heard from Mūsā al-Kāẓim, Ġa‘far al-Šādiq and others. Most of these ḡadīḡs contain answers to questions which were posed to the imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Among other topics with which ‘Alī’s ḡadīḡs deal are issues in Šī‘ite jurisprudence, for example on funeral procedures (al-Kulaynī s.d.: III, 168, no. 1), charity (ibid.: III, 518, no. 5), the rules of the pilgrimage to Mecca (ibid.: IV, 380, no. 8), ritual ablution before prayer (ibid.: III, 18, no. 15), major ritual impurity (ibid.: III, 46, no. 3), why God spoke to Mūsā (ibid.: III, 123), pregnant woman who dies (ibid.: III, 155, no. 1), the traveler’s prayer (ibid.: III, 435, no. 8), and others. It is, however, very difficult to determine whether ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn did in fact report all the ḡadīḡs attributed to him or whether some or most of them are later fabrications.

‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn’s Ḥadīṭs About His Spiritual Masters (šayḥ)

Many of ‘Alī’s ḥadīṭs report the words of the imams, especially al-Kāzīm. In all, some 187 ḥadīṭs about the imams are ascribed to him. From the ḥadīṭs found in various Šī‘ite sources and ascribed to ‘Alī, it appears that he had nineteen spiritual masters: the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm, who held a very important place in his life (al-Kulaynī s.d.: I, 313, no. 10; II, 13, no. 2; III, 168, no. 1; III, 435, no. 8; VI, 434, no. 24; al-Ḥillī 1990: 91, no. 3); the imam Ġa‘far al-Šādiq, in whose name he related a single ḥadīṭ (al-Ḥillī 1990: 91, no. 5; al-Ṭūsī s.d.c: I, 166, no. 48); Muḥammad b. Sinān (al-Kulaynī s.d.: IV, 25, no. 3); al-Faḍl b. Kaṭīr al-Madā’inī (ibid.: II, 106, no. 5; V, 317, no. 52); ‘Īsā b. Sulaymān (al-Kaššī 1929: 396, no. 597); Yūnus, ‘Alī’s teacher (al-Kulaynī s.d.: IV, 505, no. 3); Ḥafṣ b. ‘Amr b. Muḥammad Abū Muḥammad (ibid.: IV, 541, no. 5); his muezzin, whose name was al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥālīd (ibid.: V, 104, no. 5; al-Ṭūsī s.d.c: VI, 209, no. 2); ‘Amr b. Ibrāhīm (al-Kulaynī s.d.: V, 236, no. 17); ‘Āšim b. Ḥumayd (ibid.: V, 391, no. 7); Yūnus b. Ya‘qūb (ibid.: V, 236, no. 17)¹⁸ b. Qays Abū ‘Alī al-Ġalāb al-Baġalī al-Dahnī; Muḥammad b. Hāšim (ibid.: VI, 31, no. 5); Ruhm al-Anšārī;¹⁹ al-Madāyinī (al-Kaššī 1929: 398, no. 743); Hāšim b. Ḥālīd (al-Kulaynī s.d.: VI, 405, no. 3); Bakr b. Muḥammad (ibid.: VI, 428, no. 1); ‘Amr b. Ibrāhīm (al-Ṭūsī s.d.c: III, 31, no. 21; III, 282, no. 157); and al-Ḥasan b. Šabbāḥ (ibid.: VII, 10, no. 38).

His Disciples and Transmitters

In this section we deal with those people who learned the imams' words from 'Alī b. Yaḡḡīn and transmitted them. To judge by the available sources he appears to have had eighteen disciples: his son al-Ḥasan (al-Kulaynī s.d.: I, 11, no. 7; II, 106, no. 5), al-Ḥusayn b. Mayyāḡ (ibid.: I, 58, no. 18; V, 158, no. 7; V, 305, no. 8), Ibn Abī 'Umayr (ibid.: II, 123, no. 7; III, 192, no. 2; III, 435, no. 8; III, 155, no. 1; III, 547, no. 5; IV, 380, no. 8; al-Ṭūsī s.d.c: VII, 224, no. 73), Muḡammad b. Abī Ḥamza (al-Kulaynī s.d.: VI, 186, no. 5), Ḥarīz (ibid.: III, 518, no. 8), Ibrāḡīm b. Abī Maḡmūd (ibid.: V, 110, no. 3; al-Ṭūsī s.d.c: VI, 335, no. 48), Ḥamād b. 'Uṡmān (ibid.: II, 212, no. 24), 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ (ibid.: VII, 22, no. 92), his muezzin Ḥafṡ b. 'Amr b. Muḡammad Abū Muḡammad (al-Kaššī 1929: 432, no. 814), Ya'qūb b. Yazīd (al-Kulaynī s.d.: VI, 387, no. 1), Sulaym (his slave) 'Alī b. Yaḡḡīn (ibid.: VIII, 383, no. 583), Ṣafwān b. Yaḡyā (al-Ṣadūq 1993: I, 415, no. 1226), Ğa'far b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd (ibid.: IV, 209), Aḡmad b. Muḡammad b. 'Īsā (al-Ṭūsī s.d.c: I, 111, no. 26), Abū Ḥālid (his slave; ibid.: V, 491, no. 410), his brother Ya'qūb (ibid.: III, 11, no. 36; III, 12, no. 19.), his brother Ayyūb (ibid.: III, 101, no. 35.), and his scribe Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn (al-Kaššī 1929: 437, no. 824).

Conclusion

‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn, as we saw, was born in al-Kūfa and then moved with his family to Baghdad, where he grew up in a period of political troubles, at the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the Abbasid period. He was an adherent of the Šī‘a, as was his father, and was the contemporary of the two imams Ġa‘far al-Šādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim. He reported numerous ḡadīḡs quoting the latter. ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn served as vizier under two Abbasid caliphs, Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rašīd. As we found in our study, ‘Alī’s position in the Abbasid caliphate enabled him to help the Šī‘ites in two ways. First, he was privy to important information concerning the confrontation between the Abbasid authorities and the Šī‘ites, which he was able to provide the imam Mūsā al-Kāzim with. Second, he was able to provide generous financial support to needy Šī‘ites. He also contributed to Šī‘ite jurisprudence in the form of three books on this subject that he composed, and 187 ḡadīḡs about the imams, which were later transmitted by his numerous disciples. During the entire time in which he held the post of vizier ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn successfully concealed his religious beliefs and his association with Mūsā al-Kāzim. More than once he asked the imam to be allowed to resign his post in the Abbasid administration, but the imam turned down his request, since in his position he was able to help the Šī‘ites. The taxes which ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn collected from the Šī‘ites he returned to them clandestinely. He kept his relationship with the imam a secret and his entire behaviour is in line with the Šī‘ite principle of dissimulation (taḡiyya). Using his innate wisdom and with the help of the imam Mūsā al-Kāzim’s instructions, ‘Alī b. Yaḡḡīn was able to provide great assistance to the Šī‘ites, warn them of impending steps which the Abbasid caliph intended to take against them and supported them financially. He devoted a great part of his life, occasionally at considerable personal risk, to serve the members of his denomination.

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Notes

1 al-Mas'ūdī (1988: IV, 28). Abū Zahra (1993: 51), it should be noted, rejects the claim that the caliph al-Manṣūr poisoned the imam al-Ṣādiq. He states that al-Manṣūr took steps to stabilize his rule and suppress any opposition, but that in his meetings with the caliph he became convinced that the latter did not oppose him. In fact, al-Ṣādiq's death occurred after al-Manṣūr's position had become completely secure and he had no reason to fear any hostile action on the part of the 'Alids, nor would he have wanted to revive ancient enmities. He also attacks Ṣī'ite claims that he had killed the imam. Donaldson (1933: 141) states that these Ṣī'ite accusations against al-Manṣūr originated in the Ṣī'ite doctrine, according to which all the imams with the exception of 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and the Mahdī died by poison, in line with ḥadīths that maintained that no imam would die a natural death.

2 al-Mahdī in his dream saw 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, who recited Kor. 47:22 to him: «Would ye perhaps, if ye had turned back, have done evil in the land and severed the bonds of kinship?» (al-Layṭī 1976: 229).

3 Taqiyya is a practice in Ṣī'a Islam whereby an adherent may conceal their faith when said adherent feels that they are under threat, persecution or compulsion. For more on taqiyya see Kohlberg (1975); Meyer (1980).

4 For more information on his life see: al-Barqī (1963: 48); al-Naḡāšī (s.d.: 273, no. 715); al-Ḥillī (1990: XXXIX, no. 4); al-Mufīd (1992: 247-48); Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (1963: 253, no. 1079); al-Ṭūsī (s.d.a: 340, no. 5056-17; s.d.b: 90-91, no. 378).

5 Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (1963: 381, no. 17081; 528, no. 550); al-Barqī (1963: 49, 54); al-Ṭūsī (s.d.a: 346, no. 1567-11; 369, no. 4578-2); al-Ḥillī (1990: 184, no. 1); al-Kaššī (1929: 284, no. 503, 483 ff.); al-Naḡāšī (s.d.: 446-47, no. 1208).

6 On the miracles wrought by Ṣī'ite imams see: Loebenstein (2003); Momen (1985: 23); Jafri (1979: 294); Gramlich (1987: IV, 615-16); Amir-Moezzi (2000); Kohlberg (2003).

7 For example, in al-Maḡlisī's *Bihār al-anwār* there are 89 traditions which relate miracles performed by the fifth imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 732) and 81 traditions about the miracles of the imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 873). For more details see: Amir-Moezzi (2000: 259-60).

8 Note that in the Hebrew Bible there are a number of cases in which a lion is reported to have punished someone who did not believe in God; Ṣī'ites may well have been influenced by such tales. For more details see: Kaplan (1981: 124, 180); King 13: 1-32, 20: 35-43, 2: 23-24.

9 The Battle of Faḥḥ took place in 786 near al-Madīna, between the Abbasid army under the caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī, and the forces of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, a son of the second imam al-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥusayn himself and those with him were killed, and many of the battle's participants were captured and led to Baghdad, where the caliph ordered them executed. For more details see al-Layṭī (1976: 276-78).

10 This is a call used by the imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm on the day when the Abbasid caliph Mūsā al-Hādī wanted to kill him. The «al-Ġawṣan al-Ṣaḡir» evokes many of the trials and tribulations which men experience. It is highly regarded by Ṣī'ites. For more details see: al-Qummī (1984: 200-17); al-Maḡlisī (1984: XCI, 382-86).

11 Ḥums is the Arabic word for One Fifth (1/5). According to Ṣī'a Islamic legal terminology, it means «one-fifth of certain items which a person acquires as wealth, and which must be paid as an Islamic tax». For more details on ḥums see: Calder (1982); Sachededina (1980).

12 al-Mufīd (1992: 225-26); al-Ṭabrisī (1970: 302-3); al-Rāwandī (1988: I, 334-35), whence al-Maḡlisī (1984: XLVIII, 59-60, no. 2); al-Ṭabarī (1963: 158-59); al-Fattāl (1966: 213-14); al-Irbillī (1962: II, 224-25); Ibn Ṣahrāšūb (1959: IV, 289).

13 The difference between the Sunnī and Ṣī'ī methods of ablution lie mainly in the way they wash their feet. The Ṣī'ites rub their feet while the Sunnīs wash them. For more on the rubbing of soles among the Ṣī'ites see Schacht (1953: 263-64).

14 Rāfidī 'defector' or 'deserter'. The term is used by Sunni Muslims to refer to Ṣī'ī Muslims who do not recognize Abū Bakr and his successors as having been legitimate rulers of the early Muslim community. The term rāfida followed the Ṣī'a from a very early period, back to the uprising of Zayd b. 'Alī, against the Umayyad Caliphate. This uprising

foreshadowed the collapse of the dynasty, which in turn led to the split between those Šī'ī Muslims who agreed with Zayd and those who did not. The meaning of the term went through several changes over time. It became a popular pejorative term for Twelvers, intended to recall their rejection of Zayd b. 'Alī and of the first Sunni Rāšidūn, namely Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Utmān. See Kohlberg (1979).

15 al-Rāwandī (1988: I, 335-36); al-Maġlisī (1984: XLVIII, 136-37, no. 11); Ibn Šahrāšūb (1959: IV, 288).

16 His cognomens were Abū Ḥālid and Abū Sulaymān. A client of the Banū Asad tribe, he transmitted traditions in the name of the imams Ġa'far al-Šādiq, Mūsā al-Kāzim and 'Alī al-Riḍā, and wrote two books, al-Mazār and al-Ihlīliġa. He died after the year 200 H, not long after the death of the imam al-Riḍā (d. 818). For more details see: Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (1963: 146, no. 584, 452, no. 173); Ibn al-Ġaḍā'irī (1994: 290); al-Barqī (1963: 32, 48); al-Naġāšī (s.d.: 156, no. 410); al-Ḥillī (1990: 67, no. 1).

17 It is perhaps worth noting here that a number of companions of the imams joined the regime at various times and were able to help the Šī'ites in their positions. This they did on the instructions of the imams, as in the case of 'Alī b. Yaqqīn who held the post of vizier under Hārūn al-Rašīd, as well as Dāwūd b. Zurbī Abū Sulaymān al-Ḥandaqī al-Bundār, another vizier under Hārūn al-Rašīd, Ishāq al-Naysābūrī who governed Ahwāz under the Abbasids and was also a companion of the imam al-'Askarī (d. 847), and al-Ḥusayn al-Naysābūrī the Abbasid governor of Siġistān, a companion of the imam al-Jawād (d. 835). For more details see: Būḥamsīn (1990: 123); Fawzī (1987: 135).

18 al-Kulaynī (s.d.: VI, 4, no. 4). For details on his life see, for example: al-Ḥillī (1990: 185, no. 2; 265, no. 2); Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (1963: 382, no. 1709, 533); al-Ṭūsī (s.d.a: 323; s.d.b: 182, no. 790); al-Kaššī (1929: 385, no. 720); al-Naġāšī (s.d.: 446, no. 1207).

19 al-Ḥillī (1990: 72, no. 4). For details on his life see: al-Kaššī (1929: 454, no. 858); al-Ṭūsī (s.d.a: 336, no. 5008-1); Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (1963: 154, no. 611).

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