

# I

## ‘Alī and His Personal Associates

At the time of his death, the Prophet’s only surviving child was his daughter, Fāṭima, whose own children included Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. ‘Alī, one of the Prophet’s closest associates since childhood and his son-in-law, was the head of this small family of the Prophet’s offspring, known as the House of the Prophet.

Succession to the Prophet went to the most senior of his extended family, the tribe of Quraysh. The Prophet’s daughter and grandchildren, now completely out of the limelight, must nevertheless have enjoyed the affection of the Muslims in Medina. Members of the Prophet’s clan of the tribe of Quraysh, the Banū Hāshim, and a number of the clients of the House – former slaves manumitted by the Prophet and their children – and a few well-wishers, made up a small circle of associates of the House. There were a few among the disciples of the Prophet who had a special attachment to the House of the Prophet and kept this affection until the end of their lives. Salmān al-Fārsī, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, and Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī, three senior Companions, belonged to this camp. The Shī‘a consider these Companions to be their first generation.

## 1: ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

Abū ‘I-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the prophet’s first cousin and son-in-law, the first Imām of the Shī‘a and the fourth “Truly Guided” caliph of the Sunnīs (r. 35–40). Born in Mecca, ca. 600 AD, and raised by the Prophet, he was one of the Prophet’s closest and most learned associates. He was assassinated in Kūfa in 40.

Biographical material about ‘Alī can be found in very many sources, as well as many monographs and special chapters. For summaries of the material and lists of the main early sources for his biography, see the entries on him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., 1: 381–6 (L. Veccia Vaglieri) and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1: 838–48 (I. K. Poonawala and E. Kohlberg).

### 1. *Qur’ānic recension*

‘Alī is believed to have been the compiler of one of the early recensions of the Qur’ān.<sup>1</sup> His recension is said to have been chronologically arranged, that is, in the order in which the Qur’ān was revealed,<sup>2</sup> though the account that the sources<sup>3</sup> give of the arrangement of his codex does not support that assumption. It is also reported that his codex included additional exegetical material including information on the abrogated verses of the Qur’ān.<sup>4</sup> Shī‘ite sources report that after the death of the Prophet, ‘Alī presented this codex for official consecration, but it was rejected by other companions of the Prophet and he had to take it back home.<sup>5</sup> He is also one of the few original Readers of the Qur’ān whose

1. Ibn Sa’d 2: 338; Ibn Abī Shayba 6: 148; Ya‘qūbī 2: 135; Ibn Abī Dāwūd: 10; *Kāfī* 8: 18; Ibn al-Nadīm: 30; Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī, *Awā’il* 1: 219–20; *Hilya* 1: 67; Ibn Juzayy 1: 4; Ibn Abī ‘I-Ḥadīd 1: 27; Dhahabī, *Ma‘rifat al-qurrā’* 1: 28.
2. Ibn Sa’d 2: 258; Dhahabī, *Ma‘rifat* 1: 28; Suyūfī, *Itqān* 1: 216.
3. Ya‘qūbī 2: 135–6; Shahrastānī, *Maḡātib* 1: 134–9 (quoting Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī of the early 3rd century, presumably in his *Kitāb al-tanzīl* [Najāshī: 335]).
4. Suyūfī, *Itqān* 1: 204.
5. Sulaym b. Qays: 72, 108; Ṣaffār: 193; *Kāfī* 2: 633; Bāqillānī: 107; Shahrastānī, *Maḡātib* 1: 120; *Iḥtijāj* 1: 107, 225–8; *Manāqib* 2: 42. It should be noted that a report in ‘Abd al-Razzāq 4: 6–7 and Bukhārī 2: 277 (attested partially also in Aḥmad 1:141, and with variations in Ibn Abī Shayba 15: 227; ‘Uthmān al-Dārimī, *al-Radd ‘alā Bisḥr*: 130; Ibn ‘Asākir 39: 266) states that ‘Alī, reacting to the public complaint against ‘Uthmān’s tax officials, offered ‘Uthmān the text of the Prophet’s guidelines to tax collectors and asked him to instruct his tax collectors to follow it. ‘Uthmān, however, rejected that and said he did not need it. ‘Alī therefore had to take it back. The similarities with the account quoted above are striking (see further below, footnote 48).

Reading has been preserved.<sup>6</sup> A number of alleged differences between his reading and the current standard version of the Qur’ān are recorded in the sources.<sup>7</sup> A Sunnī expert on the text of the Qur’ān, Abū Ṭāhir ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Umar al-Baghdādī al-Bazzāz (d. 349)<sup>8</sup> wrote a monograph on the reading of ‘Alī.<sup>9</sup> Certain authors of works on Qur’ānic readings, however, suggest that the reading of ‘Āṣim<sup>10</sup> as transmitted by Ḥafṣ,<sup>11</sup> that has long been the dominant standard version of the Qur’ān, is in fact the reading of ‘Alī.<sup>12</sup> Ḥafṣ’ reading is believed to have faithfully represented that of ‘Āṣim with the single exception of one word.<sup>13</sup> ‘Āṣim is quoted as having told Ḥafṣ that the reading he taught him was the one he had learnt from Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī,<sup>14</sup> who had received it from ‘Alī.<sup>15</sup> ‘Āṣim asserted that nowhere did he abandon the reading of Sulamī; Sulamī’s reading in turn never deviated from that of ‘Alī.<sup>16</sup> None of the variations attributed to ‘Alī’s codex is, however, attested in the ‘Āṣim/Ḥafṣ reading. The Shī’ites did not recognize ‘Āṣim’s reading as that of ‘Alī,<sup>17</sup> though some noted ‘Āṣim’s Shī’ite sympathies.<sup>18</sup> Sunnī polemicists, however, use the idea that ‘Alī’s reading is known through Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī and that this latter’s reading is not basically

6. Dhahabī, *Ma’rifā* 1: 42.

7. Ibn Jinnī records some 60 cases of these variant Readings in his *Muḥtasib*; they are scattered through the work but can be traced through the index of names at the end of the book 2: 506. Many of these and others are attested in other works, too, such as Sayyārī: 70 b; Ibn Abī Dāwūd: 53; Ibn al-Juhām: 193; Ibn Khālawayh, *Badī*: 151; *Mabānī*: 103; *Manāqib* 3: 110 (quoting Abū ‘l-Qāsim al-Kūfī in his *al-Radd ‘alā abl al-tabdīl*); also Jeffery: 185–92; *Mu’jam al-qirā’āt al-Qur’āniyya*, introduction: 15–16 and the sources named therein.

8. On whom see Ibn al-Nadīm: 35; Khaṭīb, *Ta’rīkh* 11: 7–8, and many other sources listed in the editors’ footnotes to Dhahabī’s *Sīyar* 16: 21 and *Ta’rīkh* 25 (years 331–350): 424.

9. Najāshī: 247; *Fibriṣt*: 122.

10. ‘Āṣim b. Abī ‘l-Najūd al-Kūfī (d. 127), one of the seven Readers of the Qur’ān.

11. Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī (d. 180), a Reader of the Qur’ān and ‘Āṣim’s step-son and main student.

12. Ibn Mihrān, *Mabsūṭ*: 44, 46–47, 48, 51, 199; idem, *Ghāyā*: 52; Ibn Ghalbūn 1: 61–62; Ibn al-Nadīm: 31; Abū ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Hamadānī 1: 55; *Mabānī*: 103; Ibn al-Bādhish 1: 124; Dhahabī, *Ma’rifā* 1: 94.

13. Azharī: 99; Ibn Mihrān, *Mabsūṭ*: 56; idem, *Ghāyā*: 53.

14. Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 73–74), a transmitter of *ḥadīth* and Reader of the Qur’ān who taught it in the grand mosque of Kūfa for 40 years.

15. Abū ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Hamadānī 1: 55; Dhahabī, *Ma’rifā*: 92.

16. Ibn Mihrān, *Mabsūṭ*: 56. Elsewhere, however, this author quotes that ‘Āṣim’s other student, Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (d. 193) modified the reading of ‘Āṣim in ten cases to make it conform completely with the Reading of ‘Alī (ibid.: 440). See also Dhahabī, *Ma’rifā* 1: 27, 91, 92.

17. See especially Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d al-su’ūd*: 554.

18. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī: 212–13, 238.

different from the standard reading of the text, to attack early Shī‘ite arguments from reports suggesting that ‘Alī had a variant recension of the Qur’ān.<sup>19</sup> One thus wonders if the identification of the reading of ‘Alī with that of ‘Āṣim/ Ḥaḥṣ was not originally meant for the same purpose and as a polemical strategy to disarm the Shī‘ites in their sectarian debates with the Sunnīs.

## 2. *Kitāb ‘Alī*

An early report asserts that ‘Alī was once seen noting down on a parchment what he heard from the Prophet in his presence.<sup>20</sup> References to, and quotations from, a text believed to have been compiled by ‘Alī from the statements of the Prophet are abundant in the material from the second century. According to a report, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, the jurisconsult of Mecca in the early second century (d. 114), knew this text and had no doubt that it was actually ‘Alī’s compilation.<sup>21</sup> Some reports describe the text as a 70 cubit parchment scroll.<sup>22</sup> This is identical with a description given for a scroll called *al-Ḥāmi‘a* mentioned in some other reports;<sup>23</sup> both were said to contain what people need in matters of lawfulness and unlawfulness and the laws of inheritance,<sup>24</sup> even monetary compensation for bodily bruises.<sup>25</sup> A similar description of the material, size and

19. Bāqillānī: 70, 378; *Mabānī*: 60. For the purpose of the argument, see Modarressi, “Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur’ān”: 24–28.

20. Ṣaffār: 163 (paragraph # 4, see also 160, para. # 31); ‘Alī b. Bābawayh, *Imāma*: 174; Rāmhurmuzī: 601; Sam‘ānī, *Adab al-implā*: 12, 13; Bulqaynī: 300.

21. Shāfi‘ī, *Umm* 2: 126.

22. Ṣaffār: 142–6 (# 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21), 147–9 (# 1, 2, 5, 7, 14), 151 (# 2), 155 (# 10), 159 (# 26), all mentioning the measurement. That it was a parchment is mentioned in 142 (# 2), 147 (# 5). Others only mention it as a large scroll without giving the exact measurement, as in Najāshī: 360 (see also Ṣaffār: 148–9 [# 9, 12], 163 [# 3], 164 [# 6], 168 [# 24]), or that when wrapped it looked like a man’s thigh (Ṣaffār: 165 [# 14]) or a camel’s thigh (ibid.: 142 [# 2]; *Kāfi* 7: 94).

23. Ṣaffār: 142–46 (# 2, 4, 8, 9, 15, 22), 148–50 (# 8, 13, 16), 152–3 (# 3, 6), 157 (# 19), 160 (# 31); *Faqīh* 4: 419; *Khiṣāḥ*: 528. That this was a parchment is noted in Ṣaffār: 142 (# 2), 149 (# 13), 153 (# 6 where it is also mentioned that when wrapped it looked like a camel’s thigh; also *Kāfi* 1: 241); *Kāfi* 1: 239, 241.

24. For the Book of ‘Alī, see Ṣaffār: 142–6 (# 1, 3, 7, 11, 18), 148 (# 7), 149 (# 14), 154 (# 7), 164 (# 10), 166 (# 18); ‘Ayyāshī 1: 25–6; *Kāfi* 1: 242. For the *Ḥāmi‘a*, see Ṣaffār: 142–6 (# 4, 8, 9, 15, 22, 23), 148 (# 8), 150 (# 16), 152 (# 3), 157 (# 19), 161 (# 33); *Kāfi* 1: 239, 241.

25. For the Book of ‘Alī, see Ṣaffār: 142–6 (# 3, 6, 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21), 147–48 (# 1, 6, 7, 11), 155 (# 10, 12), 159 (# 26), 164 (# 5), 166 (# 18). For the *Ḥāmi‘a*, see ibid.: 142–6 (# 2, 4, 8, 15, 22), 148 (# 8), 152 (# 3), 153 (# 6), 160 (# 31); *Kāfi* 1: 239, 241.

contents is also given for another text called *Muṣḥaf* (or *Kitāb*) *Fāṭima*.<sup>26</sup> The specific description which suggests that the text contained everything that people needed including monetary compensation for bruises is occasionally mentioned in connection with yet another text called the *Jafr*.<sup>27</sup> Both of the latter works were also believed to consist of 'Alī's notes taken from the Prophet's dictation.<sup>28</sup> References to these last two texts, mostly in the case of the first<sup>29</sup> and totally in the case of the latter,<sup>30</sup> are, however, concerned with esoteric and apocalyptic matters. All these were supposed to be parts of the written heritage of the House of the Prophet that many early Shī'ites believed passed through the line of the Imāms,<sup>31</sup> providing them with the special knowledge that distinguished them from the rest of the community including the learned.<sup>32</sup> Whether or not all of this was a natural expansion of the single parchment report quoted in the opening of this discussion, as suggested by a contemporary author,<sup>33</sup>

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26. Ṣaffār: 150–151 (# 1), 153 (# 5), 156 (# 14), 161 (# 33); *Kāfī* 1: 240; *Kbiṣāl*: 528. See also *Kāfī* 3: 507. Contrary descriptions are given in Ṣaffār: 152–4 (# 3, 6), 157 (# 18), 158 (# 21), 159 (# 27); *Kāfī* 1: 240, 241. Compare also Ṣaffār: 152 (# 3), 153 (# 6), 157–8 (# 19), 161 (# 33); *Kāfī* 1: 239, 241 (# 5); *Kbiṣāl*: 528 where the two works are categorically distinguished.
  27. Ṣaffār: 155 (# 12), 156 (# 14); *Faqīb* 4: 419; *Kbiṣāl*: 528. See also Ṣaffār: 156 (# 15), 160 (# 30), 161 (# 34) where it is described as containing what people need in matters of lawfulness and unlawfulness. The report in the *Faqīb* states that the text contains all knowledge.
  28. For the *Muṣḥaf Fāṭima*, see Ṣaffār: 150–61 (# 5, 14, 19, 33; compare contrary accounts *ibid.*: 150–61, # 3, 18, 27). For the *Jafr*, see *ibid.*: 155–61 (# 10, 12, 15, 26, 30, 34).
  29. See, for instance, Ṣaffār: 161 (# 32), 169 (# 3), 170 (# 7); 'Alī b. Bābawayh, *Imāma*: 180; *Kāfī* 1: 241, 242, 8: 58. See also Ṣaffār: 158 (# 23) where it is said that the *Muṣḥaf* of Fāṭima was taken back (*qubīda*) after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114–117).
  30. See the article *Djafr* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., 2: 375–7 (T. Fahd).
  31. Ṣaffār: 162–7 (# 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 20); *Kāfī* 1: 276, 297–8; *Da'ū'im* 1: 27, 2: 346–7; *Faqīb* 4: 189, 419; *Tabdhīb* 9: 176.
  32. Ṣaffār: 142–6, 326–8; *Ibtijāj* 2: 6–7.
  33. This scenario assumes that the original story has developed in two directions: (a) in size, from a piece of parchment that 'Alī filled in entirely, front and back as well as the margins (Ṣaffār: 163; Rāmḥurmuzī: 601), the parchment being made of a sheep skin, neither large nor too small (Ṣaffār: 155 [# 12], 156 [# 14]), to a cow hide (*Kāfī* 1: 241, though this is denied in Ṣaffār: 156 [# 14]), to two parchments, one from a sheep and the other from a goat (Ṣaffār: 159 [# 26]), but in *Faqīb* 4: 419 [also *Kbiṣāl*: 528], it is the *Jafr* that is on a sheep skin and a goat skin), to a seventy cubit scroll (noted above), to a skin container made of cow hide with several books in it (*ibid.*: 156 [# 15], 160 [# 30], 161 [# 34]), to two skin containers full of books and other material (Ṣaffār: 151–4 [# 2, 9, 10, 12]); and (b) in content, from the prescription of the licit and illicit to prophecies and apocalyptics, first all attributed to the Book of 'Alī, then another book was added for Fāṭima; then a third one as the *Fāmi'a*, that at times was thought to be different from the *Kitāb 'Alī* as noted above; then a fourth one as the *Jafr* (in fact, not one but two: a lesser and a greater [*Faqīb* 4: 419; *Kbiṣāl*: 528]); then a text on which the names of

the ‘Uthmāniyya counter-acted by quoting ‘Alī as categorically denying that he received anything particular from the Prophet except for a folio, as tiny as the size of a finger,<sup>34</sup> with three brief sentences he had heard from the Prophet,<sup>35</sup> recorded and placed in the sheath of ‘Alī’s sword.<sup>36</sup> The text of these brief sentences is quoted in many variants.<sup>37</sup> As

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all Shī‘ites were recorded so that the Imāms could recognize their own followers (Şaffār: 170–72), again of the size of a camel’s thigh (ibid.: 173 [# 10]), and at times together with another text on which the names of all enemies of the Imāms until the Day of Resurrection were recorded (*Faḡīb* 4: 419; *Kbişāl*: 528; the two texts were in fact given to the Prophet on his Night Journey and were passed by him to ‘Alī [Şaffār: 192]); then another text with the names of all future rulers (ibid.: 169 [# 5]; Ibn Samka: 184–5), though the list of the future rulers was at times said to have been in the *Kitāb ‘Alī* (Şaffār: 169 # 1; *Maḡārik*: 142) or in the *Kitāb* or *Muşḡaf* of Fāḡima (Şaffār: 169 [ # 3, 7]; *Kāfi* 1: 242) and at times the names of the Prophets were thought to be in the same text as well (Şaffār: 169 [ # 4, 6]); then two texts, one for the names of the Prophets and the other for those of the kings (ibid.: 169 [# 2]; *Kāfi* 1: 242 [# 7]. *Da‘ū‘im* 2: 347 suggests that ‘Alī gave his two sons by Fāḡima, ḡasan and ḡusayn, “the Book of Qur‘ān and the Book of Knowledge, and a confidential testament in which he wrote for them the names of all the kings of the world, the duration of the world, and the names of those who will call to God [*du‘āt*, presumably meaning the Imāms] until the Day of Resurrection”). On another front, while the mainstream Shī‘ites were content with the book of ‘Alī as an earthly text, the Extremists identified it with the heavenly “hidden book” mentioned in the Qur‘ān 56: 78 (Nu‘mānī: 327). A possible parallel may be worth noting: a report in *Kāfi* 1: 530; *Kamāl*: 295; Ibn ‘Ayyāsh: 16, 17 suggests that the most prominent rabbi of Medina at the time of ‘Umar had in his possession a book that was dictated by Moses and copied by Aaron. A well known quotation from the Prophet, known among the Shī‘a as *Ḥadīth al-Manzila*, states that ‘Alī was to the Prophet all that Aaron was to Moses except that ‘Alī, unlike Aaron, was not a prophet.

34. *Ḥilya* 4: 164.

35. The esoteric Shī‘ites, in turn, wasted no time in coming up with their own contribution and asserted that each letter of those sentences was in fact a code that could open one thousand full chapters of knowledge (Şaffār: 307–8; *Kāfi* 1: 296; *Kbişāl*: 649).

36. Fazārī: 260; Ṭayālīsī 1: 90, 154; ḡumayḡī 1: 172–3; ‘Abd al-Razzāq 9: 263, 10: 99; Ibn Abī Shayba 9: 293; Aḡmad 1: 79, 81, 100, 118, 119, 122, 126, 142, 151; Ibn Zanjawayh: 441–42; Bukhārī 4: 289; Muslim: 995–9, 1147; Ibn Māja: 887; Tirmidhī: 4: 6. A variant locates the record in the sheath of the Prophet’s sword, found after his death by the public (‘Alī b. Ja‘far: 292; Şhāfi‘ī, *Musnad* 2: 97 [see also Ibn Zanjawayh: 442; *Maḡāsin*: 105; *Kāfi* 7: 275; *Faḡīb* 4: 98; Bayhaḡī 8: 26]; Ibn Abī ‘Āşim, *Ḍiyār*: 36) or by ‘Alī in particular (*Maḡāsin*: 17–18; Abū Ya‘lā 1: 277; Bayhaḡī 8: 324). A report in Ibn ‘Adī: 1408 suggests that it was ‘Alī b. al-ḡusayn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn who brought out the document from the sheath of the Prophet’s sword. Yet another report (Ibn Sa‘īd 5: 78) ascribes the whole matter to ‘Alī’s son, Muḡammad Ibn al-ḡanafīyya who said that ‘Alī’s family did not inherit anything from the Prophet except the Qur‘ān (sic) and a folio that Ibn al-ḡanafīyya kept in the sheath of his own sword with the same text ascribed in other reports to that of ‘Alī’s. This was Ibn al-ḡanafīyya’s response to the supporters of Mukhtār al-Thaḡafī (d. 67) who suggested that Ibn al-ḡanafīyya had a special knowledge.

37. Rif‘at Fawzī ‘Abd al-Muḡtalīb has collected most of these variations in a booklet entitled *Şaḡīfat ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālīb ‘an Rasūl Allāb*. See also Miyānājī 2: 106–30, 154–56, 176–77 for a similar display of these variants. See also the editors’ footnotes to Ṭayālīsī 1: 90–91, 152; Abū Ya‘lā 1: 282–3; Aḡmad (Beirut, 1995) 2: 36–7, 52, 265, 268, 286, 304,

usual,<sup>38</sup> some could not see even that much in the sheath of ‘Alī’s sword and transferred it to the sheath of ‘Umar’s.<sup>39</sup>

The book of ‘Alī was thought to have been in the possession of ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidīn,<sup>40</sup> Muḥammad al-Bāqir,<sup>41</sup> and Ja‘far al-Šādiq.<sup>42</sup> The latter two frequently quoted from it, though some of the quotations of Ja‘far al-Šādiq were through his father.<sup>43</sup> Later Imāms also occasionally quoted the book.<sup>44</sup>

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305, 428–9. For a possible factual error in the most popular version of that text, see the editor’s footnote to Muslim: 995–8 (whence Aḥmad [Beirut, 1995] 2: 52).

38. See Modarressi, “Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur’ān”: 19–21. For the polemic purpose of the citations in question, see, for instance, Ḥākim 4: 153; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath* 1: 182, 4: 74. This purpose can be further attested by versions of the citation where ‘Alī swears by God that he did not receive from the Prophet anything he did not share with others except for those brief sentences (Fazārī: 220; Ṭayālīsī 1: 90; ‘Abd al-Razzāq 10: 100, 11: 449; Ḥumaydī 1: 172–3; Shāfi‘ī, *Umm* 6: 33, 7: 292; Ibn Abī Shayba 9: 293; Aḥmad 1: 79, 81, 100, 102, 119, 142; Ibn Shabba: 1166; Bukhārī 4: 289; see also Ibn Abī Shayba 6: 566; Aḥmad 1: 108; Muslim: 1967; ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad: 217 where ‘Alī gets angry when asked if the Prophet told him anything [special]), or says that whoever claims that he received anything else from the Prophet is a liar (Ibn Abī Shayba 14: 198; Aḥmad 1: 81; Muslim: 995; 1147; Tirmidhī 4: 6; ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad: 218–19; Abū Ya‘lā 1: 228). The point is also confirmed by reports where ‘Abd Allāh b. Saba’, whom Sunnī sources hold responsible for the founding of the Shī‘ite school, is brought into the picture as ‘Alī tells him that the Prophet did not privilege ‘Alī with anything special that the Prophet kept it secret from others and that you (i.e. Ibn Saba’) are a liar (Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Summa* 2: 674–5; ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad: 231; Abū Ya‘lā 1: 349–50). It is further attested by the fact that some reports also try to put the words into the mouth of Mālik al-Ashtar, a close disciple of ‘Alī whom the Shī‘ites profoundly admired but the ‘Uthmāniyya especially disliked as they believed he was among those who killed ‘Uthmān (a report refrains from even mentioning his name in the present context and refers to him as “someone that the transmitter mentioned” [see, for instance, Ibn Ḥazm 10: 353]), having him run to ‘Alī to inform him that the community has become disunited by what they hear, so he, i.e. ‘Alī, should tell them if he has received any special “testament” from the Prophet. To which question ‘Alī responds that the Prophet did not privilege him with anything beyond what others received, except for that short text (Nasā‘ī 6: 335, 8: 56; Ṭabarānī, *Awṣaf* 5: 267 [see also Aḥmad 1: 119, 122, 5: 127–8, whence Abū Dāwūd 4: 180–81]; Abū Ya‘lā 1: 462; Ḥākim 2: 141; Bayhaqī 8: 194. [Cf. ‘Abd al-Razzāq 11: 449; Aḥmad 1: 142–3, 148; Ibn Shabba: 1166–7; Abū Ya‘lā 1: 282; Bayhaqī 8: 29]).

39. ‘Abd al-Razzāq 4: 9; Bayhaqī 4: 90.

40. *Kāfi* 8: 163 (cf. *ibid.* 8: 131).

41. Šaffār: 165; Najāshī: 966 (see also *Tabdīb* 1: 142; ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Iqd*: 93).

42. Kashshī: 376 (see also *Kāfi* 3: 397). Following the hereditary line of the Imāmate, it was natural for some people to think that the book should have passed from Ja‘far al-Šādiq to his son and successor, Mūsā al-Kāzīm (‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far: 317; Nu‘mānī: 327). According to one version of a report in Šaffār: 166–7, however, Ja‘far al-Šādiq is quoted as saying that he had buried the Book of ‘Alī out of caution (lest it fell into the hands of the government?).

43. Zayd al-Zarrād: 3–4 (whence *Ma‘ānī*: 1–2); ‘Abd al-Razzāq 4: 532; ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far: 92 (quoting “a book of ‘Alī”); *Faqīh* 3: 416 (also *‘Ilal* 2:188; *Tabdīb* 7: 481); Ibn Ḥazm 7: 102–3.

44. E.g. *Kāfi* 5: 452 quoting Mūsā al-Kāzīm; Irbilī 3: 136 quoting Muḥammad al-Jawād; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* 5: 82–3 quoting ‘Alī al-Hādī.

The vast majority of the quotations are legal injunctions, though later a few esoteric reports are also attributed to it. In a few cases, the citation quotes something that the Prophet or ‘Alī did or did not do,<sup>45</sup> a sentence that normally could not have been dictated by the first and copied by the second. It must be noted that in the first centuries, there existed some texts that the partisans of ‘Alī compiled about his virtues (*faḍā’il*) or from his statements and acts, in many cases as quotations from him. References to this genre are also found in general biographical works.<sup>46</sup> Citations from the “Book of ‘Alī” which describe his acts may thus actually refer to works in this latter genre.

Here is a list of the citations from The Book of ‘Alī in early sources:<sup>47</sup>

#### I LAW

##### On prayer:

- Shāhīṭ 2: 126
- Ṣaffār: 165
- *Kāfi* 3: 397 (quoting “a book dictated by the Prophet”)
- Ibid. 3: 175
- *Tabdhīb* 2: 23, 251
- Ibid. 2: 102
- Ibid. 2: 243
- Ibid. 3: 28 (see also *ibid.* 1: 142)

##### On fasting:

- *Tabdhīb* 4:158

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45. See *Tabdhīb* 10: 108 where it is quoted from the Book of ‘Alī that the Prophet did not amputate more than one hand and one foot as a punishment for theft (even for persistent criminals); *Maḥāsīn*: 273 (also *Kāfi* 7: 176; *Faqīh* 4: 75) quoting the Book of ‘Alī describing ‘Alī’s practice in criminal punishment. Also *Tabdhīb* 8: 82 where the Prophet’s conversation with a woman, and *Kāfi* 2: 666 (also 5: 31, quoting “a book by ‘Alī”) where the text of a Prophetic rescript addressed to the Emigrants and Helpers (Meccans and Medinese among the first generation of the Muslims), are quoted.

46. See the entries on Khilās b. ‘Amr al-Hajarī al-Baṣrī (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Farḥ* 3: 402 [*subuḥf ‘an ‘Alī*], 402–3 [*kitāb ‘an ‘Alī*]; idem, *Marāsīl*: 55; ‘Uḡaylī 2: 29; *Mizān* 1: 658; *Mizzī* 8: 365) and Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī (d. 134) (Yahyā b. Ma‘īn 4: 146 [read: *bādbibi Ṣaḥīfat al-Waṣī* as in all other sources]; ‘Uḡaylī 3: 314; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Farḥ* 6: 364; Ibn ‘Adī: 1732; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* 2: 177).

47. Many of these citations are collected in Miḡānājī, *Makātib al-Rasūl* 2: 135–313, a few also in Jalālī, *Tadwīn al-sunna*: 64–70 and Muṣṭafā Qaṣīr al-‘Āmilī, *Kitāb ‘Alī*: 23–38. The passages are listed in the order in which they are expected to appear in a reconstructed volume.

**On pilgrimage to Mecca:**

- Bazanṭī, *Narwādir*: 33 (also *Tabdbīb* 5: 152)
- *Kāfī* 4: 340 (also *Faqīb* 2: 338; *ʿIlal* 2: 94 [*fī Kitāb jaddī*])
- *Kāfī* 4: 368 (also *Tabdbīb* 1: 329)
- *Kāfī* 4: 389–90 (two variants, also *Tabdbīb* 5: 355 [and 357 with variations])
- *Kāfī* 4: 390 (also *Tabdbīb* 5: 344)
- *Kāfī* 4: 534
- Ibn Ḥazm 7: 102–3 (quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq)

**On holy war:**

- *Kāfī* 2: 666, 5: 31 (*fī kitāb li-‘Alī* in the second case)

**On prohibitions:**

- Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, *Zubd*: 39 (also *Kāfī* 2: 347; *ʿIqāb*: 261 [repeated at 270–71]; *Kbiṣāʿ*: 124)
- ‘Ayyāshī 1: 223 (also *ʿIqāb*: 278)
- *Kāfī* 2: 71–2
- *Ibid.* 2: 278–9
- *Ibid.* 5: 541 (also Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*: 385; *ʿIlal* 2: 271; *ʿIqāb*: 301; cf. *Kāfī* 2: 374 where a longer version of the same report is attributed in a different transmission to *Kitāb Rasūl Allāb*)
- Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*: 509–18 (also *Faqīb* 4: 3–18)
- *ʿIlal* 2: 160–61 (also *Kbiṣāʿ* 1: 273)

**On property:**

- ‘Alā’ b. Razīn: 153 (whence *Faqīb* 3: 452)
- ‘Ayyāshī 2:25 (also *Kāfī* 1: 407, 5: 279–80)

**On marriage and divorce:**

- Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā 3: 51
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā: 79 (also *Tabdbīb* 7: 432), 87 (also *Kāfī* 5: 452)
- *Faqīb* 3: 416 (also *ʿIlal* 2: 188; *Tabdbīb* 7: 481, 490)
- *Tabdbīb* 8: 82

**On dietetics:**

- ‘Alī b. Ja‘far: 115 (also *Kāfī* 6: 219, 220 [with variations]; *Tabdbīb* 9: 2, 4, 5 [also 6])

## 10 *‘Alī and His Personal Associates*

- ‘Abd al-Razzāq 4: 532 (also Bayhaqī 9: 258)
- ‘Ayyāshī 1:294, 295 (also *Kāfī* 6: 202, 207)
- *Kāfī* 3: 9 (also *Tabdhīb* 1: 227 [also 9: 86 with variations])
- *Kāfī* 6: 232
- Ibid. 6: 246
- Ibid. 6: 255
- *Faqīh* 3: 330

### **On arbitration:**

- *Kāfī* 7: 414–15 (two variants)

### **On inheritance:**

- Ṣaffār: 165
- *Kāfī* 7: 77
- Ibid. 7: 119
- Ibid. 7: 136
- *Faqīh* 4: 283(cf. *Tabdhīb* 9: 308)
- *Ma‘ānī*: 217 (also *Tabdhīb* 9: 211)
- *Tabdhīb* 9: 325–6

Numerous other quotations are attributed to a text on the law of inheritance (*Ṣaḥīfat al-farā‘id*),<sup>48</sup> also believed to have been compiled by ‘Alī from the dictation of the Prophet. This was said to be a part of the

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48. It was noted above that a report in ‘Abd al-Razzāq 4: 6–7 (also Aḥmad 1: 141; Ibn Abī Shayba 15: 227; Bukhārī 2: 277) suggested that ‘Alī offered a text that contained the orders of the Prophet on the topic of *farā‘id* (here meaning religious taxes on livestock and agricultural products) to ‘Uthmān but the latter rejected it. The numerous quotations from ‘Alī on the topic (‘Abd al-Razzāq 4: 5–6, 7, 19, 22, 39, 75, 88, 89, 122, 133, 134; Ibn Abī Shayba 3: 117, 118, 122, 125, 127, 129, 132, 133, 136, 145, 219; Aḥmad 1: 92, 113, 145, 148; Abū Dāwūd 2: 99–101 and many other sources) may all go back to the same text which was allegedly issued by the Prophet but never actually sent out to tax collectors in his lifetime (Dārimī 1: 382–3; Abū Dāwūd 2: 98). A text similar in style that the Prophet is said to have issued for ‘Amr b. Ḥazm, his emissary and tax collector in Yemen, is, however, recorded in almost all the main collections of *ḥadīth*, albeit with some variations. A sentence cited by Khaṭṭābī 2: 176 from the text that ‘Alī allegedly offered to ‘Uthmān but which was rejected by the latter is reported elsewhere to belong to a rescript that ‘Alī wrote to ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf, his governor of Baṣra (Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr 2: 298, but cf. 3: 392). On the other hand, a similar name, *Kitāb al-farā‘id*, is also applied to another text attributed to ‘Alī on the monetary compensations for loss of life or bodily injuries (*Kāfī* 7: 330–43). All three texts which are said to have either been in the possession of ‘Alī or issued by him can reasonably go back to him, presumably as guidelines to his governors during his caliphate. The term *farā‘id* in the general sense can also legitimately apply to all three subjects, though in later legal usage it is normally used in the sense of the law of inheritance.

Book of 'Alī (*Kāfi* 7: 94 [read *fī Kitāb 'Alī* as in *Tabdhīb* 9: 271]) with a similar description of its size and shape (*Kāfi* 7: 94–5), or of the *Ḥāmi'a* (Ṣaffār: 145; *Kāfi* 7: 125). Here is a list of citations from this text on the law of inheritance:

- *Kāfi* 7: 81 (where two conflicting accounts are given of the arrangement of the text).
- Ibid. 7: 93–4 (also *Da'ā'im* 2: 369)
- *Kāfi* 7: 98 (also *Da'ā'im* 2: 371)
- *Kāfi* 7: 112 (repeated at 113; also *Da'ā'im* 2: 375)
- *Kāfi* 7: 126 (see also 7: 125; cf. Ṣaffār: 145 where the passage is cited from the *Ḥāmi'a*)
- *Da'ā'im* 2: 370
- Ibid. 2: 374
- Ibid. 2: 379
- *Tabdhīb* 9: 306
- Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Wasā'il* 17: 493 (quoting the early fourth-century Shī'ite author, Ibn Abī 'Aqīl)

### On the penal code:

- *Maḥāsini*: 273 (also *Kāfi* 7: 176)
- *Kāfi* 7: 201
- Ibid. 7: 214 (also 216 with variations)
- Ibid. 7: 316–7
- Ibid. 7: 313
- Ibid. 7: 318
- Ibid. 7: 329
- *Khiṣāḥ*: 539
- *Tabdhīb* 10: 108

### II ETHICS

- Zayd al-Zarrād: 3–4 (also *Ma'ānī*: 1–2)
- 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far: 92
- Ṣaffār: 147
- *Kāfi* 1: 41
- Ibid. 2: 71–2
- Ibid. 2: 136
- Ibid. 2: 259
- Ibid. 2: 484 (also 488 with variations)

12 *‘Alī and His Personal Associates*

- Ibid. 2: 666 (also *Tabdhīb* 6: 140)
- Ibn Hammām: 44
- Irbilī 3: 136

There is also a quotation in Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, *Zubd*: 44 on the proper etiquette for the treatment of slaves, ascribed to the “Book of the Messenger of God,” presumably referring to the text in question.

III DOGMATICS AND VIRTUES (*FADĀIL*)

- Ṣaffār: 166–7
- Mas‘ūdī 5: 82–3
- *Kbiṣāl*: 65–7
- Ibn al-Juḥām: 466 (also Ṭūsī, *Amālī* 2: 20)

IV TALES OF THE PROPHETS

- ‘Ayyāshī 1: 27–9 (*fī kitāb min kutub ‘Alī*; also ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm 1: 36–41 [*fī Kitāb Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*]; *Ilal* 1: 100)
- ‘Ayyāshī 2: 33–4 (also ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm 1: 244–5; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa‘d*: 238–40 [quoting Ibn ‘Uqda’s *Tafsīr*])
- ‘Ayyāshī 2: 129–36
- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm 1: 32–4
- Ibid. 1: 41
- *Kāfī* 8: 233

V ESOTERIC

- Ṣaffār: 169 (# 1; cf. # 3 and 7 where the account is ascribed to the Book of Fāṭima; also *Maqātil*: 208)
- *Kamāl*: 312–13 (also *Uyūn* 1: 45–6 [the text is on pp. 40–45])
- Shādhān b. Jibrīl: 141–2
- *Manāqib* 4: 273
- *Dalā’il al-īmāna*: 554–62 (also Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Malāḥim*: 168–71 [quoting a work of Ya‘qūb b. Nu‘aym, an early third-century author])

3. *Kitāb al-diyāt*<sup>49</sup>

A text attributed to ‘Alī on the monetary compensations for the loss of life or a limb, finger, eye, or any other part of the body, based on a rescript

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49. *Kāfī* 7: 311

that he sent to his governors as a guideline.<sup>50</sup> In a few cases, this text is also referred to as *Kitāb 'Alī*<sup>51</sup> or *Kitāb al-farā'id*.<sup>52</sup>

The full text of this book is quoted by Ibn Bābawayh in *Faqīh* 4: 75–92, by Ṭūsī in *Tabdhīb* 10: 295–308 (see also 10: 169, 245, 258, 267, 292), and later by Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī in his *al-Jāmi' li 'l-sbarā'i*: 605–24. A slightly different version is also quoted by Kulaynī in his *Kāfi* 7: 330–43 (see also 311, 324, 327, 363; see further, Miyānājī 2: 258–79). The material was also known to Zaydī (Aḥmad b. 'Īsā 4: 227) and Sunnī scholars ('Abd al-Razzāq 4: 5, 9: 280, 306, 316, 317, 323, 337–38, 343, 345, 358, 369, 371, 373, 380, 383; Ibn Abī Shayba 9: 134, 136, 142, 145, 147, 153, 155, 176, 178, 180, 188, 193, 213, 215–16, 224; Abū Dāwūd 2: 100–191; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 5: 133; Dāraquṭnī 4: 177; Bayhaqī 8: 69, 74, 81, 85, 89, 96, 97, 98). The work is also published, under the name of its first well known transmitter, as *Diyāt Zarīf b. Nāṣīb*, in the collection of *al-Uṣūl al-sittat 'asbar* (Tehran, 1371): 134–48.

#### 4. *Nahj al-balāgha*

Late in the third century, the number of sermons ascribed to 'Alī was around 400.<sup>53</sup> Half a century later, the number was said to be 480.<sup>54</sup> Several early transmitters of *ḥadīth* compiled registers of his sermons, including:

- Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī (late first century)<sup>55</sup>
- Mas'ada b. Ṣadaqa al-'Abdī (late second century)<sup>56</sup>
- Ismā'īl b. Mihrān al-Sakūnī (alive in 224)<sup>57</sup>
- Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ḥammād al-Rāzī (mid-third century)<sup>58</sup>
- 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī (d. 252)<sup>59</sup>

Others devoted chapters of their works to sermons, letters, and other statements quoted from 'Alī. They included early historians such as Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (d. 207),<sup>60</sup> 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī

50. Ibid. 7: 330; *Faqīh* 4: 75.

51. E.g. *Tabdhīb* 10: 292.

52. E.g. *Kāfi* 7: 330.

53. Ya'qūbī, *Musabākalā*: 12, 48.

54. Mas'ūdī 3: 172.

55. *Fibrīst*: 72.

56. Najāshī: 415.

57. Ibid.: 27.

58. Ibid.: 198.

59. Ibid.: 247.

60. Abū Ghālib: 181.

(d. 225),<sup>61</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Rabbih (d. 328),<sup>62</sup> and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Yahyā al-Jalūdī (d. 332).<sup>63</sup> Yet others collected the texts of letters attributed to ‘Alī, such as Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī (d. 283).<sup>64</sup>

The earliest surviving work belonging to the first genre is the *Nabj al-balāgha*, a collection of selected sermons, letters and other statements attributed to ‘Alī, compiled by the Sharīf al-Raḍī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (d. 406) in 400.<sup>65</sup> Much of the contents of this work is attested in earlier sources, a few of which are mentioned in the work itself.<sup>66</sup> A number of works have recently assumed the task of documenting the passages cited in the *Nabj al-balāgha* through tracking down earlier sources where those passages are quoted from ‘Alī. The most recent work in this genre is Riḍā Ustādī’s *Madārik-i Nabj al-balāgha* (Qum, 1396). A recent edition of the *Nabj al-balāgha* (ed. Ja’far al-Ḥusaynī, Qum, 1419) also includes a section on the sources of its contents (pp. 591–621). In a few instances, passages attributed to other authorities in earlier sources are included in this work,<sup>67</sup> presumably on the basis of some other early sources that have not survived. Ibn Taymiyya and Dhahabī<sup>68</sup> have expressed doubts about the authenticity of much of the contents of the *Nabj al-balāgha*. Ibn Khallikān did the same in *Wafayāt* 3: 313, though elsewhere (ibid. 5: 8) he cited from the work with no qualms. Khaṭīb (*Jāmi’* 2: 161) rejects as spurious the eschatological sermons attributed to ‘Alī, a few examples of which are included in the *Nabj al-balāgha*.

The *Nabj al-balāgha* is available in many editions and manuscripts dating from the fifth century onward. For a list of pre-tenth century manuscripts of the work, see ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī in *Turāthunā* (a quarterly published in Qum) 5: 25–102, 7–8: 13–36, 29: 7–25. A recent

61. Ibn al-Nadīm: 115.

62. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih 4: 166–81.

63. Parts of his *Musnad ‘Alī* were devoted to ‘Alī’s sermons, poetry, letters and other statements. See the table of contents of the book in Najāshī: 240–42.

64. Najāshī: 17.

65. Ibid.: 398. See also Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Ḥaqqū’iq*: 167; idem, *Majāzāt*: 39–40, 67, 199, 251, 391.

66. *Nabj al-balāgha*: 76, 353, 445, 464, 465, 541, 557.

67. For a few examples, see Ṣabrī Ibrāhīm al-Sayyid: 68–77, but there are others such as two statements about women, one (*Nabj al-balāgha*: 405, document 31) attributed in Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* 4: 78–9 to Ibn al-Muqaffa’, the other (*Nabj al-balāgha*: 105–6, sermon 80) ascribed, in a variant, by Sunnī authors to the Prophet (Aḥmad 2: 67, 374; Bukhārī 1: 85; Muslim: 86–7 [whence Abū Ḥayyān, *Basā’ir* 3: 74; Zamakhsharī, *Rabī’* 4: 279]).

68. *Mīzān* 3: 124; *Sīyar* 17: 589–90. Generally speaking, false ascription to ‘Alī was a widespread phenomenon, and that has continued to be true up to our time. A recent example is a text called *al-Mumājāt al-ilābiyyāt* (Tehran, 1386). It is well known to the scholars of the field that this text was forged early in the twentieth century.

work, *Nabj al-sa'āda fī mustadrak Nabj al-balāgha* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī (2nd edn., Tehran, 1998), attempts to collect statements, documents and poetry attributed to 'Alī that are not included in the *Nabj al-balāgha*.

Many commentaries have been written on this work during the course of the past ten centuries. For the early commentaries, see Uḫrīdī in *Kāwushbī dar Nabj al-balāgha*: 275–87. For others see Āghā Buzurg 14: 111–61; Ibn Yūsuf 2: 124–49. For a list of works written on the *Nabj al-balāgha* in Arabic and Persian, see Ustādī, *Kitābnāma-yi Nabj al-balāgha* (Tehran, 1359sh [1980–1981], reprinted in his *Cbibil maqāla*: 351–98).

## 5. *Musnad*

As noted above, sermons and other administrative statements by 'Alī are collected in special volumes or chapters. There are also works which attempt to collect reports quoted from 'Alī on doctrinal, legal and ethical topics, many of which cite statements or acts of the Prophet. *Masānīd*, collections of *ḥadīth* that are organized on the basis of the first transmitter, rather than the more common subject arrangement, usually have a chapter devoted to reports quoted from 'Alī. Aḥmad 1: 75–160; Abū Ya'la 1: 223–462; Ṭabarī, *Tabdīb al-ābār*, the entire vol. 4; Ibn Kathīr, *Ḥamī' al-masānīd* 19: 95–289, 20: 5–344, are a few examples. Most works cited or published as independent works under the title of *Musnad 'Alī* are, or seem to have been, parts of larger collections, including those by the following authors:

- Ya'qūb b. Shayba al-Baṣrī (d. 262),<sup>69</sup> in five volumes<sup>70</sup>
- Qādī Ismā'īl b. Ishāq al-Jahdamī al-Azdī (d. 282)<sup>71</sup>
- Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Haḍramī al-Kūfī, known as Muṭayyan (d. 297)<sup>72</sup>
- Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī (d. 303)<sup>73</sup>
- Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣā'id al-Baghdādī (d. 318)<sup>74</sup>
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān al-Tamīmī al-Dimashqī (d. 420)<sup>75</sup>

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69. Najāshī: 451; *Fibrīst*: 180.

70. Dhahabī, *Siyar* 12: 478.

71. Rūdānī: 354.

72. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Abī al-Bayt*: 469–70. The work has survived in a manuscript printed in the form of scattered facsimile excerpts in Uzbek's *Musnad 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*.

73. Dhahabī, *Siyar* 10: 475, 12: 614, 14: 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdīb* 1: 6.

74. Khaṭīb, *Ta'riḫ* 5: 19.

75. MS. *ḥadīth* 273, Ṣāhiriyya (*Cat. ḥadīth*: 360, *majāmi'* 1: 228).

- Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911)<sup>76</sup>

There are a number of recent works that attempt to collect all extant quotations from ‘Alī. The most comprehensive are the *Musnad ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* by Yūsuf Uzbek (7 vols., Damascus and Beirut, 1995), which includes most of such quotations in Sunnī works of *ḥadīth*, and *Musnad al-Imām ‘Alī* by Ḥasan al-Qapānchī (10 vols., Beirut, 2000) that includes 11,451 quotations in Shī‘ite and Sunnī collections.

## 6. *Dīrwān*

There are conflicting reports in the early sources as to whether ‘Alī composed any poetry. In his *Musnad ‘Alī*, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jalūdī (d. 322) devoted a chapter to the poetry attributed to ‘Alī.<sup>77</sup> Later, several collections were made of this material, including:

- *Sakwat al-Sbṭa*, a collection of some 200 verses compiled by Abū ‘I-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Fanjīkirdī al-Naysābūrī (d. 513)<sup>78</sup>
- Anonymous, used by Kaydarī in his *Anwār al-‘uqūl* (named below)
- *Dīrwān ‘Alī*, by Hibat Allāh b. ‘Alī, Ibn al-Shajarī (d. 543), also used by Kaydarī in his *Anwār al-‘uqūl*
- *al-Ḥadīqa al-anīqa*, by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kaydarī al-Bayhaqī (alive in 610), described by the author in his *Anwār al-‘uqūl* as a collection of ‘Alī’s poems on ethical matters
- *Anwār al-‘uqūl fī asbā’ Waṣī al-Rasūl*, also by Kaydarī, a collection of 506 poems attributed to ‘Alī gathered from the sources named in the work and arranged in alphabetic order. An anonymous collection which has been published many times under the title of *Dīrwān ‘Alī* seems to be an adaptation of this latter work. The arrangement and material are to a great extent the same, but some poems and the chains of transmission are omitted<sup>79</sup>

Much of the poetry attributed to ‘Alī in these works belongs to others. See Dānīshpazhūh 5: 1108–24 and Ḥasanzāda 15: 306–13, 17: 62–5 for many examples.

76. Ed. Ḥāfiz ‘Azīz Beg, Hyderabad, 1985. This is the section on *Musnad ‘Alī* from the author’s *Jāmi‘ al-ahādīth* 15: 242–478, 16: 5–473.

77. Najāshī: 241.

78. There are many manuscripts of this work. See now Mihriẓī in *‘Ulūm-i ḥadīth* 9 (1998): 206–8 for a list.

79. Āghā Buzurg 2: 431–4.

## 7. Decisions

The administrative practice, judicial decisions and executive orders of 'Alī during his caliphate were recorded by a number of his disciples including 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfi', Ḥārith al-A'war, and possibly Aṣḡagh b. Nubāta (see below). There are numerous references to collections of this genre in early sources.<sup>80</sup> The legal opinions ascribed to 'Alī in Sunnī works concerning various matters of rituals and law are recently collected by Muḡammad Rawwās Qal'ajī in a book called *Marwsū'at fiqb 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* (Damascus, 1983), a volume of his *Silsilat marwsū'āt fiqb al-salaf*.

## 2: Fāṭima al-Zahrā'

Fāṭima al-Zahrā', daughter of the Prophet and wife of 'Alī, and mother of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the second and third Imāms of the Shī'a. She is highly revered by the Shī'a as one of their Fourteen Infallibles that consist of the Prophet, Fāṭima, and the twelve Imāms. She died shortly after the death of her father in the year 11.

For a summary of the accounts of the early sources on Fāṭima, see the entry on her in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., 2: 841–50 (L. Veccia Vaglieri) where a list is also given of some primary and secondary sources on her life. See also Denise L. Soufi, "The Image of Fāṭima in Classical Muslim Thought," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton, 1997. For a list of other monographs on her, see 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Rifā'i 5: 11–129.

### 1. *Muṣḡaf Fāṭima*

A work bearing this title is mentioned in numerous early Shī'ite reports, almost always with esoteric associations. A quotation from Ja'far al-Šādiq related that the *Muṣḡaf Fāṭima* contained the text of the will and testament of Fāṭima (Šaffār: 157 [# 16], 158 [# 21]; *Kāfi* 1: 241 [# 4]), but this would have meant a different and longer text than the very short one quoted from Muḡammad al-Bāqir in *Faqīh* 4: 244 as the will of Fāṭima. There are, however, other accounts of the authorship of the book. One report suggests that it was a collection of what the angel Gabriel had

80. E.g. Aḡmad, *Ilal* 1: 346; Muslim: 13, 14.

related to her to comfort her after her father’s death, and that it was her husband ‘Alī who gathered the material together and wrote it down (Ṣaffār: 154 [# 6; see also 157, # 17]; *Kāfi* 1: 241 [# 5]). Another report concurs with most of this account, but without specifying the name of the angel (Ṣaffār: 157 [# 18]; *Kāfi* 1: 240 [# 2]). Yet other reports suggest that the book was dictated and revealed by God (Ṣaffār: 152 [# 3]; the reference is missing from the same report in *Kāfi* 1: 239; it is not clear whether the sentence was added to the text in Ṣaffār or edited out in the *Kāfi*), or dictated by the messenger of God and written down by ‘Alī (Ṣaffār: 153 [# 5]). Another report tries to fuse the latter two accounts together by suggesting that the book was the word of God sent down to her, dictated by the messenger of God and written down by ‘Alī (Ṣaffār: 156 [# 14]). *Biḥār* 26: 42 further suggests that the term “messenger of God” may refer to Gabriel and not the Messenger, i.e. the Prophet. Being dictated by the messenger of God and written down by ‘Alī was, however, the standard formula to describe the Book of ‘Alī, as noted above, where the phrase “messenger of God” was understood by all to refer to the Prophet.

There are also conflicting accounts about the nature of the contents of the book. All agree, however, that there was nothing from the Qur’ān in that book (Ṣaffār: 150–61 [# 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19, 27, 30, 33]; *Kāfi* 1: 239–40 [# 1, 3]; *Dalā’il*: 105), clearly an attempt to assert that even if revealed by God, the book was nevertheless not a part of the Prophetic message nor on a par with the Qur’ān (see especially Ṣaffār: 154–9 [# 9, 14, 17, 27]). As noted above, one account identified the text as the will and testament of Fāṭima. The Gabriel version, on the other hand, suggested that the book contained what the angel related to her on the situation of her father after death and what would happen to her offspring after her (Ṣaffār: 154 [# 6]; *Kāfi* 1: 241 [# 5]). A variant of this account that attributes the revelation of the book to an unnamed angel emphasizes that there was no material concerning *shar’u* (*shay’ min al-ḥalāl wa ’l-ḥarām*) in the book, rather some information about the future (Ṣaffār: 157 [# 18]; *Kāfi* 1: 240 [# 2]). Another report, however, expands the scope of the book and finds there whatever information people require for performing their religious duties, including even details of the penal code (Ṣaffār: 150–51 [# 1]; *Kāfi* 1: 240 [# 3]). As noted in the case of the Book of ‘Alī, this latter description is also given for the two texts called *Jafr* and *Jāmi’a*. The actual references to the text usually deal with matters of divination and historical prophecy rather than

religious duties. One, for instance, predicts that the Manicheans will re-appear in the year 128 as Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had found in the *Muṣḥaf* of Fāṭima (Ṣaffār: 157 [# 18]; *Kāfi* 1: 240 [# 2]). Another reports that he looked through the Book of Fāṭima where the names of all future kings were recorded but could not find the name of any of the Ḥasanids there (Ṣaffār: 169 [# 3, 5]; 'Alī b. Bābawayh, *Imāma*: 180; *Kāfi* 1: 242 [# 8]; a variant in Ṣaffār: 161 [# 32] and 170 [# 7] replaces *Banī 'l-Ḥasan* with *banī fulān* and gives them [a share in rulership] as small as the dust of a horseshoe), a clear reference to the claim of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya who rose against the 'Abbāsīd Maṣṣūr in 145. Another version of this report mentions al-Nafs al-Zakiyya by name, adding that not only the names of the kings but even those of all prophets and their legateses (*awṣiyā'*) are also recorded in that book (*Manāqib* 4: 249; also Ṣaffār: 169 [# 4, 6] where the title *Muṣḥaf Fāṭima* is replaced with "a book"). This does not accord with a report in Ṣaffār: 169 (# 2) and *Kāfi* 1: 242 (# 7) that reserves a separate book for each of the two categories, the prophets and the kings. A later and more esoteric description conveys an even stronger element of omniscience, asserting that the book contains all knowledge of the universe, and the past, present and the future of humanity, yet all of this forms the contents of only its first two folios (*Dalā'il*: 104–107).

This latter report also gives a glorious picture of the physical grandeur of the text in question (*ibid.*: 105). An earlier report only stated that the book was three times as big as the Qur'ān in size (Ṣaffār: 152 [# 3]; *Kāfi* 1: 239 [# 1]). There is also a small discrepancy concerning the text's whereabouts. While most reports speak of this book being available to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and the Imāms after him (Ṣaffār: 150–58, 161 [# 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 19, 32, 33]; *Kāfi* 1: 239–42 [# 1, 2, 3, 7, 8]), implying that it moves through the line of the Imāms from Fāṭima's offspring until it is received by the Mahdī (*Dalā'il*: 106), a single account maintains that the book was actually "taken back" after the death of the fifth Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Ṣaffār: 158 [# 23]). This latter idea is possibly a legacy of an early Shī'ite group who did not follow Ja'far al-Ṣādiq after his father (see *Bihār* 74: 17; also Modarressi, *Crisis*: 54, n. 7). There are, however, indications that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, who may have referred to this book on occasions, tried on others to imply that though he had seen the book in the past, he may not actually have owned it (*Kāfi* 3: 507). The above statement about the book being "taken back" may be in line with this last report.

As for the origin of the assumption that such a book existed, one author suggests a kind of natural expansion parallel to the line suggested in the case of the Book of 'Alī. There seems to have existed a belief among many early Imāmite Shī'ites in the late Umayyad period that the names of the Imāms from the offspring of Fāṭima and 'Alī were written on a tablet (*lawḥ*) which God had sent down to the Prophet who in turn had given it to Fāṭima (Nu'mānī: 62, 63; *Ikbtiṣāṣ*: 210–12; *Kamāk*: 308, 311, 313; 'Uyūn 1: 42, 46, 47; *Ghayba*: 139, 144; see also Khazzāz: 196). Variants of the account identify the tablet as a folio (*ṣaḥīfa*) (*Kamāk*: 306–7, 312; 'Uyūn 1: 40, 45) or a document (*kitāb*) (*Kamāk*: 312; 'Uyūn 1: 45) dictated by the Prophet and written down by 'Alī. In many versions of this report, a post Occultation text is appended with a full list of the names of all twelve Imāms as the text of the Tablet or Folio (see, for instance, *Kāfi* 1: 527–8; Nu'mānī: 62–6; *Kamāk*: 307, 309–11; 'Uyūn: 40–45; *Ikbtiṣāṣ*: 211–12; *Ghayba*: 144–6). The transition from the idea of a *ṣaḥīfa* to that of a *muṣḥaf* should have been a fairly smooth process.

Apart from the quotation on the re-emergence of the Manicheans mentioned above (Ṣaffār: 157; *Kāfi* 1: 240), there are a few other citations from the *Muṣḥaf Fāṭima* in the sources, including the following:

- *Kāfi* 3: 507 (on *zakāt*) quoting from the *Kitāb Fāṭima*
- Ibid. 8: 57–8 (on an addition to Qur'ān 70: 2, more in the form of a marginal gloss)
- *Bihār* 30: 245 (on a different reading for Qur'ān 25: 28 [quoting *Ta'wīl al-āyāt*, though in the printed version of that work: 374, whence Ibn al-Juhām: 193, the source appears as *Muṣḥaf 'Alī* instead of *Muṣḥaf Fāṭima*])

The last two references may seem to contradict the standard account that there was nothing Qur'ānic in that book. However, as noted above, this description was an attempt to prevent a possible misunderstanding that as a book revealed by God, it must be a complement to the Qur'ān. Thus, the description denies the existence of any material which can be regarded as an addition to the Qur'ān but not the inclusion of existing verses of the Qur'ān and the exegetical glosses upon them. The first quotation contradicts reports which state that nothing in the book was about *sharī'a* even if, as it seems, those reports also try to make a distinction between the nature of the Qur'ānic revelation and that of *Muṣḥaf Fāṭima*. However, the quotation goes well with other reports that describe the *muṣḥaf* as containing everything that people need for their religious duties.