

BAHĀ'Ī STUDIES BULLETIN
MONOGRAPH
NO. 1

**THE WORKS OF
SHAYKH AHMAD AL-AHSĀ'Ī**

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

DR. MOOJAN MOMEN

based upon

FIHIRIST KUTUB MASHĀYIKH 'IZĀM

of

SHAYKH ABU'L-QĀSIM KIRMĀNĪ

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مولانا الاجل الاوحد الشيخ احمد بن زين الدين الاحسائي
(۱۱۶۶ - ۱۴۴۱ قمری)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على محمد واله الطاهرين اقبلوا بعد فيقولوا لعبد
 المسكين احمد بن زين الدين الاحسائي هذا الجزء الرابع من شرح الزيارة
 الشريفة الكريمة للجامعة الكبيرة قال عليه السلام يا بني اتم واخي ونفسي واهلي ومالي
 ذكركم في الذاكرين واسماءكم في الاسماء قال الشارح المجلسي رحمه الله ذكركم
 في الذاكرين اي اذا ذكره الذاكرون فانتم فيهم او ذكركم لله في جنس الذاكرين ممتاز
 او كالشمس اذا ذكرها فتم داخلون فيهم لكن اي نسبة لكم بهم لقوله فما احل اسماءكم
 وكذلك الباقى انه وقال السيد نعمت الله الجزائري رحمه الله في شرح التهذيب ذكركم
 في الذاكرين الخ مبتدأ وخبر اي ذكركم موجود بين الذاكرين كما ان اسماءكم موجودة
 بين الاسماء الا ان ذكركم لان نسبة له الي ذكر الذاكرين وكذلك اسماءكم بل هي احل
 واشرف من كل ذكر ومن كل اسم وهكذا باقى صفاتكم فانها مشاركة لصفات
 البشر في الاسم مفترقة عنها بالمعنى انتهى اقول قد تقدم الكلام في بابي اتم واخي
 وان بابي خير مقدم وانتم قسدا مؤخر وان كان معمولا اثنائيا لا فدي وانتم
 كان معمولا اول لانه فلما حذف اكثر الاستعمال حتى انه غلب حضور معناه بالكلية
 ضمن معناه المجرول الثاني لانه من عامليه فتاب عنه ولانه نفس الهداء فيكون
 اولي من اتم بالنسبة وبالنيابة والاجل هذا تصدروا تقدم وتأخر المستدأ
 وذكركم بقول من اتم بدل استعمال اي بابي واخي ونفسي واهلي ومالي
 افي ذكركم في الذاكرين الموجود في السنن الذاكرين افي نفوسهم او قلوبهم

ابيه

او السبع

THE WORKS OF SHAYKH AHMAD AL-AHSA'I

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PREFACE

This work is based on a translation of the *Fihrist Kutub Mashayikh 'Izam* of Shaykh Abu'l-Qasim Kirmani (which will be referred to as Fihrist throughout this work). Some of the information given in that work has been supplemented from published and manuscript copies of each work wherever possible. The sections have been kept broadly the same as in the Fihrist. However the individual works are not in precisely the same order. I have placed the works in each section in chronological order where the date is known followed by the undated works in alphabetical work. In this way, the pattern of the development of Shaykh Ahmad's thought is more easily discernible.

In order to assist those who wish to research the works of Shaykh Ahmad, I have tried to provide locations where these works of Shaykh Ahmad can be found. I have therefore tried to identify all of the published writings. In addition, I have identified several hundred manuscripts of Shaykh Ahmad's works in various libraries.

During the course of the compilation of this work, I found reference to a number of works of Shaykh Ahmad which could not readily be identified with one of the works listed in the Fihrist. Sometimes this was merely because of lack of information, but those that genuinely do appear to be separate works, I have listed in the sections J and K.

This is merely a preliminary attempt to compile a bibliography of Shaykh Ahmad's work and I would be grateful if anyone who is aware of any additions or corrections would inform me.

M. Momen
Northill
February 1991

INTRODUCTION

Under each entry, there is the following information:

- Title of the work.

- whatever information is available of the circumstances of its writing: when it was written and to whom, etc.

- a summary of the contents of the work - the information given in the Fihrist has been supplemented by information derived from other sources such as the works themselves or the table of contents of the Jawami' al-Kilam, a published compilation of the works of Shaykh Ahmad.

Bib - a correlation of entries of this work in various bibliographies. The main bibliography used is of course the Fihrist Kutub Mashayikh 'Izam of Shaykh Abu'l-Qasim Kirmani, on which this work is based. However, an attempt was made to correlate the works in this bibliography with a manuscript list of the works of Shaykh Ahmad and Sayyid Kazim compiled by Sayyid Kazim, the Fihrist-i Sayyid - see S below.

Mss - a listing of the manuscripts of the work available in various libraries in Iran, Europe, North America and elsewhere. Under each work I have listed the manuscripts in the order that they would appear to be most accessible to those working in Europe and North America. First placing where applicable goes to the Kirman collection of manuscripts; not because access to the collection in Kirman is particularly easy but because copies of the entire collection are held at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and the Library of the University of Chicago. Following this, I have given details of manuscripts in libraries in Europe and North America; then national libraries in Iran; then regional libraries in Iran; then libraries in Iraq, India and elsewhere, including miscellaneous other locations such as private libraries which are occasionally referred to in adh-Dhari'a. Wherever possible, I have first given the information as to the volume of the catalogue of the collection in which information about the manuscript may be found (page number and number in the catalogue); and then, after a semi-colon, information regarding the manuscript's library accession number, and, in parentheses, for composite

volumes, the item number (i.e. the order of the work in the manuscript volume) and page numbers. After this information regarding the identity of the writer of the manuscript, date of completion, etc is given, where available.

Pub - Publications of the work.

I have, in addition, compiled and tabulated some further information regarding Shaykh Ahmad's writings. This includes a list of those to whom these works were addressed tabulated by the area in which they lived; tables of the number of works of Shaykh Ahmad according to the period of his life in which they were written. I have also provided some graphical analysis of his output on a year-by-year basis. All this material is at the beginning of this monograph. At the end there is an index.

ABBREVIATIONS

A listing of the main abbreviations used is given below:

Bibliographies

Dh - adh-Dhari'a ila Tasanif ash-Shi'a by Agha Buzurg Tihrani. 25 vols, distributed by the author, Tihiran and Najaf, 1355/1936-1398/1978. Each entry consists of: volume number:page number, No. item number.

F - Fihrist-i Kutub-i Mashayikh 'Izam by Shaykh Abu'l-Qasim Kirmani. 3rd ed. Chapkhana Sa'adat, Kirman, n.d (referred to elsewhere in the text as Fihrist). Since there are several editions of this book with different paginations, I have here given each entry as F followed by the consecutive item number as given in the latest edition (Kirman, n.d.). Kirmani states that his bibliographic sources were as follows (pp. 214-6):

a. Fihrist-i Sayyid a list compiled by Sayyid Kazim Rashti of the works of Shaykh Ahmad and his own works (see under S below).

- b. A list compiled by Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Majid Fa'iqi in AH 1345 of the works of all of the Shaykhi leaders. The number of verses for each work given in the Fihrist are as compiled in this source. A lengthy work of some 1500 pages.
- c. A shorter list compiled by an unknown author on the instructions of Hajj Muhammad Khan Kirmani.
- d. Bibliographical information in the biography of Muhammad Tahir Khan - derived mostly from the Fihrist-i Sayyid.
- e. Examination of the manuscripts and books available to the author.

S - Fihrist-i Sayyid. List of the works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i and Sayyid Kazim Rashti by Sayyid Kazim Rashti. School of Oriental and African Studies, Mss No. 92308, Item no. 38, pp. 398a-406b; (see Adam Gacek, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1981, No. 277, pp. 165-9). This list was composed in Rajab 1258/1842 and the manuscript is written by Jawad ibn Qasim an-Najjar in Kufa and completed on 30 Dhu'l-Hijjih 1259/January 1844, 19 days after the death of Sayyid Kazim. Nicolas evidently also had access to a copy of this list as the list of the works of Shaykh Ahmad that he gives (Essai sur le Cheikhisme. I. Cheikh Ahmed Lahçahi, Paris, 1910, pp. 63-72) is almost exactly the same as the SOAS manuscript and in the same order. The numbers given here are from Nicolas' list as the SOAS manuscript has no numeration.

FN - Fihrist Nuskhah-ha-yi Khatti Farsi. By Ahmad Monzavi. Vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, Tihnan, 1349

There is one further bibliography of the works of Shaykh Ahmad to which I have not been able to obtain access: Fihrist rasa'il ash-Shaykh listed in Dh 16:383, no. 1783, consisting of a list of 75 works - no author indicated - copy in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf. Mirza Muhammad 'Ali, Nujum as-Sama, Lakhnau, 1303, also contains an extensive bibliography of the works of Shaykh Ahmad.

Manuscripts

KM - Kirman manuscripts. Manuscripts kept at the Shaykhi Centre in Kirman. They are detailed in a section at the beginning of Fihrist-i Kutub-i Mashayikh 'Izam (pages

numbered separately from rest of book, pp. 45-102). Photographs or photocopies of these manuscripts can be found in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, and the Library of the University of Chicago. In the Bibliotheque Nationale, the works of Shaykh Ahmad can be found under: 8° fac-sim. Or. 143; See Catalogues de facsimiles orientaux, Bureau Orient. 18, 1; 18, 2, Departement des Manuscrits Orientaux. At the Library of the University of Chicago, they can be ordered with reference to the Fihrist.

Browne - Cambridge University Library. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts belonging to the late E.G. Browne. By Edward G. Browne, completed by R.A. Nicholson. Cambridge, 1932. The manuscripts described are held at Cambridge University Library, E.G. Browne Collection

IM - London, Isma'ili Institute. Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Institute of Isma'ili Studies. By Adam Gacek. London: Islamic Publications, 1985. Vol. 2

UCLA - University of California at Los Angeles: Shaykhi Collection. Boxes 1-3, from a handlist written in German, this collection appears to be mainly works that had been in the possession of a certain Qadir ibn Muhammad Jawad Taliqani, a close associate of Shaykh Ahmad. It includes an important autograph manuscript of a collection of Shaykh Ahmad's works. Boxes 4 & 5 are from the Caro Owen Minasian Collection, Isfahan 1948.

Princeton - Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library by Rudolf Mach and Eric L. Ormsby. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987

Garrett - Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library. By Rudolf Mach. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977

Maj - Library of the Iranian National Parliament, Tihran. Fihrist Kitabkhanih Majlis Shura-yi Milli (various authors: Ibn Yusuf Shirazi, 'Abdu'l-Husayn Ha'iri, Fakhri Rastigar, Iraj Afshar, Muhammad Taqi Danishpuzhuh, 'Ali Naqi Munzavi, 'Abdu'l-Husayn Ha'iri), 19 vols., Tihran, 1311/1933-1350/1972

Mil - National Library, Tihran. Fihrist Nusukh Khatti Kitabkhanih Milli. By Sayyid 'Abdu'llah Anwar. Vols. 1-10, Tihran, 1343/1964-1358/1979

- Danishgah - University Library of Tihiran. Fihrist Kitabkhanih Danishgah Tihiran. First 8 volumes published as Fihrist Kitabkhanih Ahda'i-yi Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Mishkat bih Kitabkhanih Danishgah Tihiran. By 'Ali-Naqi Munzavi Tihrani, after vol. 3, Muhammad Taqi Danishpuzhuh. 15 vols., Tihiran, 1330-1345/1966
- DIMI - College of Divinity and Islamic Studies, University of Tihiran. Fihrist-i Nuskhah-ha Khatti va 'Aks Kitabkhanih Danishkadih Ilahiyat va Ma'arif Islami (Danishgah Tihiran). By Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Hujjati. Tihiran, 1348.
- Adabiyat - College of Literature, University of Tihiran. Fihrist-i Nuskhah-ha Khatti Kitabkhanih Danishkadih Adabiyat. By Muhammad Taqi Danishpuzhuh. Tihiran, 1344
- Huquq - College of Law, Political Science and Economics, University of Tihiran. Fihrist Nuskhah-ha-yi Khatti Kitabkhanih Danishkadih Huquq wa 'Ulum Siyasi wa Iqtisadi. By Muhammad Taqi Danishpuzhuh. Tihiran, ?1339
- Sipahsalar - Library of the Madrasa Sipahsalar. Fihrist Kitabkhanih Madrasah 'Ali Sipahsalar. By Ibn Yusuf Shirazi. Tihiran, Vol.1 (1313-15); vol. 2 (1316-7)
- Faydiyya - Library of the Madrasa Faydiyya in Qumm. Fihrist Kitabkhanih Mubarakih Madrasah Faydiyya Qumm. By Hajji Aqa Mujtaba 'Iraqi. Qumm 1337
- Mar'ashi - Library of Ayatu'llah Najafi-Mar'ashi. Fihrist Nuskhah-ha-yi Khatti Kitabkhanih 'Umumi Hadrat Ayatu'llah Najafi-Mar'ashi
- Mashhad - Library of the Imam Rida Shrine at Mashhad. Fihrist Kitabkhanih Astan Quds Radavi vol. 1-10 (later volumes by Ghulam-'Ali 'Irfanian), Mashhad, 1305-1362
- Yazd - Vaziri Library in Yazd. Fihrist Nuskhah-ha-yi Khatti Kitabkhanih Vaziri. By Muhammad Shirvani. 3 Vols., 1353
- Malik - Malik National Library, adjacent to the Shrine of the Imam Rida, Mashhad. Fihrist Kitab-ha-yi Khatti Kitabkhanih Milli Malik (vabastih Astan Quds Radavi). By Iraj Afshar and Muhammad Taqi Danishpuzhuh
- Buhar - Buhar Library, Calcutta. Catalogue Raisonné of the Buhar Library. Vol. 2: Arabic manuscripts. By Shamsu'l-'Ulama M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1923

ASB - Asiatic Society of Bengal. Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in Tabular Form in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. By K.M. Mitra; revised and edited by M.S. Khan, Calcutta, 1980

SJ - Salar Jung Museum. A Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library. By Hajji Maulana Muhammad Ashraf

Publications

JK - Jawami' al-Kilam. Two volumes of this compilation of the works of Shaykh Ahmad were published in lithograph in Tabriz. The first was written by 'Abdu'l-Hamid Rawda-khan, contains 40 works and is dated 1273. There is a note at the end of the book written by Ahmad ibn Muhammad Khushnivi Tabrizi. It is in three parts and one suspects that it was originally intended to be published as three separate volumes. What appears to have occurred is that, at an advanced stage of preparation of the volume for publication, a large treatise, the Risala fi mabahith al-alfaz, No. 80, was taken from Part One and attached to the end of Part Three (it still has "Fascicle One" on the running heads), while two small treatises (in reply to Shaykh Ramadan and Mulla Husayn Kirmani, Nos. 27 and 56) were removed from Part Three and placed at the end of Part One (these two still have "Fascicle Three" on the running heads).¹ This section that was added to the end of Part One has no pagination and therefore I have called it Part One Addendum and added pagination pp. 1-10. The rest of Part One and the whole of Part Two are paginated. Part Three has no page numbers and I have paginated this part pp. 1-187. The second volume of Jawami' al-Kilam contains 52 works and was published in 1276. It was also written by 'Abdu'l-Hamid Rawda-khan and 500 copies were printed in the press owned by Muhammad Taqi Nakhjavani in Tabriz. It is in one part and paginated throughout.

[1] The main evidence for stating these changes took place at a late stage in the publication of the book is the fact that the Risala fi mabahith al-alfaz still has "Fascicle One" on the running heads, while two small treatises (in reply to Shaykh Ramadan and Mulla Husayn Kirmani) still have "Fascicle Three" on the running heads. Furthermore remnants of the patching together can be seen in the form of sections crossed out on pp. 147 and 148 of Part Three. There is a small note at the end of the volume referring to some of these changes in a rather confused way. I can only surmise that the three parts were originally going to be published as three separate volumes and that this swapping around was done so as to balance out the size of the three. Then at the last moment, it was decided to publish all three parts in one volume.

A final note for the unwary: the Tables of Contents for both volumes contain many errors and omissions.

Majmu'a - Majmu'a ar-Rasa'il, Vol.30, Kirman, n.d.

Sharh al-Fawa'id, lithographed, Tabriz, 12 Dhu'l-Qad'a 1274

Other Abbreviations

Tabaqat - Taqaqat A'lam ash-Shi'a (al-Karam al-barara fi'l-qam ath-thalith ba'd al-ash'ar)
(13th Islamic Century), Tihnan, 1374/1954, pts 1-3

MAIN DATES OF LIFE OF SHAYKH AHMAD²

Rajab 1166/May 1753 - Birth in al-Matrayfi in al-Ahsa

1186/1772 - Journey to Iraq

1186/1773 - Return to al-Ahsa

c. 1203/1788 - Moved to Bahrayn

c.1207/1792 - Moved to Karbala and Najaf

1212/1797 Moved to Basra (and village of Dhúraq 3 years)

1214/1799 - Possible journey to Bahrayn - see No. 118

c.1215-c.1221 / 1800-1806 - Several moves among towns and villages of southern Iraq - Basra and villages of Habarat, Tanwiyh, Nashwah (18 months); in 1219/1804 to Safawah

1221/1806-7 - Pilgrimage to Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn

1221/1806-7 - Journey to Mashhad, returning to Yazd, where he settled

Ramadan 1223 Nov. 1808 - Journey to Tihran

c. early 1224/early 1809 - Return to Yazd

1226/1811 - Pilgrimage to Mashhad

1229/1814 - Pilgrimage to Mashhad

[2] Information extracted from D. MacEoin "From Shaykhism to Babism: a study in charismatic renewal" PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1979, pp. 51-94; V. Rafati, "The Development of Shaykhi Thought in Shi'i Islam", PhD Thesis, UCLA, 1979, pp. 39-45.

1229/1814 - Journey to Kirmanshah (via Isfahan, where he stayed 40 days); he went on first to visit the shrine cities in Iraq before returning to Kirmanshah

2 Rajab 1229/20 June 1814 - arrived Kirmanshah where he settled

1232/1817 - Pilgrimage to Mecca (going via Damascus and returning via Najaf and Karbala where he stayed eight months)

4 Muharram 1234/3 November 1818 - Arrival back in Kirmanshah

1235-1236/1819-1821 - references in Shaykh Ahmad's writings to his having been ill at this time - see Nos. 56 and 110

1238/1822 - Pilgrimage to Mashhad - return via Yazd (3 months' stay) and Isfahan (2 months stay); visit to Qazvin on the way to Mashhad or on the way back

Shawwal 1238/June 1823 - Arrival back in Kirmanshah

1239/1824 - Moved to Karbala

21 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1241/27 June 1826 - Died in Hadiya near Medina during the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca and buried in the Baqi' cemetery in Medina

Family

During his lifetime he married 8 wives and had 29 children of whom 7 survived to maturity.

His sons were:

Shaykh Muhammad Taqi, often also called just Shaykh Muhammad -who is reported to have opposed his father's opinions (see Dh 11:30, no. 177)

Shaykh 'Ali Naqi, often also called just Shaykh 'Ali - who was also a great scholar and followed his father's school; some (perhaps all) of the personal manuscripts of

Shaykh Ahmad appear to have passed into his possession on his father's death; I have seen over a dozen manuscripts of his works reported in various collections

Shaykh Hasan

Shaykh 'Abdu'llah who wrote a biography of his father

Teachers

Shaykh Ahmad's teachers were:³

Shaykh Ahmad ibn Hasan al-Bahrani ad-Damistani, *ijaza* dated 1 Muharram 1205/10 September 1790

Sayyid Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Shahristani of Karbala, *ijaza* dated 1209/1794

Sayyid Mahdi Bahr al-'Ulum of Najaf (1155-1212), *ijaza* dated 1209/1794

Shaykh Ja'far ibn Khidr Kashif al-Ghita of Najaf (1156-1227), *ijaza* dated 1209/1794

Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhammad Al 'Asfur al-Bahrani (d. 1216), *ijaza* dated 2 Jamada I 1214/2 October 1799

Sayyid 'Ali Tabataba'i of Karbala (d. 1231/1816)

Sayyid Muhsin al-A'raji (d. 1227/1812)

Students

Shaykh Ahmad's prominent students included:⁴

Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi Sahib al-Jawahir (c.1202-1266)

Hajji Muhammad Ibrahim Kalbasi (d. 1261)

Shaykh Asadu'llah Shustari (d. 1237)

Sayyid Kazim Rashti (d. 1259)

[3] Sources for this list are Tabaqat A'lam ash-Shi'a (13th century), vol. 2, Najaf, 1374/1954 (hereinafter Tabaqat), p. 91; Dh 1:141, nos. 661; 1:164, no. 821; 1:188, no. 976; 1:219, no. 1149; 1:253, no. 1331; 1:255, no. 1344

[4] Except where indicated the source for this list is Tabaqat, p. 91; Dh 1:141, nos 662, 663, 664.

Shaykh Ahmad's two sons: Shaykh Muhammad Taqi and Shaykh 'Ali Naqi Sayyid 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad Rida al-Husayni al-Hilli al-Kazimi⁵

List of those for whom Shaykh Ahmad wrote Works

The Shaykhis did not become an identifiable separate movement until many years after the death of Shaykh Ahmad. There were, however, a large number of individuals who felt an affinity with the Shaykh and who may thus be thought of as being the predecessors of the Shaykhis. One way in which to ascertain the relative numbers of these persons in the different parts of the Shi'i world is to list those who wrote to the Shaykh asking for his opinion on various subjects.

The following is a list of Shaykh Ahmad's correspondents. As a source of information about the geographical distribution of those who may be regarded as Shaykh Ahmad's followers, it requires some comments. Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhammad Al 'Asfur ad-Darazi al-Bahrani and Shaykh Ja'far Kashif al-Ghita who wrote from Iraq were both teachers of Shaykh Ahmad and cannot be regarded as his followers. Of the two Mazandarani and one Astarabadi scholars listed, none were actually resident in Mazandaran and Astarabad. Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Mubarak al-Qatifi was a resident of Muhammara and later moved to Shiraz. Sayyid Hasan Bushru'i Khurasani was a resident of Karbala.

Having made allowances for the above points, however, a few comments can be made about this list of Shaykh Ahmad's correspondents. There is a pronounced concentration of Shi'i Gulf Arab 'ulama on this list. Of the total of 55 names whose place of origin is known, 20 are from Bahrayn and al-Ahsa (36%). Of course Shaykh Ahmad was himself from this region and this may partly account for this preponderance. But Shaykh Ahmad scarcely visited the area in the last 30 years of his life when his fame was at its height and during which most of these works were written.

There is perhaps a further factor that may also account for the large number of Gulf Arab 'ulama. The Gulf area is even to this day the predominant area of Akhbari thought in the Shi'i world. In the struggle between the Usulis and the Akhbaris for

[5] 1188-1242, he was an Akhbari scholar and author of Masabih al-anwar. Danishgah 5, p. 1531

predominance in the Shi'i world that had culminated in the Usuli victory under Vahid Bihbihani in the generation before Shaykh Ahmad, the Gulf had been the major area of Akhbari support. Most of the important Akhbari 'ulama of this period came from this area. Such figures as Shaykh Yusuf Bahrani and the Āl 'Asfur family were prominent Akhbaris and many of the other important Bahrayni 'ulama appear to have had Akhbari leanings. Although the most important Akhbari scholar of Shaykh Ahmad's own generation was Mirza Muhammad Akhbari from Nishapur,⁶ there were still many Akhbaris in Bahrayn and al-Ahsa and this area remains today as the most important areas of remaining Akhbari influence. Shaykh Ahmad's own views were very much in the Akhbari tradition. Although his jurisprudence was Usuli in nature, his pious veneration of the Imams and his use of argument based on the Traditions of the Imams rather than on rational discourse is very reminiscent of Akhbari thought. It may therefore be that in this generation in which Akhbari thinking was on the retreat, those 'ulama who still inclined to it looked to Shaykh Ahmad as a possible reviver of their fortunes.

On the other hand, given that Najaf and Karbala were the centres of Shi'i scholarship at this time and almost certainly held the largest concentration of 'ulama in the Shi'i world, there seems to have been comparatively little interest in Shaykh Ahmad's views in that region on the evidence of the following list. Even of the three 'ulama shown from that area, one was a teacher of Shaykh Ahmad (Shaykh Ja'far Kashifu'l-Ghita). This also tends to confirm the hypothesis presented above, since the Shrine cities in Iraq were the main centres of the evolving Usuli orthodoxy.

The following is a list of those with whom Shaykh Ahmad corresponded or for whom he wrote treatises:

Al-Ahsa - 8 'ulama

Shaykh Muhammad Taqi, son of Shaykh Ahmad	1 work
Shaykh 'Ali ibn Muqaddas as-Salih ibn Yusuf al-Ahsa'i	1 work
Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Mubarak ibn 'Ali al-Jarudi al-Qatifi	1 work

[6] Mirza Muhammad Akhbari's own attitude towards Shaykh Ahmad is in need of further research. One manuscript (see No. 139) is recorded as being a refutation of Ahsa'i by Akhbari; but on the other hand, Akhbari is reported to have referred to Shaykh Ahmad as "our teacher in the science of certitude (*ustaduna fi 'ilm al-yaqin*)" *Majlis* 9, p. 585.

Gilan - 6 'ulama

Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan al-Jilani	2 works
Mulla 'Ali ibn Mirza Jan Rashti	1 work
Sayyid Husayn ibn Muhammad Qasim Ushkuri Gilani	1 work
Sayyid Kazim Rashti	1 work
Mulla Muhammad Rashti	1 work
Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim ibn 'Abbas ibn Ma'sum Lahijani	1 work

Hamadan

Shaykh Muhammad Ja'far Qaraguzlu'i Hamadani, Majzhub 'Ali Shah	1 work
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Isfahan

Mirza Baqir Nawwab	1 work
Ahl Isfahan	1 work

Khurasan (including Damaghan and Simnan)

Sayyid Hasan Bushru'i Khurasani	1 work
Sayyid Isma'il Sabzivari	1 work
Sayyid Muhammad Khurasani	1 work
Mulla Muhammad Damaghani	1 work
Mulla Kazim ibn 'Ali Naqi as-Simnani	2 works

Kirman

Mulla Husayn Wa'iz Kirmani	2 works
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Mazandaran (and Astarabad)

Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan ibn Husayn al-Husayni at-Tunukabuni al-Qazwini	1 work
Muhammad Mazandarani, resident in Isfahan	1 work
Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi ibn Muhammad Shafi' Astarabadi	3 works

Qazvin

al-Hajj 'Abdu'l-Wahhab al-Qazwini	1 work
Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Baraghani	1 work
Mulla Muhammad Tahir Qazwini	1 work

Tihran (Qajar family)

Fath-'Ali Shah	2 works
Mahmud Mirza (governor of Nahavand)	2 works
Muhammad 'Ali Mirza (governor of Kirmanshah)	3 works

Yazd

Mirza Ja'far Nawwab Yazdi	1 work
Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Mudarris ibn Sayyid Muhammad	1 work
Mulla Muhammad Husayn Bafqi (Sarayani)	1 work

Iraq

Mulla Mashhad ibn Muqaddas al-Hilli	1 or 2 works
Shaykh Ja'far an-Najafi, Kashif al-Ghita	1 work
Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Najafi	1 work

Shirvan

Mulla Mustafa Shirvani (or Shirazi)	1 work
Shaykh Ya'qub ibn Qasim al-Shirwani	1 work

Place of origin not known - 18 names

Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ghadir	1 work
Mirza Ahmad	1 work
Mulla 'Ali	1 work
Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Faris	3 works
Shaykh 'Ali ibn Muhammad	1 word
Mulla 'Ali Akbar ibn Muhammad Sami'	1 work
Mulla Fath-'Ali Khan	1 work
Mulla Mashhad (see other Mulla Mashhads above)	1 work
Sayyid Muhammad al-Bakká	1 work
Mulla Muhammad known as Rashid	1 work
Muhammad Khan	1 work
Sayyid Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Futuh	1 work
Mirza Muhammad 'Ali ibn Muhammad Nabi Khan	1 work
Shaykh Muhammad Kazim	1 work
Shaykh Muhammad Mas'ud ibn Sa'ud	1 work
Shaykh Musa ibn Muhammad Sa'igh	1 work
Shaykh Ramadan ibn Ibrahim	1 work
Sayyid Sharif ibn Jabir	1 work

Volumes known to have belonged to Shaykh Ahmad

In the course of my researches I have come across a number of volumes in the catalogues of various libraries that are stated to have once belonged to Shaykh Ahmad. Since this may be an important source of information regarding the influences upon him, I have listed these below.

al-Wafi of Mulla Muhsin Fayd Kashani - (Mil 7, p. 305); also part of the same work (Mil 7, 353); 10th part of this work (Mil 8, p. 19); 11th part (Mil 8, p. 20); 12th part (Mil 8, p. 42)

Hashiyya of Sayfu'd-Din Ahmad Abhari on the Sharh Mukhtasar al-Muntaha of Adudi (DIMI vol. 1, p. 764, no. *Shin* 67); volume also belonged to Ja'far Bahrani

Hashiyya al-'Umidi (Tabaqat p. 769)

al-'Idah fi'l-Ma'ani wa'l-Bayan of Shaykh Imam Muhammad al-Khatib al-Qazwini ad-Damishqi (DIMI vol. 1, p. 469, no. *Shin* 232); volume also belonged to 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad ibn Hamd ibn Muhammad al-Sayigh

Mukhtalif ash-Shi'a fi Ahkam ash-Shari'a of 'Allama al-Hilli (DIMI vol. 1, p. 798); also belonged to Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad Husayni Musawi, mss dated 1194

Misbah al-Mutahajid of Shaykhu't-Ta'ifa at-Tusi (DIMI vol. 1, *Shin* 82); owned by Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i in 1223; 'Abdu'l-Rahim Mazandarani in 1243; Muhammad Taqi ibn 'Abdu'r-Rahim Mazandarani 1246

Al-Tadhkira fi Sharh at-Tabsira of Aqa Muhammad Ja'far ibn Muhammad 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baqir Bihbihani (d. 1254); this is a large volume consisting of a *sharh* of the Tabsira and of "Bismi'llah" and a treatise on Usul ad-Din (20,000 verses), completed in 1232. (Dh 4:23, no. 72). Copy at present with Shaykh Muhammad as-Samawi in Najaf had belonged to Shaykh Ahmad; then to Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Dahistani, 1248; then Shaykh Muhsin ibn Muhammad al-Mansuri, 1249; then Mirza Muhammad Hamadani, 1302

Analysis of Shaykh Ahmad's works by place and year of writing

Shaykh Ahmad's life may be divided into a number of phases according to where he was living. Many of the works of Shaykh Ahmad bear no date and therefore cannot be easily assigned to a period of his life. Of the remainder, the following is an analysis of the number of works that he wrote in each of these phases:

Table 1: Periods of Shaykh Ahmad's life showing number of works produced in each period

1. Al-Ahsa and Bahrayn (1166-c.1206)	4
2. Karbala and Najaf (c.1207-1211)	10
3. South Iraq (1212-1221)	8
4. Yazd (1221-1228)	16
5. Kirmanshah (1229-1238)	29
6. Karbala (1239-1241)	4

Of course such an analysis makes no allowance for the importance of the works written in each period. A work such as the Sharh al-Fawa'id is clearly of much greater significance than the ar-Risala ar-Rashidiyya which is only 110 verses in length. One crude method of estimating the importance of the various works of Shaykh Ahmad is to count the number of manuscripts that have survived in the various collections surveyed; the assumption being that the more important a work, the more copies of it will have been written and the more manuscripts will have survived. Such an analysis follows:

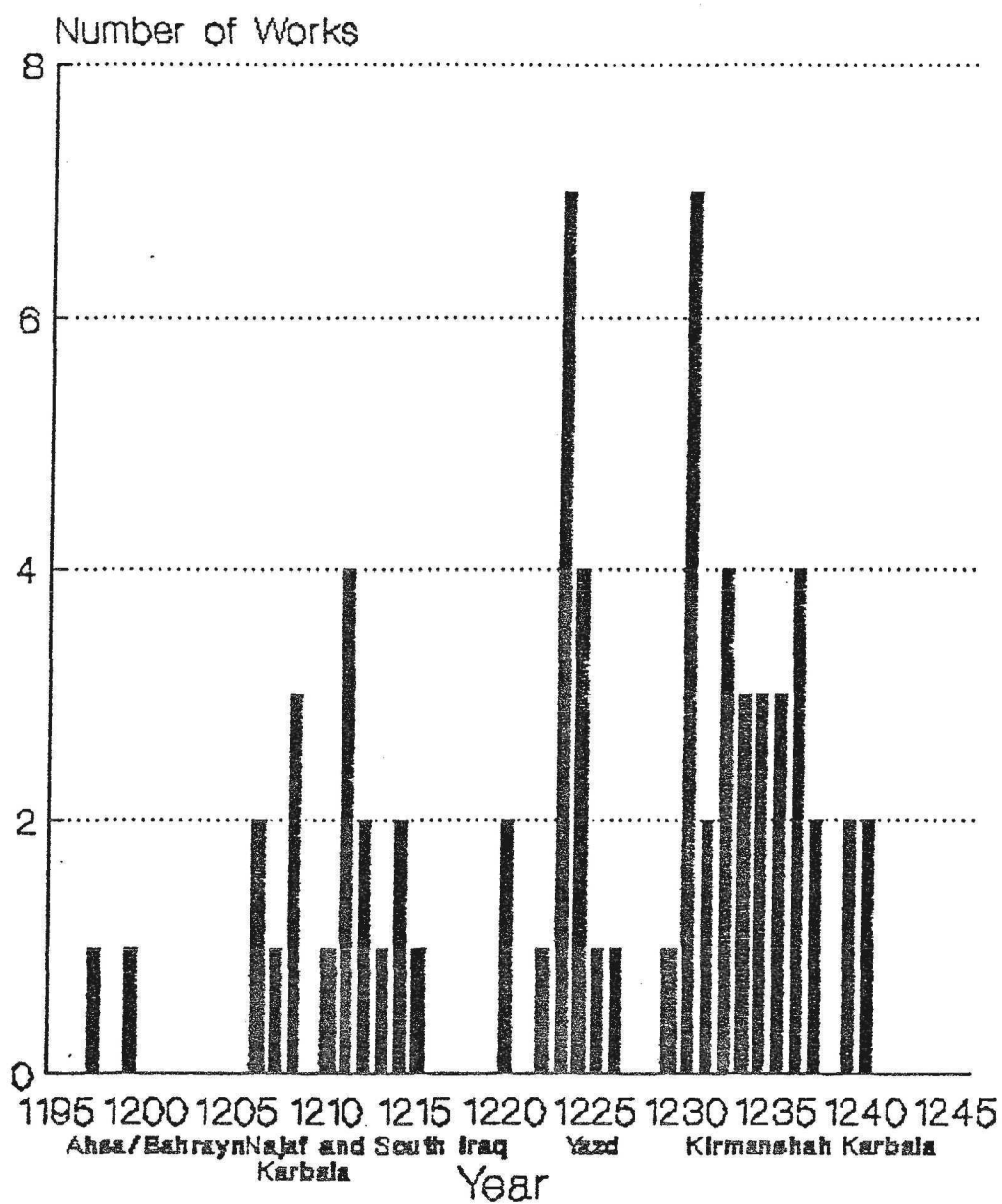
Table 2: Periods of Shaykh Ahmad's life showing number of manuscripts surviving from each period

1. Al-Ahsa and Bahrayn (1166-c.1206)	13
2. Karbala and Najaf (c.1207-1211)	42
3. South Iraq (1212-1221)	36
4. Yazd (1221-1228)	78
5. Kirmanshah (1229-1238)	171
6. Karbala (1239-1241)	14

The same two analyses (by number of works and number of surviving manuscripts) on a year-by-year basis is shown on the following two pages:

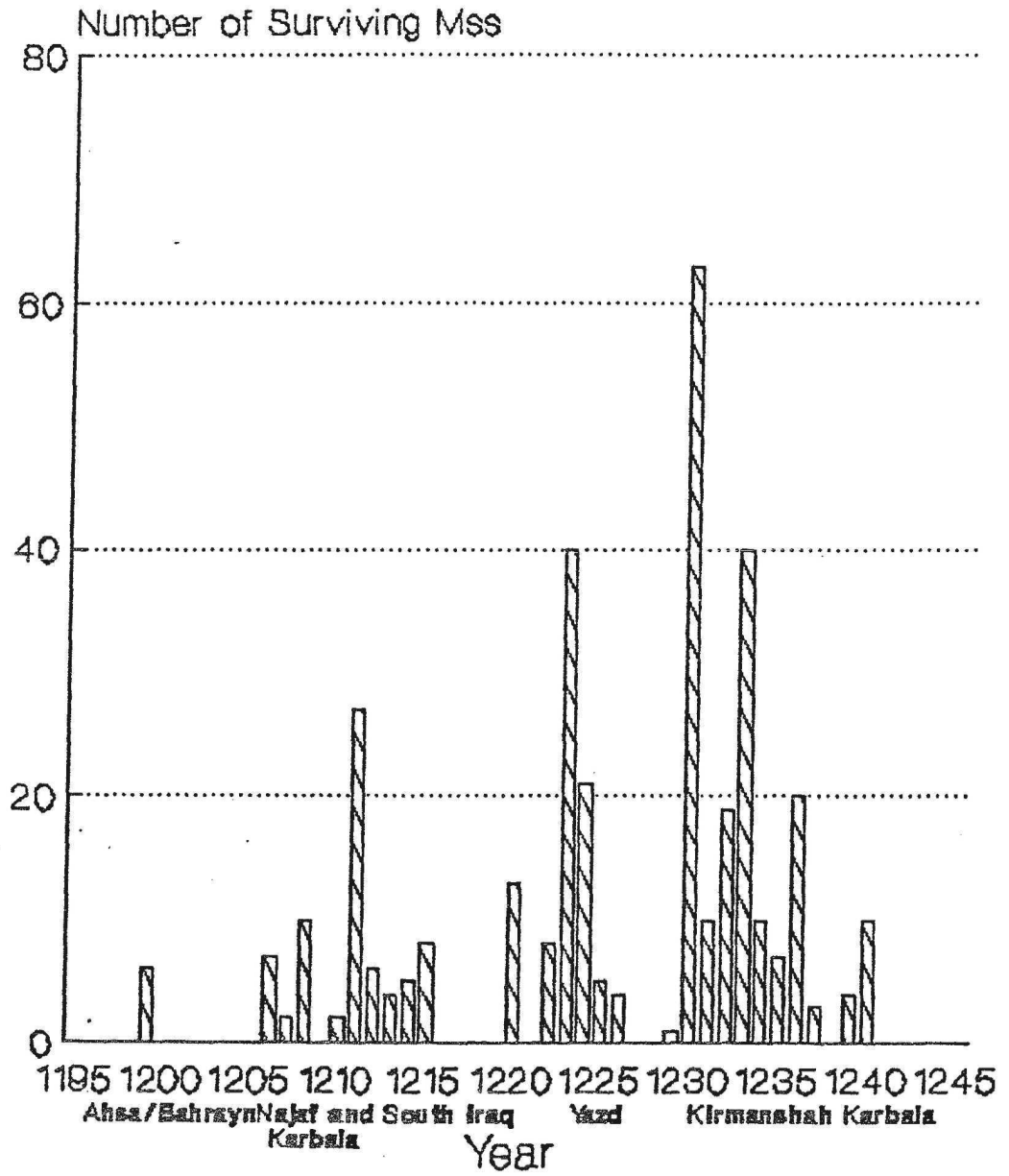
Works of Shaykh Ahmad

Fig 1: Analysis of number of works written in each year



Works of Shaykh Ahmad

Fig 2: Analysis of Importance of works written in each year



One of the problems of such an analysis is the fact that each work is allocated to the year in which it is completed. But some of the major works of Shaykh Ahmad were written over several years. This is particularly true in the case of the Sharh az-Ziyara. This was completed in 1230 and is therefore allocated to that year and to Kirmanshah in the above analyses. However, we know that the third volume was completed in 1229. This means that the first two volumes and possibly part of the third were probably written in Yazd before his departure for Kirmanshah.

A. MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHY AND METAPHYSICS

a. Dated Works

1. Risala fi jawab mas'ala Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'n-Nabi al-Qari; completed Jamada II 1206; 80 verses

1.1. Explanation of the meaning of the Tradition from the Imam 'Ali recorded by Ibn Babuya in 'Ilal ash-Shara'' concerning the creation of the specks (*adh-dharr*) that one sees floating in sunlight

Bib: F38; S59

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 99, No. 430; Mss no. 509 (pp. 122b-124)
 2. Maj. 4, p. 57, No. 1282; Mss. no. 14660; a compilation named Tasliyat al-qulub al-hazina written Mirza Muhammad Akhbari in 1211 to console himself after the death of one of his friends
 3. Mil. 8, p. 225, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no: Da/427 (Item 17, p. 240), written by 'Abdu'r-Rahim ibn Wali Muhammad Ardibili at Ardibil and Kirmanshah in 1235/1240 AH.
 4. Adabiyat, p. 82; Mss no. 347; may be this work or may be part of Kashkul, No. 111
 5. Yazd 3, p. 1099, No. 1936; Mss no. 5931 (Item 5, pp. 37-8), written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Yazdi in 1252

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 46-8

2. Risala fi Sharh 'ibarat Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Faris (Treatise of explanation of the expressions of Shaykh 'Ali ibn Faris); completed 13 Shawwal 1208; 280 verses

2.1. Concerning the science of letters

2.2. Concerning numbers connected with *Alif Lam Mim*, the disconnected letters at the beginning of Surat al-Baqara of the Qur'an

Bib: F19; S51; Dh 5:183

- Mss: 1. Maj 16, p. 350, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 15, pp. 160-64, items 2-23 in this manuscript in handwriting of Muhammad ibn 'Ali Ganjavi Tabrizi, completed 1238)
2. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 7, pp. 209-15); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280; this may be No. 4
3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 31, pp. 335-366); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; this may be No. 4

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 255-263

3. Risala fi jawab mas'ala Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Mubarak ibn 'Ali al-Jarudi al-Qatifi or Risala fi mas'ala al-Qadr (Treatise on the question of predestination);⁸ completed 1208;
45 verses

3.1. Deals with the question of predestination in the actions of man

3.2. The question of "a position between the two positions"^{9a}

3.3. The question of cause.

[8] The questioner was Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Mubarak ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Nasir ibn Husayn Al Hamidán al-Jarudi al-Ahsa'i al-Qatifi; he lived in Muhammara and later moved to Shiraz where he died (sometime after 1239) and is buried. Tabaqat A'lam ash Shi'a (13th century) appears to have this man listed twice under slightly different names: p. 787, no. 1468 and p. 784, no. 1458.

[9] When asked about the controversy between those who believed in Free-will and those who believed in Predestination, the Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq is reported to have said: "The position (*manzila*) is between the two matters," or in some versions of the Tradition "the matter (*amr*) is between the two matters"; i.e. he took an intermediate position on this question.

Bib: F24; S16; Dh 17, p. 48 (Qaf 263)

- Mss: 1. Maj. 4, p. 198, No. 1481; Mss no. 14660; dated 1211, for details see No. 1 *supra*
2. Mil. 8, p. 234, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. Dal 427 (Item 25, p. 290); for details see No. 1 *supra*
3. Danishgah 8, p. 161; Mss no. 1531 (Item 5, pp. 19a-19b)
4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 9, pp. 115-7); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1|233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
5. Adabiyat, p. 101; Mss no. 203 (Item 8)
6. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 2, pp. 3-4); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari
7. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/2, pp. 80b-86); written in 1240

4. Risala fi Sharh Kalimat Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Faris (Treatise in explanation of the words of Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Faris); Shaykh 'Ali had written a treatise in reply to a question that someone had asked Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Firuz; this treatise is Shaykh Ahmad's explanation of the expressions used in that reply; completed 29 Jamada 1210 650 verses

- 4.1. Concerning the Intellect and that which is opposite to it
- 4.2. An explanation of the 28 letters of the alphabet in accordance with the stages of coming into being (*takwin*).
- 4.3. Concerning *hulul* (descent of the spirit of God into man)
- 4.4. Concerning unity (*ittihad*)
- 4.5. Concerning the meaning of *ahad* and *wahid* (primal unity and secondary unity)

Shaykh Muhammad himself had replied to the original question in verse and there is also at the end of the treatise an explanation of Shaykh Muhammad's reply

Bib: F18; S52; Dh 5:185, no. 822

- Mss: 1. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 13, pp. 229-35); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280
2. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 4, pp. 7-20); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari

Pub: JK, 1273, No. 21

5. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh Muhammad Mas'ud ibn Sa'ud; completed 20 Sha'ban 1211; 400 verses

- 5.1. Concerning God's Knowledge of things before and after they come into being
- 5.2. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "The Hour and I are like these two"; and he indicated the index finger and the middle finger"
- 5.3. Concerning the annihilation of the effect while the cause exists
- 5.4. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "The clay of Adam was mixed by hand for forty days"
- 5.5. Concerning the manner of the soul's (*nafs*) departure from the physical body
- 5.6. Is the purgatory (*barzakh*) to which the soul goes after death the same as that from which it came?
- 5.7. Do imperfect souls become corrupted or do they remain?
- 5.8. What is the meaning of Lordship when there is no being whose Lord it is (*marbub*) and the Godhead when there is no being whose God it is (*ma'luh*)
- 5.9. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "Time (*zaman*) is like the form of a day on which God created the heavens and the earth"

Bib: F39; S66; Dh 2, p. 92, no. 364; Dh 5:212, no. 988

- Mss: 1. Garrett p. 223, No. 2613; Mss no. 3418 (pp. 7b-11a); written in 1258; the correspondent's name is here given as Muhammad Mas'ud ibn Muhammad Abi'l-Su'ud
2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 33, pp. 373-386); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; The correspondent's name is here given as Muhammad ibn Mas'ud ibn Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Su'ud
3. Kazimayn: mss in private library of Sayyid Hashim ibn Muhammad 'Ali Sabzivari, dated 1213, in handwriting of Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Mubarak ibn 'Ali al-Khatti (?same person as in No. 3 above)

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 69-75

6. Risala al-Bahraniyya (The Bahrayn Treatise); in reply to Sayyid Husayn ibn 'Abdu'l-Qahir ibn Husayn al-Bahrani; completed Ramadan 1211

120 verses

6.1. An explanation of the words of Mulla Muhsin Fayd concerning the meaning of the phrase annihilation in God (*fana fi'llah*); whether it means the obliteration of the essence or of the human mode; and concerning the complete turning to God (*tawajjuh*) which is a condition of *fana*, and other related matters

Bib: F5; S68

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 99, No. 429; Mss no. 579 (pp. 74a-76), dated 1236
2. Garrett, p. 224, No. 2618; Mss no. 3418 (pp. 16a-17a)
3. Maj 16, p. 350, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 14, pp. 158-60), for details see No. 2 *supra*.
4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 10, pp. 117-121); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
5. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 7, pp. 39-42); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 217-9

7. al-Fawa'id (The Lessons); containing 12 lessons; said in the Fihrist to be written in Yazd after return from Isfahan; but according to adh-Dhari'a (16:333), this was written in 1211; it would in any case appear to have been written before 1216 in view of mss 3 *infra*.1,100 verses

7.1. Concerning the three proofs

7.2. Concerning knowing existence

7.3. Concerning free (or absolute) existence

7.4. Concerning the divisions of action

7.5. Concerning the completion of appendices

7.6. Concerning limited (or relative) existence

7.7. Concerning the creation of all things in six days

7.8. That nothing goes beyond its set time

7.9. That no creation is capable of understanding what is beyond its origin

7.10. That God is the Creator of both the physical and mental world

7.11. Explanation of the issuing forth of action from mankind

7.12. Concerning the permanence of authority

Shaykh Ahmad wrote a sharh (explanation) of this work (see No. 23). Two of his followers, Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Shahristani and Mulla Kazim Simnani, also wrote sharhs of this work (see Maj 9, p. 570-71); Mulla 'Ali Nuri (d. 1246) wrote a hashiyah (marginal gloss) on this work (Dh 5:127, no. 687)

Bib: F29; S4; Dh 16:333-4, No. 1545

Mss: 1. KM Mss No. A3, Item 7.

2. Maj 12, p. 36, No. 4338, Mss no. 62571 (Item 12, pp. 163a-174b), written by 'Ali Asghar ibn Muhammad Amin in Kirmanshah in about 1229

3. Majlis library mss no. 3951 - 2 copies written in 1216 and 1228 (Dh *supra*)
4. MilZ, p. 179, No. 'Ayn 210; Mss no. *Sin*/386/11213, (Item 1, pp. 1-63), possibly in the handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad himself.
5. Danishgah 11, pp. 2038-9; Mss no. 3092 (Item 8, pp. 624-9); to part of 8th *fa'ida* only; written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Fathu'llah Qazvini in Rasht, c. 1242 or later
6. Danishgah 13, p. 3262; Mss no. 4511, 40pp.; copied from an original manuscript in 14 Jamada II 1244
7. Adabiyat, p. 100; Mss no. 125 (Item 5)
8. Adabiyat, p. 100; Mss no. 343 (Item 3)
9. Mar'ashi 3, p. 55, no. 865 (Item, no. 4, pp. 70a-80a); written by Ja'far ibn Husayn al-Husayni al-'Amili, 6 Rabi' I 1265
10. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 1, pp. 1-29); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245
11. Khazana as-Sadr (Dh *supra*)

Pub: included in Sharh al-Fawa'id, see no. 21

8. ar-Risala al-Qatifiyya (The Treatise of Qatif); in answer to questions from Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi;¹⁰ written on 18 Dhu'l-Hijja 1213 (See also Nos. 87, 102, 109, 128, 129)

660 verses

8.1. Concerning the manner in which Muhammad and the Imams are the first of God's creation and they are the cause of all existents and what is meant by their light being one

8.2. What is the reality of the body which is the locus of reward and punishment? From where does it originate and to which world does it return?

[10] This man is named Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Salim ibn Tuq in Tabaqat, p. 92-3 but as here in A'yan ash-Shi'a 8:327, No. 1307. He was a source of religious authority in Qatif in his time. He wrote over 40 works including a treatise in reply to the questions of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Ali Al 'Asfur al-Bahrani (see Dh 2:77, No. 307), Ni'mat al-Minan fi ithbat wujud sahib al-zaman, a treatise on the Tradition Man 'arafa nafsahi 'arafa rabbahi (Dh 13:208, no. 735), and a treatise on Usul ad-Din of which he himself wrote a shortened version and on which his son Dayf Allah Al Tuq wrote a sharh (Dh 2:183, No. 677; Dh 13:284, no. 1026). He died sometime after AH 1245.

8.3. What is the proof of God that is unrestricted in His actions and what does unrestricted mean in this respect?

8.4. How is it that an unrestricted agent should create something that is purely for the benefit of another and brings no benefit to himself?

8.5. Is the origination of the world in essence or time?

8.6. If from unity plurality cannot arise, then what is its origin?

8.7. Explanation of the origin of evil men and the reality of angels and devils

8.8. Concerning the reality of the world of atoms

8.9. Are there incumbent duties in the next world?

8.10. God has said: "And there [in Paradise] theirs will be what they desire."¹¹ If all men were to ask for the station of prophethood, would that be granted to them?

Bib: F31;¹²

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 290, No. 1287; Mss no. 79 (pp. 189a-200a)
 2. Mil 8, p. 230, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 22, pp. 275-82); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 3. Mil 9, p. 528-9; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 20, pp. 200-218)
 4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 12, pp. 122-145); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 155-164

[11] This appears to be a paraphrase of Qur'an 41:31.

[12] There are four treatises in response to Shaykh Ahmad al-Qatifi listed in Fihrist-i Sayyid, Nos. 40, 46, 83, 87. There is insufficient information to determine which of them is meant.

9. Risala fi Sharh Hadith Huduth al-Asma (Treatise on the Tradition of the origination of the Divine Names); written in reply to Shaykh 'Ali ibn Muqaddas as-Salih ibn Yusuf al-Ahsa'i; completed 9 Safar 1220;

220 verses

9.1 Explanation of the verse: "He has most beautiful Names" (Qur'an 17:110)

9.2. Explanation of the Tradition in al-Kafi of Shaykh Muhammad Kulayni that begins: "God created the Divine Names with silent letters and unuttered sounds..."

Bib: F14; S22; Dh13:187

Mss: 1. KM Mss No. A3, Item 5.

2. Princeton, p. 303, No. 1343; Mss no. 579 (pp. 84b-90a), dated 1236
3. Princeton, p. 303, No. 1343; Mss no. 885 (pp. 17b-24a)
4. Maj 12, p. 35, No. 4338; No. 62571 (Item 10, pp. 104a-109b), written by 'Ali Asghar ibn Muhammad Amin in Kirmanshah in c. 1229
5. Mil 7, p. 195, No. 'Ayn 225; Mss no. *Sin*405/11160 (Item 3, pp. 243-8); for details see No. 8 *supra*.
6. Mil 8, p. 239, No. 'Ayn 775; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 31, pp. 359-61); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
7. Mil 9, p. 517-8; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 5, pp. 35-41)
8. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 37, pp. 420-427); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
9. Adabiyat, p. 358; Mss no. 358 (Item 10)
10. Mar'ashi 3, p. 55, no. 865 (Item, no. 3, pp. 65a-70b); written by Ja'far ibn Husayn al-Husayni al-'Amili, 6 Rabi' I 1265
11. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 2, pp. 47a-52a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
12. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 10, pp. 113-110); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 311-313;

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 2-12

10. Risala al-Ja'fariyya; written for Mirza Ja'far ibn Ahmad Nawwab Yazdi; dated 7 Shawwal 1222 in Yazd 340 verses

- 10.1. Concerning the truth of intuitive enlightenment (*kashf*)
- 10.2. Concerning the true meaning of the obligatory prayer and the reason for its being ordained
- 10.3. Meaning of the Tradition: "My mercy precedes My wrath".
- 10.4. Commentary on the verses: "God does not forgive that any partner be joined with Him, but He will forgive anything short of that (Qur'an 4:48)."
- 10.5. Commentary on: "O God, bless Muhammad and his family just as You have blessed Abraham and his family".
- 10.6. Why has God singled out mankind for sending Messengers and Holy Books.
- 10.7. It is said that the prophet that comes at the end of time shall have a red camel. What is the significance of this?
- 10.8. The meaning of the fear of God (*taqwa*) and why no action is acceptable without it.

Bib: F6; S63

- Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 3
2. Princeton, p. 222, No. 956; Mss no. 885 (pp. 1b-12a)
3. Mil 9, p. 516; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 3, pp. 22-30)
4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 13, pp. 145-155); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
5. Danishgah 13, p. 3465-6; Mss no. 4515 (Item 3, pp. 63-85); written in 5 Shawwal 1270 from a manuscript in Shaykh Ahmad's handwriting
6. Adabiyat, p. 82; Mss no. 400 (Item 3)
7. Yazd 3, p. 882, No. 1172; Mss no. 365 (Item 2, pp. 38-53), manuscript written between 1294 and 1306
8. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 6, pp. 81-90); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245

9. Bihar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/5, pp. 89a-91b); written in 1240

- Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 1, pp. 130-135
 2. Majmu'a, vol. 30, pp. 14-28.

11. Risala fi jawab masa'il ba'd ahl Isfahan (Treatise in reply to questions from some of the people of Isfahan); completed Jamada I 1223; 450 verses

11.1. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition from the Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq: "The sun is a one-seventieth part of the light of the Throne"

11.2. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition from the Imam 'Ali: "God created the Throne from four lights"

11.3. Concerning the meaning of a Tradition that is in al-Kafi that the prophets are made from the Clay of 'Aliyyin. Also about the clay of Sijjin

11.4. Concerning the Tradition that God, when He wished to create Adam sent Gabriel on the first hour of Friday...

11.5. Concerning the Tradition of the Imam 'Ali: "And so he seized with his right hand a handful..."

11.6. Concerning the Tradition: "The Clay of Adam was kneaded with both hands for forty days..." (cf Qur'an 38:76)

Bib: F45; S82; Dh 2:124, No. 498

- Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss no. 1 (Item 14, pp. 417-428); manuscript in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad himself, dated 2 Rabi' II 1232/1817, had been in possession of Qadir ibn Muhammad Javad [ibn] Muhammad Tahir Taliqani, a close associate of Shaykh Ahmad.
 2. Princeton, p. 96, No. 416; Mss no. 79 (pp. 172b-179b) dated 1235
 3. Mil 8, p. 239, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal*427 (item 32, pp. 361-5), for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 4. Mil 9, p. 526; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 16, pp. 170-83)

5. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 18, pp. 181-95); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
6. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 12, pp. 94b-102a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
7. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/11, pp. 103a-120a); written in 1240

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 104-110;
2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 194-215

12. Risala fi jawab su'al Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan al-Jilani; completed 8 Jamada II 1223 in Yazd
120 verses

12.1. If Belief and Unbelief are written upon the Guarded Tablet (*lawh mahfuz*), then why did the Prophet call the unbeliever to faith and impose obligations upon him when he knew that he would not believe for his name was written as an unbeliever on the Guarded Tablet on which there can be no additions or erasures? Shaykh Ahmad states that it is the very appearance of the Prophet and his imposing religious obligations that is the cause of the *iman* (belief) of the believer and the *kuf* (unbelief) of the unbeliever

Bib: F2; S80

- Mss: 1. KM Mss No. A3, Item 2
2. Princeton, p. 98, No. 424; Mss no. 79 (pp. 185b-187a), dated 1235
 3. Danishgah 12, p. 2623; Mss no. 3621 (Item 11); written by 'Abdu'r-Rahim ibn Muhammad Sharif Nahawandi in Madrasa Mu'mina of Nahawand
 4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 5, pp. 105-109); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
 5. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/10, pp. 102b-103a); written in 1240

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 115-6
2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 238-243

13. Fa'ida or Risala fi'l-wujudat ath-thalatha (Lesson or Treatise on the Three Existences); completed 20 Ramadan 1223 85 verses

13.1. On the existence of the True One (*al-Haqq*), free or absolute existence (*al-mutlaq*) and limited or relative existence (*al-muqayyad*)

Bib: F26 (fa'ida); S78 (risala)

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3 Item 6.

2. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F4 (Item 1, pp. 1-40b); written by 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kirmani at end of Dhu'l-Qad'a 1264
3. Princeton, p. 287, No. 1274; Mss no. 507 (pp. 1b-4a), written Muhammad Tahir ibn Muhammad 'Ali al-Mashhadi at Kirman, dated Rabi' I 1267,
4. Mil 8, p. 215, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 3, pp. 96-97); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
5. Mil 9, p. 525-6; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 15, pp. 161-170)
6. Yazd, p. 1099, no. 1936; Mss no. 5931 (Item no. 4, pp. 37-45), written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Yazdi 1252
7. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/9, pp. 101b-102b); written in 1240

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, p. 100-101

2. Majmu'a, Vol.30, pp. 188-192

14. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan al-Jilani; completed 1 Safar 1224 270 verses

14.1. Regarding the reality of intellect, spirit and soul; their names and the difference between them

14.2. How distinctions arise in the world of spirits (*arwah*); the vegetative soul and the animal soul

14.3. Whether souls exist before the body comes into being and whether they are self-conscious or not?

14.4. Meaning of the Tradition: "The Intellect is at the centre of All [Things]"

14.5. Meaning of the Traditions: "There is no resurrection (*inbi'ath*) for the rational soul" and "Its habitation is the true religious sciences" and the relation between the two.

Bib: F1; S29 (but here said to be in response to questions by some of the students)

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 1.

2. Princeton, p. 94, no. 406; Mss. no. 579 (pp. 39a-46a), dated 1236

3. Princeton, p. 94, no. 406; Mss. no. 885 (pp. 47a-54a)

4. The following mss appears to cover the first three questions: Mil 8, p.252, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 45, pp. 401-3); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

5. Mil 9, p. 519-20; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 8, pp. 49-56)

6. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 18, pp. 135a-139a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

7. Yazd 3, p. 894, No. 1203; Mss no. 340 (Item 7, pp. 86-95); written by Ni'matu'llah ibn Muhammad Mahdi Istahbanati in 1258

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 141-5

15. ar-Risala al-Khattabiyya (Treatise of the Address); written in reply to some mystics (*'arifin*); completed 17 Rabi' II 1224

150 verses

15.1. To whom does the address "Thee only do we worship and from Thee do we seek help" (Qur'an 1:5) refer? That it is nothing but the Essence of God to which reference is made.

15.2. How can the prayer of an negligent person be correct when he has no understanding or intent?

15.3. Explanation of the Tradition of Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq: "God manifests Himself to His servant in His Word but they do not see"

15.4. Explanation of the famous Tradition: "[Ja'far] as-Sadiq used to swoon and fall to the ground while praying on some days"

Bib: F8; S74; Dh4:320, no. 1368 (Tafsir Ayat Iyaka Na'budu)

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 4.

2. Princeton, p. 289, No. 1281; Mss no. 579 (pp. 46b-50a)
3. Princeton, p. 289, No. 1281; Mss no. 885 (pp. 28b-32b)
4. Mil 8, p. 237, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 29, pp. 353-4); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
5. Mil 9, p. 519; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 7, pp. 45-9); described as being addressed to Mulla Kazim
6. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 38, pp. 427-432); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
7. Danishgah 13, p. 3465-6; Mss no. 4515 (Item 2, pp. 53-62); written 5 Shawwal 1270 from a mss in Shaykh Ahmad's handwriting
8. Adabiyat, p. 83; Mss no. 299 (Item 3)
9. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 7, pp. 59a-61b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
10. Yazd 3, p. 1099, No. 1936; Mss no. 5931 (Item 9, pp. 93-6), written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Yazdi in 1252
11. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/8, pp. 99b-101b); written in 1240

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 139-141

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 60-66

16. ar-Risala ar-Rashidiyya (The Treatise of Rashid); in response to questions from Mulla Muhammad known as Rashid; completed Thursday, 19 Sha'ban 1225. 110 verses

16.1. Whether the Imams are limited or free beings

16.2. Explanation of the Tradition: "The Holy Spirit in the Gardens tasted of Our earliest Paradise"

16.3. Concerning how the Muhammadan Reality (*al-Haqiqa al-Muhammadiyah*) is identical to the Divine Will; and how the Divine Names such as Pure Essence, the Unknowable, the Spring of Camphor and the Simple Essence separate from it.

16.4. How the Imams are Stations (*maqamat*) of God and the essence of the externalised Attributes

Bib: F9; S24; Dh 5:181, no. 790

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 227, No. 979; Mss no. 579 (pp. 136a-139a), dated 1236
 2. Mil 8, p. 253, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 46, pp. 403-4); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 15, pp. 165-7); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
 4. Yazd 3, p. 894, No. 1203; Mss no. 340 (Item 6, pp. 84-6); written by Ni'matu'llah ibn Muhammad Mahdi Istahbanati in 1258
 5. Copy in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 23, pp. 233-4

17. Sharh az-Ziyara al-Jami'a al-Kabira (Explanation of the Grand General Prayer of Visitation); written at the request of Sayyid Husayn ibn Muhammad Qasim Husayni Ushkuri Gilani; 4 Vols.; Vol. 3 completed early Shawwal 1229; Vol. 4 completed 10 Rabi' I 1230.

34,000 verses

17.1. This is generally thought to be Shaykh Ahmad's most important work. It consists of a phrase-by-phrase commentary on the General Prayer for the Visitation of the Imams revealed by the Tenth Imam, 'Ali al-Hadi, and recorded in the books: Man La Yahduruhu'l-Faqih by Ibn Babuya and Tahdhib by Shaykhut-Ta'ifa at-Tusi. During the course of this treatise, Shaykh Ahmad expounds all the most important of his doctrinal and metaphysical ideas.

Sayyid Kazim Rashti described this work thus in the Fihrist-i Sayyid: "The *Shar* (explanation) of the Great General Prayer of Visitation transmitted from our master al-Hadi, upon him be peace. It is in four volumes. He has made clear in this noble and eloquent *sharh* what the Imam intended when he replied to someone who questioned him Saying: 'Teach me, O Lord, some worthy words to say when I make a visitation to one of you.' And he, upon him be peace, entrusted him with this Prayer of Visitation, in which is a compilation of the sciences and the reality of customary rituals. He [Shaykh Ahmad] has made clear through his [the Imam's] teachings,

some of what is in it [this prayer]. He has alluded to its inner and hidden content. He has reconciled the outward meaning and the inner, and the legal with the mystical. It is a *sharh* which has no equal in this age. [Its style] is fluent and difficult to imitate. Whoever is just and a seeker of truth, who has seen it, has obtained an abundant benefit from it..."

Sayyid Kazim Rashti wrote a number of treatises in explanation of parts of the Sharh az-Ziyara

Bib: F16; S1; Dh 13:305, no. 1116

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A13-16.

2. Browne, p. 54-5; Mss no. F.1.1, F1.2, F.2 (This represents the first 3 of the four volumes of this work). Vol. 1 written by Muhammad Mahdi ibn Hajji 'Abdu'r-Razzaq completed in Ramadan 1256/November 1840; Vol. 2 is in the same hand, no date; Vol. 3 completed on 6 Rabi' II 1233/13 Feb 1818.
3. UCLA Box 3, Mss no. 34.
4. UCLA Box 4, Mss no. 45, Minasian Collection
5. Princeton, p. 301-2, No. 1337; Mss no. 588, pts 3-4 only; pt 4 ends on p. 153a, written by Muqim al-Husayni, dated Dhu'l-Qa'da 1252; pt 3 (pp. 153b-296a), written by Salih Ardáyi, dated Rajab 1236
6. Princeton, p. 301-2, No. 1337; Mss no. 1187, second half
7. Maj Z, p. 158, No. 142; Mss no. 6316 (Item 1, pp. 2-522), dated 1247
8. Maj Z, p. 263, No. 3; Mss no. 63617 (Item 13) - may be a different work as it is stated to be written at the request of Mahmud Mirza
9. Mil 8, p. 83, No. 'Ayn 596; Mss no. *Sin*/2027/2031, written by 'Abdu'r-Rahim Ardibili, 1250 AH (also wrote large composite volume, see No. 1).
10. Mil 10, p. 14; Mss no. 'Ayn 1519 (Item 1, pp. 1-510); written in 1254
11. Danishgah 1, pp. 140-41; Mss no. 78, written by Muhammad Isma'il ibn Zaynu'd-Din Kufrani Ruyidashti Isfahani 1266 AH
12. Danishgah Z, p. 2740, no. 2031; Mss. no. 1270, mss completed 29 Dhu'l-Hijja 1240.
13. Danishgah 8, p. 207; Mss no. 1619, 288pp., pt 3-4 only
14. Danishgah 8, p. 225; Mss no. 1653, 153pp., pt 2 only; written by 'Ali Akbar ibn Khabbaz Dahnavi, Dhu'l-Qad'a 1262
15. Danishgah 8, p. 246; Mss no. 1688, 346pp., pt 1-2 only

16. Danishgah 8, p. 249; Mss no. 1695, 174pp., pt 1 only; written by 'Ali Akbar ibn Khabbaz Dahnavi, 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 1262
17. Danishgah 8, p. 447; Mss no. 1871, 237pp. incomplete, with marginal comments by "Nuri" (?Mulla 'Ali Nuri) objecting to some of the statements of the author and also resolving some of these objections
18. Danishgah 8, p. 707; Mss no. 2083, 150pp., pt 2 only; written by Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Baqir Husayni Khurasani in Muharram 1235; also has marginal comments
19. Huquq, p. 374-5; No. *Jim* 42; Mss no. 42219 (Item 1, pp. 22-352), pts. 3 and 4 only; written by Ahmad ibn 'Ali Rashti in Kirmanshah 22 Rabi' I 1230 from an original in the handwriting of the author
20. Mar'ashi 2, p. 222, no. 620, (pp. 83a-87b); a small fragment of this manuscript only; written Ramadan 1242; manuscript owned by Muhammad Shari'ati in 1359
21. Mar'ashi 5, p. 38-9, no. 1636; 358pp.; written by Muhammad Ibrahim ibn Abi Talib Farahani, end of Dhu'l-Hijja 1236 on instructions of Sayyid 'Ali ibn Husayn as-Safawi
22. Mar'ashi 6, p. 81-2, no. 2068 (Item 5, pp. 146b-152b); first few pages only
23. Mar'ashi 11, p.22, no. 4018, 291pp; written by 'Ali ibn Muhammad, 7 Jamada I 1236; mss contains seals of Shaykh Mahdi Wa'iz, Rajab 1382, Abu'l-Qasim Tihrani, 16 Jamada II 1246, and had belonged to Ruknu'd-Dawlih
24. Mar'ashi 11, p. 183, no. 4171, 174pp.
25. Mashhad 6, p. 256, no. 3377
26. Yazd 1, p. 395, No. 447; Mss no. 14820; donated by Hajji Vaziri
27. Yazd 2, p. 470, No. 549; Mss no. 13492, 301pp; written by 'Abbas ibn 'Ali; owned by Muhammad 'Ali al-Husayni; presumably an incomplete manuscript
28. Yazd 2, p. 488, No. 539; Mss no. 539, 358pp; donated by Hajji Vaziri; mss to end of part 3 only
29. Malik, p. 409-10; Mss no. 1382, 237pp.; written by Muhammad ibn Muhammad Husayn Na'ib as-Sadr Qarachidaghi in Hamadan in 1267
30. Malik, p. 409-10; Mss no. 2764, 190pp.; written by Muhammad Rida ibn 'Ali ibn Mahdi Khwansari, 26 Ramadan 1242
31. Malik, p. 409-10; Mss no. 3019, 323pp.; written by Husayn ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Husayn Langrudi in Karbala, 27 Safar 1230
32. Malik, p. 409-10; Mss no. 3031, 171pp.
33. Sipahsalar 1, pp. 261-3, mss no. 1753, written Muhammad Khalaf dated 1243 AH.

34. Sipahsalar 1, pp. 261-3, mss no. 1754 (vol. 1 only)
35. Faydiyya 1, pp. 120-2, no. 433 and 434; waqf of Mulla Muhammad Ibrahim Qishlaqi in 1288, possibly in handwriting of author and certainly written in lifetime of author
36. Copy of this work given to the Madrasa Mulla Muhammad Baqir Sabzivari at Mashhad by Shaykh 'Abdu'llah Qa'ini in 1275 A.H. (see Tabaqat A'lam ash-Shi'a (13th century), pp. 764
37. SJ, vol. 5, p. 107-8, no. 1529; No. 1643/Ad 125, vol. 2, 417pp (from the size of this manuscript I suspect that it is vols 1 & 2)
38. SJ, vol. 5, p. 108, no. 1530; No. 1644/Ad 126, vols. 3 (pp. 1-157), vol. 4 (pp. 157-238), 417pp; written Muhammad Karim, 29 Rabi' I 1252

Pub: many editions: 1. ed. Mulla Muhammad, Nizamu'l-'Ulama, and paid for by Sulayman Khan Afshar, Tihiran,
 2. 4 vols. in one, Ramadan 1267, (Cambridge University Library S828.a.85.2);
 3. Tabriz 1276 (British Library 14516.d.29).
 4. Tihiran, Matba'at al-Islami 1349/1970 with introduction by 'Abdu'r-Rasul al-Ihqaqi (Harvard Univ. Lib.OL 26544.8F)
 5. Latest ed.: Kirman, 4 vols., ?1355.

Translation of a small portion of vol. 4, pp. 25-31 (Kirman ?1355 ed) appears in H. Corbin, Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth, pp. 180-189.

18. Risala fi Sharh Ziyara al-Wada' (Treatise in explanation of the Farewell Prayer of Visitation); written as a continuation of the previous work and completed nine days later on 19 Rabi' I 1230

1,000 verses

Bib: F17

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A16

2. Maj Z, p. 159; Mss no. 142 (Item 2, pp. 523-537)
3. Mil 10, p. 14; Mss no. 'Ayn 1519 (Item 2, pp. 510-545); written in 1254
4. Huquq, p. 374-5; No. *Jim* 42; Mss no. 42219 (Item 2, pp. 252-414); written by Ahmad ibn 'Ali Rashti in Kirmanshah 25 Rabi' I 1230 from an original in the handwriting of the author

5. SJ, vol. 5, p. 108, no. 1530; No. 1644/Ad 126, (Item 3, pp. 238-301);
written Muhammad Karim, 29 Rabi' I 1252

Pub: Printed at end of the previous work in Vol. 4: pp. 87-99 in Tihiran, 1267 edition; p. 290-335 in Kirman edition

19. Risala fi Sharh Risalat al-'Ilm (Treatise in Explanation of the Treatise on Knowledge); the manuscript at UCLA (see 3 below) is named 'Ayn al-Yaqin';¹³ possibly also called al-Lubab (see Dh reference below) written at request of Mirza Baqir Nawwab of Isfahan¹⁴; Shaykh Ahmad states that he came across the Risalat al-'Ilm of Mulla Muhsin Fayd in 1228 in Isfahan; completed 5 Rabi' II 1230 at Kirmanshah (but see dates of some of the manuscripts below)¹⁵

2,500 verses

19.1. Explanation of a treatise of Mulla Muhsin Fayd on the reality of Knowledge.

Bib: F23; S21; Dh 13:288, no. 1046; Dh 15:322, no. 2071

Mss: 1. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 2, pp. 113a-137b) - mss transcribed 1238/1822-3 in Karbala; named of writer given but difficult to decipher
2. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 4, pp. 32-93) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.
3. UCLA Box 1, Mss 3, manuscript entitled 'Ayn al-Yaqin', dated 1228/1813 [sic].

[13] 'Ayn al-Yaqin' was in fact the title of a much larger work on *'ilm* by Mulla Muhsin Fayd (Dh 15:374, no. 2357). Mulla Muhsin refers to this larger work at the end of his Risalat al-'Ilm (Dh 15:322, no. 2071) and this may have caused some confusion to the compiler of the UCLA list.

[14] Mirza Muhammad Baqir ibn Muhammad al-Lahiji, resident of Isfahan and later Tihiran; had held the post of vazir to Sultan Ja'far Khan Zand and was held in high esteem by Fath-'Ali Shah who asked him to write a *tafsir* of the Qur'an in Persian in a manner that had not been done before. He wrote Tuhfat al-Khaqan. He also wrote a *sharh* of the Nahj al-Balagha in Persian for Fath-'Ali Shah. He died in in Tihiran 1240. See Dh 3:431-2, no. 1562; Tabaqat, pp. 188-9, no. 390.

[15] Hajji Mulla Hadi Sabzivari, the foremost Iranian philosopher of the 19th Century, wrote a treatise al-Muhakimat w'al-muqawamat in refutation of this work by Shaykh Ahmad. Adabiyat, p. 38; Mss no. 244 (Item 6).

4. Princeton, p. 249, No. 1084; Mss no. 79 (pp. 85a-123a), dated 3 Rajab 1235
5. Princeton, p. 249, No. 1084; Mss no. 490 (pp. 1b-44b)
6. Princeton, p. 249, No. 1084; Mss no. 835 (pp. 1b-52b), dated 18 Jamada II 1223 [sic], in handwriting of Mujtaba ibn Shamsu'd-Din al-Husayni
7. Maj 4, p. 159, No. 1422; Mss no. 12950; written by 'Abdu'l-Mutallib Shirazi in 1275
8. Maj 12, p. 35, No. 4338; Mss no. 62571 (Item 9, pp. 39a-102b), written by 'Ali Asghar ibn Muhammad Amin
9. Mil 8, p. 218, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 8, pp. 157-84); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
10. Mil 9, p. 62; Mss. no. 'Ayn 1068 (Item 2, pp. 278-365); written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad Tabrizi in 1238 in Kirmanshah
11. Adabiyat, p. 93; Mss no. 203 (Item 15)
12. Huquq, p. 373; No. *Jim* 42 (Item 2, pp. 255-94); Mark of Ahmad ibn 'Ali Muhammad Rashti
13. Yazd 3, p. 1099, No. 1936; Mss no. 5931 (Item 6, pp. 38-82), written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Yazdi in 1252
14. Najaf, Library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari, written by Shaykh Ja'far ibn Hadi Rashti in Kazimayn in late Dhu'l-Qa'da 1242
15. Najaf, Library of Shaykh 'Ali Kashifu'l-Ghita
16. Kazimayn, Library of Sayyid Hasan as-Sadr
17. Tihran, Library of Sayyid Husayn Shahanshahi

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 166-200

20. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim ibn 'Abbas ibn Ma'sum Lahijani or Risala fi bayan al-Aw'ya ath-thalatha (Treatise in explanation of the three containers); completed 3 Jamada II 1230¹⁶

520 verses

20.1. The meaning of the three containers: timeless eternity (*sarmad*), meta-temporal eternity (*dahr*) and time (*zaman*)

[16] Agha Buzurg Tihrani doubts whether this man is the same as Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim al-Musawi (d. after AH 1230) who was a resident of Karbala and a pupil of Sayyid 'Ali Tabataba'i. Tabaqat, p. 37.

20.2. Concerning the Guarded Tablet and the Tablet of Obliteration and of Affirmation.

20.3. Concerning the world of atoms

20.4. Concerning judgement and predestination

20.5. Concerning *Bada'* (change in God's Will)

20.6. Concerning the mystery of the four column of God's Throne

Bib: F3; S23; Dh 5:187, no. 833; Dh 5:198

Mss: 1. Mashhad 4, p. 153, No. 728; Na'ini waqf no. 5658

2. Mil 9, p. 535; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 30, pp. 272-84)

3. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 14, pp. 109a-117); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

4. In a compilation in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf (see Dh 5:187)

5. In library of al-Husayniyya ash-Shustariyya in Najaf (Dh 5:198)

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 134-141

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 346-370

21. Risala fi jawab Mulla Kazim ibn 'Ali Naqi as-Simnani; completed 13 Rabi' I or Safar 1232. It may be that this represents two separate works (the first question and the two other questions). The Fihrist-i Sayyid and some of the manuscripts listed below seem to indicate this

840 verses

21.1. Why the family of Muhammad is referred to as the lesser weighty matter and the Qur'an as the greater weighty matter¹⁷.

[17] This is in reference to a famous Tradition of the Prophet, the Tradition of the Two Weighty Matters, see Momen, Introduction to Shi'i Islam, p. 16; in some versions of this tradition, the family of Muhammad (i.e. the Imams) are referred to as the lesser weighty matter.

21.2. Explanation of the Tradition of Kumayl¹⁸

21.3. Explanation of the differences between the heart, the inner being (*sadr*) and the soul and between knowledge, imagination, imaginings, and thought

Bib: F32; S25

- Mss:
1. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 5, pp. 94-112) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra* (this may be no. 40 *infra* but in view of its size is almost certainly this work).
 2. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 9, pp. 154a-163b); this item is not listed in the catalogue.
 3. Incomplete containing last two questions only, Mil 8, p. 240, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. Da/427 (Item 33, pp. 365-71); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 4. Incomplete containing first question only, *ibid.* p. 251, (Item 43, p. 399).
 5. Danishgah 8, p. 161; Mss no. 1531 (Item 7, pp. 25a-26a); written by Husayn ibn Muhammad Musawi Sarabi on 25 Rabi' I, 1237; last question only
 6. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 39, pp. 432-459); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; this may be No. 40 *infra* but in view of its size is almost certainly this work; it is this the only mss that dates the work 13 Safar 1232; the other mss give the date 13 Rabi' I with no year indicated
 7. Adabiyat, p. 83; Mss no. 358 (Item 6); this may be No. 40 *infra*
 8. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 8, pp. 62b-78a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
 9. Yazd 2, p. 442, No. 507; Mss no. 10654 (Item 2, 8pp.); written by Abu'l-Hasan al-Husayni, 1 Rajab 1268 (Question 2 only?)
 10. Yazd 3, p. 1085, No. 1885; Mss no. 12117 (Item 14, pp. 105-124), donated by Shaykh Muhammad Tahiri
 11. Yazd 3, p. 936, No. 1351; Mss no. 4647 (Item 1, pp. 1-38); written by Ghulam-'Ali ibn Husayn in 1261-67; donated by Mirza Muhammad Shaykhizadih
 12. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/1, p. 80a); written in 1240

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 313-324

[18] Kumayl had asked the Imam 'Ali: "What is reality?" and this Tradition records 'Ali's answer.

22. Risala fi jawab mas'ala Mulla Muhammad Damaghani; completed Rabi' I 1232; 330 verses

22.1. Concerning the meaning of "That which is simple in its reality (*basit al-haqiqqa*) is all things" (Mulla Sadra¹⁹) and whether this is true

Bib: F36; S72; Dh 5:182, no. 801

- Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 1, pp. 5-12) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.
2. Maj 16, p. 351, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 18, pp. 168-172), for details, see No. 2 *supra*
3. Senate Library. Fihrist Kitab-ha-yi Khatti Kitabkhanih Majlis Sina. By Muhammad Taqi Danishpuzhuh and Baha'u'd-Din Alami Anwari, p. 142-3, No. 284; Mss no. 13682; presumably this work but here said to be addressed to Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahhab
4. Danishgah 12, p. 2603; Mss no. 3595 (Item 1, pp. 2b-8b)
5. Copy as part of a compilation in library of Mulla Muhammad'Ali Kwansari; presumably this work but here said to be addressed to Mulla Muhammad Mahdi Astarabadi

23. Sharh al-Fawa'id (Explanation of the Fawa'id); written at the request of Mulla Mashhad ibn al-Muqaddas (Husayn 'Ali) al-Hilli;²⁰ Shaykh Ahmad states that Mulla Mashhad was on the pilgrimage to Mecca with him and asked him to write this; completed 9 Shawwal 1233 after the pilgrimage 8600 verses

23.1. Explanation of the 12 Fawa'id of Shaykh Ahmad's work cited above (no. 7 *supra*)

Bib: F20; S5; Dh 13:386-7, no. 1453

[19] See J.W. Morris, Wisdom of the Throne, Princeton, 1981, pp. 68-9, 98-9

[20] This man's name is given as Shabistari in Mil 8 mss noted below. This would possibly make him identical to the person at whose request the Sharh Hikmat al-'Arshiyya was written, see No. 57. He is in all likelihood also the same person for whom the Sharh al-Masha'ir (No. 25) was written.

- Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss no. 2, autograph mss dated 1233.
2. UCLA Box 4, Mss no. 48, Caro Owen Minasian Collection.
 3. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 1, pp. 1-108 - incomplete mss. ends in course of explanation of sixth *fa'ida*).
 4. Garrett, p. 223, No. 2610; Mss No. 639 (pp. 1b-205a); written Dhu'l-Hijja 1236
 5. Garrett, p. 223, No. 2610; Mss No. 3975 (p. 1b-162b)
 6. Maj 9 (pt 2), p. 570-1, No. 1915 (Item 7, pp. 152-609)
 7. Maj 12, p. 42-3, No. 4340; Mss no. 62573 (Item 1, pp. 3b-119a), written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Sharif ibn Ahmad al-Husayni Lawasani
 8. Maj 16, p. 339, No. 5434; Mss. 62333 (Item 23, p. 226), one page only of this manuscript. Written by Shaykh Muhammad Tahir ibn Salih Husayni in Isfahan 1243
 9. Maj 16, p. 348, No. 5445; Mss. 62344 (Item 6, pp. 128-36), incomplete manuscript. For details see No. 2 *supra*
 10. Mil 5, p. 226; Mss no. *Fih* 2162 (Item 10, pp. 289-90); preface only
 11. Mil 7, pp. 158-9, No. 'Ayn 184; Mss no. *Sin*1031/1642 written by 'Abbas 'Ali Tabrizi, 1245 AH.
 12. Mil 7, pp. 182-3, No. 'Ayn 210; Mss no. *Sin*386/11213 (Item 4, pp. 95-392), possibly in the handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad himself.
 13. Mil 7, pp. 193-4, No. 'Ayn 225; Mss no. *Sin*405/11160 (Item 1, pp. 1-232), written by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim known as Taj in 1220²¹
 14. Mil 7, p. 199, No. 'Ayn 229; Mss no. *Sin*743/1667 (Item 1, pp. 1-524), dated 1246.
 15. The following mss (Item 2, pp. 525-555) may be part of this work
 16. Mil 8, p. 212-3, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss. no. *Dal*427 (Item 1, pp. 1-87); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 17. Mil 9, p. 62; Mss. 'Ayn 1068 (Item 1, pp. 1-277); written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad Tabrizi in Kirmanshah in 1238
 18. Danishgah 11, p. 2004; Mss no. 3066 (Item 3, pp. 187b-224b)
 19. Adabiyat, p. 93; Mss no. 299 (Item 2)
 20. Huquq, p. 378; No. *Jim* 110; Mss no. 52966 (Item 1)
 21. Mashhad 4, p. 189, No. 838; Na'ini waqf No. 737; completed Ramadan 1260

[21] This date as given in the catalogue of the Kitabkhanih Milli must be wrong as the Sharh al-Fawa'id was not written until 1233.

22. Yazd 3, p. 830, No. 1038; Mss no. 376 (Item 2, pp. 14-69); written by Muhammad Karim Khan Kirmani in late Jamada II 1224; donated by Hajji Vaziri
23. Yazd 3, p. 891, No. 1197; Mss no. 379, 174 pp.; donated by Hajji Vaziri
24. Yazd 3, p. 1107, No. 1960; Mss no. 10717, 222 pp.; written by 'Ali Akbar ibn 'Ali in 1258
25. Yazd 3, p. 1050, No. 1774; Mss no. 4694 (Item 7); written 1232, incomplete?; donated by Shaykh Mustafa 'Ilmi
26. Yazd 3, p. 1088, No. 1897; Mss no. 5949, 240 pp.; written Dhu'l-Qad'a 1241; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari
27. Yazd 3, p. 1087, No. 1894; Mss no. 12399, 226pp.; written by Muhammad Husayn al-Fuladi in 1235
28. Yazd 3, p. 1064, No. 1820; Mss no. 13486, 186pp.; written 1258
29. Malik, p. 421; Mss no. 931, 120pp.; written by Muhammad Sadiq ibn Mukhtar Gulpaygani in Madrasa Sultanabad, 4 Safar 1260
30. Malik, p. 421; Mss no. 2145, 179pp.; written by Mulla 'Ali Akbar Tuni
31. Malik, p. 421; Mss no. 2703, 100pp.; written by Muhammad Qasim ibn Hasan Quli Nishapuri in Mashhad in 1255
32. Malik, p. 421; Mss no. 2867, 219pp.; written by Muhammad Ja'far ibn Abu'l-Qasim in 1263
33. Najaf, Library of al-Husayniyya al-Tustariyya, written Jamada I 1237
34. Baghdad, copy in possession of Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Karim Al Haydar
35. Karbala, copy in possession of Shaykh 'Abbas Tihrani
36. Najaf, Library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari, in writing of Mulla Ja'far ibn Hadi ar-Rashti al-Kazimi, 1243
37. Najaf, Library of al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin
38. Buhar 2, p. 491, no. 450 (Item 1, pp. 1-78); written 1240 and compared with original

Pub: ?Tabriz, 1254/1271; Tabriz, 1274/1858 (British Library No. 1450.cc.12 and at U.C., Berkeley Main Library); also in 1287/1870 (according to Dh 16:334)

24. al-Fawa'id as-sab'a (The Seven Lessons); written to be appended to the above work and therefore numbered from 13 to 19; it would appear that this work was written after the Sharh al-Fawa'id (i.e. after 1233; see Dh 16:333-4)

600 verses

24.1. How beings came into existence

24.2. Concerning the assertion of the philosophers that all existing things are derived from one clay

24.3. Concerning the creation of Will and Possibility

24.4. Concerning the action of God

24.5. Concerning the secret of commandment

24.6. Concerning the compatibility of God's handiwork and the desires of sound minds

24.7. Explanation of the mystery of enjoyment and reward and pain and punishment

Bib: F30; Dh 13:386-7, no. 1453; Dh 16:333-4

- Mss: 1. Garrett, p. 223, No. 2611; Mss No. 639 (pp. 209b-216a); written c. 1236
 2. Maj 12, p. 43, No. 4340; Mss no. 62573 (Item 2, pp. 119a-127a), written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Sharif ibn Ahmad al-Husayni Lawasani
 3. Mil 8, p. 213, No. 'Ayn 775; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 2, pp. 88-95); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 4. Fa'ida 13 only: Mil 7, p. 194, No. 'Ayn 225; Mss no. *Sin*405/11160 (Item 2, pp. 233-42), written by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim known as Taj in 1220 AH.
 5. Huquq, p. 378; No. *Jim* 110; Mss no. 52966 (Item 2)
 6. Najaf, Library of al-Husayniyya al-Tustariyya, written Jamada I 1237

Pub: in Sharh al-Fawa'id, Tabriz, 1274, pp. 289-309

25. Sharh al-Masha'ir (Explanation of the Masha'ir); written at request of Mulla Mashhad; completed 27 Safar 1234 at Kirmanshah; 17,200 verses

25.1. Explanation of Mulla Sadra's work, al-Masha'ir, concerning the path of the Imams, knowledge of the reality of all things and the essences of existent beings;

Refutation of Mulla Sadra's assertion that the "That which is simple in its reality (*basit al-haqiqa*) is All Things" (this is one of the fundamentals of Mulla Sadra's philosophy, see No. 22 and note)

Bib: F22; S3; Dh 6:200, no. 1109

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 119, No. 517; Mss no. 1897, dated 1236
 2. Maj 5, p. 352, No. 1868; Mss no. 22556
 3. Maj 9, p. 560-61, No. 1878 (Item 2, pp. 326-332); may be this work
 4. Huquq, p. 386; No. *Jim* 191; Mss no. 36504, 191pp.; written by Ahmad ibn 'Ali Muhammad Rashti, teacher at the Madrasa Hajji Isma'il Khan in Rasht, 8 Dhu'l-Qad'a 1252
 5. Mar'ashi 4, p. 88, no. 1293, 236pp; written by 'Abdu'r-Rahim ibn Wali Muhammad Ardibili, 28 Jamada II 1254
 6. Malik, p. 444; Mss no. 2442, 336pp.; written by Lutfu'llah ibn Zaynu'l-'Abidin in 1238
 7. Malik, p. 444; Mss no. 2542, 390pp.

Pub: Sharh al-Masha'ir, Tabriz, 1278

26. Risala fi jawab mas'ala Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi ibn Muhammad Shafi' Astarabadi; questioner also called Mulla Mahdi Astarabadi Kanturi²²; completed 2 Safar 1235; see also Nos. 22, 106, 126

210 verses

26.1. Explanation of the Tradition: "He who knows himself knows his Lord"

[22] Mulla Muhammad Mahdi studied under Sayyid 'Ali Tabataba'i in Karbala and then moved to Kirmanshah. He was in Kirmanshah during the time that Shaykh Ahmad was there. In 1240, he was invited to go to Lucknow in India. He wrote at least 15 works including Usul ad-Din (see Dh 2: 195, No. 742); al-Istihkam fi masa'il as-Siyam (written 1243, see Dh 2:18, No. 52); and I'anat al-Bari fi daf' shubahat al-Akhbari, a refutation of the Akhbaris (Dh 2:220, No. 267). He was evidently a follower of Shaykh Ahmad in that three of the latter's works are written in response to his questions. But he may have come round to opposing the Shaykhi viewpoint in later years, since his last work al-Iqan or al-Istiqan (Dh 2:37, No. 147) is described as being written to counter some of the students of Sayyid Kazim (but this may merely indicate that he opposed some particular views). He had not completed this work when he died in Dhu'l-Hijja AH 1259. His father Mulla Muhammad Shafi' was a student of Bahr al-'Ulum. Mirza Muhammad 'Ali, Nujum as-Sama, lithograph, Lucknow, 1303, pp. 395-7.

Bib: F13; S90; Dh 13:208, no. 734

Mss: 1. Maj 16, p. 348, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 7, pp. 136-8), for details see No. 2 *supra*.

2. Mil 8, p. 252, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 44, pp. 399-401); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

3. Mil 9, p. 531; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 24, pp. 248-54)

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 127-130

27. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh Ramadan; written at the request of Shaykh Ramadan ibn Ibrahim; completed 27 Jamada I 1235

450 verses

27.1. Concerning some difficulties in a previous treatise, Fawa'id, in the twelfth *fa'ida*

27.2. The relation between the Tradition: "When things were created and became objects of knowledge, Knowledge was placed from Him upon the object of knowledge" and the expression at the beginning of the [same] Tradition: "Knowledge is His Essence not the objects of knowledge".

27.3. Question regarding the meaning of pre-existent and created knowledge

27.4. Question regarding some of his views on turning towards God and essential and actional attributes and whether these are correct or not

27.5. Concerning the different paths of men and why some are happy and others sad

Bib: F10; S33

Mss: KM Mss no. A6, Item 1

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, Pt 1 Addendum pp. 1-8

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 288-306

28. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Khan ibn Muhammad Nabi Khan; completed 24 Sha'ban 1236; 216 verses

28.1. Concerning the incomparability of the Essence of God; the relation between Him and His creation; the lack of any connection between the two; and the removal of any doubt that may have entered any minds on this matter in view of the *Quds* Tradition: "Your excellence, O Muhammad, over the prophets is similar to My excellence and I am the Lord of Might"

28.2. The cause of being and the cause of causes

Bib: F40; S38

Mss: Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 4, pp. 62-8); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245; alternatively this may be No. 123 *infra*

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 249-254

29. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mahmud Mirza;²³ completed 24 Rajab 1237; see also No. 41 *infra* 470 verses

29.1. Concerning the sinlessness (*'isma*) in words and deeds of the prophets and Imams

29.2. Concerning the meaning of guardianship (*wilayat*) and the meaning of the verse: "We offered the Trust to the heavens and to the earth..."²⁴

[23] 15th son of Fath-'Ali Shah. His mother was Maryam Khanum, a Jewess whose beauty had led to a fight between Fath-'Ali and his brother Husayn-Quli Mirza. She was also the mother of Diya'u's-Saltanih. Mahmud Mirza at the time of receiving this treatise was probably Governor of Nihavand (see Bamdad, Tarikh Rijal Iran, 4:51-2).

[24] Qur'an 33:73; see Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 151.

29.3. Concerning the meaning of a Tradition of the Prophet that appears to imply unintentional neglect on his part.

29.4. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "Not Predestination and not Free-will but the matter is between the two."²⁵

29.5. If the knowledge of the Prophet comes to him through an angel, then the angel must be a higher being

29.6. Are the Attributes of God identical to His Essence or not; concerning the knowledge of God and His will, and Belief and Unbelief in the light of the Tradition: "He does not desire unbelief for His servants"

29.7. How can the origination of the world be reconciled with the pre-existence of His Bounty?

29.8. Are the Bayan and Tutunjiyya addresses genuine words of the Imam 'Ali or not?

29.9. What is the significance of indecision (*taraddud*) and change of the Divine Will (*bada*) with respect to an All-Knowing God?

29.10. What is the condition for a prayer being answered?

29.11. When the Imams took poison, were they aware that it was poison or not?

Bib: F41

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A5, Item 1.

2. Maj Z, p. 263, No. 3; Mss no. 63617 (Item 14, pp. 286-88) this may be No. 41

3. Mil 8, p. 224, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 16, pp. 236-9); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 200-207

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 254-276

[25] See Note 8, 9

30. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Hasan Khurasani; his full name appears to have been Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din Hasan ibn Muhammad Baqir ibn 'Abdu'l-Mutallib al-Husayni al-'Alawi al-'Ardi al-Bushru'i al-Khurasani;²⁶ completed 20 Rajab 1239; 160 verses

30.1. Concerning Eternal Knowledge

30.2. Explanation of originated knowledge

30.3. God's Knowledge of things

30.4. Difference between essential and originated knowledge

Bib: F7; S27; Dh 15:315, No. 2034; also No. 2035 (Risala fi'l-'Ilm al-Ilahi al-Azali, which may however be a separate work)

Mss: 1. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 3, pp. 138b-140b); this item is incorrectly listed in the catalogue as being pp. 138b-163b; written 8 Jamada I, 1240

2. Copy among books of Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al-Hujja at Karbala.

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 227-9

2. Published together with Kashf al-Haqq (see Dh no. 2035 above)

[26] This man is named as Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din Hasan ibn Muhammad Baqir ibn 'Abdu'l-Mutallib (d. after 1248). This man was himself the author of a book on Knowledge (*'Ilm*) called Usul Jawami' al-'Ilm, which presumably utilised the information given by Shaykh Ahmad in his treatise since Sayyid Hasan's work was written in 1240. See Dh 2:180, No. 667. He also wrote several other works; see Tabaqat, pp. 308-9. The presence of this man who was a native of Bushru'iyyih (although resident in Karbala) is of great interest in view of the later emergence of Mulla Husayn from that same area. It indicates the possible existence of a small group of admirers of the Shaykhi movement in that locality, from whom Mulla Husayn may have obtained his first information. Hence it may have been this rather than Isma'ili or Ni'matu'llahi influences (as suggested by Amanat, Resurrection and Renewal, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989, pp. 156-7) that first set Mulla Husayn along the path that he was to travel.

31. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh Ya'qub ibn Qasim al-Shirwani; completed 8 Sha'ban 1239;
260 verses

31.1. Explanation that Creation is a circular stream from which things proceed and to which they return; and the reality of the proceeding and returning; and that the proceeding is identical to the returning

31.2. Objections of other philosophers to Shaykh Ahmad's teachings on this point

Bib: F43; S37

Mss: 1. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 4, pp. 140b-143b); this item is not listed in the catalogue.
2. Mil 8, p. 227, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Da*1427 (Item 21, pp. 272-4); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 229-233

32. Risala fi jawab Sayyid Malu'llah ibn Muhammad al-Khatti al-Qatifi; written 1240 75 verses

32.1. Explanation of the *Qudsi* Tradition addressed to Muhammad: "Were it not for thee, I would not have created the spheres; and were it not for 'Ali, I would not have created thee."

Bib: F15; S95

Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 11, pp. 257-8) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.
2. Princeton, p. 303, No. 1344; Mss no. 579 (pp. 163b-165a), dated 1236
3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 28, pp. 295-8); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
4. Adabiyat, p. 92; Mss no. 203 (Item 12)
5. Mashhad 5, p. 105, No. 569; Mss. No. 5903 (Compilation no. 560, pp. 228-230)
6. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 5, pp. 200-201); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280

7. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 1, pp. 1-2); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 254-5

33. al-Fawa'id ath-Thamaniyya (The Eight Lessons); completed 22 Jamada I 1240 (according to Cambridge mss described below) 115 verses

33.1. Concerning the existence of good

33.2. Concerning the stages of favours (of God)

33.3. Concerning the states of the near ones and the sinlessness of the prophets

33.4. Concerning the Essence and Attributes of the Godhead

33.5. That good deeds and bad are the forms of reward and punishment

33.6. Concerning the scales of justice on the Day of Resurrection

33.7. Concerning whether the prophets of the jinn are of them also

33.8. Concerning the Knowledge of God

Bib: F28

- Mss: 1. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 6, pp. 149a-150b); this item is not listed in the catalogue
2. Maj 12, p. 43, No. 4340; Mss no. 62573 (Item 3, pp. 127a-132a), written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Sharif ibn Ahmad al-Husayni Lawasani, written 16 Rabi' I 1260
3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 6, pp. 109-112); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
4. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 10, pp. 85a-87b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 285-287

b. Undated Works

34. Fa'ida (Lesson); 28 verses

34.1. Concerning the Letters of Light and Darkness

34.2. Concerning the method of letters

Bib: F27

35. Fa'ida mukhtasara (A Short Lesson); before 1212 according to Mss 3 *infra* 40 verses

35.1. On how the Knowledge of God is linked to the objects of knowledge

Bib: F25; S77?; Dh see Section L.

Mss: 1. Browne, p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 7, pp. 150b-151a); this item is not listed in the catalogue

2. IM p. 142, No. 166; Mss no. 652 (pp. 193b-197a)

3. MajZ, p. 301, No. 66; Mss no. 63605 (pp. 209-210), written 12 Rabi I 1212

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 282

36. ar-Risala al-'tibariyya (Treatise on Signification); 1150 verses

36.1. An investigation into matters of signification which have been mentioned by past scholars and philosophers; that the Names and Attributes of God are not just signifiers but are firm principles; includes a refutation of the opinions of some of the 'ulama.

Bib: F4; S32; Dh 2:222, No. 873

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 222-236

37. Risala fi jawab ba'd as-Sada or Risala ar-Ru'ya (Treatise in reply to some of the Sayyids or Treatise of the dream) 125 verses

37.1. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition that Satan can never appear in the form of one of the prophets or Holy Ones either to one who is awake or in dreams; and the cause for this; and the reconciliation of this Tradition with another Tradition that states that an evil spirit took the form of Solomon and ruled from his throne for forty days and a famous Tradition regarding a dream of Fatima

Bib: F47; S61; Dh 7:48, no. 251

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 12.

2. Princeton, p. 94-5, No. 408; Mss no. 579 (pp. 76b-79b), dated 17 Shawwal 1236

3. Princeton, p. 94, No. 408; Mss no. 885 (pp. 76b-80a)

4. Mil 8, p. 223, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. Da/427 (Item 14, pp. 231-7); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

5. Mil 9, p. 520; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 9, pp. 56-9)

6. Danishgah 11, p. 2038-9; Mss no. 3092 (Item 6, pp. 534-7); written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Fathu'llah Qazvini in Rasht c. 1242 or later

7. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 22, pp. 227-231); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; here said to be in response to one of the notables.

8. BuHar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/3, pp. 86b-87b); written in 1240

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 53-4.

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 140-5

38. Risala fi jawab su'al ba'd at-talaba (Treatise in reply to some of the religious students); or, according to the Fihrist, in reply to one of the ulama; 250 verses

38.1. Reconciliation between the two Traditions: "Moses brought out the body of Joseph and removed it to Jerusalem" and "Noah transferred the bones of Adam to Najaf" and other Traditions from the Tahdhib of Shaykh u't-Ta'ifa at-Tusi that indicate that the bodies of the prophets and the Imams do not remain in the grave for more than 3, 30, or 40 days and also the words of Shaykh Ahmad himself where he states that the Imams are in their graves but men cannot see them

Bib: F44, S81

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 278, No. 1226; Mss no. 79 (pp. 80b-84a)
2. Mil 9, p. 533; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 27, pp. 257-63)

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 131-134

39. Risala fi jawab masa'il ba'd at-sada al-ajilla (Treatise in reply to some of the most notable Sayyids) or according to the Fihrist-i Sayyid in reply to some religious students;
160 verses

39.1. Commentary on the verse: "Verily we are from God and to Him we return...(Qur'an 2:156)" and the verse: "Behold! To God do all things proceed"

39.2. Concerning the correctness of the assertion by Mulla Sadra that that which is simple in its reality is All Things (see no. 22 *supra*).

39.3. Concerning the Tradition of the Prophet: "O God! Cause me to see things as they really are"

39.4. Explanation of the slowness of the rotation of the heavenly spheres during the reign of a just king and their speed during the reign of a tyrant

39.5. Is the punishment of the denizens of Hell eternal or does it have a fixed duration?

39.6. May one who is lowly in Paradise entreat for a higher position or not; and would such an entreaty be successful?

Bib: F46, S44

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 11

2. Princeton, p. 95, No. 409; Mss no. 579 (pp. 34b-38b), dated 1236

3. Princeton, p. 95, No. 409; Mss no. 885 (pp. 72a-76b)

4. Mil 9, p. 515-6; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 2, pp. 17-21)

5. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 15, pp. 118b-122a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

Pub: Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 130-7

40. Risala fi jawab Mulla Kazim ibn 'Ali Naqi as-Simnani;

140 verses

40.1. Explanation of the fact that corresponding to every created thing there is one of the Names of God special to it but there are only 28 Names of God

40.2. Question regarding the manner of the bodily Night Ascent (Mi'raj)

40.3. Question regarding whether the world of images ('alam al-mithal) is the same as the world of souls

Bib: F33; S76?

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 97, No. 421; Mss no. 579 (pp. 50b-52b), dated Ramadan 1236; may be No. 21 *supra* but in view of its size is almost certainly this manuscript

2. Princeton, p. 97, No. 421; Mss no. 688 (pp. 5a-5b); may be No. 21 *supra* but in view of its size is almost certainly this manuscript

3. Princeton, p. 98, No. 421; Mss no. 885 (pp. 24a-28a); may be No. 21 *supra* but in view of its size is almost certainly this manuscript

4. Mil 8, p. 235, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 26, pp. 290-92); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

5. Mil 9, p. 517-8; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 6, pp. 41-45)

6. Adabiyat, p. 83; Mss no. 358 (Item 6); this may be No. 21

Pub: 1. JK, pt 1, pp. 137-9

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 52-7

41. Risala fi jawab Mahmud Mirza

216 verses

41.1. Explanation of the words of Imam Zaynu'l-'Abidin: "It is a conspiracy against Your will not Your word"

41.2. Explanation of: "God created Adam according to His form".

41.3. Explanation of the Tradition of Kumayl

41.4. Concerning the reality of the world of Barzakh, and of images, of the assembling and arising on the Day of Resurrection, and reward and punishment

41.5. What is the difference between the Word and the Book?

41.6. Explanation of a Tradition of the Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq regarding Divine Unity.

41.7. Why is "courageous" not one of the Names of God although it is a human perfection

Bib: F42, S42; Dh 5:212, no. 987 (this may be No. 29 *supra*)

Mss: 1. Copy in a compilation of Shaykh Ahmad's replies in possession of Shaykh Husayn al-Jandaqi at Karbala
2. See No. 29, Mss no. 2

42. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Ali ibn 'Abdu'l-Jabbar al-Qatifi²⁷

400 verses

42.1. Exegesis of the verse: "Those who spend their wealth in the cause of God (Qur'an 2:261)"

[27] This man is named 'Abdu'l-'Ali al-Qatifi in Jawami' al-Kilam, but as Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Ali in the Fihrist (see footnote on p. 233) and S64; the latter is more probably correct. Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'l-Jabbar also corresponded with Sayyid Kazim Rashti; he was the author of al-Bariqa al-Husayniyya, a large work in two volumes (Dh 3:9, no. 14); and Tafsir Sura al-Fatiha (Dh 4:340, no. 1484).

42.2. Meaning of the Tradition which states that Imam Sadiq was walking along the shore when a wave emerged and embraced him

42.3. Meaning of the Tradition: "[Fatima] az-Zuhra was not called az-Zuhra..."

42.4. The Paradise of the true believer is promised as being larger than the heavens and the earth, what will there be to do in such a Paradise?

42.5. Meaning of the prohibition of mixing with Kurds

42.6. Meaning of the Tradition: "God has created twenty worlds and you are the last of them..."

42.7. The manner of Gabriel's descent upon the Prophet

42.8. Rational proofs for the existence of the prophet and the wali (Imam)

42.9. How is it that from an Imam there comes a son like 'Abdu'llah of whom it is said: "My son 'Abdu'llah does not like to worship God"?

42.10. The meaning of the Tradition of Imam Sadiq: "I asked God that He put the Cause, that is to say the succession [to the Imamate], upon this person, which was Isma'il, and God refused that."²⁸

Bib: F34; S64; Dh 11:222, no. 1349

- Mss. 1. Browne p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 5, pp. 144a-149a); not listed in the catalogue
2. Maj 4, p. 166, no. 1432; Libr. no. 14660; dated 1211 for details see No. 1 *supra*
3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 16, pp. 168-179); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
4. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 9, pp. 78a-85a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqfin* 1252

[28] According to many Traditions, Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq initially nominated or wanted to nominate Isma'il to the Imamate. See Momen, Shi'i Islam, pp. 39, 54, 55, 77.

5. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 10, pp. 219-221); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280
6. Yazd 3, p. 1085, No. 1885; Mss no. 12117 (Item 12, pp. 60-66); given by Shaykh Muhammad Tahiri, may be No. 98
7. Buḥār 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/6, pp. 91b-94b); written in 1240

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 56-61

43. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Muhammad al-Bakká': 620 verses

- 43.1. Commentary on the Sura of Tawhid (sura 112)
- 43.2. Commentary on the verse of Light (Qur'an 24:36) and the inner meanings thereof
- 43.3. Explanation of the difference between prophethood and the Imamate
- 43.4. The meaning of the Imamate being the inner aspect of prophethood
- 43.5. The meaning of the Tradition: "Entry into things is not like the entry of one thing into another"
- 43.6. Explanation of the meaning of "O my joy! O my world! O my hereafter!" in the prayer of Imam Zaynu'l-'Abidin
- 43.7. What is the path of hardship and the means of attaining happiness

Bib: F37; S79

- Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 9.
2. Princeton, p. 97-8, No. 423; Mss no. 579 (pp. p.93b-109a), dated 1236
 3. Princeton, p. 97-8, No. 423; Mss no. 885 (pp. 85b-103a)
 4. Mil 8, p. 238, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Da*/427 (Item 30, pp. 354-9); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 5. Mil 9, p. 522; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 11, pp. 64-80)

6. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 3, pp. 44-62); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245; may be first two questions only

- Pub: 1. JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 111-120 (the seventh question and its answer is missing in this).
 2. Majmu'a at-Tafasir, Kirman, 1379 A.H.Q. - first question only
 3. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 158-185

44. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Muhammad Rashti; 430 verses

44.1. Concerning the meaning of Possibility and discussion of several questions about it

Bib: F35; S71

Mss: Princeton, p. 97, No. 422; Mss no. 2015 (pp. 45b-61a), dated 24 Ramadan 1238

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 75-80

45. Risala fi Sharh Hadith Ra's al-Jalut (Treatise in explanation of the Tradition of the Head of Goliath); written at the request of certain seekers after truth; written before 1227 (see Mss 4 *infra*) 260 verses

45.1. Explanation of a tradition in which the Imam 'Ali ar-Rida was asked: "What is unbelief and belief; and what are the two unbeliefs and the two devils?"

Bib: F12; S26

- Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 6, pp. 112-8) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.
 2. Princeton, p. 303, No. 1345; Mss no. 579 (pp. 123b-129a), dated Dhu'l-Qa'da 1236

3. Mil 8, p. 241, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 34, pp. 372-4); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
4. Yazd 3, p. 933-4, No. 1341; Mss no. 12332 (Item 3, pp. 103-108); written by Muhammad ibn 'Ali in 1227; donated by Salihzadih

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 276-279

46. ar-Risala as-Sirajiyya (The Treatise of the Lamp); written in reply to Mulla Mustafa Shirvani (or Shirazi); before 1231 (see Mss 3 *infra*)

170 verses

46.1. Concerning the hidden fire within the visible flame in the lamp

46.2. Concerning whether the Primal Will and the being of Muhammad are the effect of the Divine Will or the object of it

46.3. Concerning whether Possibility, Being and the being of Muhammad are like the oil or the smoke or the illumination of the lamp

46.4. Concerning the relationship between the portrayer and the portrayed

Bib: F11 (has Mulla Mustafa Shirvani); S73 (Mulla Mustafa Shirazi)

- Mss: 1. Mil 8, p. 227, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 19, pp. 267-9); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
2. Danishgah 12, p. 2603; Mss no. 3593 (Item 2, pp. 9a-9b)
 3. Danishgah 12, p. 2906; Mss no. 3917 (Item 3, pp. 27b-30a); written by Muhammad Hasan ibn Muhammad in 1231

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 80-82

47. Risala fi tafsir ba'd al-mushkilat (Treatise in explanation of some difficulties); work not extant - listed in Fihrist-i Sayyid only; see note at the end of No. 117 *infra*

47.1. Concerning the depiction of Imam 'Ali in four forms and other similar matters

Bib: F48, S96

Mss: Danishgah 8, p. 161; Mss no. 1531 (Item 2, pp. 16a-17a)

48. Sharh al-Fa'ida al-Awwal (Explanation of the first Fa'ida); written after 1233

425 verses

48.1. Explanation of the first fa'ida of the Treatise of Shaykh Ahmad al-Fawa'id as-sab'a (no. 8 *supra*)

Bib: F21

Mss: Browne, p. 55-6; Mss no. F4 (Item 2, pp. 41a-59a); written by 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kirmani in 1264

Pub: in Sharh al-Fawa'id, Tabriz, 1274, pp. 309-323

B. DOCTRINE, THEOLOGY AND POLEMIC

a. Dated Works

49. Fa'ida (Lesson); written at request of Shaykh Musa ibn Muhammad Sa'igh; completed 1206

49.1. Concerning the birth and appearance of the Hidden Imam

Bib: F59

Pub: Sharh al-Fawa'id, 1274, pp. 333-4

50. Risala fi jawab su'al Shaykh Musa al-Bahrani or Risala al-Musawiyya; written in answer to question from Shaykh Musa al-Bahrani sent from Kazimayn; completed 1206 110 verses

50.1. Concerning a man who claims to be the deputy of the Hidden Imam and that he has reached the Green Isle (al-Jazira al-Khadra) and prayed behind the Imam on Friday in the Mosque

Bib: F63; S69

Mss: 1. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 9, pp. 215-9); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280

2. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 3, pp. 4-6); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 235-6

2. JK, 1276, pp. 272-4

51. Risala fi jawab masa'il ash-Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Husayn ibn Yusuf al-Baladi al-Bahrani,²⁹ completed 15 Jamada II 1212 650 verses

51.1. Concerning belief and unbelief; their reality, states and divisions and their people

51.2. Concerning what the essentials of belief are without which entry to Paradise would be impossible and what the essentials of unbelief are which are the cause of entry to Hell

Bib: F55; S65; Dh 2:515, no. 2023; see also Dh 5:208, no. 969

Mss: 1. Garrett, p. 224, No. 2616; Mss no. 3418 (Item 1, pp. 1b-7b)

2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 34, pp. 387-409); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

3. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/7, pp. 94b-99b); written in 1240

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 61-9

[29] His brother was Shaykh 'Abdu'llah. See Tabaqat p. 721, no. 1313

52. Risala fi jawab masa'il ba'd al-akhwan (Treatise in reply to questions of some of the brethren);
completed 9 Jamada II 1223

400 verses

52.1. Concerning whether the punishment of the denizens of Hell is everlasting or ceases

52.2. What is your opinion regarding someone who has become a believer in Pharaoh?

Bib: F65

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 16.

2. May possibly be UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 7, pp. 119-127) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.

3. Princeton, p. 97, No. 419; Mss no. 79 (pp. 179b-185b), dated 1235

4. Mil 8, p. 247, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 40, pp. 390-93); for details see No. 1 *supra*.

5. Mil 9, p. 526-7; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 17, pp. 183-94)

6. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 21, pp. 213-227); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

7. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 13, pp. 102b-108b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

8. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 5, pp. 76-81); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245

9. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 5, pp. 20-25); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 110-115;

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 218-235

53. Risala al-Khaqaniyya (Treatise for the Ruler); in reply to questions addressed to Shaykh Ahmad by Fath-'Ali Shah; completed early Ramadan 1223³⁰ 620 verses

53.1. Concerning the manner of death and the departure of the spirit and its coming to rest in the Imaginal Paradise; and whether this occurs with an imaginal body or with the physical body

53.2. Are the pleasures of Paradise like the pleasures of the world or not?

53.3. Concerning the manner of the marriage of the people of Paradise

53.4. Concerning the various states that come upon man without any apparent cause, such as happiness and sadness

53.5. Concerning whether the people of Paradise are allowed more than four wives or not

Bib: F51; S28; Dh 2:85, No. 335; Dh 5:210, no. 977; FN vol. 2, pt 1, p. 876, no. 8163 & 8164

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 13.

2. Princeton, p. 127, No. 551; Mss no. 885 (pp. 55a-71b)

3. Garrett, p. 223, No. 2614; Mss no. 639 (pp. 231b-241b)

4. Maj 12, p. 34, No. 4338; Mss no. 62571 (Item 7, pp. 15a-27a) here called Sultaniyya, written by 'Ali Asghar ibn Muhammad Amin in Kirmanshah in Dhu'l-Hijja 1229

5. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 20, pp. 197-213); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

6. Incomplete, Mil 7, p. 180-1, no. 'Ayn 210; Mss no. Sin/386/11213 (Item 3, pp. 84-89), possibly in the handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad himself.³¹

[30] There is a manuscript in the Library of the Madrasa Sipahsalar of a letter from Fath 'Ali Shah to Shaykh Ahmad (Sipahsalar 2, p. 31)

[31] There are two works in this manuscript compilation both written by Shaykh Ahmad for Fath-'Ali Shah. I have provisionally identified this item in the compilation with this work and the preceding item with work No. 55 on the basis of the subject matter for this item being said to be "*ruh va 'azamat-i ar'*"; however on the basis of the number of pages of the manuscript occupied by each item, then the identification should be the other way around (since this work is the longer work according to the Fihrist).

7. Mil 8, p. 219, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 9, pp. 184-9); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
8. Mil 9, p. 514; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 1, pp. 1-17)
9. Danishgah 13, p. 3465-6; Mss no. 4515 (Item 4, pp. 85-129); written in 5 Shawwal 1270 from a manuscript in Shaykh Ahmad's writing
10. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 2, pp. 29a-36b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
11. Karbala, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Husayn Tihrani Library (Dh 5:210 says library of Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Husayn al-Hujja at-Tabataba'i in Karbala), mss dated 1259, in handwriting of Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim ibn Hajj 'Abdu'l-Majid al-Ha'iri ash-Shirazi.
12. Najaf, Husayniyya Shushtari Library.

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 120-9
 2. Majmu'a, vol. 30, pp. 104-128

54. Risala fi 'isma wa raj'a (Treatise on infallibility and the return); written at the request of Muhammad 'Ali Mirza; completed 21 Rabi' I 1231; 6,850 verses

54.1. Proof of the sinlessness of the prophets

54.2. Proof of the validity of the Return of the Twelfth Imam

54.3. Signs of the Return

Bib: F57; S41

- Mss: 1. IM p. 142-3, No. 167; Mss no. 620 (pp. 155a-284a), dated 1256
2. Mil 8, p.236, No. 'Ayn 755, Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 28, pp. 300-352); for details see No. 1 *supra*.
 3. Danishgah 11, pp. 2425-6; Mss no. 3420 (Item 2, pp. 3a-108a)
 4. Huquq, p. 343-4, No. *Jim* 165 (Item 1, pp. 2b-88a)
 5. Mashhad 4, p. 135, no. 673; Na'ini waqf, no. 5906.
 6. Yazd 3, p. 894, No. 1203; Mss no. 340 (Item 5, pp. 82-4); written by Ni'matu'llah ibn Muhammad Mahdi Istahbanati in 1258; must be either only a small part of this work or wrongly identified

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 14-111 (*Isma'* pp. 14-38; *Raj'a* pp. 38-111; published separately Karbala 1392)

55. Risala as-Sultaniyya (Treatise for the King); in reply to questions addressed to Shaykh Ahmad by Fath-'Ali Shah; completed in Safar 1234 in Kirmanshah 320 verses

55.1. Fath-'Ali Shah had written a treatise on the superiority of the Imam Mahdi over the other Imams and Shaykh Ahmad wrote a refutation of this view, stating that they all have the same station and are created from one light

55.2. Concerning the stages of prophecy and guardianship

Bib: F52; S43 (here called Risala Khaqaniyya); Dh 4:360, no. 1570; Dh 7:135, no. 733 (here called Risala Khaqaniyya)

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 297, No. 1321; Mss no. 2015 (pp. 63b-74a), dated 26 Ramadan 1238
 2. Garrett, p. 223-4, No. 2615; Mss no. 639 (pp. 226b-231b)
 3. MILZ, p. 180, 'Ayn 210; Mss no. Sin/386/11213 (Item 2, pp. 64-82), possibly in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad
 4. Maj 16, p. 352, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 19, pp. 172-6); for details see No. 2 *supra*
 5. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 3, pp. 37b-41b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
 6. Library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 245-249

56. Risala fi jawab masa'il al-Mulla Muhammad Husayn al-Anari or al-Mulla Husayn. Wa'iz al-Kirmani;³² states at the beginning of this work that he had been ill during the time of its composition; completed 28 Jamada I 1235 150 verses

[32] Shaykh Mulla Husayn ibn Mu'min al-Yazdi al-Kirmani. He wrote many works in Persian, especially on the deaths of the Imams and works on ethical conduct. He was a preacher (*wa'iz*). See Tabaqat, p. 431.

56.1. Concerning the meaning of *Barzakh* or *Hurqalya* (the intermediary world of imaginal forms); its elements and spheres; the meaning of the word *Hurqalya* and its origin; rational and traditional proofs for this

56.2. How does the elemental body become annihilated

56.3. Concerning forms (*suwar*) and the attraction of spirits between two breaths and the six-fold store of forms

56.4. Concerning the Day of Resurrection and the manner of the veiling of the heavens and the reconciliation of this with the statement that on that Day, if Hell is not restrained, it will burn the heavens

56.5. Concerning the light of the Tradition: "We have caused it to descend..." and of the lesser cord which the Imam Zaynu'l-'Abidin gave to Muhammad Baqir

Bib: F61; S35

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A6, Item 2.

2. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 2, pp. 29-44); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245; alternatively this may be No. 62 *infra*

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, Pt 1 Addendum, pp. 8-10

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 308-314

57. Sharh al-Hikma al-'Arshiyya (Explanation of the Wisdom of the Throne); explanation of the book by Mulla Sadra, al-Hikma al-'Arshiyya; written at the request of Mulla Mashhad ibn Husayn 'Ali Shabistari; part one on origin completed 26 Dhu'l-Hijja 1234; parts two and three on return completed 27 Rabi' I 1236 at Kirmanshah; 3 Vols. 23,500 verses

57.1. Contains much of the essentials of Shaykh Ahmad's teachings on the divine sciences and the reality of things as they really are according to the *tariqa* (path) of the Imams

Mulla Isma'il ibn Sami' Isfahani known as Wahid al-'Ayn, one of the prominent 'ulama of Isfahan (d. 1277), having read Shaykh Ahmad's work, decided to write a Sharh of al-Hikma

al-'Arshiyya to elucidate some problems that he perceived in Shaykh Ahmad's work (see Dh 13:368, no. 1374); a manuscript of this work is described in Majlis 12, p. 61, No. 4346; Mss no. 62580. Muhammad Mazandarani, one of the 'ulama of Isfahan, also wrote a Hashiyya (marginal gloss) on this work. See Maj 5, pp. 157-8, no. 1773 and also No. 166 *infra*. Tihrani in Dh 5:125, no. 667 states that Mirza Muhammad Tunukabuni (author of the Qisas al-'ulama) also wrote a Hashiyya on this work but it may be that he is confusing Mirza Muhammad Tunukabuni with Muhammad Mazandarani. Tunukabuni was an opponent of the Shaykhis, and if he did write such a work, we may assume that it was in the nature of a refutation. Mulla Zaynu'l-'Abidin ibn Muhammad Javad Nuri also wrote a Sharh al-'Arshiyya in which he opposed some of the views of Shaykh Ahmad (Dh 13:368, no. 1376)

Bib: F53; S2; Dh 13:368, no. 1373

- Mss:
1. Princeton, p. 71, no. 306; Mss. no. 1897, dated 1236
 2. Of the original manuscript, part one is in the West Library of Hamadan (see below) and parts two and three are at Qumm.
 3. Maj 5, p. 324, no. 1856; libr. no. 50848.
 4. Maj 5, p. 324, no. 1857; libr. no. 23160.
 5. Maj 12, p. 115, No. 1426; Mss no. 62623 (Item 2, pp. 138-159)
 6. Mil 7, p. 388, *'Ayn* 463; libr. no. *Sin* 822/11164, probably in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad.
 7. Mil 10, p. 268-9; Mss no. *'Ayn* 1685
 8. Danishgah 8, p. 225; Mss no. 1654 (item 1, pp. 1b-181b)
 9. Danishgah 12, p. 2686; Mss no. 3682, 321pp.; written by Qurban-'Ali in Chasht for Mulla Aqa Husayn, 13 Ramadan 1240
 10. DIMI, vol. 2, pp. 69-70; libr. no. *Shir* 320/*Jim*
 11. Huquq, p. 371, No. *Jim* 165 (Item 2, pp. 89a-197b); mark of Muhammad Rida Qani' ibn Muhammad Salih Khwansari, Rabi' I, 1261; note to the effect that Muhammad Tahir taught and discussed this work in Rajab 1275
 12. Mar'ashi 2, pp. 326, no. 729, 117pp.; second part of this work, possibly in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad himself; bears seal of Shaykh Ahmad and of his son Shyakh 'Ali
 13. Mar'ashi 2, pp. 325-6, no. 728, 119pp.; third part of this work, possibly in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad himself; bears seal of Shaykh Ahmad and of his son Shyakh 'Ali
 14. Qumm, Madrasa Radawiyya; listed in catalogue of the library in Ashnayi ba chand nuskhah khatti (no author), vol. 1, Qumm, p.24; part of the beginning of the mss is missing, 201pp.

15. Yazd 3, p. 998, No. 1599; Mss no. 14748 (100 pp.), donated by Hajji Vaziri
16. Yazd 3, p. 1094, No. 1916; Mss no. 12120 (236 pp.), written 1243, given by Shaykh Muhammad Tahiri
17. Yazd 3, p. 1072, No. 1844; Mss no. 10714 (112 pp.), written 3 Muharram 1239
18. Malik, p. 397; Mss no. 4004; written 1259, 148pp.
19. West Library of Hamadan, Madrasa Akhund. Fihrist Nuskhah-ha-yi Khatti Kitabkhanih-ha-yi Rasht va Hamadan. By Muhammad Rawshan, Javad Maqsd and Parviz Adhka'i. Tihran 1353, p. 1334; Mss no. 678; manuscript in hand-writing of Shaykh Ahmad, had belonged to his son 'Ali Naqi; said here to have been composed in 1234

Pub: Tabriz, 1271; and 1278 (or 1279) 175pp;
Kirman, 3 vols, 1361 (proceeding)

b. undated works

58. Marasala fi jawab Mirza Ahmad (Letter in reply to Mirza Ahmad)

70 verses

58.1. Concerning the similarity between the eater and the eaten

Bib: F49

Mss: Maj 16, p. 352, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 21, pp. 179); for details see No. 2 *supra*

Pub: JK, pt 3, pp. 187

59. Risala Hayat an-Nafs (Treatise of the Life of the Soul); a treatise on the five fundamentals of the religion,³³ later translated into Persian by Sayyid Kazim Rashti; written before 1231 (see mss 18 *infra*)

850 verses

59.1. Concerning Divine Unity

59.2. Concerning Divine Justice and matters related to it such as punishment and reward, free-will and predestination

59.3. Concerning prophethood

59.4. Concerning the Imamate and proofs of it

59.5. Confirmation of the bodily resurrection and the manner of resurrection

59.6. Conclusion regarding belief in the return and appearance of the Twelfth Imam, that the appointed times, sustenance and rewards are from God

Bib: F50; S18; FN 8503-8507; Dh 7:124, no. 664; see also Dh 7:124, no. 667

- Mss: 1. IM p. 57, No. 76; Mss no. 342 (Item 1, pp. 1b-37a), dated Shawwal 1232
 2. Library, Wadham College, Oxford, Minasian Collection, Mss no. 282
 3. Princeton, p. 70, no. 298; Mss. no 20 (pp. 101b-118a), dated Ramadan 1270
 4. Princeton, p. 70, no. 298, Mss. no. 131 (pp. 28b-43b), Dhu'l-Hijja 1244
 5. Princeton, p. 70, no. 298; Mss. no 461 (pp. 56b-87a), dated 1235
 6. Princeton, p. 70, no. 298; Mss. no 448 (pp. 45a-61a)
 7. Garrett, p. 223, No. 2612; Mss No. 1897, 30pp.; written Safar 1253
 8. Maj 5, pp. 11-13, No. 1690; Mss no. 26037 (Item 1, pp. 1-68), written by Faraju'llah, son of Gul-Muhammad Kalarustaqi, in 1259 in Balarud of Nur.
 9. Maj 7, p. 113 & 284-5, No. 25; Mss no. 63611 (Item 9, pp. 336-353)
 10. Maj 9, pp. 568-9, No. 1915 (Item 4, pp. 462-489)
 11. Maj 16, p. 336, No. 5434; Mss no. 62333 (Item 10, pp. 206-271) written by Shaykh Muhammad Tahir ibn Salih Husayni in Isfahan 1243
 12. Mil 5, p. 223; Mss no. *Fih* 2162 (Item 5, pp. 204-238)

[33] See Momen, Shi'i Islam, pp. 176-8.

13. Mil 7, p. 48, No. 'Ayn 48; Mss no. *Sin*/554/11132 (Item 3, pp. 199-249), volume written by Muhammad Hasan Birjandi and others in 1238-54
14. Mil 10, p. 246; Mss no. 'Ayn 1667 (Item 3, pp. 45-101)
15. Mil 10, p. 406-7; Mss no. 'Ayn 1822 (Item 3, pp. 39-52); is named Risala Usul Madhhab ash-Shi'a - presumably this work
16. Danishgah 12, p. 2603; Mss no. 3593 (Item 3, pp. 10b-21a)
17. Danishgah 12, p. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 1, pp. 1-14); first part of manuscript missing; mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
18. Danishgah 12, p. 2906; Mss no. 3917 (Item 1, pp. 1b-22b); written by Muhammad Hasan ibn Muhammad in Kirmanshah in 1231
19. Huquq pp. 98-9, No. *Jim* 219; Mss no 39724 (Item 1, pp. 1-104)
20. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 1, pp. 1b-28a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
21. Mar'ashi 2, p. 200, no. 604, (Item 2, pp. 18a-52b); written by Muhammad ibn 'Ali, 24 Safar 1247
22. Mashhad vol. 4, p. 97, No. 559; waqf of Aqa Shaji'i in 1315, No. 5651
23. Yazd 3, p. 882, No. 1172; Mss no. 365 (Item 1, pp. 2-38), whole manuscript written 1294-1308
24. Yazd 3, p. 1110, No. 1970; Mss no. 368 (Item 2, pp. 27-52); written by Ahmad ibn 'Abbas ibn 'Ali Yazdi in 1266; donated by Hajji Vaziri
25. Yazd 3, p. 1109, No. 1969; Mss no. 10535 (Item 1, pp. 1-38); written by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim 'Aliyabadi
26. Najaf: Library of Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Jaza'iri in Najaf, manuscript written during lifetime of Shaykh Ahmad (see Dh *supra*)
27. A book called Hayat al-Yaqin appears in the catalogue of the Rajah al-Faydabadi Library; this is presumably this work although it may be No.19.

Manuscripts of translations by various authors:

1. Sayyid Kazim Rashti (Sipahsalar Library 1329, translated in 1236);
2. Mahmud ibn Muhammad Tabrizi (Huquq Library 219J);
3. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan 'Azimabadi Ha'iri (Malak Library 6224; Qumm, Faydiyya Library, 354);
4. Muhammad Javanrudi (Huquq Library 219J);
5. Unknown translator (Tihiran, Adabiyat Library D80; Tihiran, Asghar Mahdavi Library 553)

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 2-14;

Also Persian translations by Sayyid Kazim, Tabriz, 1276; Tabriz, 1377/1957
(Harvard Univ. Lib. OL 26401.21.5); Kirman, 1353 Sh;
and by Shaykh Muhammad Hasan 'Azimabadi Ha'iri, Bombay, 1288

60. Risala fi bayan ma'ni malak naqqala (Treatise on the meaning of the transporting angel)
28 verses

60.1. Concerning the meaning of the transporting angel

Bib: F62

61. Risala fi bayan tana'um wa ta'allum ahl al-akhira (Treatise on the pleasure and pain of the peoples of the next world) or Fa'ida (Lesson) on the same subject; these may be two different works on the same subject; written before 1229 (see mss 2 *infra*)
470 verses

61.1. Concerning the pleasure and pain of the peoples of the next world

61.2. Concerning the differences between the Gardens of Paradise and Hell-Fire

61.3. The Laws governing the citizens of these places, their ascents and descents

Bib: F58 (Fa'ida); S91 (Risala)

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 15 (Fa'ida)

2. Maj 12, p. 34, No. 4338; Mss no. 62571 (Item 8, pp. 27b-36b), written by 'Ali Asghar ibn Muhammad Amin in Kirmanshah in Dhu'l-Hijja 1229

3. Mil 8, p. 235, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. Dal 427 (Item 27, pp. 292-7); for details, see No. 1 *supra*

4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 25, pp. 241-57); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 263-8 (Fa'ida)

2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 68-88 (Fa'ida)

62. Risala fi jawab ahad min al-'ulama (Treatise in reply to one of the 'ulama) 75 verses

62.1. Concerning the world of *Barzakh* (the intermediary world)

62.2. Concerning the meaning of the transporting angel

Bib: F66

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 242, No. 1053; Mss no. 1102 (pp. 43a-44a)

2. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 2, pp. 29-44); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245; alternatively this may be No. 56 *supra*

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 244-245

63. Risala fi jawab mas'ala al-Hajj 'Abdu'l-Wahhab al-Qazwini; a treatise requested by Hajj 'Abdu'l-Wahhab as a response to the objections of one of the 'ulama (presumably Shaykh Muhammad Taqi Baraghani);

40 verses

63.1. Concerning the manner of bodily resurrection and the meaning of two *jasad* (bodies) and the two *jisms* (bodies)

Bib: F56; S55³⁴

64. Risala fi jawab Sayyid Sharif ibn Jabir³⁵; written before 1235 (see mss 2 *infra*) 100 verses

64.1. Concerning the sinlessness and infallibility of the Imams

[34] The description of this work seems very similar to No. 66 and no copies of this work are identified in manuscript or published form. However both the Fihrist and the SOAS list give these as two separate works.

[35] See Tabaqat, p. 618, no. 1111 which gives, however, little further information

Bib: F54

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 14

2. Princeton, p. 98, No. 426; Mss no. 79 (pp. 187a-189a), dated 1235
3. Princeton, p. 98, No. 426; Mss no. 579 (pp. 90a-93a), dated 21 Shawwal 1236
4. Mil 9, p. 520; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 19, pp. 197-200); in this mss, the work is said to be addressed to Sayyid Sharif ibn Tahir

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 265-6

2. Majmu'a ar-Rasa'il, Vol. 30, pp. 246-251

65. Risala Qadariyya (Treatise on Predestination); written at the request of Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Dundun in explanation of a treatise by Sayyid Sharif³⁶ 700 verse:

- 65.1. Concerning the question of predestination in the actions of men
- 65.2. Concerning *Tafwid* (attributing God's attributes to someone other than God)
- 65.3. Concerning the "matter between the two matters."³⁷

Bib: F60; S17

- Mss: 1. Danishgah 8, p. 161; Mss no. 1531 (Item 6, pp. 20a-24a); incomplete copy
2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 26, pp. 258-288); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
 3. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 15, pp. 238-60); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 140-150

[36] This is either Sayyid Sharif Gurgani (who wrote a treatise on *al-qadr*) or Sharif al-Murtada

[37] See footnote 8, 9.

66. Risala fi sharh mas'ala al-ma'ad (Treatise in explanation of the Resurrection); in reply to some of the brethren (*ba'd al-akhwan*);

175 verses

66.1. Concerning bodily resurrection in refutation of someone who has raised objections to Shaykh Ahmad's teaching that there are two *jasad* and two *jism* (bodies)

Bib: F64; S94

Mss: Princeton, p. 98, No. 427; Mss no. 461 (pp. 47b-54a)

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 280-82

C. ETHICS AND THE MYSTIC PATH

67. Khutba (Address)

67.1. Address in which he witnesses to the unity of God, and preaches to the people taking as an example past peoples; he praises the Prophet, Fatima and each of the Imams and prays for the early advent of the Hidden Imam

Bib: F70

Mss:³⁸

Pub: JK, 1276, p. 271

[38] Two khutbas are listed in Mil 8, p. 217, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 5, pp. 149-51); for details see No. 1 *supra*. But it is not clear from the information given, which work this represents.

68. Khutba 'Ayd al-Adha (Address on the Festival of Sacrifice)

65 verses

68.1. After witnessing to the unity of God and praising the Prophet and his family, he gives testimony as to fearing God and gives as an example the condition of death; he exhorts the people to good deeds before their appointed span comes to an end

Bib: F68

Mss:³⁹

Pub: JK, 1276, p. 308-9

69. Khutba 'Ayd al-Fitr (Address on the Festival of Breaking the Ramadan Fast)

70 verses

69.1. Address in which after witnessing to the unity of God and praising the Prophet and the Imams, exhorts the people to good deeds and to preparation for the next world; at the end, he commands the people to pay the alms due on the 'Ayd al-Fitr and gives instructions as to its disbursement

Bib: F67

Mss:⁴⁰

Pub: JK, 1276, p. 270

70. Khutba fi Istisqa (Address on praying for water)

145 verses

70.1. After witnessing to the unity of God, praising the Prophet and each of the Imams, he prays for the early advent of the Hidden Imam and enjoins remembrance of God, praise of God, acknowledging one need of God, and prays for the removal of affliction

[39] See Note 38

[40] See Note 38

Bib: F69

Mss:⁴¹

Pub: JK, 1276, p. 309-11

71. Risala fi jawab mas'ala Mulla 'Ali Akbar ibn Muhammad Sami'; written before 1236 (see mss *infra*)

165 verses

71.1. Concerning sincerity of intention, ease of the heart, and the path of hardship and the development of the soul

Bib: F71; S92

Mss: Princeton, p. 99, No. 431; Mss no. 579 (pp. 134b-135b), dated 1236

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 274-276

D. PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE (*Usul al-Fiqh*)

72. ar-Risala al-Ijma'iyya (Treatise on Consensus); completed 16 Ramadan 1215

2,700 verses

72.1. Concerning consensus (*ijma'*) being a valid proof and its seven divisions

72.2. Refutation of those who deny its validity

Bib: F72; S13; Dh 6:267, no. 1454 (Hujjiyyat al-Ijma')

[41] See Note 38

- Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 8, pp. 127-90) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.
2. IM p. 141, No. 164; Mss no. 652 (pp. 160a-193a), written by 'Abdu'r-Rahim ibn Muhammad Ardibili dated Jamada II 1242, at Karbala.
3. MilZ, p. 183, No. 'Ayn 210; Mss no. *Sin*/386/11213 (Item 5, pp. 393-489), possibly in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad⁴²
4. Adabiyat, p. 69; Mss no. 125 (Item 4)
5. Huquq, p. 343-4, No. *Jim* 241; Mss no. 42215 (Item 3, pp. 138b-185b); written by Mahdi ibn Ahmad in 1241
6. Yazd 2, p. 767, No. 938; Mss no. 87 (Item 4, pp. 49-114); donated by Hajji Vaziri
7. Mashhad, vol. 6, p. 2, No. 6216
8. Copy in library of Hibatu'd-Din with marginal notes by Shaykh Ahmad's son Shaykh 'Ali (see Dh above)
9. ASB, vol. 1, p. 22, no. 42; No. 259 III (e) (pp. 96-108); written 1258

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 3, pp. 110-147

73. Fa'ida (Lesson)

120 verse

73.1. Concerning the fact that the majority of the *Usul*/that the jurists follow derive from the principle of privation (*'adam*)

Bib: F75

Mss: Mashhad, vol. 6, p. 71, No. 8271

74. Fa'ida fi Istishab (Lesson on *Istishab*)

16 verse

74.1. Concerning *Istishab* - the legal principle of allowing an existing state of affair to continue unless the contrary can be proved

Bib: F74

[42] The compiler of the catalogue of the Kitabkhanih Milli collection, Sayyid 'Abdu'llah Anwar, states that Shaykh Ahmad's views on this question of *ijma'* are entirely orthodox.

75. Fawa'id (Lessons)

750 verses

75.1. Concerning the foundations of *Usul* with respect to legal obligations and making legal judgements.

75.2. Explanation of human sensation

Bib: F76; S14a⁴³

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 3, pp. 86-89

76. ar-Risala al-Hamaliyya (Treatise on the burden);

400 verses

76.1. Concerning rules for religious dissimulation (*taqiyya*) in explanation of one of the expressions in the lessons of Aqa Muhammad Baqir Bihbahani

Bib: F73

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 239-244

77. Risala fi jawab su'al ba'd al-'ulama (Treatise in reply to some of the 'ulama); listed in Fihrist as work not extant - listed in Fihrist-i Sayyid only

77.1. Concerning *ijtihad* and *taqlid* and some questions on *fiqh*

Bib: F79; S19

Mss: possibly Mil 8, p. 243, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 37, pp. 380-2); for details see No. 1 *supra*

[43] i.e. occurs in SOAS manuscript after No. 14 of Nicolas but not in the latter.

78. Risala fi'l-amal bi'l-kutub al-arba'a (Treatise on acting according to the four books); work not extant - listed in Fihrist-i Sayyid only

78.1. Concerning acting according to the Four Books⁴⁴ and their reliability

78.2. Concerning the necessity of saying the phrases praising God silently during the last two *rak'as* of the obligatory prayer and that the saying of it loudly is an innovation; the demonstration of its being an innovation and the reason for it

Bib: F80, S12

79. Risala fi jawab Shaykh Muhammad Kazim

79.1. Concerning the question of whether it is permissible for a *muqallid* to follow the opinions of two different jurists on a matter on which they differ; listed in Fihrist as work not extant - listed in Fihrist-i Sayyid only - but UCLA list appear to contain an item that corresponds to this work

Bib: F77; S15

Mss: UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 12, pp. 259-67) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.

80. Risala fi mabahith al-alfaz (Treatise on the subject of words); incomplete copy only available; 2075 verses

80.1. Concerning the creation of words and their causes and other similar matters

80.2. Concerning meaning and sense

80.3. Concerning the classification of words

80.4. Concerning the inflections (*tasarif*) of some words

[44] See Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 174.

Bib: F78; may be identical to S14 (risala fi usul al-fiqh fi mabádi' al-alfaz, or this may be No. 75 *supra*); Dh 19:40, No. 210 (Risala fi'l-Mabahith al-Lughawiyya)

Mss: 1. IM p. 144-5, no. 171; Mss no. 652 (pp. 197b-236a)
2. ASB, vol. 1, p. 30, no. 61; No. 259 III (g) (pp. 121-153); written 1243

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 3, pp. 148-187

E. JURISPRUDENCE (*Fiqh*)

81. ar-Risala al-Haydariyya (Treatise of Haydar); written 8 Jamada 1220 in Nashwa, South Iraq

81.1. Concerning matters on which the jurists disagree and Shaykh Ahmad's opinion on the true answers to these problems

Bib: F81; S7; Dh 7:125, no. 673

Mss: Library of Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali ibn Muhammad Taqi Sabzivari in Kazimayn, mss dated 1235

82. ar-Risala al-Mukhtasara al-Haydariyya (The Short Treatise of Haydar); being an abbreviated version of the ar-Risala al-Haydariyya giving Shaykh Ahmad's fatwas without the associated reasons, requested by some of Shaykh Ahmad's companions, and done by one of Shaykh Ahmad's sons in 1236; 11,500 verses

82.1. On Ritual Purity and Obligatory Prayers

This work was translated into Persian by Sayyid Kazim Rashti

Bib: F82; S8; Dh 7:125, no. 673

- Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A2
 2. British Museum, Oriental Manuscripts, Or. 8195, acquired by the Museum in 1918
 3. Maj 16, p. 353, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 24, pp. 185-241), completed 24 Sha'ban 1240; for details see No. 2 *supra*
 4. Qumm, Library of Sayyid Shihabu'd-Din

- Pub: 1. JK, 1276, 150-210
 2. Kirman, no date

83. ar-Risala as-Sawmiyya (Treatise on Fasting); written in reply to Muhammad 'Ali Mirza; completed 6 Rajab 1236; 1,650 verses

83.1. Concerning the laws of fasting

Bib: F85; S10; Dh 11:204, no. 1225

- Mss: 1. Yazd 3, p. 836, No. 1052; Mss no. 60001 (Item 1, 32 pp.), donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari
 2. In as-Samawi library
 3. Najaf, Library of al-Husayniyya al-Tustariyya

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 1-22

84. Risala Dhu'r-Ra'sayn or Sharh Khatima Kitab Kashf al-Ghita (Treatise of the Siamese twins or Treatise in explanation of the last part of the Kashf al-Ghita); written in explanation of some points in the last part of the Kashf al-Ghita of Shaykh Ja'far an-Najafi, Kashif al-Ghita;⁴⁵ written at the request of Shaykh Ja'far himself; therefore must have been written before the latter's death in 1227 1,550 verses

84.1. Concerning the ritual and legal obligations of Siamese twins

[45] Shaykh Ja'far ibn Khidr an-Najafi (1156-1227). Regarding this important figure who was one of Shaykh Ahmad's teachers and who gave Shaykh Ahmad an *ijaza* in 1209, see Momen, Shi'i Islam, pp. 315.

Bib: F83; S9

Mss: UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 17, pp. 631-667) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad;
for details, see No. 11 *supra*.

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 3, pp. 89-110

85. ar-Risala al-Fiqhiyya (Treatise on Jurisprudence); written in reply to questions from Muhammad 'Ali Mirza; 850 verses

85.1. Concerning the question the laws applying to unbelievers whether they be protected peoples (*ahl adh-dhimma*) or peoples against whom war should be waged, before and after they become Muslims; whether their former contracts, marriages and other agreements are binding or not

85.2. Concerning the same question of the laws applying to the misguided sects within Islam before and after they see the truth

Bib: F86; S11

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 22-32

86. Risala fi Mustahada (Treatise of the woman who bleeds after her due time); work not extant - listed in Fihrist-i Sayyid only

86.1. Concerning the laws regulating a woman who continues to bleed after the due time of menstruation is over

Bib: F88

87. ar-Risala al-Qatifiyya (Treatise of Qatif); written in reply to questions of Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi 170 verses

87.1. Concerning whether pure intentions (*niyya*) in performing ritual actions are an absolute condition or whether an approximation is sufficient

87.2. Concerning the meaning of pure intentions

87.3. Is one witness and one oath sufficient for presumption of death?

87.4. Where is the meeting point for pilgrimage (*Hajj*) for the people of Medina and is it permissible to delay the state of ritual purification?

87.5. If on account of shortness of time, a pilgrimage of *'umra* be changed to *Hajj*, do the obligations of sacrifice remain (and matters pertaining to this)?

87.6. Whether, from rational proofs, residence in Mecca is preferable or residence in Medina

87.7. Does the specified time (before remarriage is allowed) have to be verified as a complete month or is the passage of two monthly courses sufficient?

87.8. If the husband out of straitened circumstances is unable to pay the living-expenses of his wife, does the wife have the right to cancel the marriage agreement or is this only the prerogative of a judge?

87.9. Can someone who has the necessary financial provisions for a year accept *khums* and *zakat* or not?

87.10. May an unclean person touch the letters and signs of the Qur'an or not?

Bib: F87⁴⁶; Dh 5:173, no. 756

Mss: Mil 8, p. 246, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 39, pp. 388-90); for details see No. 1 *supra*

Pub: JK, pt 2, pp. 164-66

[46] See Note 12

88. Sirat al-Yaqin or Sharh at-Tabsira (The Way of Certitude or the Explanation of the Tabsira); explanation of the book Tabsirat al-Muta'allimin by 'Allama al-Hilli; incomplete; 6,200 verses

88.1. Concerning the laws of Ritual Purity

Bib: F84; S6; Dh 13:133, no. 440; Dh 15:39, No 233

Mss: UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 16, pp. 480-631) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 3, pp. 1-86

F. COMMENTARY ON THE QUR'AN (Tafsir)

89. Risala az-Zanjiyya or Risala fi raf' an-Niza' (Treatise of Zanji or Treatise in resolution of a conflict); written to resolve a dispute between Shaykh Ahmad ibn Muhammad Al Majid al-Awali and Sayyid 'Abdu's-Samad ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad Al Abi Shabbána az-Zanji al-Awali al-Bahrani, two Bahrayni scholars; completed 15 Rajab 1212;⁴⁷ 175 verses

89.1. Concerning the meaning of the "kaf" in "Laysa ka-mithlihi shay'an" (There is nothing like unto him; Qur'an 42:11)

Bib: F89; S67; Dh 13:290

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 290-1, No. 1288; Mss no. 579 (pp. 162a-163b), dated 1236
2. Garrett, p. 46, No. 520; Mss no. 3418 (pp. 11a-12b); written 1258
3. Mil 9, p. 534; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 28, pp. 263-8)

[47] It appears that Shaykh Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Bahrani had written a treatise on this subject and that Sayyid 'Abdu's-Samad had written to Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i disagreeing with some of the views in Shaykh Ahmad al-Bahrani's treatise

4. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 35, pp. 409-415); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 236-8

90. Risala fi jawab ba'd at-Talaba (Treatise in answer to some of the religious students)⁴⁸
180 verses

90.1. Commentary on the verse "Then he drew near and was suspended two-bows' length away or nearer" (Qur'an 53:9, 10)

Bib: F91; S75

- Mss: 1. A Mss of this description is found in Yazd 3, p. 1099, No. 1936; Mss no. 5931 (Item 8, pp. 90-3), written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Yazdi in 1252; but is there attributed to Shaykh Ahmad's son, 'Ali Naqi
2. Adabiyat, p. 79; Mss No. 358 (Item 3)
3. Adabiyat, p. 100; Mss No. 203 (Item 9); treatise attributed to 'Ali Naqi

91. Risala fi tafsir "Qul huwa'llah ahad" (Treatise in commentary upon "Say: He is God the One";
Qur'an 112:1 - Sura Tawhid) 780 verses

91.1. Commentary on the word "ahad" (one) in the above verse giving hidden explanations that came to his heart in the course of evening obligatory prayer

Bib: F90; S30

Mss: JK, 1273, pp. 255-265

[48] This treatise may in fact be by Shaykh Ahmad's son, 'Ali Naqi, since several manuscripts of this description are attributed to him. Alternatively, it may be that 'Ali Naqi wrote a separate treatise on the same subject.

G. PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY (*Hikmat 'Amali*)

92. ar-Risala al-Farisiyya or Risala fi Sharh Ash'ar Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Faris (Treatise of Faris or Treatise in explanation of the verses of Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Faris); completed Rabi' I 1207; 260 verses

92.1. Explanation of verses which outwardly refer to the exoteric aspects of alchemy and inwardly refer to the esoteric aspects of alchemy.

Bib: F92; S50

Mss: 1. Maj 16, p. 350, No. 5434; Mss no. 62334 (Item 16, pp. 164-7); for details see No. 2 *supra*.

2. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 4, pp. 195-200); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 214-7

93. Risala fi's-Sana'a (Treatise on alchemic works); 75 verses

93.1. Alchemical differentiation of matter

93.2. Concerning blending which completes the alchemical work

93.3. Differentiation of the bases and elements

93.4. Compounding of bases which completes the elixir

Bib: F93; ?this work in Dh 18:196, No. Kaf 1385 (risala fi'l-kimiya)

Mss: 1. Yazd 3, p. 1099, No. 1936; Mss no. 5931 (Item 3, pp. 33-45), written by Muhammad Hadi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Yazdi in 1252

2. Mss in private library of Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim al-Khwansari and Mirza Najmu'd-Din at Samarra (see Dh *supra*)

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 1, pp. 129-130

H. LITERARY WORKS

94. Risala fi tajwid al-Qur'an (Treatise on the art of reciting the Qur'an); completed 3 Jamada II 1199 200 verses

94.1. Rules of assimilation

94.2. Rules of nunnation

94.3. Rules of the lightening and accentuation

94.4. Rules of protraction and shortening of certain vowels

94.5. Rules governing the pronunciation of the pronominal "ha"

94.6. Rules governing pauses

94.7. Concerning the melody of the chant

Bib: F97; S53; Dh 3:362, no. 1309; Dh 11:136

- Mss:
1. UCLA Box 1, Mss 1 (Item 10, pp. 252-57) in handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad; for details, see No. 11 *supra*.
 2. Maj 12, p. 44, No. 4340; Mss no. 62573 (Item 5, pp. 145b-148a), written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Sharif ibn Ahmad al-Husayni Lawasani
 3. Mil 8, p. 243, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. Dal 427 (Item 36, pp. 378-380); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 4. Danishgah 15, p. 4095; Mss no. 5043 (Item 3, pp. 68-71); written by 'Ali Ashraf Maraghi on 9 Dhu'l-Qad'a 1241 in Karbala
 5. In a compilation in the library of Shaykh 'Ali Kashifu'l-Ghita (see Dh 3:362)

6. Copy in handwriting of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Husayn al-'Asfuri, completed 12 Jamada II 1235, was in library of Sayyid Kazim and then bought by Agha Buzurg Tihrani (see Dh 11:136)
7. ASB, vol. 1, p. 2, no. 5; No. 259 III (d) (pp. 61-91); dated 1258

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 252-54
 2. Majmu'a ar-Rasa'il, Vol. 72, Kirman, n.d., pp. 42-50

95. Diwan al-Marathi (Collection of verse elegies); Twelve *qasidas*

1,114 verses

95.1. Twelve elegies in praise of the "People of the Cloak"⁴⁹

Bib: F94

- Mss: 1. KM Mss No. A4
 2. UCLA Box 1, Mss no. 1, Item 4, pp. 27-32
 3. Danishgah 8, pp. 227-8, Mss no. 1658; written by 'Ali Ashraf ibn Mirza Rida Husayn Shirazi, Dhu'l-Qad'a 1271
 4. Yazd 3, p. 1018, No. 1675; Mss no. 954, presented by the founder of the library; title: Ash'ar, therefore may be a separate work

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 287-302
 2. Tarjumih-yi Farsi Qasa'id, Arabic with interlinear Persian translation, Kirman: Kitabkhanih Afsat (?) Gulshan, 1352/1973

96. al-Khutba al-Mufassala fi'l-Nikah (An extensive oration on marriage);

115 verses

96.1. The Unity and Bounty of God

96.2. Praise of the Prophet and each of the Imams

[49] See Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 14.

Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 287-302

2. Tarjumih-yi Farsi Qasa'id, Arabic with interlinear Persian translation,
Kirman: Kitabkhanih Afsat (?) Gulshan, 1352/1973

96. al-Khutba al-Mufassala fi'l-Nikah (An extensive oration on marriage);

115 verse

96.1. The Unity and Bounty of God

96.2. Praise of the Prophet and each of the Imams

96.3. Verses and Traditions regarding Marriage

96.4. Prayer for blessings and harmonious relations between husband and wife

Bib: F95

Mss: Mil 8, p. 217, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. Dal 427 (Item 6, pp. 151-3); for details see No. 1 *supra*

Pub: JK, 1276, p. 306-8

97. Risala fi rasm al-faz al-Qur'an (Treatise on the writing of the words of the Qur'an);

190 verses

97.1. Concerning the manner of writing of the Qur'an

Bib: F96; S54

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 248-252

2. Majm'a ar-Rasa'il, Vol. 72, Kirman, n.d., pp. 2-12

I. WORKS WITH VARIED SUBJECT MATTER

a. Dated Works

98. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Ali al-Qatifi (in some sources named as Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Ali); according to the manuscript in the Majlis library (see Mss below), this was completed on 13 Shawwal 1208 (but see also No. 2) 140 verses

98.1. Explanation of the seven seas and their names (Qur'an 31:26)

98.2. Reconciliation between the meaning of the Tradition: "They have an angel who shows them the right way" and the Tradition which states: "They are supplied with more information every Friday".

98.3. Explanation of the matter of settlement (*ibram*) and judgement on the Night of Power (*Laylat al-Qadr*)

98.4. Is whatever is confirmed for the Prophet also confirmed for the Imams?

98.5. Question regarding the establishment of certain persons and Traditions as being reliable by the ulama?

98.6. What is the reason that the Immaculate Ones are fourteen in number?

98.7. Is simple ignorance opposite to intelligence or to compound ignorance?

98.8. Question regarding the meaning of some poetry

Bib: F122; S48; Dh 4:320, no. 1370 (Tafsir Aya Wa'l-bahr yumudduhu min ba'dihi sab'atu abhurin)

Mss: Maj 4, p. 165, No. 1431; Mss no. 14460, dated 1211, for details see No. 1 *supra*

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 272-4

99. ar-Risala at-Tawbiliyya (Treatise of Tawbili); Mulla Abd 'Ali (or Mulla 'Ali) ibn Muhmmad al khatib at-Tawbili al-Bahrani⁵⁰ wrote a work called Jawami' al-Masa'il containing questions to Shaykh Ahmad; Shaykh Ahmad replied with this work which is also called Lawami' al-Wasa'il fi jawab Jawami' al-masa'il (The lustrous means in answer to the compilation of questions); completed 22 Sha'ban 1211; 5,000 verses

99.1. The difference between the opinions of the Sufis and true belief

99.2. Concerning the general expression in the hidden crafts from which may be deduced the manner of the physical world, the intermediary world and the next world

99.3. Explanation of the meaning the primal origination in the realm of being, the realm of letters and the realm of the Most Beautiful Names of God

99.4. Concerning the manner of answering of prayer offered through the Most Great Name of God

99.5. Concerning uncompoundedness, division, mixing and extraction in the production of the desired result

99.6. Concerning the disconnected letters at the beginning of Suras of the Qur'an

99.7. Concerning the purification of the soul and arriving upon the path of the True One

99.8. Concerning various trees mentioned in the holy writings: al-Khuld, Tuba, al-Ilahiyya, al-Muzn, az-Zaytuna; and their opposites: az-Zaqqum, at-Tamtam, al-Mujtaththa

99.9. Concerning the meaning of the Holy Land, the nine corruptors, the ten mountains, the four birds, the thirty days, the sandals that Moses was ordered to take off, the twelve months and the four holy months

99.10. Concerning the meaning of Perfect Days

[50] He was the author of a sharh of the Risala fi'l-Hay'at of Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Baladi; see Dh 25:255, no. 607

99.11. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "There returns to Us from everything something, even from the smallest sparrow"

99.12. Meaning of the word "word" in the Tradition in: "You have completed the word of your Lord"

99.13. Explanation of the middle obligatory prayer, the ten nights, odd and even numbers, the Two Paradises (*al-Mudhammatan*), the Farthest Tree (*as-Sadrat al-Muntaha*) and the Most Great Verses

99.14. Explanation of the reality of the rational soul, the Universal Soul, the contented soul, the commanding soul, the vegetative soul

99.15. Meaning of commentaries (*tafasir*) according to the outward meaning (*zahir*), the *zahir* of the *zahir*, the inner meaning (*batin*), the *batin* of the *batin*, the explanation of the inner meaning (*ta'wil*) and the *batin* of the *ta'wil*

99.16. Meaning of the Tradition of the Prophet: "O God! Increase my wonder at Thee!" and the meaning of "frustration" (*ihbat*) and reconciliation between Traditions that appear to differ regarding this matter

99.17. Question concerning the reality of the complete intelligence and complete ignorance, the reality of the Most Beautiful Names of God, the circle of intelligence, and the circle of ignorance

99.18. Concerning the question of the "position between the two positions"⁵¹ and an explanation of a treatise on this subject by the Imam 'Ali al-Hadi to the people of Ahwaz

99.19. Reconciliation between a Tradition that perseverance in righteous deeds, struggle and renunciation in the world of man is sufficient to enable recognition of the truth without need of any other means and a Tradition that makes recourse to holy 'ulama necessary

Bib: F100; S45; Dh 2:80, no. 314 (*Al-As'alat at-Tawbiliyya*); Dh 18:371, no. 507 (*Lawami' al-Masa'il*); Dh 5:255, no. 1215 (*Jawami' al-masa'il* i.e. the original questions)

[51] See No. 8, 9.

- Mss: 1. Library of Wadham College, Oxford, Minasian Collection, Mss no. 265, written 1226
2. Princeton, p. 231, No. 998; Mss no. 79 (pp. 3b-75a)
3. Princeton, p. 231, No. 998; Mss no. 883 (pp. ff106), dated 13 Ramadan 1236
4. Incomplete mss (first question and part of second only) Maj 4, p. 165, No. 1433; Mss no. 14660, dated 1211, for details see No. 1 *supra*
5. Maj 7, p. 72 & 284-5, No. 25; Mss no. 63611 (Item 8, pp. 233-335)
6. Mil 8, p. 215, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 4, pp. 97-147); for details see No. 1 *supra*
7. Yazd 1, p. 38, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 3, pp. 168-94); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280
8. Yazd 2, p. 442, No. 507; Mss no. 10654 (Item 3, 54pp.); written by Abu'l-Hasan al-Husayni, 1 Rajab 1268
9. Malik, p. 409; Mss no. 6064, 136pp.
10. Library of Hajj Mirza 'Ali Sadr adh-Dhakirin Tafrihi in Tihnan (includes Jawami' al-masa'il)

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 1-68

100. Risala fi jawab Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdu'l-Jabbar;⁵² dated 10 Muharram 1214
340 verses

100.1. Question concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "Knowledge is one point and the ignorant have multiplied it"

100.2. What is the meaning of the Tradition that states that the year is 360 days and six days are placed there on account of the creation of heaven and earth?

100.3. What is the meaning of the statement that a believer feels no pain in the fire?

100.4. How can those Traditions and verses establishing *ihbat* (rendering void one's word) be reconciled with other verses and Traditions that prove the opposite?

[52] This man is almost certainly the same as the person named in No. 41 *supra*, the only difference being the name of his father which is given for this work as 'Ali in the Fihrist but 'Abd 'Ali in the Kitabkhanih Milli mss noted under Mss below. 'Abdu'l-'Ali being the father's name of the person in No. 41.

100.5. In some Traditions it is stated that only hell-fire will cleanse sins but other Traditions, intercession can result in the cancelling of punishment. How can these two be reconciled and why is intercession not available to all?

100.6. What is the youngest age at which recognition of God becomes obligatory?

100.7. If a person intends to travel more than four farsakhs and does not intend to return that night, should he say the full prayers or the abbreviated prayers?

100.8. What is the limit of the time after which someone who is absent can divorce his wife?

100.9. How long must the wife of someone who is missing wait before she can marry again?

100.10. What is the reason that the unbelievers consider angels to be female and attributed daughters to God?

Bib: F121; S60

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 96, No. 414; Mss no. 79 (pp. 200a-205b), dated Rajab 1235
 2. Mil 8, p. 232, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 23, pp. 283-86); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 14, pp. 155-164); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 49-52

101. Risala Wasa'il al-Himam al-Ulya fi jawab masa'il ar-Ru'ya (Treatise on the means of lofty endeavours concerning the questions asked in a dream) also known as Masa'il al-Himam and Rasa'il al-Himam; written in reply to questions from Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhammad Al 'Asfur ad-Darazi al-Bahrani⁵³ which had been asked by his father in a dream; this work

[53] Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ibrahim Al 'Asfur. This man was an eminent scholar, a nephew of Shaykh Yusuf al-Bahrani, the author of the Lu'lu'at al-Bahrayn, an important biography of the
 (continued...)

must have been written before 1216/1801 which is the date that Shaykh Husayn died; may well have been written in 1214/1799 during a brief that Shaykh Ahmad appears to have taken to Bahrayn and during which he received an *ijaza* from this man; 320 verse

101.1. Question concerning the means of arriving at the laws of bibliomancy

101.2. Do suspicions arise from other suspicions and once they have arisen do they remain or do they change to doubt?

Bib: F128, S57

Mss: 1. Garrett, p. 224, No. 2620; Mss no. 3418 (pp. 21a-24)
2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 30, pp. 319-335); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 42-6

102. ar-Risala al-Qatifiyya; written in reply to Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi; written on 24 Rajab 1223 in Kashan

330 verses

102.1. Concerning the mystery of the birth of Christ without a father

102.2. Concerning the Tradition that Abu Yusuf, the father of al-Hajaj, came to al-Hajaj's mother one night to have intercourse with her and she informed him that another had had intercourse with her. He renounced her and informed the Iman Zaynu'l-'Abidin who stated that it had been Satan who had had intercourse with her and his name was so-and-so [this episode resulting in the birth of al-Hajaj]

[53](...continued)

'ulama of Bahrayn. This latter book was written for Shaykh Husayn and his brother by their uncle. Shaykh Husayn wrote Anwar as-Sawiyya fi sharh al-akhbar ar-Radawiyya (Dh 2:431, no. 1695); Al-Masabih al-Lawami' or Anwar al-lawami' fi sharh mafatih ash-sharayi' (Dh 2:439); Baharat al-'aql (Dh 3:15, no. 38); al-Burahin an-Nazariyya (Dh 3:83, 251); Mafatih al-Ghayb (Dh 4:293) and gave an *ijaza* to Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i in 1214/1799 (Dh 1:88, no. 976). He died in 21 Shawwal 1216/1801.

102.3. What does it mean when it is said that if the congregation at prayer do not say "Bismi'llah", then Satan enters their midst?

102.4. Concerning mental goodness and vileness in matters of religious law

102.5. Question regarding abrogation (*naskh*)

102.6. Why is it that the Hidden Imam will not reappear until the earth is full of tyranny? How is that the Hidden Imam will rule when the Imams 'Ali and Husayn will also appear upon the earth? What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Every believer shall die or be killed"?

102.7. Why is the questioning in the tomb confined to belief and unbelief?

102.8. What is the meaning of the Tradition: "The Hour shall not arise except to the detriment of the people"?

102.9. Question concerning the meanings of the seven earths, the cold mountain, Taurus, Pisces, etc.

102.10. Question concerning the correspondences between the stages of the embryo and this world

102.11. Meaning of the Tradition: "I was protected by fright for a month".

102.12. Question concerning the meaning of the mystery of the burial of Adam and the transference of his bones and his flesh being consumed by the earth. What is the significance of the fact that each person is buried in the place from which his dust originated?

102.13. Is the factor responsible for the development of the sperm in the womb the disposition of the mother or is it inherent in the sperm itself?

102.14. What is the dust that the angel throws between two sperms in the womb?

102.15. In the Qur'anic verse: "Thou knowest them not but we know them (9:101)", what is the meaning of ascribing ignorance to Muhammad?

Bib: F116⁵⁴; Dh 5:199-200

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 290, No. 1286; Mss no. 79 (pp. 162-167a), written Kashan 24 Rajab 1233
 2. Mil 8, p. 249, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 42, pp. 395-98); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 3. Mil 9, p. 524-5; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 14, pp. 151-161)
 4. Danishgah 12, p. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 4, pp. 94-103); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
 5. Copy in writing of 'Abdu'l-'Azim ibn 'Ali al-Ardikani al-Yazdi, written in 1240, waqf of Hajj 'Ali Muhammad Najafabadi, in library of al-Husayniyya ash-Shustariyya

Pub: JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 150-55

103. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Fath-'Ali Khan (Treatise replying to Mulla Fath-'Ali Khan) completed 20 Ramadan 1223 675 verses

103.1. Is the Qur'an superior or the Ka'ba?

103.2. Question concerning *ijtihad* according to *zann* (valid conjecture)⁵⁵

103.3. Is it permissible to act according to assorted principles (*al-usul al-musannafa*)?

103.4. Some have said that Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi used to curse the Akhbaris greatly whereas his books appear to show the opposite

103.5. Question concerning the exclamation in public of: "God forbid!" and "Praise be God!"

[54] See Note 12

[55] See Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 187.

103.6. Can the slanderer be considered to have sinned if there is only a single hearer of the slander?

103.7. Question about the meaning of one of the contemporary 'ulama concerning Divine Unity and the Eternal Word

103.8. The Ash'aris consider the principles of the religion to be three, the Mu'tazilis four, the Imamis five.⁵⁶ On which of these statements should we rely?

103.9. If a person who is outwardly one of the just should wrong one of the believers, considering it to be no wrong, can the wronged one slander and curse him?

103.10. Is it correct that if a person performs ablutions without correct intentions, he cannot perform the obligatory prayer?

Bib: F113; S70

Mss: Mil 8, p. 244, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal 427* (Item 38, pp. 382-8); for details see No. 1 *supra*

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 92-100

104. Risala fi jawab masa'il ba'd akhwan; written 19 Safar 1224 in Yazd

160 verses

104.1. Why are some dreams true and others not?

104.2. Why do some dreams of upright people turn out to be true and some false?

104.3. When investigating doctrines, man is often filled with doubts, how can one free oneself from them?

Bib: F130; S62

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 19.

[56] See Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 176-8, 228.

2. Princeton, p. 94, no. 407; Mss no. 579 (pp. 80a-84a) dated 1236
3. Princeton, p. 94, no. 407; Mss no. 885 (pp. 80b-85a)
4. Mil 9, p. 521; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 10, pp. 59-63)
5. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 23, pp. 231-237); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; this work is stated in this manuscript to have been completed 9 Jamada II 1224 in Yazd
6. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 4, pp. 43b-46a); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
7. Buhar 2, p. 491-2, no. 450 (Item 2/4, pp. 87b-89b); written in 1240

- Pub: 1. JK, 1276, pp. 54-56
 2. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 148-155

105. ar-Risala ar-Rashtiyya (Treatise of the Rashti); in answer to Mulla 'Ali ibn Mirza Jan Rashti;⁵⁷ completed 1226 3,500 verses

105.1. Concerning the truth of the statement of the Sufis that one of the greatest of the conditions for travelling the mystic path is the need for a guide or master

105.2. What is the meaning of "the Shaykh to be followed"?

105.3. What is the meaning of "annihilation (*fana*) in the Shaykh"?

105.4. Is the companionship of a Shaykh a condition for the perfection of an imperfect one?

105.5. What is the cause of the difference between the inspired revelations of the Sufis in their contemplation of the first two Caliphs and those of the Shi'is

105.6. Is the longing of the seeker sufficient for the mystic path or is the education of a Shaykh necessary?

[57] See Tabaqat p. 827, no. 1546, which names his father as Mirza Khan and calls him "*wal*" which may indicate that he was the custodian of a shrine but equally it could just mean he was considered a holy personage.

105.7. Concerning the statement made by Abu'l-'Abbas al-Buni concerning "the closing of the distance" and "the speeding of the union" and dealing with the "science of the secrets of letters" and "seeking the assistance of it against the isolation of the soul"

105.8. Concerning the powers of the human soul

105.9. Concerning some words of Shaykh Muhyiyu'd-Din, Ibn al-'Arabi, in a treatise on the science of letters

105.10. Concerning the words of Shaykh Muhyiyu'd-Din, Ibn al-'Arabi, that: "Imam 'Ali inherited the science of letters from the Apostle of God and he was the last of the Caliphs just as the Prophet was the last of the Prophets" and then Ibn al-'Arabi praised Imam Sadiq and the Imam Mahdi saying that: "Al-Jafr⁵⁸ will appear at the time of the end with the Imam Mahdi and no one knows the truth of it except him"

105.11. Concerning the origin of a prayer revealed by Shaykh Muhyiyu'd-Din, Ibn al-'Arabi

105.12. Concerning the meaning of a phrase used by Ibn al-'Arabi and the meaning of "the power of the word"

105.13. Concerning the fact that it is written in the books of diviners that the angel put in charge of "A" (*alif*) is Israfil and of "B" (*Ba*) is Gabriel

105.14. Concerning the fact that the angel put in charge of the name "Allah" is Israfil and of "ar-Rahman" is Mu'akil and of "ar-Rahim" is Ruya'il

105.15. Concerning the derivation of the names of various angels

105.16. Concerning the angels of highest and nethermost regions

105.17. Concerning the sections of the elevation of Saturn and the sun

105.18. Concerning the whitening (*tabyid*) of alchemical productions

[58] See Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, p. 150.

105.19. Various questions about natural sciences and, in particular, alchemy: the actions of water, salt, mercury, and cinnabar

105.20. Concerning the Imam Mahdi being in Hurqalya and his return and appearance in the world of images

105.21. Concerning the meaning of greeting (saying "Salam alaykum" to) Khidr; and the meaning of "concealment of the earth"

105.22. Concerning the meaning of the attachment of children to their fathers in paradise

105.23. Concerning the meaning of an expression used by Muhammad al-Qama concerning balances in alchemy

105.24. Concerning some of the fundamentals of the science of letters

105.25. Concerning the role of the science of letters in giving evidence of the recesses of the mind, of the events of the cosmos and of hidden secrets; and having control over spirits and the attraction of hearts

Bib: F104; S47

- Mss: 1. UCLA Box 1, Mss no. 1, Item 15, pp. 429-79
 2. Mil 8, p. 220, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 10, pp. 190-226); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 3. Danishgah 5, p. 1677-95 (this item p. 1688-9); Mss no. 922 (Item 7, pp. 125-6); presumably this work, although described as being about dreams; manuscript is a compilation of Akhbari treatises; however, note that this manuscript appears to have been written in c. 1216-18
 4. Yazd 3, p. 933-4, No. 1341; Mss no. 12332 (Item 1, pp. 1-78); written by Muhammad ibn 'Ali in 1227; donated by Salihzadih

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 68-114

106. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Muhammad Mahdi ibn Shafi' Astarabadi; written 1 Jamada 1230
 1,360 verse

- 106.1. Why is dust considered purification when in a bath it is considered unclean?
- 106.2. Question concerning the interpretation of the religious law by the Usulis
- 106.3. Question concerning the statement of the ulama that the words of the Shahada ("There is no God but God...") is divided into all of the stages of Divine Unity
- 106.4. In the Qur'anic verse: "By the night when it moves (89:5)", why has the "ya" been elided when there is no word to elide it to?
- 106.5. Question concerning the meaning of the Qur'anic verse: "When the wild animals are gathered (84:6)"
- 106.6. Question concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "Through us God knows and were it not for God we would not know"
- 106.7. Question concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "Servitude is a substance the essence of which is Lordship"
- 106.8. Question concerning the heaven and hell of men and jinn.
- 106.9. What is the reconciliation between the Traditions that indicate interpolations of the Qur'an and the Qur'anic verse: "We have sent down the remembrance and we will preserve it (15:9)"
- 106.10. What is the reconciliation between the Qur'anic verse: "Everything perishes except the face of God (28:88)" and the Tradition: "You were created for enduring (*baqa*) not perishing (*fana*)"

Bib: F127; S89; Dh 5:189, no. 863

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 18.

2. Compilation in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 207-9

2. JK, 1276, pp. 302-306 - 106.3, 106.6, and 106.7 only

107. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Isma'il Sabziwari;⁵⁹ written in answer to questions from Sayyid Isma'il Sabzivari which arrived while Shaykh Ahmad was writing the Sharh al-Ziyara, but he put off answering until he had finished that; therefore dated 1230

260 verses

- 107.1. Concerning reform and right living in matters of religion and the world
- 107.2. Concerning the question of "the matter being between the two matters"⁶⁰
- 107.3. Concerning the meaning of "There is no power nor strength except in God"
- 107.4. Concerning the meaning of "What God wills is and what He does not will is not"

Bib: F99; Dh 5:187, no. 827

- Mss: 1. Browne p. 55; Mss no. F3 (Item 8, pp. 151a-154a); this item is not listed in the catalogue
2. Princeton, p. 95, No. 412; Mss no. 579 (pp. 176b-183b), dated Dhu'l-Hijja 1236
3. Mil 8, p. 221, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 12, pp. 228-231); Mss written in Kirmanshah in Jamada I 1239 for details see No. 1 *supra*. Name of correspondent is given in catalogue as Aqa Isma'il but beginning and end of manuscript correspond to this work.
4. Maj 4, p. 23, no. 1239; Mss no. 12950, written by 'Abdu'l-Mutallib Shirazi, 1275.
5. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 11, pp. 88a-92b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252
6. In a compilation in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 282-285

[59] Although the text does not specify that this man is Sabzivari, this is almost certainly Sayyid Mirza Isma'il ibn 'Abdu'l-Ghafur al-'Alawi al-'Aridi al-Sabziwari (d. 1262). He was for a time teaching in Mashhad and then he returned to his hometown of Sabzivar and became the leading religious figure of that town. He was a devoted follower of Shaykh Ahmad. See Tabaqat, p. 141-2.

[60] See Note 9

108. Risala fi jawab masa'il ba'd al-'ulama; written 24 Dhu'l-Qad'a 1231

380 verses

108.1. What is the sign of a perfect *faqih* (jurisprudent)?

108.2. Is the following (*taqlid*) of a lesser (*mafduh*) mujtahid while a better mujtahid lives permissible?

108.3. Is it permissible to divide *taqlid* between different mujtahids?

108.4. If a person has not followed a mujtahid for most of his life, what should he do?

108.5. Is it permissible to take a case before someone who has not reached the stage of *ijtihad*? Can such a person administer oaths, give judgements and fix penalties?

108.6. Is the question of to whom to take a case the choice of the plaintiff or the defendant?

108.7. If a small amount of water is made unclean and it is made up to a *karr* of water, will it now be pure and usable for purification and ablution?

108.8. How is it with someone who through indolence is remiss in performing the obligations of religion?

108.9. In purifying urine, is necessary to pour water once or twice?

108.10. If an impure garment is thrown into water and the uncleanness washes away without any scrubbing, is it not ritually clean or not?

108.11. Is washing in order in water permissible or not?

108.12. Is washing with a silk loincloth permissible or not?

108.13. Is it the correct way to perform ablution when the person concerned pours the water above the elbows or below the elbows either in the case that he is knowledgeable or ignorant?

108.14. If 'Amr owes Zayd some money and Bakr, without 'Amr being present agrees to take on the debt, does 'Amr then become free of blame?

108.15. What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Our Shi'a die on account of glutton and our enemies die on account of epilepsy...?"

108.16. What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Three winds came to Solomon, he chose two of them and left the third for the Qa'im"?

Bib: F129; S93

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A6, Item 4

2. First two questions appear to be identical to Mil 8, p. 243, *Ayn 755*; Mss no. *Dal 427* (Item 37, pp. 380-2); for details see No. 1 *supra* (but length of work makes it more likely that this is No. 77, 78, 86)
3. Danishgah 12, p. 2906; Mss no. 3917 (Item 2, pp. 23b-27b); written by Muhammad Hasan ibn Muhammad in Kirmanshah in 1231; may be this work
4. Copy in library of al-Husayniyya ash-Shustari, waqf of Hajj 'Ali Muhammad Najafabadi

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 32-7

109. Risala fi jawab Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi; completed 16 Dhu'l-Qid'a 1234
392 verse

109.1. Concerning the relationship between the Knowledge of God and the object of knowledge and their identity to the Essence of God

109.2. How is it that man is obligated to know God whereas God is unknowable in His Essence in all respects

109.3. Concerning the meaning of naming God's Knowledge of things as the All knowing

109.4. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition "His is only the loftiest of likenesses" and the verse "His is the loftiest likeness in the heavens and on earth (Qur'an 30:27)"

109.5. Explanation of the evidence, apart from the traditions for a bodily resurrection

109.6. Resolution of the discrepancy between the consensus of the Muslims that the Prophet's Ascent (*Mi'raj*) occurred at night and the fact that it is stated that the Prophet performed the noon obligatory prayer with the angels and prophets during this

109.7. Is the meaning of "the utterance of majesty" in the "Bismi'llah" the same as in the Opening Sura?

109.8. Is the dowry of a woman who, before intercourse has occurred, dies or her husband dies halved?

109.9. Can anyone other than the son exercise the option of inheriting the landed property?

109.10. What is the purpose of the abrogated verses (in the Qur'an) when there has been no opportunity to act according to them?

109.11. What is the difference between the truth of prayer, ordering and forbidding?

109.12. Explanation of the five items that accrue to the Imam after the death of the previous Imam⁶¹

109.13. Is juice ritually pure after being boiled or not?

109.14. What is the meaning of the "To Him applies the meaning of Lordship without a servant whom He is Lord over"?; what is the difference between "All-Knowing", "Lord", "Creator"?

Bib: F98⁶²

[61] See Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, p.150.

[62] See Note 12

110. Risala at-Tahiriyya (Treatise of Tahir); written in reply to questions from Mulla Muhammad Tahir Qazvini; at the beginning of this work, Shaykh Ahmad alludes to the fact that he has been ill recently; dated 18 Rajab 1236 600 verses

110.1. What is the meaning of the error through distraction of the Prophet (in matter of ritual)⁶³ that is mentioned in the Traditions?

110.2. What is the meaning of 'Ulama' in the Traditions: "The ulama are the inheritors of the prophets" and "The ulama of my people (*umma*) are like the prophets of the people of Israel"?

110.3. What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Were Salman to know what is in the heart of Abu Dharr, he would kill him" or "...he would declare him an infidel"?

110.4. When it is stated in the Traditions that the prophets are made of what is left over of the clay (*tina*) of the Imams and the rest of the people from what is left over of the clay of the prophets, are the "prophets endowed with constancy" intended of all of them? Is it possible that the likes of Salman should be of a degree close to that of the prophets?

110.5. What is the meaning of the Tradition that the body (*jasad*) of the Imam is more subtle than the spirits of the prophets?

110.6. Are the blood and urine of the Imams ritually impure or not?

110.7. If God cannot be known except through the Imams, then surely the Imam should also be "neither begetting nor begotten (Qur'an 112:4)"; but the reality of the Imams is begotten of the Divine Will

110.8. What is the resolution of the apparent conflict between the statement of the naturalists that the clouds are the product of vapour ascending from the ground to the ethereal sphere and the words of the Imam Muhammad at-Taqi in reply to the Caliph al-Ma'mun that: "When the clouds are taken from the waters of the sea, the fish enters them tiny fish which then fall from them"?

[63] See Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 80.

- 110.9. What is similar in this community to the birth of Jesus without a father?
- 110.10. What is similar in this community to Jonah and what is related of him?
- 110.11. If progress is through deeds and worship, then how can the Imams, before their birth be the proofs of God and his chosen ones?
- 110.12. If all things are equal in the realm of the Divine Will, then what is the meaning of: "...its oil would well-nigh light up, even though no fire touched it (Qur'an 24:36)"?
- 110.13. In the prayer: "I bear witness that every worshipped thing from what is other than Thy throne to the depths of Thy seventh lowest earth is futile and evanescent except Thy noble Face", what is meant by "Face"?
- 110.14. What is the meaning of the salutations of the prophets and our salutations upon them when the worship of a ray of light does not reach the source of light?
- 110.15. What is the meaning of the following from the Fawa'id: "All that is possible in possible truth is only that which is from His Will and what is in His Will is in His Knowledge"; and "Relationship and contingency are related to originated, possible knowledge"
- 110.16. What is your practice with respect to the night prayer on days with single odd numbers?

Bib: F109; S34

Mss: KM Mss no. A6, Item 3

Pub: 1. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 219-227

2. Majmu'a ar-Rasa'il, Vol. 30, pp. 316-344

b. Undated Works

111. Kashkul (Kashkul is the bowl used by Sufis to beg for alms)

111.1. Consisting of various subjects arranged according to the initial letter of each subject

Bib: F118; Dh 18:71, No. Kaf 728

Mss: 1. KM Mss nos. A9 and A10;

2. MajZ, p. 301, No. 66; Mss no. 63605 (pp. 212-8) parts only of this work

3. Mil 8, p. 319, 'Ayn 816; Mss no. Da/468, mss completed 26 Rajab 1303

4. Adabiyat, p. 97; Mss no. 347; no. 75655

5. Mss in hands of Mirza Muhammad Taqi Mamaqani (4 vols., the first in the handwriting of Shaykh Ahmad)

112. Risala fi bast wa taksir

112.1. Treatise on diffusion and fragmentation

112.2. Understanding the method of letters (*mizan al-huruf*), i.e. talismans

Bib: F132; S49

113. ar-Risala al-Ghadiriyya; written in response to question posed by Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ghadir 420 verse

113.1. What is the reason for the Sinless Ones (the Imams) attributing sins to themselves in prayers

113.2. What is the reason that 'Allama al-Hilli considered *ihbat* (rendering void one word) to be not permissible?

113.3. What is the meaning of some acts of worship being reprehensible?

113.4. Question concerning venepuncture during travel

Bib: F112; S56

- Mss: 1. Garrett, p. 224, No. 2619; Mss no. 3418 (pp. 17a-21a)
 2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 29, pp. 298-319); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
 3. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 6, pp. 202-209); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 37-42

114. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh 'Abdu's-Samad wa Shaykh Muhammad Baladi; since the author of the Fihrist states that he has not a copy of this work to hand and it is not listed as a separate work in any other source, it would appear possible that this is in fact the same work as No. 89

Bib: F110

115. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh 'Ali ibn Muhammad; written in response to Shaykh 'Ali known as 'Arid or 'Aridi; consisting of 83 questions among which are: 730 verses

115.1. By what can the following (*taqlid*) of a mujtahid be verified?

115.2. Is it permissible to turn away from one mujtahid to another who is equal or better?

115.3. Is it permissible to remain following a mujtahid who has died?

115.4. If the follower of a mujtahid is unable to obtain instructions from his mujtahid by reason of being distant, what is he to do?

115.5. Does touching a dead man negate ritual ablutions or not?

115.6. Are ablutions performed with pure water but in a vessel acquired unlawfully or in a place acquired unlawfully correct or not?

115.7. Is the washing of clothes made ritually impure once in plentiful stagnant water sufficient or is it necessary to repeat this?

115.8. If the clothes become ritually impure and one does not know which part, does this mean that all of it is impure?

115.9. If someone hides an impurity on their body (by their garments) are they still a cause of impurity to others?

115.10. What is the cause of bringing together two obligatory actions when separating them is superogatory?

115.11. Is the washing of the face with both hands during ritual ablution permissible?

115.12. If a person does not find any shade for his prayers, is it permissible to use a tanned or untanned skin of a meat-eating animal?

115.13. Question regarding the rules for *adhan* and *iqama*

115.14. What should someone do who forgets the prostration of the first *rak'a* and does not remember until after the prostration of the second *rak'a*?

115.15. Were someone to entertain misgivings concerning the performance of an obligatory act while he is in a superogatory act, should he pay attention to this or not?

115.16. Is standing long at prayer (*qunut*) necessary or not?

115.17. What should a person do who has forgotten the *rak'a* but has not yet reached the prostration?

115.18. Question regarding the standing position at prayer

115.19. If one has doubts concerning his praise of God (as part of the obligatory prayer) or his recital of a sura while he is on another part of the prayer, should he pay any attention to this?

115.20. If one has doubts concerning one's saying of the *shahada* (as part of the obligatory prayer) once one has assumed the standing position, should one pay any attention to this or not?

115.21. Should one pay attention to a doubt after the *taslim* (expressing salutations to Muhammad during the obligatory prayer)?

115.22. What should someone who has strong doubts about the performance of a ritual do?

115.23. Does doubt include error through distraction (*sahw*) and forgetfulness?

115.24. If an earthquake occurs during menstruation, is it necessary for a woman to purify herself for prayer?

115.25. If the sun or the moon should just be appearing at the time of the start of a prayer, should the prayer be performed with the intention of its being the accomplishment of the obligation or of *qada* (act performed making up for the omission of an obligation)?

115.26. Questions relating to shortcomings and completion of the obligatory prayer

115.27. Is it permissible to perform the obligatory prayer upon honey or wax which is the excretion of bees, a non-meat-eating animal?

115.28. Question regarding the performance of the obligatory prayer when involved in performing another religious obligation

115.29. If one forgets the evening prayer until daybreak, is the fast of that day obligatory?

115.30. Is the washing, winding and burial of the body of an opponent of true belief obligatory or not; and should it be according to the ritual of his school or according to the school of true belief?

115.31. If a man dies and the only winding-sheet available belong to someone who is absent, is it permissible to use it without his permission?

115.32. Is the payment of *zakat* on behalf of a minor obligatory for the guardian?

115.33. Is the payment of *zakat* after the payment of necessary expenditure and the purchase of provisions or before? Is what the rulers extract in the way of property and grain part of the necessary expenditure?

115.34. Other questions regarding *zakat*

115.35. Is it permissible to pay the Imam's portion of *Khums*⁶⁴ directly to the sayyids without the permission of a mujtahid?

115.36. Can alms paid in expiation of sins (*kaffara*) be paid to poor sayyids?

115.37. Is it permissible to give part of the portion of the Imam to be given to the poor who are not sayyids? What about those who are sayyids from their mother's side?

115.38. Is *Khums* payable on gifts or inheritances?

115.39. Can one depend upon reliable news of the sighting of the new moon or are two just witnesses necessary?

115.40. Explanation of the laws regarding the breaking of the fast

115.41. Does thick smoke or mist cause the end of the fast?

115.42. Concerning what is to be done if the fast is broken on account of *taqiyya*

115.43. Other questions relating to the fast

115.44. Question regarding the ability to do the pilgrimage (*Hajj*)

115.45. If one is able to perform the *Hajj* and does not and is then later unable to do so, is it permissible to deputise someone to do it?

115.46. Is it permissible for one person to deputise for two people on one visitation (*ziyara*) of the Imams?

[64] See Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, p. 180.

115.47. Is it permissible for someone to be a witness on the condition that he renounces all right to any benefit?

115.48. Is it permissible to sell human or animal dung for use in the fields?

115.49. Questions regarding selling

115.50. If the inheritor dies, does the inheritance devolve upon the trustee (*nazir*)?

115.51. If all of what someone leaves behind has been obtained by misappropriation, can he make a legacy of one-third of his residual property⁶⁵ and must the inheritor abide by the will or should he return to people what is rightfully theirs?

115.52. If one marries one's servant, what is the position of the children?

115.53. Concerning the permissibility of one's servants?

115.54. Question concerning the giving of gifts to an incompetent person

115.55. What is the position regarding the inheritance of a hermaphrodite and who should wash the body, a man or a woman?

115.56. What is the reality of what is written down (*wad'*) and their author (*wadi'*) and from what comes the sense (*dalala*) of the words?

115.57. How does one reconcile the Tradition: "God has delegated to them (the Imams) the command of creation" with other Traditions denying that God delegates His powers?

115.58. It is said that whoever is buried in Najaf, his reckoning is delayed until the Day of Resurrection while the opposite is true for Karbala; is this correct or not?

115.59. It is said that after burial, the spirit return to the body: what is the truth of this? What is the reality of Munkir and Nakir (the two angels of Death)?

[65] According to Islamic Law, up to one-third of one's residual property after the payment of debts etc. can be left to any person while the remainder must be divided according to certain rules.

115.60. Are the spirits attached to paradise only the pure believers or any of the adherents?

115.61. What are the rational and traditional proofs for the fact that the interval between the blast on the trumpet and the resurrection will be four hundred years?

115.62. Some consider it permissible for there to be an impulsive motion (*tafra*) in existence; what is their evidence and what is the evidence against this?

115.63. What is the reality of Jabulqa and Jabulsa and Hurqalya? What is the explanation of the words of Plato: "God does not know the particulars (*juzi'at*) of this world." Should this statement be taken at face value or does it have an inner meaning?

115.64. What is the difference between the words of the Imam: "By God! What station after death except one of the gardens of Paradise or one of the holes of Hell?" and the words of the Murji'ites who say that there is no station between belief and unbelief?

115.65. What is the explanation of the verse: "Whatever verse We have abrogated or caused to be forgotten, We have brought forth one better or similar (Qur'an 2:106)." If the abrogating verse is similar to the abrogated then what is the point of abrogation?

115.66. What is the meaning of the words of the Imam Rida: "His essence (*kunh*) is the difference between Him and His creation; His Nobility (*ghayur*) is the limit of what is other than Him."

115.67. In the prayer of signs (*simat*): "And you do to it wonders in the sea of hope what is this sea and where is it?"

Bib: F111; S36

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 210-220

116. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Husayn Wa'iz Kirmani; see No. 56

670 verse

116.1. Commentary on some parts of Surat ad-Dahr (also called Sura Hal Ata; Sura 76)

116.2. Concerning the degrees of intelligence and its effulgence and the degrees of ignorance

116.3. Explanation of the saying that the hypocrites (*munaḥiqin*) and devils did not weep over the Imam Husayn while the unbelievers did

116.4. Explanation of a line from the Marthiyya

116.5. Explanation of the creation of the wife from the left rib

116.6. Concerning the ritual purity of dust which a child has urinated over

Bib: F103; S85; Dh 4:343, no. 1506 (Tafsir sura hal ata)

Mss: Mil 9, p. 530; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 22, pp. 228-244)

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 116-125

117. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Husayn Bafqi; reply to Mulla Abu Ja'far Muhammad Husayn Bafqi (Sarayani) who was one of Shaykh Ahmad's students; written before 1227 (see mss 2 *infra*) and probably during the Yazd period 1,440 verses

117.1. Concerning the continuance of the clay of a dead man in an enclosed grave

117.2. Why the obligatory prayers of one who drinks wine is not acceptable for forty days?

117.3. Explanation of the Tradition of the Prophet concerning the creation of Dajjal

117.4. Explanation of a Tradition concerning the benefit of visitation in the middle of the month of Sha'ban

117.5. Explanation of the Tradition: "Were death to be bought, two sorts of men would buy it: the noble, out of weariness, and the greedy, out of apprehension"

117.6. Explanation of the Tradition: "God dislikes the life of a miser and the death of a noble man"

117.7. Explanation of the Tradition: "Between man and wisdom is a bounty for the knower and misery for the ignorant"

117.8. Explanation of the Tradition: "Were Abu Dharr to know what is in the heart of Salman⁶⁶, he would kill him"

117.9. Explanation of the Tradition: "Nothing destroys sleep except ritual impurity and sleep is ritual impurity"

117.10. Explanation of the Tradition: "When the Prophet travelled by night, he said: 'O Lord! what is the state of death with You?' He said: 'O Muhammad! He who disdains my saint (*wali*), I will war upon him; and I am swift in assisting my holies....'"

117.11. Explanation of the Tradition: "The hearts of men are between two of the fingers of Mercy; He knows (turns) them as He wishes"

117.12. Explanation of the Tradition: "Abu Talib embraced Islam on account of a camel and he married with sixty-three in his hand"

117.13. Explanation of the Tradition from Imam Baqir: "A servant remains in Hell-fire imploring God for seventy autumns and seventy autumns; and an autumn is seventy years and seventy years and seventy years" - why he did not just say 140 autumns and 210 years?

117.14. The meaning of the Tradition: "Beware of leadership..."

117.15. The meaning of the Tradition: "God revealed to Moses that he should bring the bones of Joseph out from Egypt and he promised him the rising of the moon.."

117.16. The meaning of the Tradition: "The intention of the believer is better than his action and the intention of an unbeliever is worse than his action"

[66] Abu Dharr and Salman are two of the earliest Shi'is, see Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, p. 20.

117.17. Whether the Imams were aware of the fact that they were being poisoned and the implications of this for the Knowledge of the Imams

117.18. Concerning the meaning of the oration of the Imam 'Ali concerning the Divine Unity: "The qualities which the Qur'an has pointed out to you, seek their shelter and seek enlightenment by the light of their guidance"

117.19. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "When I love someone from among your brethren, then he comes to know this. And so Abraham said: 'O Lord! Cause me to see how you raise the dead.' He said: 'Otherwise would you not believe?' He said: 'No, but it would comfort my heart'"

117.20. Concerning renunciation of the world and hope in God which Traditions state are the causes of the answering of prayer

117.21. Concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "The world, in the estimation of the people of heart and intellect, is on a par with shadows"

117.22. What is the rewarding and punishing spirit?

117.23. What is the reason for the representation of the Imam 'Ali in four forms?

Questions 19 to 23 probably form a separate work and are listed as No. 47 *supra*. They are listed as separate works in the *Fihrist-i Sayyid* and for this reason Abu'l-Qasim Kirmani listed them as separate works in *Fihrist* (see note at the end of F101 in *Fihrist*). Additional evidence for this comes from Mss 1 below where these two works are listed as separate works in the catalogue although they are consecutive.

Bib: F101; S88⁶⁷

Mss: 1. *Danishgah* 8, p. 161; Mss no 1531 (Item 1, pp. 1a-16a)

2. *Yazd* 3, p. 933-4, No. 1341; Mss no. 12332 (Item 2, pp. 78-102); written by Muhammad ibn 'Ali in 1227; donated by Salihzadih

3. Library of 'Abdu'l-Husayn Tihrani in Karbala, dated before 1288⁶⁸

[67] I am assuming that Mulla Husayn Bafqi (in F101) and Mulla Husayn Yafqi (in S88) are the same person - the difference is only that of one dot.

[68] *Tabaqat* p. 364, no. 730

118. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Husayn ibn 'Abdu'l-Qahir al-Bahrani
(?Rabi' II 1214)

160 verses

118.1. Concerning the story of Moses and Khidr

118.2. Concerning the return (*rija'a*)

Bib: F102; S58

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 98-9, No. 428; Mss no. 579 (pp. 160a-161b)

2. Maj 16, p. 352, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 20, pp. 176-9); for details see No. 2 *supra*. Catalogue dates the work Rabi' II 1214 in Bahrayn but attributes this work to 'Ali Naqi, son of Shaykh Ahmad

3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 27, pp. 289-95); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; Shaykh Ahmad's correspondent is here named as Sayyid Husayn ibn 'Abdu'l-Baqir Bahrani

Pub: JK, 1276, pp.46-8

119. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Kazim Rashti; written in response to questions asked by Sayyid Kazim Rashti; the text of this treatise is not extant but it is mentioned in the biographies of Shaykh Ahmad

Bib: F117

120. Risala fi jawab masa'il Muhammad Khan

68 verses

120.1. When Shi'i children die, do they enter Paradise as children or as adults?

120.2. Which of the ways of visitation to the shrine of Imam Husayn is the most excellent?

120.3. Is it permissible to perform the Friday prayer and the prayer on the two Holy Feast days alone or must one join the congregation?

Bib: F123; S31

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 236-237

121. Risala fi jawab masa'il Sayyid Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Futuh; written before 1236 (see mss 1 *infra*) 750 verses

121.1. Question concerning the Will of God

121.2. Question concerning religious obligations

121.3. Questions concerning a lesson on religious obligations

121.4. Why does departure from religious worship become the source of Divine punishment?

121.5. What is the reason for punishment in the next world when it appears to have no beneficial effect?

121.6. Other questions regarding Divine punishment

Bib: F119; S86

Mss: Princeton, p. 95-6, No. 412; Mss no. 579 (pp. pp. 140b-160a), dated 12362.
Mil 8, p. 254, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. Dal 427 (Item 47, pp. 404-11); for details see No. 1 *supra*

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 82-92

122. Risala fi jawab Shaykh Muhammad Hindijani

Bib: F120

123. Risala fi jawab Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Mudarris ibn Sayyid Muhammad; Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Mudarris, one of the leading 'ulama of Yazd⁶⁹; written in Yazd; the last two questions were dictated by Shaykh Ahmad and taken down by Sayyid Kazim Rashti 740 verse

123.1. Question concerning the meaning of the Tradition from the Prophet to be found in the Thawab al-A'mal of Ibn Babuya: "God wrote a book before He created the Creation by one thousand years upon leaves of myrtle which He caused to grow then He placed it upon the Throne; then He called out: O Community of Muhammad, verily My mercy has forestalled My wrath; I have given you before you asked Me and I have forgiven you before you asked Me for forgiveness. And whomsoever from among you has met Me will bear witness that there is no god but Me and that Muhammad is My servant and My apostle whom I have caused to enter Paradise by My mercy."

123.2. Question regarding the difference between the origin and derivative?

123.3. What are the proofs of those who state that existence is the same as existents?

123.4. Question concerning the statement that being is a partner between God and the creatures

123.5. What is the meaning of the "circular Kaf" and the "most great depths"?

123.6. Concerning the sects of the Tuliyya and the Ardiyya

[69] Sayyid Mirza Muhammad 'Ali ibn Sayyid Muhammad ibn Murtada ibn Muhammad al-Akhbari ibn Sayyid Sadru'd-Din Sahib al-Murassa' ibn Nasiru'd-Din ibn al-Mir Salih at-Tabataba'i al-Mudarrisi al-Yazdi. His name implies that his family (and presumably himself) were Akhbari. He died in 1240. He was the author of a Hashiyya on the Murassa' al-Hawashi of his ancestor Sayyid Muhammad al-Akhbari al-Yazdi which is itself a Hashiyya on the Tahdhib al-Yazdiyya of the latter's father Mir Sayyid Sadru'd-Din al-Yazdi. (Dh 6:198, no. 1094).

Bib: F124; S84

- Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A3, Item 17 (Answer to question 1 incomplete and answers to questions 2, 3, and part of 4)
 2. Princeton, p. 97, No. 420; Mss no. 79 (pp. 168b-172b) - questions 2-4 only, dated 1235
 3. Princeton, p. 97, No. 420; Mss no. 885 (pp. 12a-17a) - question 1
 4. Mil 8, p. 233, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal*427 (Item 24, pp. 286-90); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 5. Mil 9, p. 517; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 4, pp. 30-35)
 6. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 4, pp. 62-8); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245; alternatively this may be No. 28 *supra*

- Pub:1. JK, 1273, pt 1, pp. 135-137 (Question 1 only)
 2. JK, 1273, pt 2, pp. 239-248 (Questions 1-6)
 3. JK, 1276, pp. 101-4 (Questions 2-4 only)
 4. Majmu'a, Vol. 30, pp. 30-49 (Questions 1-4 only)

124. Risala fi jawab masa'il Shaykh Muhammad Husayn ibn Sultan Najafi

322 verses

124.1. What is the necessity for the five elements of the religion that are to be found in the *Shari'a* being five in number?

124.2. What are the ten pillars and the ten subsidiary elements in the Principles of the Religion?

124.3. What are the seventy necessary matters that one who prays should know before his prayer?

124.4. What are the ninety-nine desirable matters connected with the morning obligatory prayer?

124.5. Question regarding obligatory prayers

124.6. Question regarding the deaf

- 124.7. What condition would necessitate a woman washing herself eight times?
- 124.8. Which prayer is it that is *qada* (making up for the omission of an obligation in place of *ada'* (an accomplished action) and is *ada'* in place of *qada*?
- 124.9. How is it that all but God are originated and what is the substance (*madda*) of originated things?
- 124.10. Explanation of the five essences of the philosophers and the four essences of the scholastic theologians and the three bodies and the twenty-four accidents
- 124.11. Question concerning wills
- 124.12. Who are the twelve women who become divorced (*ba'in*) without divorce (*talaq*)?
- 124.13. What happens in the case of a lost inheritance?
- 124.14. If a man were to drown with his son and the son have both son and brothers, how should the inheritance be divided?
- 124.15. What happens in the case of the inheritance of a hermaphrodite?

Bib: F108; S20⁷⁰; Dh 5:179, no. 781

- Mss: 1. Garrett, p. 224, No. 2617; Mss no. 3418 (pp. 12b-16a)
2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 7, pp. 112-4); question 9 only; mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
3. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 8, pp. 114-5); question 10 only; mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224
4. Possibly Yazd 3, p. 836, No. 1052; Mss no. 60001 (Item 2); donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari

[70] Shaykh Ahmad's correspondent is here named as Shaykh Muhammad.

125. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Muhammad Mahdi Abrqu'i

90 verses

125.1. Is *zann* (valid conjecture) sufficient in matters of doctrine?

125.2. What is the difference between singing and lawful chanting?

125.3. What is the cause of conflicting Traditions?

125.4. Question concerning the Qur'anic verses that prove the Imamate of the Imams

Bib: F126

Mss: 1. Mil 8, p. 222, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 13, pp. 230-41); for details see No. 1 *supra*2. Mil 9, p. 532; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 25, pp. 254-5)

Pub: JK, 1276, p.130-1

126. Risala fi jawab masa'il Mulla Muhammad Mahdi ibn Shafi' Astarabadi

180 verses

126.1. What is the meaning of the assertion that "enjoining the good and forbidding evil" is a grace and is therefore obligatory?

126.2. How can you reconcile the two Traditions: "The intention of the believer is better than his action and the intention of an unbeliever is worse than his action" and "The most excellent of actions is the most biting"?

126.3. Commentary on the verse: "Those who devour interest shall not rise except as one whom Satan touches (Qur'an 2:275)".

126.4. It is well-known that Job was patient, therefore how was it that he made lament?

126.5. What is the proof for the origination of the world?

126.6. What is the meaning of the Qur'anic verse: "Let there be no compulsion in religion (2:256)", taking into consideration that the Prophet waged *jihad* against the unbelievers?

126.7. In the Qur'anic verse: "When I fall ill, He restores me to health; and He it is who causes me to die and brings me to life again (26:80)", why is it that the subject of "falling ill" is the servant and the subject of "causing to die" is God?

Bib: F125, S82a⁷¹; Dh 5:189, no. 862 (16 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1229) or no. 864 (completed mid-Jamada II 1233)⁷²

Mss: 1. Mil 9, p. 530-1; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 23, pp. 244-8)
2. Compilation in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf (see Dh)

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 125-127

127. Ar-Risala al-Mukhtasara lam ya'lim sa'ilahu (Treatise to an unknown questioner)

135 verse

127.1. Commentary on the meaning of the statement that a believer is superior to an angel and Salman is superior to Gabriel

127.2. Why is it that the attribute of perfection is attributed to God when, according to the words of the Tradition: "Perfect belief in Divine Unity is negation of [all] His Attributes"?

[71] i.e. occurs in SOAS manuscript after No. 82 of Nicolas, but not in the latter.

[72] There appear therefore to have been four treatises written in reply to Mulla Muhammad Mahdi Astarabadi; this treatise (i.e. No 126) being one of the two treatises in Dh. The other treatise in Dh being a treatise about which I have no information. There may indeed have been a fifth treatise to Astarabadi - see No. 22 *supra*, mss 5.

127.3. Are jinn held responsible to carry out the same religious obligations as men? Do they die or are they killed?

127.4. What is the meaning of the Tradition from the Imam Rida: "We shall cause you to recite and so do not forget except that which God wishes to make you forget and therefore He lifts it from your heart...?"

Bib: F131; S39

Pub: JK, 1276, pp. 220-222

128. ar-Risala al-Qatifiyya; written in response to 71 questions from Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi 2,450 verses

128.1. What is the cause of the multiple directions of the Divine Will when these issue from one God?

128.2. What is the reason for the words "Allah" and "Rahman" being particular to God?

128.3. What is the difference between the Names of God and the Attributes?

128.4. Is the difference between existents (*mawjudat*) according to being or non-being?

128.5. Do specific souls appear with the body or do they antecede the body?

128.6. If each of the fixed stars are the manifestation of the universal intellect, this would necessitate a multitude of spheres and if they are the manifestation of just one intellect, whence comes their multiplicity?

128.7. Explanation of the meaning of the sphere of the signs of the zodiac and the sphere of the mansions. The meaning of the emergence of the spheres of Saturn, the moon and others from the sphere of the sun

128.8. The meaning of the following words at every level: earth, water, air, wind, fire, sky, the seat and the throne

128.9. Question concerning the difference between elucidation (*ta'wil*) and the inner meaning (*batin*) of *ta'wil*, the *batin*, the *batin* of the *batin*, the outward form (*zahir*) and the *zahir* of the *zahir*

128.10. Question concerning the difference between the universal body, universal form, universal nature, and universal matter (*hayula-yi kull*)

128.11. The reconciliation of the proofs of the precedence of God's creation of the heavens before His creation of the earth and the verse: "He created for you all that is on earth then He turned towards the heavens (Qur'an 2: 29)". What is the meaning of "heaven" and of "turning"?

128.12. Question concerning the meaning of the earth stretching beneath the Ka'ba, the winds being sad at the corners of the Ka'ba, and the Black Stone swallowing up the Covenant

128.13. Question concerning the meaning of the Tradition: "Know God through God..."

128.14. What is the meaning of the union of knower and known and the union of souls with the Active Intelligence?

128.15. From what does the image that you see in the mirror arise? Is it permissible to look upon the image of an unknown woman?

128.16. What is the difference between *madda* (matter), *sura* (form), *jins* (kind), *fas* (separation, juncture), *ajza'* (constituent)?

128.17. Question concerning the birth of Adam from dust and the manner in which the different elements arose in him given the simplicity of composition of dust

128.18. What is the difference between intelligence (*'ilm*) and intellect (*'aql*) and between life (*hayat*) and being (*wujud*) in man? What is the reason for the specificity of each of the ten powers for one of the human grades?

128.19. Question concerning the manner of the birth of Eve and the meaning of the left rib of Adam

128.20. Question concerning houris and jinn and the manner of Adam's birth from dust

128.21. Question concerning the reality of paradise, the tree, the serpent and Iblis and the angels; and the meaning of the entry of Iblis into Heaven and his worship there; and the meaning of the precedence of Iblis's creation over Adam's and the meaning of Adam's eating from the tree

128.22. Question concerning the story of Job; How is it that Satan can overcome a messenger of God?

128.23. Question regarding the specification of religious obligations to mankind and the jinn. What are then jinn?

128.24. The meaning of the ascent of devils to the sky and their eavesdropping and the prohibition of these after the appearance of the Prophet. What are meteors?

128.25. What is the meaning of the appearance of Iblis on the day of the consultation and the Saqifa⁷³ and what Iblis is this?

128.26. What is the reality of the *Miraj* of the Prophet and of His visions?

128.27. How can Moses be an intercessor for the *umma* of Muhammad in the matter of obligatory prayers being five?

128.28. What is the reality of Buraq (the horse of Muhammad during the *Miraj*) and the weight of revelation?

128.29. What is the manner of Gabriel's descent and the descent of the stars and the splitting of the moon?

128.30. Question concerning the reason for the Prophet giving two of his daughters to 'Uthman in marriage and marrying the daughters of Abu Bakr and 'Umar?

[73] See Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, pp. 18-19

128.31. How does it come about that an Imam can have sinful offspring and that Abu Bakr can be the ancestor of an Imam⁷⁴?

128.32. What is the meaning of the dome of the shrine of the Prince of Martyrs (the Imam Husayn) and the special reasons for the answering of prayers under it?

128.33. Why is it that the majority of the people (i.e. the Sunnis) accept Divine Unity and Prophethood but reject the Guardianship (*vilayah*)? Why do they hasten to accept sinlessness but part company over obedience?

128.34. Why are the Imams considered superior to the prophets when the latter are able to see angels?

128.35. What is the reason for the Prophet being allowed more than four wives?

128.36. What is the meaning of the Night of Power (*Laylat al-Qadr*) and the descent of the angels on that night upon the Imam? Does any additional knowledge come to the Imam through this?

128.37. What is the difference between the Imam when he is in the state of speaking (*natiq*) and when he is silent (*sami*)⁷⁵?

128.38. What is the reason for the superiority of the Imam Mahdi over some of his pure ancestors (i.e. the Imams)? What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Were I to inform them of the name they would divulge it or of the place they would point it out..."? What is the meaning of place?

128.39. What is the meaning of the rising of the sun from its setting place? Is it this same sun that is meant?

128.40. What is the difference between appearance (*zuhur*) and return (*raj'a*)? Is the law of *raj'a* one of this world or of the other? What is the difference between the bodies of this world and of the next? Is the statement of the philosophers that the heavenly spheres cannot be split or corrupted correct?

[74] The mother of the sixth Imam, Ja'far as-Sadiq, was a great-grand-daughter of Abu Bakr.

[75] See Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, p. 154.

128.41. What is the meaning of the splitting of the heaven and its folding, the rolling up of the sun, the splitting of the mountain, the stretching of the earth in the Resurrection? How can it come about that the earth of Resurrection should become like bread that people should eat it? What is meant by the place of assembly on the Day of Resurrection being the land of Karbala?

128.42. What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Become lighter and catch up! Let the first of you await the last of you"?

128.43. Question regarding the words of the Imam 'Ali to Salman: "I am its custodian against them..."

128.44. What is the reconciliation of the two verses: "No! on that day they shall surely be veiled from their Lord (Qur'an 83:16)" and "O man! thou art striving towards Thy Lord strenuously and so thou wilt meet Him (Qur'an 84:7)"?

128.45. What is the meaning of the return to God and, in particular, the meaning of the return of an unbeliever? What is the reality of the physical assembling (on the Day of Resurrection) and its reason? What is the meaning of natural death and sudden unexpected death?

128.46. Question concerning the essence (quiddity) of the grave and its reality; what occurs after death; the return of the spirit to the body; the squeezing of the grave; the presence of the sinless ones (i.e. the Imams); the difference between the angels of reward and punishment; and the occultation of the Imam from the believer after his appearance

128.47. Question concerning the ascent and descent of the angels of night and day in the morning and evening; the meaning of the statement of the Imam to the angel when leaving: "Go away! I am the security for my own actions"

128.48. Question concerning the assembling of jinn and animals and their reward and punishment

128.49. Question concerning the meaning of the blowing of the trumpet and the difference between the two blowings; the withdrawal of spirits from bodies; the death of angels; the death of the dead and their slaughter in the form of sheep and the coming of hell in the form of a camel

128.50. Question concerning the meaning of the chain that is seventy cubits long and of its seventy-fold or seventy-thousand-fold veils

128.51. Question concerning the existence of the bridge that is narrower than a hair and sharper than a sword

128.52. Question concerning the Tradition: "Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn"; what is the reason for Husayn being picked out for *jihad* as against the other Imams? What is the meaning of the Tradition: "All of us are Muhammad"?

128.53. Question concerning the trust that man has taken on⁷⁶

128.54. What is the reason for the order of excellence of the prophets "endowed with constancy"? Why is Noah considered the most excellent? Why is an abrogated *shari'a* considered most excellent?

128.55. Why did the storm of Noah embrace the whole of those who lived on earth even the animals when the punishment from none of the other prophets did?

128.56. Question concerning the manner of the descent of revelation and punishment and the difference between miracles and sorcery; and the manner of divination

128.57. Explanation of the expressions of Mulla Sadra: "The world is gradations of appearances (*huduth*)" and: "The fruits of heaven are only its ripeness and its sweetness on account of the fire"

128.58. Question regarding the return of all things to their origin when the Imam is the origin of all

128.59. If simple bodies are not capable of being and corruption, what is the meaning of the "stripping off of heaven (Qur'an 81:11)"?

128.60. Why is the recompense of good ten-fold while the recompense of evil is only one-fold? What is the reason for the doubling of the rewards and the punishment of the wives of the Prophet and the Bani Hashim?

[76] cf. Qur'an 33:72; see Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, p. 151.

128.61. What is the meaning of the expression in the prayer: "By the Name through which You are seated upon Your Throne and established upon Your Seat"

128.62. What is the meaning of: "What is humanity except the devil"? How can the devil be master over the sinless ones?

128.63. Question concerning a Tradition that outwardly appears to attribute disobedience to the Imams and the meaning of forgiving them

128.64. How is it that the ninth sphere moves at the utmost speed while the eighth sphere moves with the utmost slowness?

128.65. What is the explanation of: "There is nothing in the heavens or the earth except seven things"? What is the explanation of these degrees in the world of the intellect, and horizons and souls and in the state of jinn?

128.66. What is the reality of *bada'* (changeability in the Will of God)? Is *naskh* (the abrogation of certain verses in the Qur'an) a part of *bada'* or not? How did Abraham come to be appointed to perform the sacrifice and why did it not occur?

128.67. What is the meaning of the Tradition: "Obligatory prayer is the Commander of the Faithful (Imam 'Ali)"?

128.68. If obedience is from God, why does the servant become worthy of reward?

128.69. Are letters before they form meanings counted as incorporeal beings (*mujarradat*)?

128.70. What is the meaning of Mulla Sadra's words: "The world is originated in time"?

Bib: F114⁷⁷

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 290, No. 1284; Mss no. 79 (pp. 123b-158b); first six questions only

2. Mil 8, p. 226, *Ayn 755*; Mss no. *Da/427* (Item 18, pp. 241-67); for details see No. 1 *supra*

[77] See Note 12

3. Mil 9, p. 522-3; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 12, pp. 80-144)
4. Danishgah 12, p. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 2, pp. 14-88); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 114-147

129. ar-Risala al-Qatifiyya; written in reply to Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi
230 verse

129.1. Since natural death is, compared to life, perfection, what is the condition of someone who dies suddenly and how does it come about that those whom the prophets have brought to life again have come from a state of perfection to a state of defect?

129.2. Why is it that sight and hearing are attributed to God but the other external senses are not?

129.3. What is the difference between ability, resolve, will, and intention? Is ability simultaneous with action or prior to it?

129.4. How can one resolve the two Traditions: "There is no desirous person without desire being with him" and "A creator when there is no created thing"

129.5. Is the doing of an abrogated action correct prior to its time [of abrogation]? What is the difference between abrogation (*naskh*) and alteration in the Divine Will (*bada*)?

129.6. Why did God order Abraham to sacrifice Ishmael when He had no intention that the sacrifice should occur?

129.7. What is the meaning of the Tradition in al-Kafi of Kulayni: "There is no doubt that the Lord of this Cause shall be occulted and there is no doubt that in his occultation he will be isolated..."

129.8. Concerning the meaning of a phrase from the author of the Kashkul (of Shaykh-i Baha'i?)

129.9. Question concerning the truth of the world of the atom and of the Covenant and the station of these two among angels and men

129.10. Question concerning the meaning of *hasaba* (deem, reckon) in the two Qur'anic verses: "Thou dost deem them to be awake when they are asleep" (18:18) and "Thou seest the mountains, deeming them to be solid" (27:88)

129.11. Question concerning the manner of the ending of time

129.12. Why is it that Iblis must have been created before Adam?

129.13. Is the opposition of intelligence and ignorance the opposition of a trait of character and its lack or the opposition of negation and affirmation?

129.14. Does a simple ignorance exist and what is the difference between it and a composite ignorance?

129.15. Question concerning the science of logic

129.16. Question concerning the seven stages of action

Bib: F115⁷⁸

- Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 290, No. 1285; Mss no. 79 (pp. 159a-162a)
 2. Mil 8, p. 248, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 43, pp. 393-95); for details see No. 1 *supra*
 3. Mil 9, p. 524; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 13, pp. 144-151)
 4. Danishgah 12, p. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 3, pp. 88-94); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Pub: JK, 1273, Pt 2, pp. 147-150

[78] See Note 12

130. ar-Risala as-Salihiyya (Treatise of Salih); written in answer to questions by Shaykh Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi⁷⁹ 240 verse

130.1. Question regarding a point on the laws of inheritance

130.2. Is water in which something has been washed ritually pure or impure?

130.3. In the verse: "The eye, the ear and the heart (Qur'an 17:36)", what is meant by these expressions?

130.4. Concerning the inheritance of a baby that has been thrown into the sea

130.5. Concerning the laws regarding gifts

130.6. Who has the responsibility for burying a woman taken in temporary marriage (*mut'a*) or a disobedient wife?

130.7. Concerning the inner meaning of the love of the Prophet for women and the meaning of the Traditions: "The stronger your love for me, the stronger be your love for women" and "A man does not grow in faith unless he grows in love for a woman"

130.8. Can the halving or quartering of an inheritance be carried out on the word of one man?

130.9. Question concerning temporary marriage (*mut'a*)

130.10. Question concerning a woman who menstruates every three months

130.11. Does the pilgrimage of a temporary wife become in vain if coitus occurs?

130.12. Question regarding ritual purity during the pilgrimage

130.13. When free water rises, as in a watering-hole, is what is taken from it from the free water or annexed water?

130.14. Does the grandfather have custodianship over a boy or girl?

[79] He was father of Shaykh Ahmad al-Qatifi, see No. 8. He was the author of a Risala fi'l-Usul al-Khamsa. See Tabaqat, p. 93.

130.15. Is marriage with a minor (*tazwij as-saghih*), even if it is advisable, permissible to a ruler?

130.16. Is it correct to divorce a woman who does not bleed on the day of her confinement?

130.17. It is recorded in the Traditions that in each age there are two Imams, the speaking Imam and the silent Imam;⁸⁰ then who is the speaking Imam and who is the silent Imam during the period of the occultation of the Twelfth Imam?

130.18. If the roses of rose-water are ritually impure, is the rose-water itself pure or impure?

130.19. Is dew-water considered free water or annexed?

Bib: F107; Dh 2:88, No. 350

Pub: JK, 1276, No. 34, p. 237-9

131. Risala fi sharh abyat Ibn Firuzi (Treatise in explanation of some verses of Ibn Firuzi)

131.1. Explanation of the verses of Ibn Firuzi: "Upon Him be what is upon Him" (*'Alayhi ma 'alayh*)

Bib: F106

132. Risala fi sharh ahwal nafsihi (Autobiographical treatise); written at the request of his son, Shaykh Muhammad Taqi 200 verses

Bib: F105

Mss: 1. KM Mss no. A7

[80] Momen, Shi'i Islam, p. 154

2. DIMI vol. 1, pp. 326. Catalogue No. *Majmu'a Dal* 559, dated 1295, pp. 41b-50b, written Dhu'l-Hijja 1295

Pub: Fihrist Kutub Mashayikh 'Izam, pp. 132-143; also published, ed. Husayn 'A Mahfuz, Baghdad, 1376

J. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS LISTED IN OTHER SOURCES

The following works are listed in other sources and do not appear to represent alternative names for works listed above from the Fihrist.

133. Ajwiba as-Sa'il (Answers to a questioner); written 5 Rabi' I 1232

133.1. Concerning how beings (*mawjudat*) emerge from the primal origin.

133.2. Concerning God's knowledge of particulars

133.3. Concerning the reality of the *Mi'raj*

Mss: 1. Mashhad, vol. 4, p. 10, No. 315; Nai'ini waqf 307

2. MajZ, p. 68; Mss no. 66 (Item 6, pp. 223-31), dated Sha'ban 1254 in Kazimayn

134. Risala fi jawab Mawla 'Ali (Treatise in answer to Mulla 'Ali); Shaykh Ahmad indicates in this work that he was working on an explanation of the Masha'ir at the same time; written 1232

134.1. Explanation of the Tradition that: "The most great resurrection (*al-qiyama kubra*) is situated in the inner part (*batin*) of the inner part of time (*zaman*) when comes to the end. They will question you about the hour, when will it arrive. Will it be to you this talk? Its ending is with your Lord (Quran 79:42-4)." It is in the beyd

of beyond (*wara'a al-wara'a*). It is necessary that it arises." Shaykh Ahmad replies that the resurrection is surrounded by time; and time is divided into the past, the present and the future, and goes on to explain this matter at length.

- Mss: 1. Mil 8, p. 242, 'Ayn 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 35, pp. 374-78); for details see No. 1 *supra*. Mss written in 1236
 2. Mil 9, p. 64; 'Ayn 1068 (Item 3, pp. 367-291); written by 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad Tabrizi in Kirmanshah in 1238
 3. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-40, no. 949 (Item no. 16, pp. 122b-130b); mss written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

135. Risala fi'l-Ma'ad (Treatise on the Return); written Jamada I 1233

- Mss: 1. Mar'ashi 2, p. 219, no. 620, (Item 2, pp. 72a-79a); written Ramadan 1242; manuscript owned by Muhammad Shari'ati in 1359
 2. Mar'ashi 3, pp. 134-140, no. 949 (Item 17, pp. 132a-134b); written by Abu'l-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Yazdi in 1239 and became *waqf* in 1252

136. Risala fi jawab Shaykh Ja'far Qaraguzlu'i al-Hamadani; Shaykh Ja'far Majdhub 'Ali Shah, the Ni'matu'llahi leader, wrote to Shaykh Ahmad presenting his views on certain matters and asking Shaykh Ahmad what he considered to be the correct views on these points;⁸¹ written 14 Jamada II 1237

136.1. That God is one in all the worlds

[81] Since Shaykh Ahmad's correspondent states that he is a Sufi, this is almost certainly Shaykh Muhammad Ja'far ibn Safar ibn 'Abdu'llah al-Kabudarahangi al-Buyukabadi of the Qaraguzlu tribe. He took the name Majdhub 'Ali Shah and was the head of the Ni'matu'llahi Sufi order from the time of the death of Nur 'Ali Shah in 1212/1897. He had undertaken formal religious studies under Mulla Muhammad Mahdi Naraq and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Qummi. He wrote a number of works, one of which is interesting in view of his correspondence with Shaykh Ahmad: it is called I'tiqadat and is described as laying out the author's views on doctrine. He died in 1239/1823. Tabaqat, pp. 258-9, no. 511.

136.2. That there is nothing similar to God and no likeness and no opposite and no parts of Him, neither outwardly nor in the imagination nor in the mind; everything is nothingness in the stage of His Essence, even His Names

136.3. Everything is created and emanates from Him; and there is no difference in His knowledge before or after

136.4. There is no change in His Knowledge and Will whether in action or not, before or afterwards; there is no injustice in His actions nor any cause for sorrow; both predestination and *Tafwid* (attributing God's attributes to someone other than God) are erroneous; God is free from all possible defects; He is different from all created things in essence and attributes and actions; and such doctrines as *hulu* (incarnation of God), *ittihad* (union with God), *tanasukh* (transmigration of souls, reincarnation), *wahdat al-wujud* (existential monism) are erroneous

136.5. Because this statement contradicts what is plain to the senses and to the intellect, it is the cause of a lapse in the fulfilling of religious obligations

Pub: *Majmu'a* vol. 30, pp. 277-285

137. *Al-Amali* (Dictated Notes); notes taken at lessons given by Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i; the mss is described thus in the catalogue and the subject matter of these is certainly consistent with Shaykh Ahmad's interests but two of them are dated 1293 and 1294, which would of course be much too late to be the Shaykh Ahmad whom we are concerned with. It may however be that these dates are incorrectly stated in the catalogue since there was no prominent Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i giving lectures in 1293-4.⁸² Furthermore one of the dates given appears to be erroneous in that 29 Dhu'l-Hijja 1293 was not as is stated a Monday.

137.1. Concerning what is attractive and what is attracted (p. 2)

137.2. Concerning the recognition of the person of a prophet despite his outward human form (p. 5)

137.3. Concerning distinguishing between correct and faulty Traditions (p. 6)

[82] I can find no-one else by this name listed in biographical dictionaries such as *Tabaqat A'lam ash-Shi'a* for the 13th or 14th Islamic centuries.

- 137.4. Concerning what blocks and what clarifies the proofs that are appropriate to general prophethood (*an-nubawwa al-'Amma*) (p. 13)
- 137.5. Concerning philosophy and its meaning (p. 17)
- 137.6. The Will of God and the manifest words (p. 26)
- 137.7. On the meaning of nearness and distance (p. 28)
- 137.8. On the oneness of Will (p. 31)
- 137.9. On how the earth and the heavenly spheres were created (p. 35)
- 137.10. The worlds manifest the Will of God in its perfections (p. 41)
- 137.11. On questions of Divine Unity (p. 48)
- 137.12. On the means of perfection and solving some problems regarding the stars (p. 49)
- 137.13. On whitening copper and purifying it with poison (p. 49)
- 137.14. Discourse on the stages of the Divine Will - stated to have been given on Monday 29 Dhu'l-Hijja 1293 in home of Aqa Zaynu'l-'Abidin Khan in answer to questions from Mirza Yusuf and Shaykh Mahdi (p. 55)
- 137.15. Discourse on the creation of the Divine Will (p. 61)
- 137.16. On production and creation (p. 65)
- 137.17. God has produced both the existence and quiddity of the angel (p. 69)
- 137.18. How the hearts (*afida*) of the prophets are created from the light of their bodies (p. 71)
- 137.19. On the meaning of the Throne (*'arsh*) and the Seat (*kursi*) (p. 73)
- 137.20. On the meaning of a Tradition concerning Primal Oneness (*al-ahadiyya*) (p.77)

- 137.21. Establishing existential and legal existence (p. 80)
- 137.22. Discourse on Being, *shar'* (the law?) and Essence (p. 85)
- 137.23. The meaning of the Eternal View (*an-nazar al-sarmadh*) (p. 87)
- 137.24. A strange mystery pointing to a plentitude of knowledge (p. 89)
- 137.25. On the Tradition that the variety of creation is in order that no-one may think of anything that God has not created (p. 91)
- 137.26. Resolving a problem regarding resurrection and the mystery of the effects which appear from visiting the shrines of the great and calling upon them (p. 92)
- 137.27. The difference between Being and *shar'* (?religion) (p. 99)
- 137.28. In explanation of mines and how to create them (p. 103)
- 137.29. In clarification of essential matter and form (p. 112)
- 137.30. The intention of the philosophers in excluding accidents from a thing (p. 115)
- 137.31. How the earth derives from the flames of the stars (p. 117)
- 137.32. The similarity of the effects of hair and vegetation in deriving their minerality (p. 119)
- 137.33. What is meant by the medicine which is called "Yellow stone" (p. 120)
- 137.34. On the explanation of the stone (p. 121)
- 137.35. On: "The perfect cause is your soul..." (p. 123)
- 137.36. On: "For everything, God has made a perfect blending" (p. 131)
- 137.37. The way of processing mines (p. 130)
- 137.38. On: "When the soul and the body strive in close association with each other, they attain a station" (p. 136)

- 137.39. On healing souls and spirits with earth (p. 136)
- 137.40. On: "As long as he does not gather his soul and spirit and body and does not compose them, he does not show forth any deed" (p. 144)
- 137.41. On how the pillars (*al-arkan*) are purified and constrained (p. 148)
- 137.42. On: "The cause (*al-amr*) in the highest and the lowest is one and there is no difference" (p. 155)
- 137.43. Explanation of the three worlds: great humanity, middle and lesser (p. 166)
- 137.44. On: "The form exists in an image and the body becomes its manifestation and thus its name holds true for it." (p. 173)
- 137.45. On stone (*hajar*) and substance (*madda*) (p. 175)
- 137.46. On the quiddity of water (p. 181)
- 137.47. The spot (*nukta*) and the mystery within it and the parting soul (*an-nafs al-mufariqa*) (p. 187)
- 137.48. The human form is the creative soul (*an-nafs al-insha'iyya*) (p. 188)
- 137.49. The action of the creative soul is that it goes into the impression and returns to the impresser (p. 190)
- 137.50. The path of religion and the perfect attributes and their necessity, a wondrous lesson (p. 190)
- 137.51. The meeting of the soul and the proximity to the sublime are the greatest elixirs for humanity (p. 192)
- 137.52. The necessity for purification when one makes up the elixir (p. 196)
- 137.53. The way of the soul upon the path of religion (*ash-shar*) (p. 197)
- 137.54. Traditions of the people of intuitive understanding (p. 199)

- 137.55. Explaining that whatever occurs has a meaning for humanity (p. 200)
- 137.56. The paucity of inspiration regarding the causes of well-being (p. 200)
- 137.57. The supervision of liberation, that is, from the fetters of the soul and towards the means of progress (p. 201)
- 137.58. The difference between existence (*kawn*) and religion (*shar'*) (p. 204)
- 137.59. Mention poetry and that it is in need of something else (p. 209)
- 137.60. Human birth (production? - (*maw'lud al-insan*) (p. 210-214)
- 137.61. That which resembles lesser eastern lightening (*al-barq al-asghar ash-sharqi*, an alchemical term?) or sulphur (p. 216)

Bib: Dh 21:68, no. 3990 - refers to item 14 *supra*, here stated to have been delivered 29 Dhu'l-Hijja (no year given)

Mss: Danishgah 11, pp. 2391-2395; Mss no. 3392, 216pp.

138. Fa'ida (Lesson)

Concerning a dream that Shaykh Ahmad had

Mss: Danishgah 8, p. 161; Mss. no. 1531 (Item 3, pp. 17a-18a)

139. Ghamzat al-Burhan li nabahat al-wasnan (Signal of proof for the awakening of the somnolent). An exchange of correspondence between Shaykh Ahmad and Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Bahrani, an Akhbari.

Mss: DIMI vol. 1, pp. 248; Catalogue No. *Majmu'a Dal* 159, pp. 119b-134b. This work appears in a collection of works of Mirza Muhammad Akhbari. This collection also contains a refutation of Shaykh Ahmad by Mirza

Muhammad called 'Ibrat an-Názirin. The volume belonged to Fath-'Ali Shah

140. Kitab al-Ijazat (Book of diplomas indicating completion of study under teacher and permission to transmit the knowledge)

10,000 verses

Collection of *ijzas* given to Shaykh Ahmad by his teachers

Bib: Dh 1:123, no. 594b; 20:58, no. 1895 - states that this work is referred to in an-Na'l al-Hadara

141. Nuskha Tumar fi'l-Ad'iya al-nafi'a al-mujarraba (Copy-book of prayers of proven benefit)

Manuscript begins: "These are various lessons taken from the copy-book of our Shaykh..."

Mss: Maj 16, p. 353, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 23, pp. 180-85); for details see No. 2 *supra*

142. Qissa (A story)

The story of 'Umar's prostration before Iblis and his oaths sworn by Lat and al-'Uzza, which Shaykh Ahmad had seen in a manuscript 500 years old

Mss: Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 11, pp. 121-2); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

143. Risala (Treatise)

143.1. On: "And among His signs is Man..."

Mss: Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 24, pp. 237-241); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

144. Risala fi'l-ishara bi'l-yad (treatise on signalling with the hand)

Mss: Danishgah 8, p. 161; Mss no. 1531 (Item 4, pp. 18a-18b)

145. Risala fi amal al-ikhsir (Treatise on the making of the alchemical elixir)

Mss: Maj 16, p. 350, No. 5434; Mss no. 62334 (Item 17, p. 168); for details see No. 2 *supra*.

146. Risala fi amrad al-attfal Treatise on the illness of children

Mss: Mil 9, p. 532-3; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 26, pp. 255-6)

147. Risala fi jawab su'al Sayyid Muhammad al-Khurasani; written before 1227 in view of mss *infra*

Mss: Yazd 3, p. 933-4, No. 1341; Mss no. 12332 (Item 4, pp. 108-123); written by Muhammad ibn 'Ali in 1227; donated by Salihzadih

148. Risala fi jawab masa'il al-Mawla Muhammad Mahdi al-Astarabadi; as explained above in No. 126, footnote no. 71, there are two treatises dated 16 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1229 and mid Jamada II 1233, one of which is presumably No. 126 *supra*. The other I have no information about.

Bib: Dh 5:189, no. 862; Dh 5:189, no. 864

Mss: 1. Copy in library of al-Husayniyya al-Shustariyya in Najaf
2. ASB, vol. 1, p. 30, no. 62; No. 259 III (q) (pp. 296-300); written 1243

149. Risala fi jawab su'al Shaykh Yasin al-Bahrani; written in reply to a question of Shaykh Yasin Bahrani

149.1 In commentary and explanation of a Tradition to be found in Maniyat al-Mumarisin.⁸³ Shaykh Ahmad explains this using material from al-Kafi and Ibn Babuya

Mss: Maj 16, p. 353, No. 5445; Mss no. 62344 (Item 22, pp. 180-81), for details see No. 2 *supra*.

150. Risala fi khalq Treatise on creation

150.1 The Name of God is pre-existent; its overflowing bounty causes the coming into being of this world and of life. Refers to a Tradition of Hasan al-'Askari concerning the melting of souls and their mixing.

Mss: Mil 9, p. 534-5; Mss no. 'Ayn 1498 (Item 29, pp. 268-72)

151. Risala Mukhtasara fi'l-faqr wa'l-sa'ada wa'l-shaqawa (Short treatise on poverty, happiness and misery).

Bib: Dh 16:278, No. 1192

Mss: Danishgah 12, p. 2906; Mss no. 3917 (Item 4, pp. 31b-32b) in a 13th century AH handwriting

[83] Shaykh 'Abdu'llah ibn Salih as-Samahiji al-Bahrani (d.1135/1722-3) wrote this work.

152. Risala fi nubuwwa wa'l-wilaya al-khassa (Treatise on prophethood and the special guardianship)

152.1. Prophethood and the special succession of the Imams; and the rational proofs for these

Mss: Adabiyat, p. 108; Mss no. 343 (Item 1)

153. Risala fi Sirr ar-Ru'ya (Treatise on the mystery of dreams); written before 1236 (see mss *infra*)

153.1. Concerning the mystery of dreams - some being true and others false

153.2. What is the meaning of "unintentional (*ghayr 'amd*)"?

153.3. Explanation of the Tradition "Not Predestination and not free-will but a matter between the two matters"⁸⁴

153.4. Does the knowledge of the Prophet come to him from God through an intermediary or not?

Mss: Mil 8, p. 224, *'Ayn* 755; Mss no. *Dal* 427 (Item 15, pp. 233-5); for details see No. 1 *supra*. Mss written in 1236

154. Risala fi ta'yid ba'd masa'il at-ta'wil (treatise in confirmation of some questions of explanation)

154.1. Existence is good; the good accept it and the evil have designs upon it

154.2. On the stages of happiness and the conditions of it

154.3. Concerning the verse in the Qur'an: "Say: look at the heavens and the earth (presumably 10:101)"

[84] See Note 8, 9

154.4. God as essence and attribute

154.5. Discussion of good (*salih*) and evil (*talih*) actions

154.6. Concerning the balances on the Day of Judgement

154.7. Concerning apostles and prophets

Mss: Mil. 8, p. 220, No. 'Ayn 755; Mss no. Dal 427 (Item 11, p. 226-8); written in Kirmanshah in 1239; for details see No. 1 *supra*

155. Sharh al-Hadith (Explanation of a Tradition)

155.1. Explanation of the Tradition of the two fingers (*al-isba'ayn?*)

Mss: Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 19, pp. 195-6); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

156. Sharh al-Hadith (Explanation of a Tradition)

156.1 In explanation of a Tradition of Abu 'Abdu'llah (Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq?) related by al-'Umár as-Sabati and recorded by Ibn Babuya concerning a dead person: "Does his body decompose...?"

Mss: 1. Princeton, p. 98, No. 425; Mss no. 461 (pp. 46b-47b)
2. Princeton, p. 98, No. 425; Mss no. 508 (pp. 126a-127a)
3. Adabiyat, p. 92; Mss no. 203 (Item 13)

157. Sharh al-Hadith (Explanation of a Tradition)

157.1. Explanation of the Tradition: "I am the clay...."

Mss: Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 17, pp. 180-81); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

158. Sharh Risala fi'l-'Ilm (Explanation of the Treatise on Knowledge)

According to the Qisas al-'Ulama, Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan ibn Muhammad Husayn al-Husayni at-Tunukabuni al-Qazwini, who was a student of Shaykh Ahmad and uncle of the author of the Qisas, wrote a treatise on knowledge and presented it to Shaykh Ahmad. The latter then wrote a *sharh* (explanation) of it.⁸⁵

Bib: Dh 15:315, no. 2016

159. Sharh Risala at-Tawhid Treatise written in explanation of the Risala at-Tawhid of 'Abdu'l-Karim ibn Ibrahim al-Jilani⁸⁶; completed 24 Shawwal 1224

Concerning Sufi ideas of knowledge (*ma'rifa*) and union (*wusul*)

Bib: Dh 13:284, no. 1031

Mss: Copy in library of Sayyid Kazim Rashti in Najaf

160. Tafsir (Commentary)

160.1 Commentary on the verse: "When his Lord revealed His Glory to the mountain (Qur'an 7:143)"

Mss: Adabiyat, p. 79; Mss no. 203 (Item 10)

[85] According to Tabaqat, p. 33, no. 68, Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan died in about 1265.

[86] Better known as 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jili (d. 1428 AD), a prominent Sufi writer and disciple of Ibn al-'Arabi; author of al-Insan al-Kamil. See R.A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, Cambridge, 1921, pp. 77-142.

161. Tafsir Ayat al-Nur (Commentary on the Light Verse); written at request of Sayyid Malu'llah ibn Muhammad al Khattī al-Qatīfī

161.1. Commentary on the Light Verse (Qur'an 24:36)

Mss: Mashhad, vol. 4, p. 419, No. 279; Na'ini waqf 5904

162. Al-Walada al-Rawhani (spiritual birth); mss without beginning or end and may therefore be part of one of the works listed above

162.1. Concerning matter (*hayula*) and the form (*sura*) that receives it

162.2. Concerning the spiritual and physical birth of the Imams

Mss: MilZ, p. 199, No. 'Ayn 229; Mss no. *Sin* 743/1667. (Item 2, pp. 525-555); volume dated 1246

K. MINOR WRITINGS

163. Ijaza li Shaykh Asadu'llah at-Tustari al-Kazimi *Ijaza* to Shaykh Asadu'llah Shustari Kazimi (d. 1237/1821)

Bib: Dh 1:141, no. 662

164. Ijaza li Shaykh Muhammad Hasan an-Najafi *Ijaza* to Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi,⁸⁷

[87] This is the famous Shaykh Muhammad Hasan an-Najafi, the author of the Jawahir al-Kalam (c.1202/1787-1266/1850), who was to become the leading Shi'i religious authority of the mid-19th

(continued...)

to be found in the third part of the latter's major work, Jawahir al-Kalam (Dh 5:275-6, no. 1296)

Bib: Dh 1:141, no. 664

165. Ijaza li waladayh *Ijaza* to his two sons Shaykh Muhammad Taqi and Shaykh 'Ali Naqi, dated 1236

Bib: Dh 1:141, no. 663

166. Maktub ila Muhammad al-Mazandarani Letter to Muhammad Mazandarani

166.1 Muhammad Mazandarani a scholar of Isfahan wrote a Hashiyya (marginal gloss) on Shaykh Ahmad's Sharh al-Hikma al-'Arshiyya (see No. 57 *supra*). In the course of this work, he quotes from an interesting letter to him from Shaykh Ahmad. This letter includes the following sentence: "... for my writings are the proof of God for others. I have heard that some of the 'ulama of Isfahan are finding fault (*khúrdagiri*) with the Sharh al-Masha'ir [see No. 25 *supra*], but know this that their words are those of the people of error and mine are from the *plshváyán* (Imams?)."

Mss: Maj 5, p. 157, No. 1773.

167. Maktub ila Mulla Muhammad 'Ali al-Baraghani Letter to Mulla Muhammad 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani (usually called Mulla 'Ali Baraghani; he was the uncle of Tahirih and the only one of the three Baraghani brothers who was a Shaykhi)

Mss: Mil 10, p. 343-4; Mss no. 'Ayn 1765; Book by Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Baraghani called Bihar al-'Ulum with letter of Shaykh Ahmad bound into the back

[87](...continued)

century. He was a pupil of Shaykh Ahmad but later was to oppose Sayyid Kazim Rashti and, much more vehemently, the Bab. See Tabaqat, pp. 310-314.

L. MANUSCRIPTS WHICH CANNOT BE EXACTLY IDENTIFIED

As'ilat Ibn Tuq (Questions of Ibn Tuq); treatise written in answer to question of Shaykh Ahmad ibn Salih ibn Tuq al-Qatifi (this could be any of the following works noted above:
Nos. 8, 87, 102, 109, 128, 129)

Bib: Dh 2:75, No. 296; 5:230, no. 1100

Mss: 1. Adabiyat, p. 82; Mss no. 170 (Item 2); composed 1223
2. Mar'ashi 12, p. 245, no. 4660 (Item 2)
3. Mss in handwriting of Mulla 'Abdu'l-'Azim ibn 'Ali Ardikani Yazdi dated 1240 in library of Hajj 'Ali Muhammad Najafabadi in Najaf

Band fi shikl Adam (Passage on the form of man); occurs in a compilation of Shaykh Ahmad's writings but may be part of a larger work or may be by another author

167.1. That the triangle is the form of man and that Eve was created from one of Adam's left ribs

Mss: Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 32a, pp. 371-2); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Explanation of the Intellect and its parts

Mss: Mar'ashi 2, p. 222, no. 620, (pp. 244a-248a72a-79a); written Ramadan 1242; manuscript owned by Muhammad Shari'ati in 1359

Fa'ida or Fawa'id (Lesson, Lessons)

- Mss: 1. Yazd 1, p. 39, No. 23; Mss no. 9447 (Item 14, pp. 235-7); mss dated 12 Jamada II 1280 (Fawa'id Mutafarriqa)
2. Yazd 3, p. 1084, No. 1884; Mss no. 6016 (Item 6, pp. 25-39); written by Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ni'matu'llah Musawi; donated by Muhammad Khan 'Askari (Fa'ida muhimma)

Al-Imama (The Imamate)

Mss: Adabiyat, p. 71; Mss no. 343 (Item 2)

Mas'ala Absar The Question of Perception

Mss: Huquq, p. 371; No. *Jim* 283, 23pp.; first part of mss missing

Meaning of: the reality of the body of man

Mss: Mar'ashi 2, p. 222, no. 620, (pp. 88a-89b); written Ramadan 1242; manuscript owned by Muhammad Shari'ati in 1359

Meaning of: the first creation of God was Muhammad and 'Ali

Mss: Mar'ashi 2, p. 222, no. 620, (pp. 89b-91); written Ramadan 1242; manuscript owned by Muhammad Shari'ati in 1359

Questions of Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi. Could be any of Nos. 26, 106, 125, 126,

Mss: Hakim Vol. 1, p. 29, No. *Mim* 1129; written by Baqir ibn Muhammad Taqi in 1234

Questions of Mulla 'Ali Akhund or Mulla 'Ali. Could be any of Nos. 9, 105, 115, 134,

Bib: Dh 5:188, no. 854

Mss: 1. Hakim Vol. 1, p. 29, No. *Mim* 1250; written by Baqir ibn Muhammad in 1234

2. Compilation in library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf

Questions of Shaykh Mulla Muhammad. Could be any of Nos. 16, 22, 42, 44, 98, 100, 122, 164.

Mss: Hakim Vol. 1, p. 29, No. *Mim* 1251; written by Baqir ibn Muhammad in 1234

Risala fi'l-Amr

Mss: Huquq, p. 343-4, No. *Jim* 241; Mss no. 42215 (Item 4, pp. 186-192); written by Mahdi ibn Ahmad in 1241

Risala fi'l-'Ilm (Treatise on Knowledge)

Begins: "Philosophers and scholars disagree about knowledge, whether it is limited or not. And those who maintain that it is unlimited disagree over whether it is its nature that prevents it from being limited or on account of the necessities of that cycle."

Bib: Dh 25:315, no. 2018

- Mss: 1. Huquq, p. 343-4, No. *Jim* 241; Mss no. 42215 (Item 2, pp. 97b-138a); written by Mahdi ibn Ahmad in 1241
2. Copy in a compilation of his works in the handwriting of his student Shaykh Mahdi ibn Ahmad among books of Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Husayn al-Hujja at Karbala
3. Copy in a compilation in handwriting of Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhammad Qasim ad-Dalbazi an-Najafi

Risala fi jawab masa'il al-Mawla Husayn al-Kirmani; could be either No. 56, 116

Bib: Dh 5:188, no. 845

Mss: In compilation in library of Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari in Najaf

Rasa'il or Risala fi jawab masa'il or Aj'wibat as-as'ila. Could be almost any of the above works

Bib: Dh 5:232, no. 1114

- Mss: 1. Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library. By Leon Nemoy. New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956, p. 117, no. 1076; Mss no. L-641
2. Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 41, pp. 461-2); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224; written in reply to eight questions
3. Adabiyat, p. 83; Mss no. 358 (Item 11)
4. Adabiyat, p. 91; Mss no. 199 (Item 2)
5. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 9, pp. 99-103); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245
6. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 12, pp. 113-8) written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245
7. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 13, pp. 118-125); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245
8. Jawabat masa'il al-mutafariqa, Library of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Khwansari

Risala fi'r-ru'ya Treatise concerning dreams. Could be any of the above works relating to dreams - see Index

- Mss: 1. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 7, pp. 90-94); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245
 2. Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 8, pp. 94-99); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245

Risala fi'l-wujud (Treatise on Being); written in reply to a question

167.2. On Being and Quiddity and on which of these is fundamental

- Mss: Danishgah 12, pp. 2624-8; Mss no. 3622 (Item 36, pp. 415-420); mss written by Mulla 'Ali ibn Muhammad Baraghani in Qazvin in 1233 and Habibu'llah ibn Ustad Abu Talib in 1224

Some words of Shaykh Ahmad

On the path of salvation (*nijat*) and guidance

- Mss: Mil 10, p. 246; Mss no. 'Ayn 1667 (Item 4, pp. 101-105)

Tafsir (Commentary)

- Mss: Adabiyat, p. 79; Mss no. 400 (Item 2); possibly by Shaykh Ahmad

Risala; Treatise in reply to three questions

- Mss: Yazd 3, p. 1058, No. 1801; Mss no. 4321 (Item 11, pp. (110-113)); written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad Khu'i between 1220 and 1245

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