

**DOI: 10.7596/taksad.v6i3.949**

**Citation:** Jahan Abad, A., Moftakhari, H., Moghadam, B., & Jalali, A. (2017). Analysis and Investigation of Religious Conflicts in Buyid Dynasty Era in Ray. Journal of History Culture and Art Research, 6(3), 919-936. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i3.949>

## **Analysis and Investigation of Religious Conflicts in Buyid Dynasty Era in Ray**

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### **Abstract**

In the fourth Hegira century, there were a lot of religious conflicts between madhab of Shia and Sunni as well as verbal discussion. The Buwaihids rulers were the governors of Iran and formed a government of Shia. Different Islamic religions were fighting with each other because of numerous governments of Buyid dynasty. There were numerous conflicts between Shia and Sunni in the most regions of Iran, especially in Ray. This paper investigates the religious conflicts in Buyid dynasty era in Ray City. So, it investigates the religious beliefs of Buyid dynasty rulers, scholars, and schools in Ray, then discusses about religious sectarians and verbal discussions on the basis of criticizing the refutation texts. Finally, he investigates the policy of Buwaihids rulers.

**Keywords:** Religious conflicts, Ray City, Religion, Madhhab, Buyid dynasty.

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## **Introduction**

Islamic regions had a specific situation in the fourth and fifth Hegira century. The most religious conflicts were in these two periods. Ray City was the center of famous branches of Buwaihid government about eighty-five years (946-1029). While the majority of people were Sunni, because of the support of Shia rulers, Ray was one of the main centers of Shia Association with varied educational and scientific activities. The over interference of common people fanaticism in religious conflicts was one of the features of two mentions centuries which led to a lot of sectarian conflicts. Some criticism and debate meetings were held by the consideration of Buwaihid emirs. These meetings also expanded by dhimmah. Religious groups wrote a lot of writings and refutations in order to accept their madhhabs, so these written texts led to ideological conflicts as well as sectarian disputes. The existence of democracy and defense of Shia scholars from their beliefs caused Ray city as a main center of scientific debates between Shias and adherents of other madhhabs. In this period, apart from Imamiyyah Shias, two other Shia sectarian appeared in Ray, called Zaidiyyah and Ismā'īlism. In addition to Imamiyyah, there were four different sectarians with an impressive activity such as Mu'tazila, Hanbali, Hanafi and Shafi'i. In this regard, this paper tries to investigate the religious conflicts of Buyid dynasty era in Ray using descriptive-analytic method.

## **Religious beliefs of Buyid dynasty Emirs**

Buwaihids were one of the most well-known Shia dynasties of Iran. They established a large government (Abu Miskawayh, 1915, volume1, 299). Undoubtedly, Buyid dynasty was a Shia sect. But there is a question here: which Shia sect they were belonged to? Some people believe that because of supporting the governors from Shia scholars as well as the invitation of Rukn al-Dawla from Al-Shaykh al-Saduq, there is coherence between emirs and scholars. Also, Rukn al-Dawla asked Al-Shaykh al-Saduq to attend in Ray in order to answer to some questions about imamah and prophecy. Therefore all the above events indicate that there was a good relationship between Buwaihid emirs and Imamiyyah scholars (Shooshtary, 1998, volume1, 456). It means that Rukn al-Dawla is Shia, because imamah issue had a specific significance in that period of time and was related to the major occultation of Imam-Mahdi. According to the historians the great respect of Buyid dynasty to Ibn al-Junayd, Seyyed Razi, al-Shaykh al-Mufid, Al-Shaykh al-Saduq and Sayyid Murtadhā indicates their inclination to Shia madhhab (ibn al-Jawzi,1991, volume15, al-Dhahab, 1410, volume17, Yafeiee,1996, volume3, 22). Aqūd al-Dawla visited al-Shaykh al-Mufid and gave him some rewards after his successful debate with Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1987, volume5,

416). Although he provided a reconciliation policy between sects and madhhabs, Mu'izz al-Dawla accepted the promotion of Shia traditions on the basis of beliefs. In the tenth day of Muharram in 352 AH, the first public mourning was held in Mu'izz al-Dawla's era (Ali ibn al-Athir, 1986, volume7, 279). In this year, the markets became closed and people celebrated the Ghadeer Khumm day by setting up tents, building fire, playing music and reading Kadhimiyy shrine. (ibn al-Jawzi, 1412, Ali ibn al-Athir, 1986, volume 7, 280). After achieving the power, Buyid dynasty reclaimed and promoted a lot of activities as the following: the innocence from enemies of Ahl al-Bayt, reclaiming the Shia religious rites, Ashura mourning ceremony and also they added these two statements: "I witness Muhammad as a the prophet, and also I witness Ali as the reprehensive of God" (Tanookhi, 2012, volume2, 33 & ibn e-kasir, 1986, volume11, 287). During the governance of Mu'izz al-Dawla and his son Izz al-Dawla, some ceremonies were held because of Ghadeer Khumm day (Halabi, volume1, 305). Izz al-Dawla revolted as a ruler of Mosul against Zaidiyyah in 964. Abu Abdullah Daee left Baghdad into Tabaristan because of his objection (Kermer, 1992, :81). The pilgrimage of fourteen infallibles graves, repairing of holy shrines and building some residences for the pilgrims in Najaf and Karbala are good evidences of this dynasty (Ibn Zohreh, 2003, Hamedani, 1961, volume 1, 312 & Yafeiee, 1417: volume2, 299). It seems that Adud al-Dawla was an imamiyyah Shia. There was a written text on one epigraphy with this statement: in the year 973, the names of twelve Imams with common salutes have been written in Perspolice by Azud al-Dawla's order (Kermer, 1992, 82). Azud al-Dawla indicated his Shia inclinations by restoration and renovation of Imam Ali's shrine in Najaf as well as Imam Husayn in Karbala. He also was buried close to Imam Ali's shrine (Ibn Khallikān, 1985, volume3, 222). It is clear those famous rulers of Buyid dynasty such as Imad al-Dawla, Rukn al-Dawla and Azud al-Dawla's were Imamiyyah Shia. The above statement is derived from Shia scholars' speeches. Rukn al-Dawla, Shaykh al-Saduq and Buwaihīd Emirs respected to each other a lot. Shaykh al-Saduq states in 'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā: "when I came back from pilgrimage of Imam Reza (a) Rukn al-Dawla, asked me: did you pray for me and pilgrimage for me? I answered: "yes", he said: it has been proven to me that every prayer would be heard in that holy shrine" (Shaykh al-Saduq, 1390, volume2, 279). Azud al-Dawla heard one of the debates between Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad and al-Shaykh al-Mufid. He asked Shaykh to explain about the quality of debate. Shaykh al-Mufid described the debate, and then Azud al-Dawla glorified him and gave him valuable rewards (Modarres, 1995, volume5, 261, Mousavi charsooghi, volume6, 159). There is no doubt about Buyid dynasty's Shia. But there is something vague about this dynasty and its relationship to a Shia madhhab. The most people in Gilan and Tabaristan became Muslim by the following of al-Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh. In that time, Zaidiyyah took place in the regions under the influence of Buwaihīds

(Ali ibn al-Athir, 1986, volume8, 82). Another evidence of this claim is that, Mu'izz al-Dawla glorified Abu Abd-Allah, who was from Alawi family and called him as "Alawi's Nagheab". Also Abu-Abdullah Basary visited Mu'izz al-Dawla, who was one of the Mu'tazila's Zaidaihhay and told him about his beliefs ( ibn al-Jawzi, 1412, volume7, 39). He says:" Mu'izz al-Dawla might adhere to Ethnā'ashariyyah Shia, because he was buried near the graves of Imams' shrines. But it is not clear; they were the adherents of which types of Shias party. Some of them were the adherents of Ziadaïyyah, Ismā'īlism or Ethnā'ashariyyah. Because of their support from Ethnā'ashariyyah Shias', they were introduced as the supporters of this sect.

Science and knowledge have been developed increasingly in Buyid dynasty era, because of the expansion of area and toleration of Buwaihid's rulers. Adam mez calls this era as an "Islamic Renaissance" and it is the significance era of Islamic culture from many aspects of views (Kermer, 1992, 34). The most important factor of promotion of knowledge and science was the existence of educated ministers who were resident of Jebal and Ray in Buyid dynasty era. Buwaihid rulers were the supporter and encourager of knowledge and selected scholars as a minister or other statuses. Abu 'l-Fadl ibn al-'Amid and his son Abu al-Fath were the ministers of Rukn al-Dawla, (Abu Miskawayh ,1915, volume6, 338), Sahib ibn Abbad the minister of Fakhr-al-dawlah and Moayed al-dawlah (Hamawi,1978, volume6, 171) Ibrahim Halal Sabi the secretary of Aḍud al-Dawla, al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, Tanookhi ghazi and Abu Miskawayh were the most famous scholars of Buyid dynasty period (ibn Qifti,1928, 107,205). Saheb ibn-e Ebad the minister of Fakhr-al-dawlah and Moayed al-dawlah, was a wise man and professional author whose writings and traditions are the guidance of government's policy (Abd al-Jalil al-Qazwini al-Razi, 1939, 217). Some important books of Shias' madhhab have been written in this era such as: Man lā yahduruhu al-Faqīh by Al-Shaykh al-Saduq, Al-Istibsar and Tahdhib al-Ahkam by Shaykh e-Tusi. These are Shia four books. The Book of Healing, The Book of Law and Al-Isharat wa'l-tanbihat by Avicenna also have been written in this period of time. The other famous person was Abu Saad Mansoor ibn e-Hasan the minister of Mahd al dawle, and was professional in different sciences especially in literature and history. His teacher was Shaykh e-Tusi (1366, volume1, 100). Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni al-Razi is one of the famous scholars who lived in Ray. His well-known book is Al-Kāfi (Tusi, 442). Although the most people in Ray had an inclination to Shia madhhab, the majority of scholars and Fuqahā' emigrated to Ray from other cities. One of the famous people in this immigration was Ali ibn Babawayh Qummi (Najāshī, 1407, volume1, 389). He formed some educational meetings as well as debates with the adherents of different religions. Sometimes Rokn al-dawla was in these classes and wrote Hadith (ibn-e-Babooye, 1984, volume1, 788). In addition of Shaykh al-Saduq, other people of his family,

migrated to Ray and disseminated Shia ideologies. The other famous scholars of Buyid dynasty was Sheikh Mufid. He was the biggest Shia scholar in Buyid dynasty era. Is'hāq al-Nadim called him as a leader of Shias in his time (Is'hāq al-Nadim, 1391, 226). Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Ibrāhim and Ali ibn Eisa ibn Zamani were the most well-known scholars in that era. Both of them were the teachers of Sheikh Mufid. There is no exact information about the schools of that era, but the references pointed to a lot of schools. One of those schools was the school of Sayed Taj aldin who was the author of Al-Naghz book and also had a numerous activity about scientific debates (Ghazvii Razi, 2006, volume1, 34). In the school of Haska Ibn Babouye, some necessary lessons have been thought in addition to reading Quran as well as discourses meetings. Also, a school called Ali Hasebi was situated in Esfahanian allay in Ray. In Khawaja Imam Rashid Razi School, about two hundreds of scholar learned theology of twelvers, theology of fiqh and religious. Some courses have been taught in these schools such as: Persian literature, Arab literature, Quranic, Hadith, history, figh and discourse. The most famous libraries of Ray in Buyid dynasty era was owned by Saheb Ibn Ebad. This library had more than four hundreds of camel burden books; totally it had almost 217000 volumes of books (Ibn Asir, 1986, volume9, 110, Saghadi, 1411, volume21, 22). It seems that, these libraries were the centers of courses and scientific speeches of scholars in different Islamic sectarian. In addition they were the center of studying and educational activities.

### **Religious conflicts in Buyid dynasty era**

Religious conflicts took place between Islamic schools of Shia and Sunni as well as verbal conflicts among the Sunni maḏāhib in the fourth century. Different Islamic madhhab were fighting with each other because of expansion of realm and development of governments. There were a lot of conflicts between Shias and Sunnis in most regions of Iran especially in Isfahan, Ray and Nishabur. The common conflicts in those times were such as: verbal conflicts between Shia and Mu'tazilas, verbal conflicts between Hanafis and Shafi'is and also sectarian battles between Shia and Ahl al-Hadith. Among these conflicts, two Shia and Mu'tazilas sects had also some sectarian battles and wrote some refutations for each other, but the above sects were more close to each other. So we investigate the religious sectarians of two sects in Ray City as the following:

### **Religious and verbal sectarians of Shia and Mu'tazilas**

The fourth century was the time of conflicts between different ideological groups. Ahl al-Hadith were involved extremist Hanbalis and they didn't have any compatibility with intellectual thoughts. Mu'tazilas was rationalists with a justice viewpoint. Shia also had its own specific structure, because it was independent in verbal and figh theoretical. Shia also

had a specific idea about Imamah in comparison with other sects. Among Islamic sects, Shia and Mu'tazila comprehended each other more than other sects. When Buyid dynasty formed, these reconciliatory debates became much more than before, because Buyid was the adherent of Shia and intellectual thoughts. Shia and Mu'tazila influenced each other a lot. Some Shia scholars affected Mu'tazila and vice versa. Because of their close relationships Shia and Mu'tazila were aware of their beliefs and ideas, so they began to write some books and dissertations opposite of each other. Of course, it is obvious that these books and refutations are not because of their enmity, rather it means their closeness. Zuhdi Hassan Jar Allah says:" when Mu'tazila understood that they have no status among Sunnis, they closed themselves to Rafidi and found out they can rely on some strong power which could protect them. (Jar Allah, 1336, 204) the most important problem between Shia and Mu'tazila was Imamah. They had some disagreements in names and rulings which were related to the cardinal sins. Abu Ali Jbayye and his son Abu Hashem were in this period. He had a debate with Abu Abdollah ibn Mamlake Esfahani who was the pioneer of Shia speakers. He also had a book called Naghzo imamah Ali ibn Ali that remained unfinished (ibn Nadim, 1391, 226). Here is some disagreement for Avicenna's idea about the preference of caliphs: ibn e-Morteza says: Rafidis accuse Abu Ali that they were Nasibi, and it is because they don't have any knowledge about his madhhab. He rejected the Ebad ibn Soleiman's book, but he didn't reject the book called Al Meyal Al movazene Skafy which was about the preference of Ali in Abu-Bakr (ibn Morteza). Ibn Abi Hadid said that his last state was Ali's priority on Abu-Bakr. He also said that, he was from alliances. One day, our prophet Muhammad wanted to eat a fried chicken, and then he prayed: my God, send me one of your favorite servants to eat this food with me, and I know Ali is superior to others (ibn e-Abi alhadid, 1378, volume1, 7). Shaykh Mufid rejected the beliefs of Abu Ali and Abu Hashem about Imamah subject. But Abu-Abdollah Basary the student of Abu-Hashim Basary, who was in Buyid dynasty era, also knew about the superiority of Ali (a) and had a book called" al-darajāt" (Abd al-Jabbar, 1965,758). The most famous representative of Mu'tazila's school in the late fourth century and the beginning of fifth century was Abdol Jabbar Ghazi. He was the chief justice of Ray from 367. Sahib ibn Abbad appointed him to this position. He was one of the Mu'tazila with the special characteristics of Mu'tazila. He wasn't influenced by Shia neither didn't accept the Ahl al-Hadith statements. He was the pioneer author in defense of Mu'tazila beliefs. Despite his desire, the most of his students became Shia (Sobhi, 1405, volume1, 332). Addol Jabbar Ghazi rejected the theory of Imamiyah in his book called" Almoghni ". According to Mu'tazila, the next caliphs after prophet are: Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman and after them Ali (a) is the caliph. After these four persons, they would accept every person as a caliph, who accept the Bay'ah with people. This man must follow their ideologies (Hamedani, Abd al-

Jabbar ibn Ahmad, 1965, 758). He believed on Abu Bakr as a preference of caliphs but when he read the writings of Abu Abdollah e Basari about Imam Ali (a), he changed his idea and believed to Imam Ali (ibid, 767). Abd Al-jabbar was the Qazi al Quzat of Ray. Shia madhhab was expended during his time and Ray was the center of Shia. He tried to react about Shia madhhab. Although he tired a lot to keep the beliefs of Mu'tazilites, numerous of his students became Shia. Shia and Mu'tazilites became more close to each other so each group was afraid of being vanished into the other group. As a result, Mu'tazilites was vanished in Shia madhhab. Dr Sobhi, states that the relationship between Shia and Mu'tazilites had two stages: the first one is when Mu'tazilites tend to become Shia, and the second stage was vanishing Mu'tazilites into Shia. According to his view, i Abdol Jabbar Ghazi was the last person of this annihilation (Sobhi, 1984, volume1, 346). In this period, Some Mu'tazilites' were the students of Shia scholar or some Shias had Mu'tazilites' teachers. We discuss about some of the following debates:

### **Debates between Al-Shaykh al-Saduq and Mu'tazilites'**

Rukn al-Dawla had a specific role in expansion of Shia madhhab in Ray and Khorasan. Al-Shaykh al-Saduq invited him to hold discussion meetings as well as scientific debates. He also had a debate in the presence of Rukn al-Dawla who was the ruler of Ray (Shooshtary, volume1, 1151). Sheikh answered to the problems of Sunnah scholars and other non-Muslims about text and also Imamah of absent Imam in one of his debates. His answer was so comprehensive, so other audience preferred to become silent with Shaykh al-Saduq. Then Rukn al-Dawla spoke and accepted Shaykh al-Saduq. Shaykh al-Saduq's father had a debate with Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī on the basis of Imamah in Ray. So it led him to become Shia. This book was Alkar Alfar which was collected by his students. The brother of Shaykh al-Saduq was Husayn ibn-e-Ali. He wrote a book about Fiqh and gave it to Sahib ibn Abbad. (Ibn e-Hajar, 1987, volume2, 306). It should be mentioned that the most debates of Shaykh al-Saduq were on the basis of Imamah in Ray and Baghdad (Shaykh al-Saduq, 1984, 10).

### **Al-Shaykh al-Mufid and Mu'tazila**

Shaykh al-Mufid (passed away 1992) was one of the famous Shia scholars in Buyid dynasty era. He had two outstanding teachers among Mu'tazila scholars: Abu Abdollah e-Basary and Ali ibn Eisa ibn Ali Zamani. This issue indicates the relationships between Imamah scholars and Mu'tazilites. His debates and verbal discussions were the most important issue of his works. Different groups had verbal discussions in that period. Shaykh Mufid believed that Imam must be immune of sin and never causes his followers to become misled. In contrast,

Abu Aljabar believed that Imam can be immoral, so in this situation he must be deposal from his position (Mokadder al- mote, 1993, 157). According to the viewpoint of Mu'tazila, the nation is judge of Imam and God is the judge of nation. According to the viewpoint of Mu'tazila, Imam can be a general person, but when he becomes immoral, he must be deposal from his position. This idea is in contrast with Shia opinion. From the viewpoint of Abdul-Jabbar, Imams cannot commit sins and wrong things. He believed that Imam is not necessarily the best person of nation. He didn't believe that Imams can have miracles. Shia and Mu'tazila had different debates. These debates indicate disagreement between these two groups. Shaykh Mufid wrote his book called *Awā'il al-maqālāt* with the aim of stating ideological differences between Shia and Mu'tazila (Mufid, *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, 1). It seems that this book has been written to answer to people who believed that Shia and Mu'tazila beliefs are the same. Even they believed that, Shia is dependent of Mu'tazila on the basis of verbal level. Shaykh Mufid has another book about verification of the differences between Shia and Mu'tazila called "differences between Shia and Mu'tazila and separation of justice and delicate in speech. The discussion of "Al manzelat beyn al Manzelatain" is the most outstanding subject and Shia doesn't accept the viewpoint of Mu'tazila (Jaafarian, 2003, 132). There are a lot of refutations about Mu'tazila on the viewpoint of Sheikh Mufid such as: Alrad o Ala Al Jahiz Alosmania, Al Naghzo Almarvaniat, Al Naghzo Al Fazilato Al Mu'tazila, Al Naghzo Ala Ali ibn Eisa Alzamani, Almozehe Alvaeed, Al Naghzo Khamasto Asharah Ala Albalkhi, Alnaghzo Alimamah Ala Jaafar ibn Harb, Alrad Al Jabaee Almaadom, Al rad ibn Alrashid Alemamat, Alamd Al Mokhtasarat Al vaeed, Alrad ibn Abdollah Albasari Alketab Almatah, A;rad ala abi Abdullah Albasari Tafzile Almalaekate al Anbia(Najāshī,1407,399). Sheikh Mufid didn't have any concern about rejection of Mu'tazilas' thoughts with Shia beliefs. The rejection of Omar ibn Abid beliefs indicates his serious relationship with Mu'tazila šuyūh (Mufid, *Alfosool Almokhtarah*, 186). In other debate, he criticizes Mu'tazila rulers because of prohibition of Zakat and also because of people who didn't call the enemies of Imam Ali (a) as unbelievers. According to the above statement, the main subject of disputation was Imamah in the era of Sheikh Mufid. Imamah was criticized according to the Shia opponents. The most important of his concern, was rejecting and answering to those criticisms. It was a significant era after the occultation of Imam Mahdi. Sheikh al Mufid supported the Imamah subjects as well as existence of Imam in the community in his writings.

### **Morteza Alam al Huda and Mu'tazila**

The most famous of Shia scholars is Sayed Morteza. He had a lot of writings in different sciences such as: figh, theologies and interpretation. He defended from Imamah in contrast with Mu'tazila ideas and Ash'arites. Sharif Morteza was the succeeded of Sheikh Mufid in his



scientific position. Actually the authority of Sharif Morteza, is from the descendant of Imam Kazem and Alavian Nagheebi. His writings and lessons expanded in different Imāmiyya communities around the world (Madelung, 1996, 132). He learned his primary lessons with al-Shaykh al-Mufid. After him, he continued his education with some non-Shia scholars such as: Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad, Abu Ishaq Nasibi and Abu abdollah Basary (Modarresi Tabrizi, 1995, volume4, 183; Mohami, 2015; 9). His method in the theology of Twelver was following the reason. He didn't follow the Ash'arism as well as Zāhirīs. He also used rhetorical and gift principles in order to comprehend the sentences. So, he was opposed with the news which was derived of imamah concept (ibid). He supported the Shia written texts and rejected the refutations from Mu'tazila and Ash'arism. The book "Az-Zaree'a" was his first comprehensive book on the basis of Ja'fari school of thought with fourteen chapters and a few sections. Sayyid Murtadhā presented the ideas of different Sunni scholars and criticized their beliefs in this book. He added some law of evidences to their beliefs and ideas. The compiling of this book was at the same time with the date of imamah principles date (Gorji, 1999, 172). A lot of scholars in his era were Mu'tazila. Therefore the most debates on the basis of imamah and Iṣmah were in contrast with Mu'tazila. Al shafi book was one of his famous books on the basis of imamah. Salar ibn Alaziz (ibid). Tanzih al-anbiya' is a type of book on the basis of proving the infallibility of prophets. Al-Usul al-i'tiqadiya is a small book which is included with some topics such as: the features of God, prophecy, imamah, contract, intercession, As-Sirāt, paradise and hell. This book published in 1954 (Gorji, 1999, 163). The introduction of this book is about Tawhid, 'Adalah, prophecy, 'Ākhirah and Imamah. He also conflicts with Mu'tazila's ideologies (ibid, 168). The most significant concept in his work is the occultation of Imam in contrast with Mu'tazila's ideologies. He decreased the conflicts between Mu'tazila and Imāmiyya comparing with al-Shaykh al-Mufid and Nobakht (Madelung, 1996, 133).

### **Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni and Mu'tazila**

Ray was a big city in Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni era with different beliefs and madhhabs. They were at peace with each other. But sometimes they had political conflicts with each other. So, Ray became a place for conflicts, thoughts and ideas between Shia and Sunni. Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni was born in the 3th century of Islamic in Kloeyn. (Moosavi, Charsooghi, volume 6,108). He was familiar with different ideologies and thoughts, so he tries to write "Al-Kāfi" book. Ray was one of the centers of Mu'tazila theologian like Abd al-Raḥmān b Qiba al-Rāzī. On the other hand, some muhaddiths like Asadi Koofi, were the activist of transcendence inclination. Abd al-Raḥmān b Qiba al-Rāzī had a significant role in Imamat and absence concept. He was the representative of Imamah speech inclination. He was also familiar with Mu'tazilas' thoughts. (Modarresi Tabatabae, 2007). He was in

occultation of Imam Mahdi (a) era. The occultation of Imam and his role in the life of people after prophet was one of the outstanding and doubtful subjects. Undoubtedly, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni al-Razi was the activist of prophecy, religious conflicts and imamah. So he allocated one of his books to this subject called "Kafi". Mu'tazilas' movement was so active in his era. Some people such as: Abu Ali Jabaee, Abu Hashem Jabaee and Abo al Ghasem Balkhi, were the most serious critics in this era. They criticized Imamh courses especially Imamate. But Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni rejected all those criticize. He stated in his famous book, about specific leadership, public leadership and specific prophecy. Some discourses are important in public prophecy such as: affairs of prophets, creation, positions, performance and descriptions of prophets. Also he talks about the necessity of knowing prophets as well as obeying them. In the subject of prophecy, he talked about obeying from Muhammad, his knowledge, his characteristics and his authorities. In the public leadership, some topics like recognition, acceptance, obedience, characteristics of Imam were the most subjects of his book. In the specific leadership, he talks about the fourteen infallibles names, the related texts on their Imamah, the related texts on Imam Ali (a) Imamah, the realted texts on Imam Mahdi (a), and the occultation of Imam. (Koleiny, 1988, introduction). He emphasizes that prophecy is a natural position that God gave it to his innocent servant. The most important issue among Shias is continuity of Imamah. Mu'tazilas criticized this subject in Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni era. But Sheikh rejected their ideas and defended the topic of Imamah and occultation.

### **Religious and verbal conflicts among Ismā'īlism, Zaidiyyah and Shias**

Apart from Ethnā'ashariyyah, Ismā'īlisms and Zaidiyyahs were the other sects which were activists in Buyid dynasty era. According to the Yāqūt ibn-'Abdullah al-Rūmī al-Hamawī statement, the beginning of Shia was during the governance years of Abu Al Hasan Motherny (Hamawi, 1978, vouldme121, 3). It seems that, it was the period of Shia expansion not its creation. For instance, Abd Allah ibn Abdol Ghoddos, was sunny who was from Kufi and the resident of Ray. Yahya ibn Ma'in called him Rafida. Meanwhile many scientists of narration accepted him as a confident man. Hujr ibn Adí states that the most subjects, who were narrated by Yahya, were about the virtues of Ahl al-Bayt. Ibn Habban stated his name in his book called "Alseghat". Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Bardizbah al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī also referred to him (Ibn Habban, 1981, volume7, 244; Zahabi, 1962, volume2, 457). There were some person who were called "Razi", among the companions of Imam Kazem(a). They were the residents of Ray or they were lived in Ray for a short time. Because of that they were called: Razi (Atarodi, volume2, 515). There are

many different narratives which indicate that a lot of Shia adherents were the residents of Ray. Shia had a lot of adherents before the sovereignty of Abu Alhasan Motherny. After his sovereignty, this madhhab expanded in Ray. Imamah madhhab was older than Ismā'īlism and Zaidiyyah sect. Buwaihīd emirs supported the Shias; Because Shias were called as the companions of infallible imams. Each kind of Shia sect, follow a separate method for their aims and diffuse of the madhhab. Shias participated in different fields such as: politics, scientific, social and cultural activity and they continued their methods after the uprising of Imam Husayn (a). In contrast with Imamah, the shias of Ismā'īlism and Zaidiyyah believed that uprising and war must be with sword. Zaidiyyah madhhab was appearances in Ray before Buyid dynasty. All the residents of Qasran, north of Ray, vanak, Kan and Farahzad were the Shias of Zaidiyyah (Bayani, 1992, volume2, 611). Imamah and Zaidiyyah had a lot in common, and some of their fight problems were the same with Imamah madhhab. Generally, they had a peaceful relationship with each other. The both groups participated in the classes of Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad in Ray and learned Mu'tazilas ideologies (Ghomi Ansary, 2006:69). Sahib ibn Abbad sent Zaidiyyahs among hananfis of Ray in order to disseminate the ideologies of Mu'tazila (Moghaddasi, 1906, 395). This is because of Zaidiyyahs were the adherents of Hanafis on the basis of fight and they obeyed Mu'tazila on the basis of words. Zaidiyyahs were more successful than Ismā'īlisms in the following aspects: the method of their conducts in the religious rites and their relation with Alawian and Sadat. Among Zaidiyyahs, Abu Zaid Issa bin Muhammad Al-Alaw had a significant role in the Zaidiyyahs' beliefs. He also had an important role in conflicts against Imamah as well as the crisis of absence (Modarressi, 2007, 23). The first of Christian's missionary activity occurred in the third century of Hejria in the Jebal region. The first missionary of Ismā'īlisms was Khalaf who was invited by Abdullah bin Meymoon e Qdah. Addullah asked him to go to Ray. Actually, Ismā'īlisms were so determined to settle in Ray. Abu Hatim, Ahmad ibn Hamdan al-Razi, Khalaf and Abu Hatam Razi, were some intelligent and politic missionaries of Ismā'īlisms in Ray. They also were familiar with the people's behavior. Hassan-i Sabbāh was born in Ray. He was influenced by Zaidiyyah's ideologies (Juvayni, 1937, volume3, 87). The Emirs of Buyid dynasty respected all Shias and didn't have any discrimination. By the end of the fourth century AH, Ismā'īlisms, could effect on people in Ray. Abu Taghlib e Hamedani and Ez od-Doleh Bawihī supported people by the end of 971. Also Aḍud al-Dawla and Ez od-Doleh gave him some Iqta's (Kermer, 1996, 117). Ismā'īlisms weren't much popular in Ray because of their revolutionary and secret activities. Ethnā'ashariyyah tried to tell about their differences and disputes with Ismā'īlisms; because sometimes non-shia sects called Shia Muslims as Qarmatians (Jaafarian, 2012, 450). Fashapouyeh and koleyn were the places of residence for Ismā'īlisms. (Toosi, 1949:450) Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-

Kulayni wrote his book called “Al rad ala Ghaeramteh”. He stated about the differences between Ismā‘īlisms and other Shia madhhabs (Najāshī, 1995, 377). Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī stated in his book that Ismā‘īlisms were Kafir and cursed (Ghazvini Razi, 1979, 373). Ghias was one of the Ismā‘īlisms leadership who began to invite people in Jebal. He was professional in Arab literature as well as Hadith studies. He was also the author of Al-Bayan book. He had some debates with local Sunnis (Toosi, 1909, 264). Imāmiyya didn’t believe the armed struggle which was in contrast with the belief of Ismā‘īlism and Zaidiyyah. They also wrote some refutations about rejecting the Shia madhhabs.

### **Religious and verbal conflicts between Shia and Sunni**

In spite of Qom with Shia residents, Ray had different types of madhhabs. It means that people with different madhhabs, had different types of contradictions on the basis of fiqh. Abī l-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī states that there are four Hanafis sects as the following: Najarieh, Badjanieh, Keramieh and Ishaqieh. According to the Shafi’I madhhab, there are some branches of this madhhab as the following: Jahmī, Hanbali, Mojbereh, Moshbehah, Kalabieh, Mojassameh and Al-Malikiyah (Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, 1979, 457). On the other hand, the Ethnā’ashariyyah Shia were habituated in Ray and used their specific ideologies in their method. The Shias of Zaidiyyah had a Mu’tazilas ideology. This contradiction led to some conflicts among these madhhabs. Sunnis of Iran belonged to the Hanafi or Shafi’I sects. People called them as Fariqan (Madelung, 1998, 53). The adherents of fiqh religious habituated in Ray, Qazvin and Gorgan. They believed faith as determinism. But their beliefs about God were close to the beliefs of Mu’tazilas. The Hanafis in Ray didn’t believe the Miḥnah principle (Moghaddasi, 1982, 395). There were different types of Sunni sects in Ray. Some Muhaddiths like Abu Hatim, Ahmad ibn Hamdan al-Razi lived in Ray, so the hadith discourses meetings were held in this city. Ray was a place for a lot of madhhabs such as: Najjarieh, Barghoosieh and Za’feranieh. They had inclination to Mu’tazilas’ ideologies (Baghdadi, 1948, 43). Also Sunnis have different conflict through themselves (Mustawfi, al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, 1979, 552). There were extensive conflicts between Shia and Sunni, so they were apart with each other. The east of Ray and Kohandezh were the lodging of Hanafis. Shafi’is’ were also settled in the south of Bibi Shahr Banu Mountain (Karamian, 1951, volume 270, 1). The view and architecture of their houses were influenced by their enmity. Yāqūt ibn-‘Abdullah al-Rūmī al-Hamawī states that their houses were under the ground and doors were so dark. Abu Yahya Zakariya’ ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini pointed to the conflicts between Shafi’I and Hanafi as well as domination of Hanafi to Shafi’I. By the viewpoint of Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi, these conflicts led to of the city (Mustawfi, 1983, 84). Although Shia had condescension with the other madhhabs those conflicts were inevitable. The most

conflicts which have been occurred among between Shia and Sunni were some insults to Imams by the Sunni fanatics. One example of these conflicts was the competition between eulogists and admirers (Khvafi, 1913, volume2, 624). Shia had freedom about holding their Shia meetings at the Buyid dynasty. The eulogist was a person who admired Imams and their characteristics with the main beliefs such as: 'Adalah, 'Ismah, miracles of Imams and transcendence. The most famous poet of this era in Ray was Malek Alkalm Bondar Rza'i in the empirical court of Mahd al-dawla (Khvafi, 1920, volume2, 624). The fanatics of Sunni hired admirers in order to nullify the effects of Manaqibs. They admired the virtues of Abu bakr and Umar and insulted to the Shias. 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī also represents more reports about manqibs: damned on those people who read manaqibs (al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, 1979, 33). The most important factor of enhancing Shias was the conflicts among different sects of Sunnis. On the other hand, both Shafi'i and Hanafis tried to close their relationships with Shias. Sometimes, Hanafis were opposed with Shafi'Is and often Shafi'Is admired Imams. They also participated in mourning ceremony of Imam Hossein (ibid, 404). They often went to the shrine of Fatema Ma'sume and other holy shrines in Ray (ibid, 558). Apart from this Hanafis began to learn Mu'tazilas' ideologies with Zaidiyyah and Imamah (Moghaddasi, 1906, 395). The variety of madhhab as well as the relationships among different sects led to some scientific rejoicing in Ray. This freshness revealed as a debate, ideological books and refutations. This period was the start of occultation. So, the Shias of Ray, defended the Shia and Imamh by the benefits of democracy.

### **Verbal conflicts of Mu'tazila with Hanbali and Ahl al-Hadith in Buyid dynasty era**

Al-Mo'tasim, al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthiq were the three caliphs of Abbasid who could change the ideologies of Mu'tazila into a political approach. They also provided an annoying environment for Ahl al-Hadith. When Mutawakkil became caliph, he began to oppose to the conduct of the previous caliphs. Apart from his antecedents, he stopped any debate and conflict and was inclined to Ahl al-Hadith and Sunnah. He supported them and asked them to govern in Samarra and state hadith (Al-Suyūfī, 2000, 320). Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal not only established the conduct of ahl al-hadith, but also tried to present a theoretical framework for this ideology. So, ahl al-hadith cited his thoughts and written texts in their ideology (Zahabi, 1989, volume11, 330). His students continued his way and beliefs after him. Saleh and Abdullah were his sons and the most important students of his (Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzi, 153). So Mu'tazila lost his power in the government and became isolated because of the Hanbali's beliefs and its contradiction with Mu'tazila's ideology. When Buyid dynasty became weak, Mu'tazilas faced with a lot of losses. Mu'tazila became revival after the establishment of Buyid dynasty. Its ideology expanded in the Buyid dynasty realms as well as Ray city.

Mu'tazila was enhancing up to the end of the sovereignty of Fakhr al-Dawlah. By the caliphate of Al-Qadir who was famous in virtue, people continued their obedience from ahl al-hadith and Ash'arism and opposed with Mu'tazila (Abu Miskawayh, 1915, volume3, 207). Alghader prepared a charter with the virtues of companions based on the madhhab of Ahl al-hadith. This charter has been read in the Almahdi mosque in Baghdad every Friday (Al Khatib Al Baghdadi, 1930, volume 4, 38). Alghader removed this charter from his discourses. Mahmud of Ghazni bothered the adherents of Mu'tazila when he attacked to Ray. He also burned a lot of Mu'tazilas' books in this assault (ibid). The protection led the madhhab to become more prevalent. Not only were the companions of hadith the reference of religious affairs but also interference in the political issues. Abu- Ali Jabaee stated hadith from our prophet Muhammad to his family: "I'm at peace with every person who is at peace with you and I struggle with every person who has enmity with you." I am shocked about those people who narrate this hadith but admire Muawiyah (Abdol Jabbar Ghazi, 1973, 292). Two sects of Mu'tazila and Ash'arism also had conflicts with each other. The founder of Ash'arism school was Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī who was Mu'tazila at first. Ash'arism began to write refutations against Mu'tazila in this period. On the other hand, Mu'tazilas recognized Ash'arism as the opposition group (Abd al-Hamid, 1958, volume1, 59). Ash'ari's school was between Mu'tazila school and Ahl al-hadith. The most effort of Ash'ari was finding the way among Mu'tazilas who relied on the wisdom and hadith scholars who relied on texts (Ma'roof al Hasani, 1997, 185). We can state that the topics which were related with the companions of hadith were as the following: determinism, consideration to the news and ayas without paying attention to their concepts and reasons. These beliefs were related to the Ahl Hadith. He also states: I believe those ideologies that Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal believed in (Moghaddasi, 1906, 340). He wasn't so rigorous about his ideology. Sometimes he used texts and Hadithes of Mu'tazila. Keramieh School was another school in contemporary with Mu'tazila. Keramiah protected the ideologies of Murji'a which were in contrast with the theology of Mu'tazila (Mashkour, 1993, 380). Keramian believed that there is something determinism about the ideology of human in his activities. They believed each good and evil that occurred in the world is because of the God (Shahrestani, 1948, volume1, 84). These sects had a powerful political influence, so the first sultans of Ghaznavid such as Mahmud and Sabuktigin supported this sect.

### **The policy of Bowayhids Emirs in face with religious conflicts**

In the fourth century which is called as a golden era of Islamic civilization, the Shia government of Buyid dynasty was ruling in Ray city. They didn't have any bias with the adherents of Sunni. Also emirs of Sunni had a peaceful relationship with other companions of

different sects in order to prevent religious conflicts. A peaceful policy and non-existence of religious biases reduced the conflicts and provided the opportunity for advancing different sects in both scientific and social fields. Shia approach of this dynasty, with a positive attitude to the cultural heritage of other civilizations were the most reasons of this ideology (Kermer, 1992: 64). Although Buyid dynasty was Shia with Shia inclinations, they had a tolerant policy for their government. From the beginning of their governance, Buyid dynasty tried to enhance the Shia madhhab and its rites. Meanwhile they were the adherents of Shia; they have a good relationship with the adherents of Sunni. Buwaihid emirs created a free political atmosphere, so Sunnis could state their opinions easily. People also were free with their religious activities. Sometimes they were opposed with Shia and their ceremonies. When their conflicts led to killing of people, Buyid dynasty was forced to interference in religious issues (Dahmardeh, 1999: 125). Mu'izz al-Dawla arrested some of the Hashemian in the conflict between Shia and Sunni (Zahabi, 1986, volume 2, 80). There was an insurrection between people in Isfahan and Qom because of religious conflicts. (956). It has been narrated that a man from Qom, insulted to a companion of prophet, then people in Isfahan insurrected to them, the result was death of many people in each sect. when Rukn al-Dawla heard this news, he sent him to Isfahan to get some tribute. (ibn al-athir, 1986, volume2, 257). Aḏud al-Dawla had a religious tolerance even he had a Nazarenes minister whose name was Nasre ibn Haroon (Abu Miskawayh, 1915, volume2, 408). According to the Madelung statement, because of this religious tolerance, they didn't swear allegiance with any sub branch of Shia (Madelung, 1993, 139). Development of sciences, methods, civilization, Islamic culture, encouragement of philosophers to translate and interpret different kinds of sciences and attending to the religious discourses, were the most important features of Buyid dynasty which led to improvement in culture and civilization in Iran.

## **Results**

There were a lot of reasons which led to a diversity of ideologies in madhhabs. They improved their madhhab on the basis of following aspects: social, scientific, cultural and political. The most significant activity in this period was as he following: the relationship between Sunni and Shia, the conflicts between hanafi and Shafi'I, debates, writing refutations, competition among different madhhabs and their inclination of learning sciences.

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