

## *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* and Shi'a *Tafsīrs*

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**ABSTRACT:** The earliest surviving Shi'a *tafsīrs* are from some of al-Ṭabarī's contemporaries in Kufa, Qum, and Khurasan, all of which cite Shi'a traditions to interpret Qur'anic verses. During the fourth century AH, this trend continued; however, towards the end of this century, some Shi'a scholars in Baghdad adapted some of the other methods of *tafsīr*, such as (1) citing the Sunni exegetical tradition, mostly *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*; (2) considering grammatical and philological issues, partly through *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*; and (3) analysing the theological issues of the day with reference to the Mu'tazilī tradition. This article explores the *tafsīrs* by two prominent Shi'a scholars in this era – Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn known as al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (370-418/980-1027) and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī known as al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (385-460/995-1067) – whose material and approaches from al-Ṭabarī were adopted by later Shi'a exegetes.

**KEYWORDS:** Shi'ism; *tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr; *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*; al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan; *al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an*

Is there a historical connection between early Shi'a *tafsīrs* and *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*? The possibility of a connection tends to be overlooked, even though, as will be shown, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* affected the future Shi'a *tafsīr*. But was the influence only one-directional, or did Shi'a *tafsīrs* also influence al-Ṭabarī? This article aims to show both, beginning with al-Ṭabarī's use of Shi'a exegetes.

### *Al-Ṭabarī’s use of Shi‘a exegeses*

Often considered the most important classical Qur’anic commentary, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī’s (d. 310/923) *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān* quickly rose to prominence in the Islamic world and influenced later Qur’anic interpretations, Sunni and Shi‘i. However, rarely is the possibility of Ṭabarī’s use of Shi‘i exegeses considered.

Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) does not name the main sources he used in his *Tafsīr*. However, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī’s (d. 626/1229) report on the sources of *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, which may be the oldest one on the subject, states that Ṭabarī used:

1. The *tafsīr* of Ibn ‘Abbās via five *isnāds* (*turuq*);
2. The *tafsīr* of Sa‘īd ibn Jubayr via two *isnāds*;
3. The *tafsīr* of Mujāhid ibn Jabr via three *isnāds*;
4. The *tafsīrs* of Qatādah ibn Di‘āmah, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and ‘Ikrimah;
5. The *tafsīr* of Zaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim in two *isnāds*;
6. *Tafsīr* ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd in one *riwāyah*; and
7. Other *tafsīrs*, including those of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam, Ibn Jurayj, and Muqātil ibn Sulaymān.<sup>1</sup>

While he does not list any Shi‘a exegeses, exegetes, or transmitters, a closer examination of the text of *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān* provides evidence for the familiarity of al-Ṭabarī with Shi‘a exegeses.

Before the fourth/tenth century, there were several types of Shi‘a *tafsīrs*. Apart from the sparse exegetical traditions from the Shi‘a Imams in the early books of hadith (such as the foundational books known as *al-uṣūl al-arba‘ah mi‘ah*),<sup>2</sup> some disciples of the Imams compiled a number of books dealing with Qur’anic exegesis and readings (*qirā’āt*). The early Shi‘a biographical sources as well as Ibn al-Nadīm’s *al-Fihrist* contain reports about these exegetical works, although regrettably very few of these ancient works have survived the ages. Many works of *tafsīr* from the second-third/eighth-ninth centuries are listed in the *Fihrist* by Ibn Nadīm, al-Ṭūsī, and al-Najāshī, and are listed in the endnotes for the reader’s convenience.<sup>3</sup> However, for centuries, many were available to both Shi‘a and Sunni scholars and were cited in their interpretations of the Qur’an.<sup>4</sup>

These exegetical traditions concern a range of topics. Some address the variant readings attributed to various Shi'a Imams, such as Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Šādiq, as well as their disciples, including Zayd ibn 'Alī and Abān ibn Taghlib. A few expound the meaning of words, while others discuss the occasions of revelation of Qur'anic verses. Yet other narrations treat the theological (*kalāmī*), juristic (*fiqhī*), and literary aspects of Qur'anic verses.

The earliest students of the Imams known for their tradition-based *tafsīrs* fall into different categories. Not all were recorded in Shi'a biographical works as ever affiliating themselves with the Twelver Shi'a (Imāmiyyah). Thus Ziyād ibn Mundhir, also known as Abū al-Jārūd, was a Zaydī, while Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-Baṭā'inī and Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-Baṭā'inī were Wāqifis (i.e. those who did not accept the succession to Imam al-Kāzīm). In addition, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyārī and Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Abīd al-Yaqṭinī were considered *ghulāt*, or exaggerators.<sup>5</sup> Some were Shi'īs highly acclaimed in Shi'ī biographical sources for their transmission of exegetical traditions, such as Jābir al-Ju'fī, Abān ibn Taghlib, and Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī. Still others, such as Muqātil, al-Wāqidī, and al-Kalbī cannot be considered Shi'a in either a theological or conventional sense despite having cited some Shi'a ideas and opinions in their works.

Following this period (i.e. the time of the Shi'a Imams), the initial written Shi'a Qur'an commentaries were compiled, some of which are still available in their original forms or slightly altered versions. Al-Ḥibarī, al-'Ayyāshī, Furāt al-Kūfī, and 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī authored such exegetical works in the late third or early fourth/early tenth centuries. All of these works are selective exegeses (*muntakhab*); that is, none was aimed at presenting a complete exegesis which covers all *sūrah*s of the Qur'an. The criterion for selecting Qur'anic verses in such exegeses is the presence of a link to the theological, historical, juristic, and exegetical thoughts of the Ahl al-Bayt. The works primarily quote the Imams on traditions and rarely mention narrations or views by the Prophet's Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) or Successors (*tābi'ūn*). Additionally, seldom are the philological, morphological, syntactic, rhetorical or aspects of the interpretations examined or verses from pre-Islamic Arab poets cited for clarification.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī must have been aware of most of these Shi'a-compiled *tafsīr* works as well as Shi'a exegetical narrations that existed during his

time.<sup>7</sup> However, only a few Shi‘a exegetical traditions or views of Shi‘a transmitters and exegetes appear al-Ṭabarī’s *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*. Early Shi‘a readers of the Qur’an (*qārīs/muqrīs*), such as Abān ibn Taghlib (d. 141/758), are not mentioned either.<sup>8</sup> The reason for this is apparently al-Ṭabarī’s strictness with chains of transmission, though he was not so strict as to exclude *isrā’iliyāt* (i.e. traditions apparently of Jewish origin) from Wahb ibn Munabbih and Ka‘b al-Aḥbār.<sup>9</sup> Despite that, in his *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*, al-Ṭabarī quotes some (in his opinion) incorrect narrations that are at odds with his personal views and such references occasionally concern Shi‘a exegetical traditions.<sup>10</sup>

It is well known that al-Ṭabarī did not cite traditions from a number of exegetical works prior to his own, such as those written by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Wāqidī, and Muḥammad ibn al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī.<sup>11</sup> The reason for al-Ṭabarī’s disinterest in such exegetes may have been disagreement with their religious views. In other words, their exegeses included non-Sunni notions, interpretations based on personal opinion (*tafsīr bi al-ra’y*), and Shi‘a or Mu‘tazilī ideas. Moreover, Muqātil, among others, was known for forgery and misrepresentation, and some, like Kalbī, had idiosyncratic notions,<sup>12</sup> which may have led to al-Ṭabarī’s disregard for their exegetical traditions.

In order to study the type and extent of Shi‘a narrations in *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*, I shall begin with traditions cited from Shi‘a Imams. Among the extant works of classical Sunni exegetes up to the fourth/tenth century include those of Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 150/767), ‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb (d. 197/812), al-Farrā’ (d. 207/822), al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 210/825), Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224/838), Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/949), Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 370/980), and Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983). However, the highest count of exegetical traditions from the Shi‘a Imams, especially Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, is found in al-Ṭabarī’s *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*.<sup>13</sup> Nearly all such quotations by al-Ṭabarī are cited in Ibn Kathīr’s (d. 774/1372) *Tafsīr al-Qur’an al-Azīm* and al-Suyūṭī’s (d. 911/1505) *al-Durr al-Manthūr*. By my count, there are fifty-three traditions by these two Imams in *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*, the majority of which cover juristic issues of Qur’anic verses<sup>14</sup> and vocabulary.<sup>15</sup> These citations have thoroughly non-Shi‘a chains of transmission (*isnāds*); that is, the quotations are attributed to Imam al-Bāqir and Imam al-Ṣādiq through Sunni narrators. Some of these traditions are attributed – via Shi‘ī narrators – to them in Shi‘a

sources as well, such as al-Kulaynī's (d. 329/941) *al-Kāfī* and al-'Ayyāshī's (d. c. 320/932) *Tafsīr*. One can compare, as an example, the interpretation of *al-ka'bayn* (Q. 5:6) in both al-Ṭabarī and Shi'a sources. Al-Ṭabarī quotes al-Bāqir's tradition through this chain of transmission:

Aḥmad ibn Ḥāzim al-Ghifārī, from Abu Nu'aym, from al-Qāsim ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥaddānī from Abū Ja'far [i.e. al-Bāqir].

However, both al-'Ayyāshī and al-Kulaynī narrate it on the authority of the famous Shi'a *muḥaddith*, Zurārah ibn A'yan.<sup>16</sup>

My emphasis here on Imam al-Bāqir and Imam al-Sādiq is due to the fact that the majority of early Shi'a exegeses are based on traditions from these two Imams. Nonetheless, a number of traditions from other Shi'a Imams can also be found in *Jāmi' al-Bayān*. Thus there are six narrations from Imam al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, and one from Imam al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī explaining the term *shāhid* in Q. 11:17 as a reference to the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>17</sup> Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* also contains twenty traditions that go back to Imam 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-'Abidin). The name of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib appears one hundred and twenty-five times, which is insignificant in comparison with the references to Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Mas'ūd. However, no narrations are cited from the other Shi'a Imams.

Later Shi'a exegetes and transmitters of exegetical traditions from the Shi'a Imams, as previously discussed, are rarely mentioned in *Jāmi' al-Bayān*. Due to the popularity of many Shi'a exegeses in the third/ninth century in various regions of the Muslims world, especially Iraq (Kufa, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, and Baṣra), it can be postulated that these works and narrations were available to al-Ṭabarī; at the very least, he would have heard of them from his mentors. Even so, al-Ṭabarī only cited three of these exegetes in his work, quoting a few narrations from them. Among the authors of these exegeses, Abū al-Jārūd was Zaydī, whereas Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī and Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī were Twelvers. Nonetheless, al-Ṭabarī cites all of them through non-Shi'a transmitters.<sup>18</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī uses two narrations with Shi'a content from Abū al-Jārūd with chains of transmission found only in *Jāmi' al-Bayān*.<sup>19</sup> Concerning Q. 98:7, for example, Abū al-Jārūd quotes an interpretation from Muḥammad al-Bāqir stating that the Prophet Muḥammad specified *khayr al-bariyyah* (lit. 'the best of created beings') as being 'Alī and his followers. In another case, Abū al-Jārūd quotes Zayd ibn 'Alī, naming

the participants at the incident of *mubābilah* (Q. 3:61) as the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn. There are also two narrations from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī through non-Shi'a sources with contents that are not particularly related to Shi'a beliefs. One is on the authority of Sa'id ibn Jubayr<sup>20</sup> and the other Yaḥyā ibn 'Aqīl.<sup>21</sup> Finally, through non-Shi'a chains of transmission, al-Ṭabarī reports twenty-four traditions provided by Jābir al-Ju'fī on the authority of Imam al-Bāqir. Most are narrated through the following chain of transmission:

Ibn Wakī' said to me, that his father said, from Isrā'īl, from Jābir, from Abī Ja'far [Muḥammad al-Bāqir].

Moreover, the same chain of transmission is repeated in over thirty other narrations ending with 'Ikrimah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aswad, Mujāhid, al-Sha'bī, and 'Atā' instead of Imam al-Bāqir. It is interesting to note that none of the narrations from Jābir al-Ju'fī mentioned in *Jāmi' al-Bayān* are related to Shi'a notions. Thus, in Q. 7:46, al-Ṭabarī quotes Jābir's narration from al-Bāqir saying that al-A'rāf is a wall between Heaven and the Hell (*sūr bayn al-jannah wa al-nār*). In another place (Q. 11:46), Jābir narrates from al-Bāqir that Noah's son was not his real son, but the son of his wife.<sup>22</sup>

It can therefore be overall concluded that al-Ṭabarī was not so interested in referring to Shi'a interpretations of the Qur'an narrated from the Shi'a Imams or written by Ḥibarī, Abū al-Jārūd, and Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī. The traditions of Shi'a Imams (Zayn al-'Abidin, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq) used in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* are few as compared to their appearance in later interpretations of the Qur'an such as those compiled by 'Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣfahānī, Ibn 'Asākir, al-Dāraqutnī, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Tha'labī, al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī, and al-Ḥākīm al-Ḥaskānī. The majority of these Shi'a traditions are found in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.

On the other hand, while scholars of al-Ṭabarī's age testified to his proficiency in readings (*qirā'āt*),<sup>23</sup> in his *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, he fails to refer to famous readings attributed to Zayd ibn 'Alī, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and some of the Imams' disciples such as Abān ibn Taghlib.<sup>24</sup> In addition, occasions of revelation according to the Shi'a traditions are rarely discussed in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*. It seems that al-Ṭabarī's theological (*kalām*) views prompted him to set aside such well-known exegetical

narrations. In contrast, a large number of such exegetical narrations were used in famous Eastern Islamic interpretations, such as those from Transoxiana and Khurasan, particularly Nishāpūr. Though these Eastern exegetes frequently quote narrations pertaining to the revelation of Qur'anic verses on the authority of the Imams, al-Ṭabarī does not consider most of these narrations worthy of inclusion,<sup>25</sup> and when he does reproduce such narrations, he relates them to the general meaning of the verse in question.<sup>26</sup>

### *The influence of Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī on Shi'a tafsīr*

As discussed previously, early Shi'a exegesis was mostly based on narrations from the Shi'a Imams. Accordingly, some common elements of non-Shi'a exegetical works of the time are not seen in these *tafsīrs*, such as sayings by the Companions and Successors, personal opinions of exegetes including Muqātil and al-Wāqidi, terminological and literary interpretations from such exegetes as al-Farrā' and Abū 'Ubaydah, collection and analysis of variant readings, and discussions of Mu'tazilī positions. However in Shi'a works of *tafsīr* from the middle Islamic period as well as contemporary times, all these non-Shi'a elements can be found. So, how and when did these elements, especially quotation of exegetical sayings from the Companions and Successors, enter Shi'a *tafsīr*?<sup>27</sup>

As will be shown below, much of the similarity between Shi'a and Sunni exegeses is a result of the familiarity of Shi'a interpreters with al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān*. It can therefore be easily understood that the works of Shi'a theologians and exegetes who lived in Baghdad after the authorship of *Jāmi' al-Bayān* differ greatly in their methodology and content with Shi'a exegeses in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries. The most significant feature of al-Ṭabarī's work in the view of classical Shi'a exegetes and succeeding scholars throughout the ages is its prolific reproduction of views of the Companions and Successors. Contrary to exegetes such as Muqātil and al-Kalbī, who mostly presented their personal opinions, and in contrast with al-Farrā', Abū 'Ubaydah, and Ibn Qutaybah, who mostly focus on literary and terminological interpretation in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, al-Ṭabarī concentrated on gathering the views and narrations of the Companions

and Successors. In comparison with similar hadith-based (*al-ma‘thūr*) *tafsīrs*, including those by Ibn Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim, *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān* garnered greater attention from subsequent exegetes due to its critical analysis, systematic arrangement, and inclusion of issues not derived just from traditions.

From an early period, the majority of Muslim scholars, traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*), and exegetes trusted and made references to *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*. When authoring *al-Fibrīst* (in 377/987), Ibn Nadīm said that no better book than *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* had ever been written. On a similar note, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī quotes Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Faqīh al-Isfarā‘īnī (d. 406/1015) as saying, ‘If a person travels to China to acquire this Qur’an commentary, he has not done too great a deed.’<sup>28</sup> Such acclaim spread in almost all cultural centres of the Islamic world, especially in Iraq and Iran, beginning in the early fourth/tenth century. Less than half a century after the death of al-Ṭabarī, in 354/965, manuscripts of his Qur’an commentary were taken from Baghdad to Marv at the command of the Samanid ruler Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ (r. 350-366/961-976) and since he could not understand Arabic, he had it translated into Persian. The great consideration shown to al-Ṭabarī’s views by the famous grammarian, al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) in his *Ma‘ānī al-Qur’an*, as well as in the surviving fragments of a *tafsīr* by the Mu‘tazilī exegete al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) show that in the mid-fourth/tenth century, traditionists, exegetes, and even grammarians in Baghdad could not author new works without considering al-Ṭabarī.<sup>29</sup> Shi‘a theologians and exegetes were no exception to this cultural trend. Accordingly, it is not surprising – as will be demonstrated below – that al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (370-418/980-1027) at the start of the fifth/eleventh century and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (385-460/995-1067), in the middle of the same century, continuously cited and critiqued al-Ṭabarī.<sup>30</sup>

Almost all Shi‘a jurists and theologians (*mutakallimūn*) in Baghdad during the Buyid period had scholarly exchanges and debates with Sunni and Mu‘tazilī scholars. Consequently, citation, critique, and evaluation of Sunni works in the writings of al-Shaykh al-Mufid, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā are much more frequent than in the works of contemporaneous Shi‘a scholars and traditionists living in Qum. Unlike traditionists in Qum who had overt Akhbārī tendencies, Shi‘a jurists and theologians in Baghdad in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries were interested in *kalām* arguments and were, therefore, invariable



parties to discussions among various religious schools of thought. In this period, Shi'a *Tafsīr*, theology, and jurisprudence were partially influenced by Mu'tazilī and Sunni thinkers, exegetes, and *mutakallimūn* in Baghdad.<sup>31</sup> This effect is less pronounced in the works of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd but is distinct in the writings of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī.<sup>32</sup> Al-Ṭūsī, an outstanding student of al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā, possesses a special place in this study. Before exploring his influential work, *al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an*, consideration has to be made of other Shi'a exegetes who incorporated Mu'tazilī exegesis and cited the ideas of Sunni exegetes, such as al-Ṭabarī, as well as narrations from the Companions and Successors.

At least three Shi'a scholars prior to al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī incorporated and sometimes criticized al-Ṭabarī's views and interpretations. These exegetes are al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (359-406/970-1015), al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (355-436/965-1044), and al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (370-418/980-1027). Their activities can be considered a continuation of the methods of Mu'tazilī exegetes and *mutakallimūn* in fourth/tenth century Baghdad, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rummānī, in the light of the fact that Shi'a scholars had good academic relationships with Baghdādī Mu'tazilī scholars.<sup>33</sup>

### *Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī*

The first of the three exegetes mentioned above, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (359-406/970-1015), was an acclaimed Shi'a poet, literary expert, and *mutakallim*. In addition to compiling *Nahj al-Balāghah* into a single work in the late fourth/tenth century, he wrote two Qur'anic works of *tafsīr* that include clear references to al-Ṭabarī, namely *Talkhīṣ al-Bayān fī Majāzāt al-Qur'an* and *Ḥaqā'iq al-Ta'wīl fī Mutashābih al-Tanzīl*, although a complete version of the latter is no longer available. Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's works of *tafsīr* are characterized by a focus on literary issues and responses to *kalām*-related issues.<sup>34</sup> Even though al-Raḍī rarely cites exegetical traditions, he does not pass up the opportunity to critique some of Ṭabarī's views and narrations with a Shi'a slant. For example, when interpreting the dialogue between Zachariah and the angels (Q. 3:40), al-Sharīf al-Raḍī writes:

Al-Ṭabarī cites 'Ikrimah and al-Suddī as saying that when the angels gave good news to Zachariah, Satan interfered by

inducing him with the feeling that what he was hearing was not coming from angels, but from Satan himself, because were it from Allah, it would have been revelation. So, at that point, he [Zachariah] doubted what was stated.

This is a very ignorant statement (*jabl 'azīm*) that shows the relator did not understand the status of prophets or what is and is not possible.<sup>35</sup>

### *Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (355-436/ 965-1044), al-Raḍī's elder brother, was a prominent Shi'a jurispudent and *mutakallim* as well as a student of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd. He was born in Baghdad and also passed away there. After al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā oversaw the academic and religious matters of the Shi'a community in Baghdad from 413 to 436/1022 to 1044. He had good relations with some Mu'tazilis in Baghdad, such as Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī, and Ibn Jinnī, and was well versed in literature, *kalām*, and Islamic jurisprudence. Rational preoccupations were more prominent in his works as compared to the works of jurists and traditionists (*muhaddithūn*) in Qum. Although he never wrote an independent exegesis of the Qur'an, he presented interpretations of Qur'anic verses in many of his works concentrating mostly on literary and theological issues. In one of his literary works titled *Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id* known as *Amālī al-Murtaḍā*, he resolves ambiguities in some Qur'anic verses, Prophetic traditions, and verses from popular Arab poems. Almost none of the traditions he discusses are Shi'a. Unlike the early Shi'a commentaries such as those of al-Ḥibarī, al-'Ayyāshī, Furāt al-Kūfī, and al-Qummī, all of his interpretations of Qur'anic verses utilize a unique and different method. He presents his interpretations of difficult verses of the Qur'an by drawing on philology, Arab poems, opinions of grammarians and rhetoricians, narrations from the Companions and Successors, and Mu'tazilī rational and philosophical views. He also frequently critiques the opinions of philologists such as Abū 'Ubayd, Abū 'Ubaydah, Ibn Qutaybah, and Ibn al-Anbārī, or Mu'tazilī thinkers such as Wāṣil ibn 'Atā', Abu al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, and al-Jubbā'ī.

His other works include Qur'anic and exegetical discussions too.

Nearly half of *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā'*, a *kalāmī* work, pertains to exegesis (both *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl*) of some Qur'anic passages that apparently attribute sins or mistakes to the prophets. Such attribution contradicts the doctrine of infallibility of the prophets held by the Shi'a. In order to harmonize such verses with the doctrine, he presents historical, philological, and *kalāmī* explanations. Moreover, several of his short treatises on the interpretation of various verses and chapters of the Qur'an that remain to this day utilize the same literary and *kalāmī* approach he uses in his other works.<sup>36</sup> In all of these works, al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān* is one of the sources – alongside the works of Abū 'Ubayd, Abū 'Ubaydah, Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn al-Anbārī, al-Jāhiz, and al-Mubarrad – utilized by al-Murtaḍā. Besides discussing the views of al-Ṭabarī himself, he also cites various narrations by the Companions and Successors from *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, sometimes without explicitly naming al-Ṭabarī's work. Thus under his interpretation of the story of Abraham and the four birds (Q. 2:260), al-Murtaḍā indicates the passage 'then call them; they will come to you hastening (*ud'ūhunna ya'tīnaka sa'yan*)' and asks whether or not it is right to call to a living or dead animal or to command it, given that it is considered untoward to command animals as they lack reason and understanding. After presenting his answer, he points out al-Ṭabarī's view and endorses it, stating that it is close (*qarīb*) to the truth. According to al-Ṭabarī, this sentence is neither a command nor a call, but rather an expression for creation (*takwīn*). In fact, without commanding or calling, God is speaking of the creation of the birds, similar to other Qur'anic passages such as 'Be you spurned apes (*kūnū qiradatan kbāsi'in*)' in Q. 2:65.<sup>37</sup>

### *Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī*

The third of the exegetes who incorporated al-Ṭabarī's views is Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, also known as al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (370-418/980-1027).<sup>38</sup> He was a Shi'a scribe, vizier, literary expert, poet, and Qur'anic exegete. Most of his short life was spent on political and governmental affairs for the Fāṭimid (in Egypt), Būyid (in Baghdad), and Hamdānid (in Aleppo) courts.<sup>39</sup> The only Qur'anic commentary remaining from him, namely *al-Maṣābīḥ fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an*, which has yet to be edited and published,<sup>40</sup> contains many quotations from al-Ṭabarī's

*Jāmi' al-Bayān*. Much like the exegetical works of al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā, this short exegetical anthology, which goes no further than Chapter 17 (Sūrat al-Isrā'), takes a novel perspective to exegesis in comparison with early Shi'a works. Some unique characteristics of this *Tafsīr* include explication of philological details, reference to Mu'tazilī exegetical works (especially those of Abū Muslim, al-Jubbā'ī and al-Rummānī), direct reference to and citation of the Old and New Testaments, and frequent quotations of the sayings of the Companions and Successors through *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* and other Sunni sources – namely, the works of al-Zuhrī, Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, and Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ. Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī makes repeated reference to al-Ṭabarī, usually quoting the occasions of revelation from the latter's *Tafsīr*, sometimes in a Shi'a style and in favour of Shi'a doctrines. It is obvious from his work that when citing sayings and exegetical narrations attributed to the Companions and Successors, al-Wazīr al-Maghribī specifically relies on *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*. In one case, al-Wazīr al-Maghribī even names al-Ṭabarī as a member of the 'People of Tradition' (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*).<sup>41</sup>

The frequency of al-Wazīr al-Maghribī's quotations from al-Ṭabarī is much greater than those of al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā, and, in most cases, he does not criticize al-Ṭabarī's interpretations. Often, when reproducing summaries of the sayings of the Companions and Successors from al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, he does not feel obliged to mention the source. He also quotes historical details and explications of ambiguities (*ta'yīn al-mubhamāt*) in the Qur'an from al-Ṭabarī. Examples are as follows. On the term *al-tannūr* (Q.11:40), he writes that, according to al-Ṭabarī, the 'oven' (*tannūr*) is made of stone and originally belonged to Eve.<sup>42</sup> Interpreting the same verse (Q. 11:40), he also quotes Ṭabarī as saying that the name of the drowned son of Noah was Fām,<sup>43</sup> and in explaining the term *ḍa'īf* (Q. 11:91) in a statement made by the people of Shu'ayb, he writes that according to al-Ṭabarī, the prophet Shu'ayb was weak-eyed (*ḍa'īf al-baṣar*).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, in some cases when interpreting or explaining the occasion of revelation of a verse, he first quotes the views of al-Ṭabarī and other Sunni exegetes, such as al-Suddī, al-Rummānī, al-Balkhī, and Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, and then declares that the same has been narrated from Imam al-Bāqir or Imam al-Sādiq. Thus regarding Q. 5:55, which Shi'a exegetes consider to be revealed about 'Alī, al-Wazīr al-Maghribī writes, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Rummānī cite Mujāhid and al-Suddī as saying that this verse was revealed about 'Alī who gave charity

during ritual prayer; Abū Ja'far (i.e. Muḥammad al-Bāqir) also narrated this.<sup>45</sup> Again on the word 'Iblīs' (in Q. 2:34), he writes:

Al-Ṭabarī states that Iblīs is called a 'jinn' since he was the 'keeper of paradise' (*khāzin al-jannah*). Balkhī narrates this from Ibn 'Abbas, and it has also been narrated from Abū 'Abd Allāh [Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq].<sup>46</sup>

### *Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī*

Shi'a exegesis entered a new phase with al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's (385-460/995-1067) authorship of *al-Tibyān fī Tafṣīr al-Qur'an* in the mid-fifth/eleventh century. Immigrating from Khurasān (Ṭūs) to Baghdad, al-Ṭūsī had become highly conversant with both Shi'a and Sunni literature, hadith, *kalām*, and jurisprudence. After studying with al-Mufid and al-Murtaḍā and authoring numerous works in various Islamic disciplines, he wrote on Shi'a and Sunni hadith as well as jurisprudence and its principles. He authored *al-Khilāf*, a book on comparative jurisprudence of the Shi'a and the four Sunni schools, and *'Uddat al-Uṣūl* on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. Taking a Shi'a perspective, he theorized and redeveloped some Sunni principles such as the authority of a solitary report (*ḥujjiyat al-khabar al-wāḥid*) and consensus (*ijmā'*) in *'Uddat al-Uṣūl*.<sup>47</sup> For this reason, when he decided to compile a comprehensive Shi'a commentary of the Qur'an, the results of his work were nothing like the works of Shi'a exegetes in previous centuries. His *Tafṣīr* is the first complete Shi'a Qur'anic commentary not written on the basis of hadith. Rather, utilizing all exegetical methods developed previously, al-Ṭūsī's Qur'anic commentary is a combination of Shi'a, Sunni, and Mu'tazilī sources. One of his most important sources for traditions was al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, which was composed approximately 150 years before in Baghdad. By exempting the great number of Shi'a traditions in his commentary and extensively citing narrations from *Tafṣīr al-Ṭabarī*, al-Ṭūsī brought Shi'a exegetical tradition into a new phase. Moreover, he widely cited other non-Shi'a exegetes including Mu'tazilī authors, Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī, Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, and al-Rummānī. He also considered existing syntactic, philological, and rhetorical exegeses in his work. All these were unprecedented in Shi'a *tafṣīr*.

Although al-Ṭūsī frequently cited Sunni exegeses, especially *Tafṣīr*

*al-Ṭabarī*, from the very beginning of *al-Tibyān*, he continuously endeavoured to separate himself from Sunni and Mu‘tazilī exegetes and underline the independent identity of the Shi‘a approach to understanding the Qur’an. He made frequent use of phrases such as ‘*indanā*’ (‘according to us’),<sup>48</sup> ‘*inda aṣḥābinā*’ (‘according to our people’),<sup>49</sup> and ‘*alā madhhabinā*’ (‘according to our school of thought’)<sup>50</sup> to introduce Imāmī philological, literary, jurisprudential, and *kalāmī* treatments of Qur’anic verses. On the other hand, when explaining a Sunni or Mu‘tazilī view with which he did not agree, al-Ṭūsī used the terms *al-mukhālifūn* (‘the opposition’)<sup>51</sup> and its derivatives such as *man khālafanā* (‘those who oppose us’).<sup>52</sup> The following example from the introduction of *al-Tibyān* is one of hundreds of such cases throughout the work:

And know that the norm among our adherents and common doctrine of their narrations and reports is that the Qur’an was revealed with a single reading on one prophet [...]. Our opponents have reported that the Prophet said: ‘The Qur’an was revealed in seven readings, and each is a [form of] healing and sufficient.’<sup>53</sup>

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī must have been aware of al-Māturīdī’s exegesis since his work, *Ta’wīlāt Abl al-Sunnah*, was well known in Khurasan and Marv, where al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī initially studied. This *tafsīr* was an excellent source for al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī due to al-Māturīdī’s prolific criticisms of the *kalāmī* and exegetical views of the Mu‘tazilīs. Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī utilized most available and important exegeses of the Mu‘tazilīs and their critics. Even so, there is no trace of Māturīdī’s views in *al-Tibyān*. There are two main reasons for this. First, in regard to Sunni exegeses, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was under the influence of al-Wazīr al-Maghribī and al-Rummānī, who completely ignored al-Māturīdī’s exegesis. Second, *al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* was authored in Baghdad, and the academic climate in Baghdad in the first half of the fifth century AH was not ripe for the promulgation of al-Māturīdī’s exegetical views.

With these preliminaries behind us, we can now examine the extent and manner in which *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān* got incorporated in al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Tibyān*. Even though al-Ṭūsī believes that al-Ṭabarī went to extremes in elaboration of matters, considering this to be a shortcoming of the work,<sup>54</sup> he clearly makes considerable use of *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*. In the first

one-third of *al-Tibyān*, al-Ṭabarī's name appears over 200 times (in phrases such as *qāla al-Ṭabarī*, *ikhtāra al-Ṭabarī*, and *wa huwa ikhtiyār al-Ṭabarī*).<sup>55</sup> In contrast, his name is only quoted about 20 times in the rest of the work.<sup>56</sup> Of course, this does not diminish the importance of al-Ṭabarī since throughout *al-Tibyān*, an extensive collection of narrations from Companions as well as poems and literary evidence are cited faithfully from *Jāmi' al-Bayān*.<sup>57</sup> While exegetical narrations in *Jāmi' al-Bayān* are quoted with complete chains of transmission (*isnād*), al-Ṭūsī omits almost all chains of transmission.<sup>58</sup>

A significant point of *al-Tibyān* is that al-Ṭūsī shows the greatest regard for the views of al-Ṭabarī, al-Balkhī, and al-Jubbā'ī from among the exegetes close to his time (i.e. the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries), to such extent that it seems as if the views of these three personages encapsulated the thought of all exegetes in these two centuries. The clause 'al-Ṭabarī, al-Jubbā'ī, al-Balkhī, and most of the exegetes say this' is repeated frequently in al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān*. The last two had been among the most authoritative Mu'tazilī scholars in Baghdad. His words as well as his citations indicate that the most important primary exegetes are Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Ḥurayrah, Ibn 'Umar, Sa'īd ibn Jubayr, Mujāhid, Qatādah, al-Suddī, 'Ikrimah, Abū Mālik, Rabī', and 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī among others and the most representative exegetes of the era of exegetical composition are al-Ṭabarī, al-Balkhī, and al-Jubbā'ī.<sup>59</sup>

In some cases, al-Ṭūsī even cites Imāmī Shi'a beliefs and jurisprudence from al-Ṭabarī. This prevented his exegesis from being purely denominational and exclusive to one sect, and promoted a conversation between the Shi'a and Sunni exegetical traditions. Examples of this approach can be seen in his exegesis of the verse of *khums* or *anfāl* (Q. 8:41). After discussing the Shi'a juristic view on *fay'* (spoils of war) and the *khums* tax on such spoils, al-Ṭūsī writes, 'This is the word of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn and his son Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Bāqir, which al-Ṭabarī quoted through his own chain of transmission.'<sup>60</sup> He also cites some variant readings attributed to the Shi'a Imams from al-Ṭabarī. For example, when interpreting Q. 13:31, which is typically read as '*a-fa lam yay'as alladhīna āmanū...*', he says that Ibn 'Abbās recited this verse as '*a fa lam yatabayyan alladhīna āmanū*', and that al-Ṭabarī quotes this same reading from 'Alī.<sup>61</sup> It can be said that almost all positive quotations in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* about the Shi'a Imams, especially those on the status of 'Alī, were quoted by al-Ṭūsī in his *al-Tibyān* with references to al-Ṭabarī.

For instance, when interpreting the passage 'and a witness (*shāhid*) from Him recites it' (Q. 11:17), he presents five different views. The fourth view is that '*shāhid*' in this verse refers to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He writes, 'Al-Rummānī has narrated this from Imam al-Bāqir and al-Ṭabarī cites the same from Imam 'Alī through Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh.'<sup>62</sup> Again under his interpretation of the verse 'You are only a warner, and there is a guide for every folk' (Q. 13:7), he writes:

Al-Ṭabarī with his *isnād* from 'Atā' from of Sa'īd ibn Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbās said: 'When the verse ['You are only a warner, and there is a guide for every folk'] was revealed, The Messenger of Allah put his hand on his chest and said: I am the warner (and there is a guide for every folk), and pointed his hands towards 'Alī's shoulder and said: "O 'Alī, You are the guide. The guided ones would be guided after me just through yourself."<sup>63</sup>

And regarding Q. 69:12 ('that the receptive ear might retain it'), he writes:

It is said that when this verse was revealed, the Prophet (S) said: 'Make that receptive ear, the ear of 'Alī.' This has been narrated by al-Ṭabarī from his chain to Makḥūl.

Then 'Alī said: 'From that point on, I did not forget anything I heard from the Prophet.'

[...] Al-Ṭabarī narrates through his chain from 'Ikrimah from Buraydah, that Buraydah said: 'I heard the Prophet prophet saying to 'Alī: "O 'Alī! Allah has ordered me to bring you closer to me and not to discard you and to teach you."<sup>64</sup>

Al-Ṭūsī's regard for al-Ṭabarī is so great that while citing fewer traditions from the Shi'a Imams (in comparison with earlier Shi'a narrative exegeses), he reports some of these few traditions, not from Shi'a works of *tafsīr* and hadith, but from al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān*. However, since the chains of transmission have been omitted by al-Ṭūsī in nearly all of these quotations, one cannot consistently determine whether he



used al-Ṭabarī or a Shi'a source. The following textual analysis of one of these traditions reveals the complexities of research in this area.

On interpreting the phrase 'those pleading forgiveness at dawn' (*al-mustaghfirīn bi al-ashār*) in Q. 3:17, al-Ṭūsī writes that 'it has been narrated from Imam al-Sādiq that this verse applies to whoever asks God for forgiveness seventy times at dawn (*saḥar*)'.<sup>65</sup> This tradition is not found from Imam al-Sādiq in Shi'a sources in this form. The only place it has been quoted is with a non-Shi'a chain of transmission in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*:

Muthannā reported to me that Ishāq said that Zayd ibn al-Ḥubāb said that Abū Yaqūb al-Ḍabī said: 'I heard Ja'far ibn Muḥammad [al-Sādiq] say: "Whosoever prays at night and then repents seventy times in the last part of the night is to be considered among those pleading forgiveness at dawn."<sup>66</sup>

Clearly, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī did not take this narration from Shi'a sources. In a similar Shi'a tradition quoted prior to al-Ṭūsī in *Tafsīr al-Ayyāshī*, Zurārah quotes Imam al-Bāqir as saying:

One who is assiduous on a daily basis regarding the night prayers, including the single-unit prayer, and asks for repentance seventy times in that single-unit prayer, and keeps up this practice is considered among those pleading forgiveness at dawn.<sup>67</sup>

A comparison of the texts of these two narrations shows that al-Ṭūsī reproduced al-Ṭabarī's version. Al-'Ayyāshī quotes the tradition from Imam al-Bāqir, but both al-Ṭabarī and al-Ṭūsī quote Imam al-Sādiq. In addition, the main elements in al-'Ayyāshī's version include diligence in the nightly prayer, asking for forgiveness during this prayer, and continuing the nightly prayer for one year, while the emphasis in al-Ṭabarī and al-Ṭūsī's versions is on only asking God for forgiveness in the middle of the night or at dawn.<sup>68</sup>

Al-Ṭūsī's approach to al-Ṭabarī's personal opinions differs from his quotation of traditions from the Companions and Successors through *Jāmi' al-Bayān*. The personal views of al-Ṭabarī in *al-Tibyān* are dealt with through different approaches: sometimes neutrally, sometimes

with praise, and sometimes with criticism and rejection. In many cases, al-Ṭūsī cites al-Ṭabarī's views indifferently alongside other opinions on the matter. In other words, his reports of al-Ṭabarī's views in such cases are free of judgment. For example, he writes regarding 'or weak (*aw ḍa'ifan*)' (Q. 2:283):

Mujāhid and al-Sha'bī said: 'The "weak" is the one who is mentally incapable.'

Al-Ṭabarī said: 'He is the one who is incapable of taking dictation due to stammering or being mute.'<sup>69</sup>

Elsewhere, regarding the passage *ba'dukum min ba'd* (Q. 3:195), al-Ṭūsī writes:

Al-Ṭabarī says: '*Ba'dukum* are those who remember Me "standing, sitting, and lying on their sides" (Q. 3:191). *Min ba'd*: in aiding and in religion. What I am going to do with all of you is as good as I am going to do with each one of you so that "I do not waste the work of any worker among you" (Q. 3:195) whether male or female.'<sup>70</sup>

In some cases, al-Ṭūsī confirms al-Ṭabarī's opinions and even selects them as his preferred view.<sup>71</sup> Such cases of agreement are fewer than the cases of neutrality or rejection.

In the third category (i.e. rejection of the views in *al-Tibyān*), al-Ṭūsī critically evaluates al-Ṭabarī's exegetical views as well as those of other Sunni or Mu'tazili exegetes. While overall, it might be said that al-Ṭūsī is favourably disposed toward such exegetes as al-Ṭabarī, al-Jubbā'ī, and most importantly al-Rummānī, there are also cases in which he disagrees with them. Accordingly, al-Ṭūsī does not hesitate to criticize or denounce views preferred by al-Ṭabarī as well as al-Ṭabarī's exegetical, *kalāmī*, jurisprudential, or philological sayings if he does not agree with them. This shows that in Baghdad, al-Ṭabarī's academic authority in exegesis was not so great as to force al-Ṭūsī into appeasement or dissimulation.<sup>72</sup> He sometimes cites criticisms of al-Ṭabarī from others, such as al-Rummānī.<sup>73</sup> In most instances, however, he personally challenges al-Ṭabarī's views – which, at any rate, shows engagement.<sup>74</sup>

Almost every page of *al-Tibyān* includes exegetical narrations from the

Companions or Successors, either in summary or in detail. As indicated, the most important source employed by al-Ṭūsī for such reports is *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*.<sup>75</sup> This approach was continued faithfully within the exegetical school of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, and afterwards, by such exegetes as al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1154) in *Majma' al-Bayān*,<sup>76</sup> Abū al-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (sixth/twelfth century) in *Rawḍ al-Janān*, Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1191) in *Mutashābih al-Qur'an wa Mukhtalafuh*, al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177) in *Fiqh al-Qur'an*, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 640) in *Nahj al-Bayān*, and al-Fāḍil Miqdād al-Suyūrī (d. 826/1422) in *Kanz al-'Irfān fī Fiqh al-Qur'an*. Only after the prevalence of the Akhbārī approach among Shi'a scholars during the Safavid era did this approach lose favour. In this way, the reproduction of sayings by the Companions and Successors according to Sunni exegetical sources was discontinued in the works of exegetes such as Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī al-Najafī, (d. 940/1533) in *Ta'wīl al-Āyāt al-Zābirah fī Faḍā'il al-Itrat al-Ṭābirah*, Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrānī, (d. 1107/1695) in *al-Burbān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an*, Mawlā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. after 1091/1680) in both *al-Ṣāfi* and *al-Aṣfā*, and al-'Arūsī al-Huwayzī (d. 1112/1700) in *Nūr al-Thaqalayn*.<sup>77</sup> This study demonstrates that the high regard in Shi'a exegeses for *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* and the reproduction of Sunni traditions, both among the Successors of al-Ṭūsī's school and among post-Akhbārī exegetes have their roots in the exegetical tradition of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and his seminal work, *al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an*.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hamawī, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* IX, ed. I. 'Abbās (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1414/1993), 2453-4. For a detailed survey of al-Ṭabarī's sources in *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, see Heribert Horst, 'Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarī', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* CIII (1953), 290-307.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this term, see Etan Kohlberg, *'Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a'*, in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* X (1987), 128-166, especially pp. 130-135.

<sup>3</sup> See also Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographic Survey of Early Shi'ite Literature* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 37-38, 47, 94-97, 112-113, 122-123, 184-186, 188-189, 250-251, 276, 337-338, 377. The lost works include those of Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū al-Jārūd Ziyād ibn Mundhir, Jābir ibn Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ju'fi, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Shu'bah al-Ḥalabī, Abū Bakr Dāwūd ibn Abī Hind, Abū Sa'īd Abān ibn Taghlib, Abū Ḥamzah Thābit ibn Dīnār al-Thumālī, Abū Baṣīr al-Asadī, Munakhhkhal ibn Jamīl al-Asadī, Ḥasan ibn Waqīd al-Marwazī, Hishām ibn Sālim al-Jawālīqī, Wuhayb ibn Ḥafṣ al-Jarīrī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Abi Sārah,

Aḥmad ibn Ṣabīh al-Asadī, Abū Rawq 'Aṭīyyah ibn al-Ḥārith, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-Kūfī al-Baṭā'inī, Abū Junādah Ḥuṣayn ibn Mukhārīq al-Salūlī, Abū 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Isfarā'inī, Abū Muḥammad Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Ubayd ibn Yaqtīn, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khālīd al-Qummī al-Barqī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Urmah al-Qummī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl al-Kūfī, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb al-Sarrād, Mūsa ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Imām Mūsā ibn Ja'far, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Waḍḍāḥ ibn Sa'id al-Kūfī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'id ibn Mihrān al-Ahwāzī, Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān ibn Khalīl al-Rāzī al-Naysābūrī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sayyār al-Baṣrī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Faḍḍāl al-Kūfī, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd al-Qummī al-Barqī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās known as Ibn Māhyār, Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khazzāz, and Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī. See Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Najāshī, *Kitāb al-Rijāl*, ed. M. al-Shubayrī al-Zanjānī (Qum: Jāmi'at Mudarrisīn, 1407 AH), 11, 15-16, 78, 89, 128, 145, 217, 240, 252, 260; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Fibrīst*, ed. J. Qayyūmī (Qum: Nashr al-Fiqāhah, 1417 AH), 37, 73, 82, 95-97; and Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, ed. R. Tajaddud (Tehran: Ibn Sīnā, 1971), 39, 40, 243, 276-278.

<sup>4</sup> Citing the old exegetical traditions by disciples of the Imams in succeeding Shi'a books of *tafsīr* is natural; however this phenomenon is also found in some Sunni exegeses. For example, in his *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*, Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035) cites traditions from the *tafsīr* of Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī (d. c. 150 AH). Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī, *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān 'an Tafsīr Qur'an*, ed. Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Ashūr (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1422 AH) I, 82; VIII, 117; IX, 35. For a complete survey of the treatments of Sunni exegetes (from Muqātil to al-Rāzī) of the Shi'a *tafsīr* traditions, see Morteza Karimi-Nia, 'Rivāyat-i Ṣādiqayn dar Qadīmtarīn Tafāsīr-i Ahl-i Sunnat', in *Tabarī: An Iranian Genius and his Reflectography* I, ed. M. H. Sākit (Tehran: Khānih Kitāb, 1393 AH (solar)/2014), 381-453.

<sup>5</sup> As an example of this trend in early Shi'a *tafsīr*, one can find 'extremist' views by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyārī in his *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt*. Etan Kohlberg and Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification: The Kitāb al-Qirā'āt of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*, critical edition with an introduction and notes (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2009), 6-201.

<sup>6</sup> As we will see, this period of the history of Shi'a *tafsīr* can clearly be distinguished from the approach of al-Ṭūsī and his followers. Concerning Shi'a *tafsīr* in pre-Ṭūsī period, see Meir M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 17-69. For a survey of the different elements in four different Shi'a periods, see my article 'Four Periods of Shi'i Hermeneutics: Trends in the History of Shi'i *Tafsīr*' (forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup> Due to his birth and initial education in Ṭabarīstan, al-Ṭabarī must have known about contemporary Zaydī exegetical thought. In addition, his mention of Shi'a narrators in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* reveal his familiarity with Shi'a interpretations of the Qur'an.

<sup>8</sup> Both Najāshī and Ibn al-Nadīm note that Abān had a particular reading of the Qur'an that was well-known among readers. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Najāshī, *Kitāb al-Rijāl*, 11; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, 17-18. For parts of his readings that were preserved in the sources see Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 111. Apparently, al-Ṭabarī did

not directly cite any variant readings from Abān ibn Taghlib himself. By naming Abān while quoting a variant reading, al-Ṭabarī means Abān al-ʿAṭṭār, a younger contemporary of Abān ibn Taghlib who was also a grammarian, a student of ʿĀṣim, and a transmitter of his readings. Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 111. Even so, two narrations from Abān ibn Taghlib have been quoted in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* ascribing a variant reading to Mujāhid. See Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr Qurʾān* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1414 AH), VII, 3; XIII, 120. The exegetical narrations by Abān cited by al-Ṭabarī are more numerous.

<sup>9</sup> The existence of Jewish traditions (*isrāʾīliyyāt*) in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* has been an ongoing cause for criticism of the work, especially in modern times. For some strong criticisms of al-Ṭabarī, see Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Manār* III (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-ʿĀmmah al-Miṣriyyah lil-Kitāb, 1990), 245 (on Q. 3:41). In her recent remarkable treatment of the topic, ʿĀmāl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rabīʿ examines some Jewish traditions in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* that resemble statements in other Hebrew sources, such as the Talmud. ʿĀmāl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rabīʿ, *al-Isrāʾīliyyāt fī Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo: Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, 1422 AH), 169-237.

<sup>10</sup> See below, when referring to al-Ṭabarī's quotations of Shiʿi content in Abū al-Jārūd's traditions concerning Q. 98:7 and Q. 3:61. These quotations of course are very few. Also see Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1920), 88-90.

<sup>11</sup> The small number of narrations quoted from Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Faryābī (c. 120-212/737-827) cannot be compared to those cited by other exegetes, such as Ibn Abī Ḥātim in *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* and al-Suyūṭī in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*. In this case, the reason for the bibliographic deficit is most probably the unavailability of the work in Palestine.

<sup>12</sup> It is famous in biographical works, such as those of Dhahabī and Ibn ʿAsākir. For an early example, see al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ʿAawwād Maʿrūf XV (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1422 AH/2002), 207ff.

<sup>13</sup> An investigation of exegeses subsequent to al-Ṭabarī's proves that the volume of Shiʿa narrations in Sunni exegetical works from the fourth/tenth to ninth/fifteen century much greater than that found in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*. Exegetes such as al-Ḥakīm al-Ḥaskānī, al-Thaʿlabī, al-Wāḥidī al-Nisābūrī and al-Suyūṭī devoted greater attention to this matter.

<sup>14</sup> See for instance Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān* II, 223 (on Q. 2:221); VI, 47 (on Q. 5:3).

<sup>15</sup> See for instance Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān* VIII, 137 (on Q. 7:46); XX, 80 (on Q. 28:85).

<sup>16</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān* VI, 87; Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1388 AH), 25-26. Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* I, ed. H. al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallatī (Tehran: Maktabat al-ʿIlmiyyah al-Islāmiyyah, 1380 AH), 298.

<sup>17</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān* VI, 143; X, 8; XIV, 65; XXI, 69; XXVI, 116; XXX, 83.

<sup>18</sup> Traces of Abū al-Jārūd's exegetical legacy can be found in *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, and some parts of his exegesis still remain in the Zaydī religious heritage, like *Badāʾiʿ al-Anwār*, known as the *Amālī* of Imam Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Zayd ibn ʿAlī (157-247 AH). Some narrations from Jābir al-Juʿfī persist in works by al-ʿAyyāshī, Furāt al-Kūfī, al-Ḥaskānī, and al-Thaʿlabī.

<sup>19</sup> For a recent comparison of the chains of Abū al-Jārūd's narrations according to al-Ṭabarī and the Shi'a, see Māher Jarrār, 'Tafsīr Abī al-Jārūd 'an al-Imām al-Bāqir: Musāhamah fī Dirāsāt al-'Aqā'id al-Zaydiyyah al-Mubakkarah', in *al-Abḥāth* L-LI (2002-3), 37-94.

<sup>20</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* XXVII, 79.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. III, 233.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. VIII, 137; XII, 31.

<sup>23</sup> As indicated by Yāqūt al-Hamawī, al-Ṭabarī had compiled a voluminous book entitled *al-Faṣl bayn al-Qurra'* [sometimes referred to as *al-Jāmi'*], in which he collected all variant Qur'anic readings. Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* IV, 2454-6. Although the book has not survived, nearly each page of al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān* witnesses to his vast knowledge thereof. Concerning the specialization of al-Ṭabarī in Qur'anic readings (*qirā'āt*), see Claude Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue, et théologie en Islam: l'exégèse coranique de Ṭabarī* (m. 311/923) (Paris: Vrin, 1990), Ch. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Contrary to al-Ṭabarī, in narrating the traditions from Imam al-Bāqir and Imam al-Ṣādiq, Maghribī-Andalusī exegetes mostly focused on those related to Qur'anic vocabulary and variant readings. Thus half of the twelve citations made by Ibn al-Jawzī in *Zād al-Masīr* from Imam al-Bāqir and Imam al-Ṣādiq pertain to vocabulary and variant readings. Approximately three quarters of the citations by Ibn 'Aṭīyyah in his *al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz* from Imam al-Bāqir and Imam al-Ṣādiq deal with variant readings, and the rest cover vocabulary and interpretation. See Ibn 'Aṭīyyah, *al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām 'Abd al-Shāfi Muḥammad (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyyah, 1422 AH), I, 74, 79; II, 230, 356, 497; III, 26, 33, 94, 151, 172, 224, 251, 302, 313, 388, 516; IV, 117, 122, 125, 354, 387, 454, 488; V, 129, 230, 244, 323, 356, 526.

Moreover, the quotations of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī in *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* from Imam al-Ṣādiq number about thirty, and they are mostly about Qur'anic vocabulary and variant readings. See Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, ed. Ṣidqī Muḥammad Jamīl (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1420 AH), IV, 142, 366; V, 196, 316; VI, 225, 245, 266, 286, 361, 440, 448; VII, 241, 501; VIII, 339, 420, 439, 483, 540; IX, 117, 125; X, 81, 139.

<sup>25</sup> When explaining the different occasions of revelation of Q. 5:67, al-Ṭabarī does not mention famous reports connecting it with the farewell hajj and the event of Ghadir. See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* VI, 198-200. Cf. Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī, *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān 'an Tafsīr Qur'an* IV, 91-92 and Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'Azīm* IV, ed. As'ad Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib ([Saudi Arabia]: Maktab Nazār, 1419 AH), 1172. Another example is Q. 43:23, regarding which Shi'a and most Sunni tafsīrs say that *al-qurbā* refers to 'Alī, Fāṭimah, and their two sons. See Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanzīl* IV (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1407 AH), 219-220; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr: Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* XXVII (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1420 AH), 595ff.; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl* V, ed. M. A. al-Mar'ashli (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1418 AH), 80; Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī, *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān* VIII, 310-314; Ibn 'Aṭīyyah, *al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz* V, 34. Again al-Ṭabarī does not mention any report.

<sup>26</sup> For instance, see Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* V, 95; VI, 186.

<sup>27</sup> It must be noted that Shi'a exegetes and jurists have a long history of familiarity with Sunni exegetical sources. Even though the earliest Shi'a exegetes in the second and third Islamic centuries were acquainted with the exegetical views of the Companions and Successors from Sunni sources, they rarely quoted or evaluated such

narrations. The existence of similar narrations in Shi'a and Sunni books of hadith as well as criticisms about some Sunni exegetical propositions in classical Shi'a narrations attests to this fact. Rejection of traditions about *al-ahruf al-sab'ah* in addition to rejection of some traditions concerning deficiency (*nuqsān*) and abrogation of both ruling and wording (*nashk al-hukm wa al-tilāwah*) are some examples of this awareness.

<sup>28</sup> al-Khatib al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* II, 548.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Naḥḥās, *Ma'ānī al-Qur'an*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Sābūnī (Mecca: Umm al-Qurā University, 1409 AH), I, 219, 228, 265, 320, 321, 410; II, 36, 106, 196, 237, 259, 260, 354, 358; III, 345, 353. Concerning al-Rummānī, it should be noted that we may not find direct references to al-Ṭabarī in the surviving parts of al-Rummānī's *Tafsīr*, but some evidence can be found in Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān*, when he quotes al-Rummānī's critiques of al-Ṭabarī.

<sup>30</sup> For some references to al-Ṭabarī in early Shi'a hadith collections, see Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn Bābawayh (306-381/923-991) [al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq], *al-Amālī* (Tehran: Kitābchī, 1376 AH (solar)) 17, 408, 434; Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābawayh, *Khiṣāl* I, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Qum: Jāmi'at Mudarrisīn, 1403 AH), 104; Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābawayh, *Ilal al-Sharā'i* I (Qum: Dāwarī, 1966), 190, 234; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* (Qum: Dār al-Thiqāfah, 1993), 154, 482, 502, 506, 513, 581, 596.

<sup>31</sup> For a good overview of these relations see Wilferd Madelung, 'Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology', in *Shi'isme Imāmīte: Colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 mai 1968)*, ed. Toufic Fahd (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970), 13-29.

<sup>32</sup> al-Sharīf al-Raḍī indicates that he studied under 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rub'ī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārazmī, Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī, and Ibn Jinnī. See al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-Ta'wīl fī Mutashābih al-Tanzīl*, ed. M. R. Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (Tehran: Mu'assasat al-Bi'thah, 1406 AH), 30, 87, 253 and 331. In his *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawīyyah*, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī states that he studied *al-'Umdah fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh wa Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsah* under the instruction of al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī. There are some reports that al-Shaykh al-Mufīd was a student of *kalām* and syntax (*naḥw*) under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī, while al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā was instructed in *kalām* and syntax by Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn Jinnī and al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī. See al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawīyyah*, ed. Ṭāhā Muḥammad al-Zaynī (Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Ḥalabī, 1967), 180, 362; Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 67; Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt A'lām al-Shi'ah* I (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1954), 165.

<sup>33</sup> In his *al-Tibyān*, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī cites some criticisms of al-Ṭabarī's views from al-Rummānī's Qur'anic commentary. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an*, ed. Aḥmad Qasir al-'Āmilī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth, n.d.), I, 146, 233; II, 110, 563; III, 202.

<sup>34</sup> For more on this issue see the discussion in Mahmoud M. Ayoub, 'Literary exegesis of the Qur'an: the case of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī', in *Literary Structures of Religious Meaning in the Qur'an*, ed. Issa J. Boullata (London: Curzon, 2000), 292-309.

<sup>35</sup> al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-Ta'wīl fī Mutashābih al-Tanzīl*, 92. For another example of a criticism and repudiation of al-Ṭabarī's interpretation of Q. 9:55 by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, see al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-Ta'wīl fī Mutashābih al-Tanzīl*, 162.

<sup>36</sup> Based on al-Murtaḍā's aforementioned works, the following collections of the exegetical views of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā have been compiled and published: (1) *Tafsīr*

al-*Qur'ān al-Karīm lil-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Sibṭayn al-'Ālamīyyah, 1430 AH); (2) *Tafsīr al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā al-Musammā bi Nafā'is al-Funūn*, ed. Sayyid Mujtabā Aḥmad al-Mūsawī, 3 vols. (Beirut: Shirkat al-'Alamī lil-Maṭbū'at, 1431 AH).

<sup>37</sup> For some other references to and criticism of al-Ṭabarī's views by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, see al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tafsīr al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā al-Musammā bi Nafā'is al-Funūn*, ed. Sayyid Mujtabā Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (Beirut: Shirkat al-'Alamī li al-Maṭbū'at, 1431 AH), I, 120, 553; II, 28, 115, 121, 192, 408.

<sup>38</sup> Concerning him and his important unpublished *Tafsīr*, see Morteza Karimi-Nia, '*al-Maṣābīḥ fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an: Kanz min Turāth al-Tafsīr al-Shi'i*', in *Turāthbanā*, no. 113-114 (1434 AH), 55-100; and Morteza Karimi-Nia '*Tafsīr al-Wazīr al-Maghribī: Qirā'ah fī Nusakhībi al-Khaṭṭīyyah*', in *Turāthunā*, no. 117-118 (1435 AH), 343-374.

<sup>39</sup> Iḥsān 'Abbās has written the most comprehensive existing biography of al-Wazīr al-Maghribī: *al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, Abu al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī: al-Shā'ir al-Nāthir al-Thā'ir* (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1988). However, he was unaware of the existence of rare manuscripts of *Tafsīr al-Maghribī*, believing them to be lost.

<sup>40</sup> I am currently editing this Shi'a exegetical work, which served as a model for al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān*.

<sup>41</sup> Under his interpretation of the verse Q. 2:3, al-Maghribī writes, 'Al-Ṭabarī, among the People of Tradition, favours this view.' al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Tafsīr al-Maghribī*, fol. 5a.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 157a.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 157b.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 160a.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 91a.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 10b.

<sup>47</sup> Regarding al-Ṭūsī's contribution to the evolution of Shi'i jurisprudence in such an atmosphere, Hossein Modarressi says: 'These two [legal] books [i.e. Ṭūsī's *al-Khilāf* and *al-Mabsūf*] were modelled upon Sunni works, and through them an important part of Sunni legal scholarship passed into Shi'i law facilitating its further development [...]. Shi'i law at this stage benefited much from the heritage of Sunni legal thought of the early centuries of Islam. At the same time, non-Shi'i concepts, which were alien to traditional Shi'i thought, also crept into Shi'i law and created some inconsistencies in it. In his two works, Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa cited the text of some Sunni legal works literally and then added his judgments on the basis of Shi'i general principles or Shi'i traditions in the form of marginal notes.' Hossein Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shi'i Law* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 44-45.

<sup>48</sup> Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, I, 159, 213, 255, 325, 466; II, 4, 50, 103, 108, 112.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* II, 163; IV, 356; V, 123, 244; VI, 446; VII, 314, 412.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* I, 2, 465, 482; II, 49, 74, 125, 210, 252; III, 374, 451; IV, 51.

<sup>51</sup> Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān* I, 7, 13; II, 81; III, 592; IX, 324, 328.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* II, 50, 424, 549; III, 130, 131, 409; V, 237; VII, 106; IX, 326, 341.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* I, 7.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* I, 1.

<sup>55</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.* I, 7, 9, 60, 138, 153, 201, 223, 463; II, 248.

<sup>56</sup> It might be due to al-Ṭūsī's difficulties in accessing his personal library during the last years of his residence in Baghdad. It is commonly known that his library as well as his house was burnt down twice in Baghdad after Tughril Bek, the leader of Saljuqs,



entered Baghdad. See Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar A'lam al-Nubalā'* VIII, ed. M. A. al-Shabrāwī (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2006), 450; Abu al-Fidā' Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, ed. 'Alī Shīrī VII (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1408 AH), 119.

<sup>57</sup> The Companions mentioned include 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Ḥurayrah, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Abū al-'Āliya' and Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh and also from the Successors such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, Sa'id ibn Jubayr, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyib, Mujāhid, Qatādah, al-Suddī, 'Ikrima, Abū Mālik, Rabi', and 'Aṭā'.

<sup>58</sup> In some rare cases, al-Ṭūsī quotes chains of transmission and summarizes views based on their transmitters, preferring one over the others. Sometimes his preference is the same as al-Ṭabarī's and sometimes not (see below).

<sup>59</sup> See, for instance, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, III, 287, 312, 321, 349, 362, 444-5, 448; IV, 171-172, 173-174, 176, 277.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. V, 123.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. VI, 256.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. V, 460-461.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. VI, 223.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. X, 98.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. II, 416.

<sup>66</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* III, 139.

<sup>67</sup> Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* I, 165.

<sup>68</sup> What al-Ṭūsī renders in content from *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* was accurately reproduced in al-Ṭabrisī's *Majma' al-Bayān* without quoting the chain of transmission. In this way, this incomplete paraphrase has found its way faithfully into all subsequent Shi'a collections of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*. Samples of such reproductions are presented below: al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, *Majma' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an* II, ed. H. al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallatī (Tehran: Maktabat al-'Ilmiyyah al-Islāmiyyah, 1379 AH), 227; Mawlā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfi* I, ed. H. al-A'lamī (Tehran: Sa'dī Publications, 1415 AH), 322. Mawlā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Aṣfā fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an* I, ed. M. H. Dirāyatī and M. R. Ni'matī (Qum: Daftar Tablighāt Islāmī, 1418 AH), 166; 'Abd 'Alī ibn Jum'ah al-'Arūsī al-Ḥuwayzī, *Nūr al-Thaqalayn* I, ed. H. al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallatī (Qum: Isma'īliyyān, 1415 AH), 359.

<sup>69</sup> Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān* II, 372.

<sup>70</sup> For instance, see Ibid. II, 132, 376; III, 90, 173, 205, 208.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. III, 172.

<sup>72</sup> A similar approach had characterized *Tafsīr al-Rummānī* a few decades before. While al-Rummānī held narrations quoted in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* as well as al-Ṭabarī's exegetical opinions in high regard, he firmly rejects them in some cases. Similar examples of such critical approach to al-Ṭabarī can be found in the works of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and Sharīf al-Murtaḍā as well.

<sup>73</sup> For example, 'Al-Rummānī said: "This [i.e., al-Ṭabarī's view] is wrong, because..." See Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān* I, 146, 233; II, 110, 563; III, 202.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. I, 138, 400, 416-7, 489; II, 374-375, 527, 558-9; III, 387-8.

<sup>75</sup> It seems that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was either unaware of *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'Aẓīm* by Ibn Abī Ḥatīm and *Tafsīr Ibn Mundhir* or did not have access to them.

<sup>76</sup> While just a revised edition of *al-Tibyān*, al-Ṭabrisī's *Majma' al-Bayān* is considered as a standard *tafsīr* among Shi'a scholars. Even in the Safavid era, Akhbārī exegetes

referred to al-Ṭabrisī's work, ignoring al-Ṭūsī's. In my opinion, besides the former's simple text and structure, this was because *al-Tibyān* generally smelled like a Sunni *tafsīr*. On the different features of al-Ṭabrisī's *Majma' al-Bayān* see Bruce Fudge, *Qur'anic Hermeneutics: Al-Ṭabrisī and the Craft of Commentary* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 28-85.

<sup>77</sup> For a good survey on the history of Akhbārī exegesis in the Safavid era, see Robert Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam: The History and Doctrines of the Akhbārī Shī'ī School* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 216-244.