

SHIITE SCHOOLS IN IRAQ DURING THE SELJUK ERA: CHALLENGES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

ANAM MOHAMMED ALI

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, COLLEGE OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF THI-QAR
EMAIL: aann1411198@utq.edu.iq

PROF. DR. JANAN JODA JABER

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, COLLEGE OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF THI-QAR
EMAIL: jinanjoda@utq.edu.iq

ABSTRACT

Iraq during the Seljuk era (447–590 AH / 1055–1194 AD) experienced a pivotal phase in its political and religious history, marked by a complex sectarian composition and ongoing conflict between Sunni and Shiite centers of power, particularly in major cities such as Baghdad. Despite the dominance of the Sunni-oriented Seljuk Sultanate, Shiite scholarly schools emerged as intellectual and sectarian institutions capable not only of surviving but also of developing amid severe political and sectarian challenges.

The Shiite school of Baghdad is considered one of the oldest scholarly centers that sought to maintain its presence in the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, despite the harassment and restrictions imposed by the ruling authorities. In contrast, Najaf witnessed a remarkable Shiite scientific renaissance, thanks to the sanctity of the shrine of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (peace be upon him), transforming it into a permanent center for jurisprudential and theological production, and a refuge for scholars fleeing the unrest in Baghdad. Meanwhile, Hillah rose to prominence in the second half of the Seljuk era, especially in the sixth century AH, when it established a distinguished scientific school that later became known as the "School of Hillah."

The establishment and development of these schools, along with the challenges faced by Shiite scholars such as political oppression and sectarian persecution, were met with significant scientific achievements in the fields of jurisprudence, theology, language, and debate. These schools played a vital role in preserving and developing Shiite sectarian identity during one of the most complex periods in Islamic history.

Keywords: Shiite schools, Seljuks, sectarian conflicts.

INTRODUCTION

SHI'A SCHOOLS IN THE SELJUK ERA: CHALLENGES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Although the Seljuk era was marked by the dominance of Sunni doctrine—particularly following the establishment of the Nizamiyya schools by the vizier Nizam al-Mulk—Shi'a schools continued to operate despite facing political and religious pressures. These institutions maintained a notable presence in the intellectual sphere, leaving behind a significant legacy that nourished Shi'a thought across generations. Many of these contributions are still studied to this day.

The foundation of these schools was deeply rooted and supported by successive Shi'a-led governments that ruled over Iraq, especially the Buyid dynasty. The Buyids' wise governance and inclusive approach toward various sects fostered a climate of stability and tolerance, which, in turn, allowed science and culture to flourish. During their rule, Baghdad became the intellectual hub of the Islamic world, attracting scholars from across all branches of knowledge¹. This cultural and intellectual vitality led to the establishment of numerous schools and libraries—institutions that remained in place until the arrival of the Seljuks.

Among the most notable of these Shi'a schools were:

FIRST: THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

The scientific and intellectual movement reached its peak in the city of Baghdad during the 4th century AH / 10th century CE, to the extent that this period came to be known as the *Islamic Renaissance*. This revival was manifested

in the construction of educational institutions and libraries, as well as in the transformation of mosques and homes into venues for scholarly gatherings and academic circles. Theological and doctrinal debates also played a pivotal role in the foundation of many schools.

Ibn Miskawayh (421 AH / 1030 CE) affirmed this reality, stating: *“Thus, these sciences came to life after being dead, and their people, who were scattered, returned to them. The youth began to seek knowledge, and the elders to teach it.”*⁽²⁾

Among the educational institutions established during this flourishing era was the **Baghdad School**, which became one of the most important centers of learning and culture, attracting students of knowledge from various regions⁽³⁾. The city experienced rapid population growth, and the Shi'a community witnessed a period of prosperity and advancement, even after the Seljuks entered Iraq in 447 AH / 1055 CE⁽⁴⁾.

The prominent figure of this school was **Shaykh al-Mufid** (d. 413 AH / 1022 CE), one of the distinguished jurists who played a significant role in theological and doctrinal debates. Due to his profound knowledge and intellectual mastery, he was honored with the titles *“al-Imam al-A‘zam”* (the Great Imam) and *“Shaykh al-Islam”*⁽⁵⁾. His residence, located on **Darb Rabaḥ** in the **Karkh** district, became a hub for students, scholars, and religious figures from all schools of thought⁽⁶⁾.

Debate was a hallmark of this society, and **al-Mufid** was renowned for his sharp and immediate responses during such discussions, so much so that one interlocutor famously remarked to him: *“You are truly al-Mufid (the Helpful)”*⁽⁷⁾.

Ibn al-Nadīm highlights al-Mufid's scholarly qualifications, stating: *“In our time, the leadership of Shi'a theologians has ended up with him. He is preeminent in the discipline of kalām within the doctrines of his school, subtle in insight, sharp in intellect. I met him and found him outstanding.”*⁽⁸⁾

This intellectual prominence attracted the attention and support of **‘Aḍud al-Dawla al-Buwayhi**, who became one of al-Mufid's key patrons. The ideological current advocated by al-Mufid was endorsed by ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, who not only visited him at his residence but also granted lands around Baghdad to him and his students⁽⁹⁾.

Al-Mufid passed away in 413 AH / 1022 CE, and the leadership of the school was assumed by **al-Sharif al-Murtada** (d. 436 AH / 1045 CE). Al-Murtada continued and built upon the foundational work laid by al-Mufid, particularly in the development of doctrinal literature related to **Ilm al-Kalam** (Islamic theology).¹⁰

Al-Sharif al-Murtada was a pivotal figure in the evolution of Shi'a jurisprudence, with his writing forming the cornerstone of the Imami Shi'a school of thought¹¹. He played a crucial role in organizing religious education and demonstrated exceptional dedication to supporting students, going so far as to provide them with extensive privileges and resources.¹²

In 436 AH / 1045 CE, following the death of al-Sharif al-Murtada, leadership of the school passed to Shaykh al-Tusi (d. 460 AH / 1068 CE), one of al-Murtada's most distinguished students. Shaykh al-Tusi rose to prominence under favorable conditions that supported his ascendancy. His intellectual prowess, remarkable scholarly output, and the rigorous training he received from esteemed mentors all played a pivotal role in securing his position at the helm of the school.

Equally important was the access he had to several major libraries, which played a crucial role in his scholarly development—most notably, the **library of Abu Nasr Sābūr ibn Ardashīr**⁽¹³⁾, and the **library of al-Sharif al-Radi**⁽¹⁴⁾.

Under **Shaykh al-Tusi's** leadership, the school reached its highest intellectual and scholarly standing. The **Abbasid Caliphate**, under **Caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh**, recognized the stature of this institution and its leader, ultimately deciding to grant al-Tusi the **Chair of Kalām**—a gesture acknowledging his profound scholarly and intellectual capabilities⁽¹⁵⁾.

Some contemporaries regarded this position as an official appointment, bestowed only upon those with exceptional academic distinction. At the time, the **Chair of Kalām** held immense prestige and status—greater than words could fully convey⁽¹⁶⁾. Despite the evident sectarian differences between the two sides, this recognition indicates that the Abbasid Caliphate acknowledged **al-Tusi's** eminence and intellectual authority⁽¹⁷⁾.

Al-Tusi exerted great effort to advance the Imami school of thought, as he expressed himself: *“They belittle the jurisprudence of our Imami scholars and seek to disparage it, attributing to it a scarcity of legal rulings and issues, and claim that its followers engage in superfluity and contradiction.”*⁽¹⁸⁾

The text carries critical undertones toward Shiite jurisprudence, describing it as lacking complexity or precision compared to their legal tradition. Furthermore, it accuses Shiite jurisprudence of an excessive focus on non-essential matters and highlights contradictions within its rulings. Overall, the passage reflects sectarian tensions and an attempt to undermine the status of Imami jurisprudence.

The period from (436–448 AH / 1045–1056 AD) is considered one of the most intellectually productive eras of the school, marked by a surge in scientific, jurisprudential, and theological debates, as well as a widespread spirit of argumentation and discourse, all of which contributed to the proliferation of scholarly works during this time ⁽¹⁹⁾. Among the notable contributions, Shaykh al-Tusi authored several influential texts, including *al-Muqaddima ila 'Ilm al-Kalam* in (445 AH / 1053 AD). He also wrote *al-Misbah al-Kabir*, to distinguish it from his earlier work *Mukhtasar al-Misbah*, in addition to *al-Mabsut*, which represents an advanced phase in Imami thought ⁽²⁰⁾. These works became essential academic resources from which students of religious sciences derived their research and argumentative discussions ⁽²¹⁾.

The Baghdad School maintained its scholarly influence, drawing a substantial number of students. The number of Shaykh al-Tusi's disciples reached three hundred ⁽²²⁾, significantly boosting the school's stature—particularly after he was appointed as its head. ⁽²³⁾

This Shiite presence, embodied by the school and its head, was met with various forms of opposition. The adversaries of Shaykh al-Tusi became particularly active following the Seljuk entry into Iraq in (447 AH / 1055 AD), attempting to discredit him before the Abbasid Caliph al-Qa'im bi-Amr Allah. However, through his wisdom and scholarly prowess, Shaykh al-Tusi was able to counter their efforts successfully. ⁽²⁴⁾

However, their efforts did not stop there. With the support of the Seljuks, led by their leader Tughril Beg, they succeeded in inciting unrest and sectarian strife, launching a violent campaign against the Shi'a. As a result, the library founded by Shapur ibn Ardashir was set ablaze, along with many establishments in the Karkh district. They then stormed the residence of Shaykh al-Tusi, publicly burning his books and lecture chair ⁽²⁵⁾.

Exploiting the state of chaos, his adversaries mobilized against their sectarian opponents, resorting to arson and murder. Shaykh al-Tusi's house was raided a second time in (449 AH / 1057 AD) ⁽²⁶⁾.

Faced with escalating sectarian tensions and repeated attacks on his residence, Shaykh al-Tusi was compelled to leave Baghdad—especially after becoming a primary target of Seljuk aggression. With his departure, the Shi'a community in Baghdad lost the protection they had once enjoyed under Buyid rule, rendering the city unsafe. In order to ensure the continuity of Shi'a scholarly activity, Shaykh al-Tusi relocated to al-Najaf al-Ashraf, seeking refuge beside the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him ⁽²⁷⁾.

With Shaykh al-Tusi's migration to Najaf, the Baghdad School was effectively closed amid worsening conditions and instability, as the majority of its students had accompanied him.

Thus, after a long period of scholarly advancement, research, and authorship, the school came to an end—despite having flourished under Shaykh al-Tusi's leadership, particularly through the formal opening of the gate of *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning) ⁽²⁸⁾. One of the school's hallmarks during this era was the emergence of comparative jurisprudence, which became a defining feature in scholarly debates among jurists. Shaykh al-Tusi demonstrated exceptional skill in this domain, as exemplified by his work *al-Khilaf*, written to present and critically analyze the jurisprudential differences among various schools of thought using a scientific and reasoned approach ⁽²⁹⁾. This is echoed by Ibn Zuhrah, who stated: "*Shaykh al-Tusi served the Ja'fari school through his comparative studies and the paving of its intellectual paths.*" ⁽³⁰⁾.

SECOND: THE SCHOOL OF AL-NAJAF AL-ASHRAF

This school was established in the mid-fifth century AH / eleventh century AD, following the Seljuk entry into Iraq and the implementation of their sectarian policies, which led to the marginalization of the Shi'a. These policies included the assassination of certain Shi'a leaders, the burning of their libraries, and assaults on their homes, pressures which ultimately forced many scholars to migrate to safer regions to preserve what remained of the Shi'a intellectual heritage. Among those scholars was Shaykh al-Tusi ⁽³¹⁾. One researcher referred to this by stating: "*So the Shaykh was compelled to flee with his group... and sought protection by the grave of the Commander of the Faithful.*" ⁽³²⁾.

Shaykh al-Tusi's choice of Najaf was not arbitrary; rather, it was motivated by several factors, foremost among them intellectual considerations. The city of Najaf lies close to Kufa, a historical center of knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them) since it was founded by Imam Ali (peace be upon him). Kufa had long served as the nucleus of a scholarly movement known as the School of Ahl al-Bayt ⁽³³⁾. Imam al-Sadiq (peace be upon him) placed significant emphasis on this school and engaged in numerous theological debates in Kufa, including with Imam Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man ibn Thabit (d. 150 AH / 767 AD) ⁽³⁴⁾. One of Imam al-Sadiq's students highlighted the city's vibrant academic atmosphere by stating: "*I witnessed in this mosque—meaning the Mosque of Kufa—nine hundred scholars, each saying: 'Ja'far ibn Muhammad narrated to me.'*" ⁽³⁵⁾.

However, following the founding of Baghdad and the establishment of its seminary—known as the Baghdad School—scholarly attention largely shifted toward the capital ⁽³⁶⁾. Nevertheless, some scholars opted to head toward Najaf, drawn by the presence of the shrine of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) ⁽³⁷⁾. Additionally, doctrinal motivations played

a key role in Shaykh al-Tusi's decision to settle in Najaf. The presence of an emerging scholarly movement at the shrine of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) held significant appeal, as it was rooted in the teachings of Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them).³⁸

Thus, it can be said that the Najaf School is an extension of the Kufa School. Shaykh al-Tusi did not establish his school in barren land; rather, he found a stable environment suitable for teaching, building upon the heritage of the Kufa School, away from the gaze of the Seljuk state—thereby restoring the cultural and social standing of the Shi'a that had been lost at the hands of the fanatical Seljuks (³⁹).

The other factor is the geographical one, which placed Najaf in isolation from the watchful eye of the authorities, as it is located on the edge of the desert, making it a haven for those affected by political, intellectual, and social upheavals. Al-Qazwini attributes the Seljuks' decision not to attack Najaf, despite its proximity, by saying: "Perhaps the reason arose from the political alliance between the Seljuks and the Mazyadids, the Shi'a rulers of Hilla; moreover, the jurists had not yet posed any political threat to the new regime" (⁴⁰). Additionally, the city of Najaf received special attention from Shi'a governments such as the Buyid state. The Buyid prince, Adud al-Dawla took an interest in this city and visited the shrine of Imam Ali (peace be upon him). Ibn Tawus (d. 693 AH / 1294 CE) referred to this visit, saying: "He visited the holy sanctuary and placed silver coins in the chest, so that each person received twenty-one dirhams; the number of Alawites was one thousand seven hundred names" (⁴¹).

Thus, it can be said that despite Shaykh al-Tusi's exile from Baghdad, he succeeded in establishing a significant presence in Najaf; for he founded an academic institution destined to rival the leading Sunni schools—particularly as it specialized in the study of jurisprudence, hadith, and Islamic sciences. Shortly after his arrival, Najaf became a center of learning and scholarship, attracting people from various regions in pursuit of knowledge. Al-Tusi immediately began his teaching duties, and his book *Al-Amali* consists of lectures he delivered to his students in the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him) in (458 AH / 1092 CE) (⁴²).

Despite the relatively short period that Shaykh al-Tusi lived in Najaf after his migration—estimated at twelve years—it nonetheless included the production of several works, such as *Al-Khilaf* in comparative jurisprudence, in which he discussed the views of various Islamic schools of thought (⁴³). This reflects the flourishing of Imami thought in the field of ijtihad, the expression of independent legal opinion, and the critique of texts through scholarly evidence (⁴⁴). Among his other works are *Ikhtiyar al-Rijal* (⁴⁵), and *Sharh al-Sharh fi al-Usul* (⁴⁶).

The period that Shaykh al-Tusi spent in al-Najaf al-Ashraf was marked by a relatively limited intellectual output. A researcher attributes this to several factors, the foremost being his belief that his scholarly achievements in Baghdad were sufficient, in addition to his preoccupation with teaching and delivering lectures (⁴⁷). He devoted himself to preparation and organization to advance the Shi'a community during a time of hardship caused by the sectarian policies of the Seljuks. Therefore, the Shaykh decided that his lectures should serve an educational and awareness-raising purpose, taking steps that contributed to elevating the status of the school, which became a center for Islamic sciences after he developed its research methods and prepared students qualified to shoulder the responsibility of maintaining the school's stability (⁴⁸).

Shaykh al-Tusi passed away in (460 AH / 1068 CE) after having uplifted the Shi'a community and secured a prominent presence for them. Clear evidence of this lies in the lectures he delivered and the works he began authoring during his time in Najaf. Moreover, the number of students who attended his study circles was considerable, and many graduated under his guidance (⁴⁹).

The Najaf al-Ashraf School continued its intellectual contributions and maintained its distinguished Shi'a presence even after the death of Shaykh al-Tusi, despite the power and influence of the Seljuk state and its strict policies toward the Shi'a. From a review of historical sources, we find no indication that the Seljuks ever targeted Najaf in any way. On the contrary, there was a visit by the Seljuk sultan Malikshah to Najaf, accompanied by his vizier Nizam al-Mulk. This was noted by Ibn al-Jawzi among the events of the year (479 AH / 1087 CE), when he wrote: "Sultan Abu'l-Fath Malikshah arrived in Baghdad ... he entered the royal residence ... and the vizier Nizam al-Mulk pitched his pavilion in al-Zahir so that the army would follow his example and not occupy people's houses; thus no one dared to lodge in anyone's home. The sultan then rode to the shrine of Imam Abu Hanifa and visited it, then crossed over to the grave of Ma'ruf and the grave of Musa ibn Ja'far ... he continued on to Salman and visited him, viewed the ruins of the palace of Khosrow, visited the shrine of al-Husayn (peace be upon him), ordered the restoration of its wall, and then made his way to the shrine of Ali (peace be upon him), where he granted those present three hundred dinars and commanded the digging of a canal from the Euphrates to bring water to Najaf, which was promptly begun" (⁵⁰).

This text carries several dimensions, foremost among them the political dimension: the Seljuk sultan sought to win the goodwill of the Shi'a in these regions to secure their loyalty—especially as these were areas with a large Shi'a population. It also carries a religious dimension, given the presence of the shrine of Imam Ali (peace be upon him),

which had long been regarded with respect by both rulers and the public, lending the visit strong symbolic significance. Additionally, there is an architectural dimension, reflected in the Seljuks' efforts to reinforce their legitimacy by supporting the infrastructure of sacred sites.

The Najaf al-Ashraf School continued to maintain its Shi'a presence and did not waver or decline after the death of its founder, Shaykh al-Tusi. Its continuity rested upon the efforts of the Shaykh's students and family, among whom his brother Hamza ibn al-Hasan al-Tusi stood out. Al-Mahbuba referred to him, saying: "He is among those forgotten by time, which concealed both them and their legacy ... It appears that he had narrations and writings, yet none of the compilers of biographical indexes mentioned him" ⁽⁵¹⁾.

As for the prominent figure who carried the banner of the Najaf School, it was his son, Abu 'Ali al-Tusi, who was given the title *al-Mufid al-Thani* ("the second al-Mufid") in recognition of the scholarly stature he attained ⁽⁵²⁾. His father had authorized him (ijaza) five years before his death ⁽⁵³⁾, and he became the supreme religious authority (marja') for the Imami Shi'a. This was noted by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 852 AH / 1448 CE), who said: "Then he became the jurist and leader of the Shi'a at the shrine of Ali (peace be upon him), and most of the Shi'a scholarly authorizations (ijazat) ultimately came to him" ⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Abu 'Ali al-Tusi stood out as one of the most distinguished students, particularly noted for his ability to shoulder the responsibility of managing the school ⁽⁵⁵⁾. Historians have mentioned him: al-Hurr al-'Amili described him as "a learned, virtuous scholar, jurist, and hadith narrator of great repute and reliability" ⁽⁵⁶⁾, while al-Majlisi referred to him, saying: "A trustworthy and prominent jurist who read all his father's works with him" ⁽⁵⁷⁾. Thanks to these qualifications, Abu 'Ali al-Tusi assumed the leadership of the school and succeeded in managing it through teaching and responding to the scholarly inquiries sent to him ⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Many students graduated under his tutelage ⁽⁵⁹⁾, and he also authored numerous books during his leadership of the religious seminary in Najaf al-Ashraf. These works significantly enriched Shi'a thought, including *Sharh al-Nihaya* ⁽⁶⁰⁾, which is a commentary on his father's book *al-Nihaya* in jurisprudence, as well as *al-Mustarshid ila Sabil al-Muta'abbid* ⁽⁶¹⁾, *al-Anwar* ⁽⁶²⁾, and *al-Amali* ⁽⁶³⁾.

Shaykh Abu Ali al-Tusi continued to lead the Najaf school throughout his life, playing an active and influential role in promoting, developing, and advancing Shi'a thought. He persistently resisted the political and security challenges of his time, striving to assert the presence of Shi'ism under the rule of a Sunni state.

At the beginning of the sixth century AH / twelfth century CE, Abu Ali al-Tusi ⁽⁶⁴⁾ passed away after a long journey during which he strengthened and firmly established the foundations of the school. Throughout this period, he was supported by his father Shaykh al-Tusi's students, including Abu al-Hasan al-Lu'lu'i ⁽⁶⁵⁾, one of the most prominent among them. However, no authored works have been attributed to him, and the available information about him is limited ⁽⁶⁶⁾. Mention is also made of Abu Muhammad al-'Ayn Zarbi ⁽⁶⁷⁾, who accompanied Shaykh al-Tusi during his migration from Baghdad to Najaf al-Ashraf and remained by his side until his death in 460 AH / 1068 CE. He authored a book titled *'Uyun al-Adillah*, consisting of twelve volumes on theology (*kalam*). Al-Sadr said of it: "I do not know of any book more comprehensive than it in the science of theology" ⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Ibn Shahriyar ⁽⁶⁹⁾, the custodian of the shrine of Imam Ali (peace be upon him), held a distinguished position with Shaykh al-Tusi, who held him in such high regard that he married him to one of his daughters ⁽⁷⁰⁾. Al-Samani, known as al-Kufi ⁽⁷¹⁾, was also among the prominent scholars of the time, and he authored works such as *Kitab al-Nur wa al-Niyyat* and *Kitab al-Mafatih* ⁽⁷²⁾. Additionally, the scholar and traditionist Ishaq al-'Aqrani al-Tammar ⁽⁷³⁾ was a notable figure, with works including *al-Ghulat*, *Adad al-A'immah*, and *Nafy al-Sahw 'an al-Nabi (PBUH)* ⁽⁷⁴⁾.

Among the contemporaries of Shaykh al-Tusi who narrated from him and contributed significantly to the Najaf school was al-Husayni ⁽⁷⁵⁾, a distinguished and reliable jurist. He authored the notable work *al-Marasim al-'Alawiyya wa al-Ahkam al-Nabawiyya* ⁽⁷⁶⁾. Another prominent figure was al-Hasan ibn Mahdi al-Sulayqi ⁽⁷⁷⁾, a narrator of Shaykh al-Tusi's teachings. Renowned for his piety, scholarly excellence, and keen intellect, he wrote *al-Miftah* ⁽⁷⁸⁾. Equally noteworthy was al-Husayn ibn al-Muzaffar al-Hamadani ⁽⁷⁹⁾, who maintained a long-standing scholarly association with Shaykh al-Tusi following his arrival in Iraq. A product of Tusi's tutelage, he rose to prominence as one of Najaf's foremost scholars and jurists. His scholarly contributions include works such as *Hatk Astar al-Batiniyya*, *Nusrat al-Haqq*, and *Lulu'at al-Tafkir fi al-Mawa'idh wa al-Zawajir* ⁽⁸⁰⁾.

Among the influential figures associated with the Najaf School was Al-Naqib Zayn ibn Nasir Al-Alawi ⁽⁸¹⁾, who served as the head of the Alawi Syndicate in Najaf and Kufa and was known as a dedicated memorizer of the Qur'an ⁽⁸²⁾.

Additionally, various other students mentioned in the sources have been cited to demonstrate their significant impact on the esteemed Najaf School, which, thanks to these distinguished individuals and others, continued to thrive and preserve the flame of knowledge. This intellectual legacy was ultimately carried forward by Ibn Idris Al-Hilli (d. 598

AH / 1202 CE), who founded the Hilla School. Through his efforts, he revitalized *ijtihād* and steered jurisprudence away from blind imitation, thereby making a profound contribution to the development of religious scholarship.

THIRD: THE HILLA SCHOOL:

Hilla is distinguished by its historical depth and authenticity, as well as its scholarly standing ⁽⁸³⁾. The name of this city is mentioned in the Holy Qur'an in the verse: **And they did not teach anyone until they had said, 'We are a trial, so do not disbelieve'** (Qur'an reference) — referring to the angels Harut and Marut in Babylon ⁽⁸⁴⁾. This city, located on the western side of the Euphrates River in the central region of Iraq, between Kufa and Baghdad ⁽⁸⁵⁾, rose to prominence.

Regarding the virtue and status of this city, Al-Majlisi stated: "(From Abu Hamza Al-Thumali, from Al-Asbagh ibn Banat ⁽⁸⁶⁾, he said: I accompanied my master, the Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him), when he arrived at Siffin. He stopped on a hill... and said, 'What a city, what a city.' I said to him, 'O my master, I see you mention a city; was there once a city here whose traces have vanished?' He replied, 'No, but there will be a city called Al-Hilla Al-Saifiya, which will be inhabited by a man from Bani Asad. Through it, news will emerge so true that if one were to swear by God, their oath would be fulfilled)' ⁽⁸⁷⁾).

The majority of its inhabitants have been Shi'a since its founding by the Ma'addis because they were Imami Shi'a. This was also noted by Ibn Battuta (d. 779 AH / 1377 CE), who said: "(We descended upon the city of Hilla, which is a large city... and the people of this city are entirely Imami Twelvers, divided into two groups, one known as the Kurds and the other known as the people of the Jami'is)" ⁽⁸⁸⁾.

In addition to the Ma'addis from Bani Asad, it is inhabited by tribes of Khafajah, Aqil, Ubadah, and others ⁽⁸⁹⁾.

The Ma'addis founded the city of Hilla in 495 AH / 1101 CE by the Ma'addi prince Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqaḥ ibn Mansur ⁽⁹⁰⁾, who worked on establishing several public service institutions, such as markets that attracted significant attention ⁽⁹¹⁾.

Although the establishment of this city took place in the late fifth century AH / eleventh century CE, its scholarly reputation quickly began to emerge. In fact, some surrounding areas had an active intellectual movement dating back even earlier than its founding, such as the villages of Surra, Al-Nil, Baris, and Harqal, as well as Al-Jami'in. Thus, the Ma'addis Hilla became a scholarly school that coincided with the Najaf School, creating intellectual bridges and debates between the two institutions ⁽⁹²⁾.

The city of Surra became one of the most important scholarly centers, producing several notable scholars, foremost among them Jamal al-Din Hibat Allah ibn Rutbah al-Surrani, whom Al-Hurr Al-'Amili described by saying: "(He was a jurist and hadith scholar who narrated from Shaykh Abu Ali ibn Shaykh Abi Ja'far)" ⁽⁹³⁾.

Hibat Allah al-Surrani had received his education from the Najaf Seminary; however, it appears that circumstances did not allow him to teach what he had acquired from the Najaf School, as Hilla had not yet fully developed at the time, and the scholarly activity there was limited to certain areas. Evidence of this is that his sons later traveled to Najaf for their studies. Upon their return, a group of students gathered around them, especially after Hilla matured and began attracting many seekers eager to seize opportunities to deliver lectures to students ⁽⁹⁴⁾.

The scientific and intellectual renaissance in the city of Hilla continued, and it became a center of refuge for students of knowledge. One of the factors that contributed to the emergence of this renaissance was that the princes and founders of the city, the Ma'addis, were endowed with great virtue and excellence. Moreover, Prince Sayf al-Dawla possessed a library containing thousands of books and volumes. He took great interest in scholarly gatherings and provided support and protection, which significantly contributed to the flourishing of the intellectual environment ⁽⁹⁵⁾. Additionally, the jurists of Najaf influenced this renaissance, as Al-Qazwini noted: "(It is not unlikely that some of the jurists of Najaf migrated to Hilla and brought their intellectual thought with them)" ⁽⁹⁶⁾.

Scientific and religious families also had an impact on this renaissance, among them the Al-Namma family, from whom emerged Hibat Allah ibn Nafi' ibn Ali al-Hilli, known as Abu al-Qasim. He was a religious jurist and one of those who narrated from Shaykh Abu Ali al-Tusi ⁽⁹⁷⁾.

The Al-Batriq family also contributed to this renaissance, including Shams al-Din Yahya ibn al-Hasan, known as Ibn al-Batriq (d. 600 AH / 1204 CE). He studied jurisprudence and theology in Hilla, then resided in Baghdad and Wasit. He authored numerous works, including *Kitab al-'Umda* ⁽⁹⁸⁾, *Khasa'is al-Wahy al-Mubeen fi Manaqib Amir al-Mu'minin* ⁽⁹⁹⁾, as well as *Kitab al-Manaqib*, *Ittifaq al-Athar fi Imamat al-Ithna 'Ashar*, *Al-Radd 'ala Ahl al-Nadhar fi Tasafuh Adillat al-Qada' wal-Qadr wal-Nahj al-Ma'loom ila Nafyi al-Ma'dum*, and *Kitab Tasafuh al-Sahihayn fi Hall al-Mut'atayn* ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

The family of Usama Al-Alawi Al-Naqib (d. 472 AH / 1079 CE), who held the position of head of the Hilla Syndicate in 452 AH / 1060 CE ⁽¹⁰¹⁾, also played a significant role. Additionally, the Al-Tawus family produced a group

distinguished in religious sciences; they were respected jurist leaders, and some members held administrative positions such as heads of the Ashraf Syndicate, the Sadara, and the Hajj administration (¹⁰²).

All these factors made Hilla a significant focal point in intellectual transition. It distinguished itself through its development as an independent scholarly center, where an elite group of scholars emerged who presented new opinions, ideas, and theories. This followed the profound influence of Shaykh al-Tusi on subsequent Shi'a jurists, who did not dare to deviate from the results of his insights. During this period, no independent jurist emerged who was not affiliated with Shaykh al-Tusi's school; they reached a point where they were unable to contradict his methods and opinions. His renowned books in jurisprudence and hadith, due to their great status, dulled intellectual creativity and blocked avenues of thought for nearly a century (¹⁰³).

For this reason, Ibn Idris al-Hilli emerged as one of the first scholars to criticize taqlid (imitation) and introduced a more ijtihadi (independent reasoning) approach in Shi'a jurisprudence (¹⁰⁴).

The events that took place during the sixth century AH / twelfth century CE affected all aspects of Ibn Idris's behavior and ideas. The conflicts between Sunnis and Shi'as, which went beyond scholarly debates, were influenced intellectually by the Seljuks. The Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk adopted this stance through the establishment of the Nizamiyya schools, which pursued an openly hostile policy against the Shi'a (¹⁰⁵).

On the other hand, the princes appointed to govern the city of Hilla were characterized by reform and competence. In 571 AH / 1176 CE, the caliph al-Mustadi appointed Abu al-Makarim Mujir al-Din Tashtakin to administer Hilla, whom Ibn al-Atir described as: "(He was good, righteous, of good conduct, devout, and Shi'a in belief)" (¹⁰⁶).

After the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah assumed the caliphate in 575 AH / 1180 CE following the death of al-Mustadi, his influence on Hilla was indirect. His reign provided a calm political climate that enabled Shi'a scholars to consolidate their presence in Hilla, especially since his period was marked by the end of Seljuk influence in Iraq after the killing of their last sultan, Tughril III (¹⁰⁷).

Accordingly, we can conclude that the conditions of the Shi'a improved, and Shi'a scholars began to regain their activity, especially with the easing of political pressure. This encouraged them to appear openly, representing a clear Shi'a presence. The era of Ibn Idris al-Hilli, politically speaking and within the context of the city of Hilla, provided a suitable environment for establishing a school dedicated to the dissemination of knowledge and sciences. This does not mean, however, that there were no obstacles hindering this process; nevertheless, Ibn Idris seized this opportunity to advance Shi'a thought and affirm its presence (¹⁰⁸).

Ibn Idris advanced his research and opened new horizons instead of adhering strictly to the opinions and methodology of Shaykh al-Tusi, which had been followed by many scholars known as the *Muqallidah* (imitators) (¹⁰⁹). His book *Al-Sarā'ir* contained a critique of Shaykh al-Tusi's views. Al-Hurr al-'Amili noted: "(Our later scholars have praised him and relied on his book and what he narrated at its end from the earlier scholars and their foundational works)" (¹¹⁰).

The school of Ibn Idris al-Hilli achieved significant success, as it managed to restore the freedom of ijtihad to its activity, enabling some Shi'a scholars to advance the reality of this school. This period witnessed a clear Shi'a scientific renaissance (¹¹¹). The scholars of Najaf played a role in this revival, evidenced notably by the presence of two prominent figures from the Najaf school: Al-Husayn ibn Abd al-Karim al-Gharawi and Al-Husayn ibn Abd Allah ibn Tahan. Additionally, Shi'a from other Iraqi cities had a presence in this school, as scholars and students came from Baghdad, Hit, Wasit, Anbar, and Tikrit, as well as from other regions of the Islamic world, including Persia, Bahrain, the Levant, and Egypt (¹¹²).

Thus, it can be said that the Hilla School had a clear presence stemming from the relative independence of the city of Hilla. This factor contributed to the increased Shi'a influence and the enjoyment of freedom of movement and learning, as well as its intellectual interaction with other sects. Therefore, this school can be considered a model of Shi'a presence that preserved the Shi'a religious identity despite the stringent Seljuk dominance.

CONCLUSION

The study of the Shi'a schools in Iraq during the Seljuk era reveals a complex intellectual landscape shaped within a volatile political environment marked by sectarian tensions and official Sunni dominance. Despite this, influential Shi'a scholarly spaces emerged.

Centers such as Baghdad, Najaf, and Hilla played varied yet complementary roles, ranging from resilience in the face of restrictions, as seen in Baghdad, to providing a relatively stable environment for scholarship and debate, as in Najaf, and culminating in the establishment of a distinct intellectual school, as was the case in Hilla.

The achievements of these schools are manifested in their ability to produce mature and coherent Shi'a thought that balanced rational ijtihad with adherence to the fundamentals of the sect. Several scholars emerged who contributed to consolidating the methodology of ijtihad, documenting heritage, and reviving Shi'a theology and jurisprudence.

Conversely, this journey was not without challenges, as the Shi'a schools faced political pressures, security threats, and social ostracism and defamation campaigns during various phases of Seljuk rule.

The experience of the Shi'a schools in Iraq during this period exemplifies the dynamic interaction between thought and authority, between center and periphery, raising open questions about the limits of intellectual independence under political dominance. It also forms a crucial foundation for understanding the development of seminaries in later eras and their role in solidifying Shi'a identity and positioning within the broader Islamic milieu.

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- ³⁰ *Imam al-Sadiq: His Life, Era, Opinions, and Jurisprudence*, p. 459.
- ³¹ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 16, p. 8; Ibn al-Atir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 9, p. 637; Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya*, Vol. 2, p. 9; Bahr al-Ulum, *Al-Fawa'id al-Rijaliyya*, Vol. 3, p. 238.
- ³² Al-Hakim, *Shaykh al-Tusi*, p. 94.
- ³³ Al-Shakiri, *Encyclopedia of Al-Mustafa and the 'Itra*, Vol. 10, p. 273; Al-Hakim, *History and Development of Jurisprudence and Usul*, p. 23; Al-Mamdouh, *History of Imami Jurisprudence from Its Origin to the Eighth Century AH*, p. 188.

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- ³⁴ Al-Hakim, *Shaykh al-Tusi*, p. 95.
- ³⁵ Al-Najashi, *Al-Rijal*, pp. 39–40; Ibn Zuhra, *Ghaniyat al-Naz'u*, p. 3; Al-Hakim, *Shaykh al-Tusi*, p. 95.
- ³⁶ Al-Tusi, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 238; Al-Rawandi, *Al-Nawadir*, pp. 40–41; Al-Qazwini, *History of the Shi'a Religious Institution*, pp. 25–26.
- ³⁷ Al-Shakiri, *Encyclopedia of Al-Mustafa and the 'Itra*, Vol. 10, p. 274; Al-Hakim, *Shaykh al-Tusi*, p. 96.
- ³⁸ Al-Fadhli, *History of Islamic Legislation*, pp. 284–285; Al-Hakim, *History and Development of Jurisprudence and Usul in the Najaf Seminary*, p. 24.
- ³⁹ Al-Fadhli, *History of Islamic Legislation*, pp. 284–285.
- ⁴⁰ *History of the Shi'a Religious Institution*, p. 31.
- ⁴¹ Farhat al-Ghari, p. 29.
- ⁴² Al-Tusi, *'Iddat al-Usul*, Vol. 1, p. 40; Al-Hakim, *Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh Najaf*, Vol. 4, pp. 32–33; Yunus, *The Development of Imami Thought in Iraq*, p. 166.
- ⁴³ Ibn Zuhra, *Ghaniyat al-Naz'u*, p. 28; Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 4, p. 6; Mohsen, *Early Shi'a Political Thought (A Study of Shaykh al-Tusi's Ideas)*, p. 235.
- ⁴⁴ Al-Qummi, *Al-Kuna wa al-Alqab*, Vol. 2, p. 396.
- ⁴⁵ This refers to the *Rijal* of al-Kashi by Abu 'Amr Muhammad ibn 'Umar, a contemporary of Ibn Qulawayh, which contained many errors; therefore, Shaykh al-Tusi undertook its revision and named it *Ikhtiyar al-Rijal*. See Bahr al-Ulum, *Al-Fawa'id al-Rijaliyya*, Vol. 2, p. 43; Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 9, p. 165.
- ⁴⁶ Bahr al-Ulum, *Al-Fawa'id al-Rijaliyya*, Vol. 3, p. 233; Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 9, p. 166.
- ⁴⁷ Al-Hakim, *Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh Najaf*, Vol. 4, pp. 33–34.
- ⁴⁸ Al-Fadhli, *History of Islamic Legislation*, p. 28; Yunus, *The Development of Imami Thought*, pp. 171–172.
- ⁴⁹ Al-Tusi, *'Iddat al-Usul*, Vol. 1, p. 39; Ibn al-Barraj, *Al-Muhadhdhab*, Vol. 1, p. 9; Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 1, p. 95; Al-Qummi, *Al-Kuna wa al-Alqab*, Vol. 3, p. 210.
- ⁵⁰ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 16, p. 259; see also Ibn al-Atir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 10, p. 156.
- ⁵¹ *Madi al-Najaf wa Hadiruha*, Vol. 2, p. 477.
- ⁵² Agha Bozorg al-Tehrani, *Al-Dhari'a*, Vol. 1, p. 429; Al-Qummi, *Al-Kuna wa al-Alqab*, Vol. 3, p. 199.
- ⁵³ Al-Sadr, *Ma'alim al-Usul*, p. 65.
- ⁵⁴ *Lisan al-Mizan*, Vol. 2, p. 250; see also Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 5, p. 245.
- ⁵⁵ Al-Bajirani, *Madinat al-Ma'ajiz*, Vol. 5, p. 105; Al-Qummi, *Al-Kuna wa al-Alqab*, Vol. 3, p. 199.
- ⁵⁶ *Amal al-Amal*, Vol. 2, p. 76.
- ⁵⁷ *Bihar al-Anwar*, Vol. 102, p. 219.
- ⁵⁸ Al-Hakim, *Shaykh al-Tusi*, p. 183; Yunus, *The Development of Imami Thought*, pp. 175–176.
- ⁵⁹ Al-Hakim, *Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh Najaf*, Vol. 4, pp. 51–88; Yunus, *The Development of Imami Thought*, pp. 175–176.

⁶⁰ Al-Tusi, *Al-Tibyan*, Introduction, p. 49; Al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar*, Vol. 104, margin p. 116; Al-Shahruri, *Mustadrak Safinat al-Bihar*, Vol. 8, p. 350.

⁶¹ Fadlallah al-Rawandi, *Al-Nawadir*, p. 18; Al-Mirza al-Nuri, *Khatimat al-Mustadrak*, Vol. 3, p. 124.

⁶² Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 5, p. 246.

⁶³ Fadlallah al-Rawandi, *Al-Nawadir*, p. 18; Al-Mirza al-Nuri, *Khatimat al-Mustadrak*, Vol. 7, p. 120.

⁶⁴ Sources differ on the exact date of death. Al-Tabari indicated that he was alive in 511 AH / 1118 CE, while Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani stated: "He died around the five hundreds." Accordingly, his death is most likely in 511 AH / 1118 CE. See Al-Tabari, *Bisharat al-Mustafa*, p. 121; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *Lisan al-Mizan*, Vol. 2, p. 250; Al-Hakim, *Shaykh al-Tusi*, p. 184.

⁶⁵ Abu al-Hasan al-Lu'lu'i: The available information does not exceed his name and that he was one of Shaykh al-Tusi's students and was among those who performed his washing. See Al-Afandi, *Riyad al-'Ulama'*, Vol. 5, p. 451; Agha Bozorg al-Tehrani, *Tabaqat A'lam al-Shi'a*, The Fifth Century, Vol. 2, p. 145; Bahr al-Ulum, *Al-Fawa'id al-Rijaliyya*, Vol. 3, p. 236; Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 2, p. 331.

⁶⁶ Al-Afandi, *Riyad al-'Ulama'*, Vol. 5, p. 451.

⁶⁷ Abu Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Abd al-Wahid al-'Ayn Zarbi, named after a city near al-Ruha and Harran in the Jazira region, was among those who washed the Shaykh alongside others. See Al-Hilli, *Khilasat al-Aqwal*, p. 249; Al-Afandi, *Riyad al-'Ulama'*, Vol. 5, p. 512; Agha Bozorg al-Tehrani, *Tabaqat A'lam al-Shi'a*, The Fifth Century, Vol. 2, p. 52; Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 5, p. 152; Al-Hakim, *Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh Najaf*, Vol. 4, p. 35.

⁶⁸ *The Shi'a Foundation of Islamic Sciences*, p. 393.

⁶⁹ Ibn Shahriyar, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Shahriyar al-Gharawi, known as Abu 'Abd Allah. See Ibn Tawus al-Hilli, *Al-Tahsin li-Asrar Ma Zada min Akhbar Kitab al-Yaqin*, p. 526; Al-Bahrani, *Madinat al-Ma'ajir*, Vol. 6, p. 134.

⁷⁰ Agha Bozorg al-Tehrani, *Tabaqat A'lam al-Shi'a*, *Al-Thiqat al-'Uyoon fi Sadis al-Qurun*, Vol. 3, p. 245.

⁷¹ Al-Samani: Ghazi ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Mansur al-Samani; very limited information is available about him. He died in Kufa. See Al-Tusi, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 13; Al-Shahruri, *Mustadrakat 'Ilm Rijal al-Hadith*, Vol. 6, p. 180.

⁷² Al-Ardabili, *Jami' al-Riwaya*, Vol. 11, p. 657; Al-Hurr al-'Amili, *Amal al-Amal*, Vol. 2, p. 213; Al-Khu'i, *Mu'jam Rijal al-Hadith*, Vol. 14, p. 237.

⁷³ Ishaq al-'Aqrani: Abu al-Husayn Ishaq ibn al-Hasan Bakran, al-'Aqrani is derived from the village near Kufa called al-'Aqr. He was one of the senior scholars of ijaza (authorization). See Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 3, p. 269; Agha Bozorg al-Tehrani, *Al-Dhari'a*, Vol. 10, p. 212.

⁷⁴ Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 3, p. 269; Agha Bozorg al-Tehrani, *Al-Dhari'a*, Vol. 10, p. 213.

⁷⁵ Al-Husayni: Zayn ibn al-Da'i al-Husayni, a trusted scholar and jurist, narrated from al-Sharif al-Murtada, studied under Shaykh al-Tusi, and was also narrated from by him. See Al-Tusi, *Al-Tibyan*, Vol. 1, p. 39; Al-Hurr

al-‘Amili, *Amal al-Amal*, Vol. 2, p. 123; Al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, Vol. 7, p. 132; Al-Khu‘i, *Mu‘jam Rijal al-Hadith*, Vol. 8, p. 385.

⁷⁶ Al-Hurr al-‘Amili, *Amal al-Amal*, Vol. 2, p. 123.

⁷⁷ Al-Hasan ibn Mahdi al-Sulayqi: Abu Talib al-Hasan ibn Mahdi al-Sulayqi, described as Alawi, Hasani, and Husayni, one of the scholars and a transmitter from Shaykh al-Tusi. See Al-Tusi, *‘Iddat al-Usul*, Vol. 1, p. 46; Al-Hilli, *Khilasat al-Aqwal*, p. 249; Al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, Vols. 2, p. 368 and 5, p. 318.

⁷⁸ Ibn Shahr Ashub, *Ma ‘ālim al- ‘Ulamā’*, p. 74.

⁷⁹ Al-Husayn ibn al-Muzaffar al-Hamadani — he is Al-Hasan ibn al-Muzaffar ibn Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Hamdan, resident of Qazwin, who died in the year 498 AH / 1105 CE. See:

- Al-Tusi, *Al-Amali*, Introduction, p. 16;
- Al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 102, p. 219;
- Al-Subhani, *Encyclopedia of the Classes of Jurists*, vol. 5, p. 120.

⁸⁰ Al-Ardabili, *Jami‘ al-Riwaya*, Vol. 1, p. 255; Al-Hurr al-‘Amili, *Amal al-Amal*, Vol. 2, p. 103; Al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, Vol. 6, p. 173; Al-Hakim, *Al-Mufaddal fi Tarikh Najaf*, Vol. 4, p. 38.

⁸¹ He is Al-Sharif Al-Naqib Abu al-Hasan ibn Zayd ibn Nasir Al-Alawi, one of the teachers of the custodian of the Alawi shrine, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Shahriyar, the son-in-law of Shaykh al-Tusi. See:

- Mirza al-Nuri, *Khatimat al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 14;
- Agha Buzurg al-Tihrani, *Tabaqat A‘lam al-Shi‘a*, vol. 2, p. 84

⁸² Agha Buzurg al-Tihrani, *Tabaqat A‘lam al-Shi‘a*, vol. 2, p. 84;
Al-Hakim, *Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh al-Najaf*, vol. 4, p. 40.

⁸³ Al-Khafaji, *The Role of Allama al-Hilli in Spreading Shiism*, p. 8.

⁸⁴ Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 102 (Qur‘an 2:102).

⁸⁵ Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu‘jam al-Buldan (Dictionary of Countries)*, vol. 2, p. 96;
Hassun, *Al-Hillah in the Abbasid Era*, p. 92.

⁸⁶ He is Al-Asbagh ibn Nubatah ibn al-Harith ibn Amr ibn Fatik ibn Amir al-Tamimi al-Hanzali al-Mujashi‘i. He was one of the close companions of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam Ali (peace be upon him). Imam Ali appointed him over the elite guard "Shurtat al-Khamis." He was a poet and witnessed with Imam Ali (peace be upon him) the battles of Jamal and Siffin and pledged allegiance to him unto death. It is reported that he died at the beginning of the 2nd Hijri century / 8th century CE. See:

- Ibn Sa‘d, *Al-Tabaqat*, vol. 6, p. 225;
- Al-Qadi al-Nu‘man, *Sharh al-Akhbar*, vol. 2, footnote to p. 290;
- Al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, vol. 2, p. 464.

⁸⁷ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 57, p. 223.

⁸⁸ *The Journey of Ibn Battuta*, vol. 1, p. 138.

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- ⁸⁹ Al-Muhajir, *The Emergence of Imami Jurisprudence and Its Schools*, p. 332.
- ⁹⁰ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 76;
Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh (The Complete History)*, vol. 10, p. 351.
- ⁹¹ Ibn Battuta, *The Journey of Ibn Battuta*, vol. 1, p. 138
- ⁹² Al-Khafaji, *The Role of Allama al-Hilli in Spreading Shiism*, p. 23;
Al-Muhajir, *The Emergence of Imami Jurisprudence*, pp. 355–356
- ⁹³ *Amal al-Amal*, vol. 2, p. 343.
- ⁹⁴ Al-Hurr al-'Amili, *Amal al-Amal*, vol. 2, p. 104.
- ⁹⁵ Karkush, *The History of Hillah*, vol. 2, pp. 3–4.
- ⁹⁶ *The History of the Shiite Religious Institution*, p. 69
- ⁹⁷ Agha Buzurg al-Tihriani, *Tabaqat A'lam al-Shi'a: Thiqat al-'Uyun fi Sadis al-Qurun*, vol. 3, p. 334;
Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, vol. 5, p. 449
- ⁹⁸ Al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 104, p. 135;
Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, vol. 10, p. 289
- ⁹⁹ Agha Buzurg al-Tihriani, *Al-Dhari'a*, vol. 3, p. 222;
Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, vol. 10, p. 289
- ¹⁰⁰ Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, vol. 10, p. 289.
- ¹⁰¹ Al-Dhahabi, *Tarikh al-Islam (History of Islam)*, vol. 30, p. 288.
- ¹⁰² Al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, vol. 3, p. 189;
Al-Qazwini, *The History of the Shiite Religious Institution*, p. 71.
- ¹⁰³ Abu Anas, *The Development of the Ijtihad Movement among the Imami Shiites*, p. 280.
- ¹⁰⁴ Banari, *Ibn Idris al-Hilli: Pioneer of the Critical School in Islamic Jurisprudence*, p. 15.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 304.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh (The Complete History)*, vol. 12, p. 241;
Ibn Jubayr, *The Journey of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 191.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, *Al-Fakhri fi al-Adab al-Sultaniyya*, pp. 319–322
- ¹⁰⁸ Banari, *Ibn Idris al-Hilli*, p. 44;
Al-Qazwini, *The History of the Shiite Religious Institution*, p. 32.
- ¹⁰⁹ Al-Qazwini, *The History of the Shiite Religious Institution*, p. 32;
Al-Muhajir, *The Emergence of Imami Jurisprudence*, pp. 369–370;
Al-Sadr, *New Landmarks in Usul*, pp. 74–75
- ¹¹⁰ *Amal al-Amal*, vol. 2, p. 243.
- ¹¹¹ Al-Qasim, *The Development of the Ijtihad Movement among the Imami Shiites*, p. 287.
- ¹¹² Al-Husayni, *The Hillah School and Biographies of Its Scholars from Emergence to Zenith*, pp. 82–83.