

COMMENTS ON DOCTRINE OF THE CLAY USED TO CREATE THE SELECT IN IMĀMĪ SHĪ'ISM

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Abstract

The present article discusses the Twelver Shī'ī doctrine of the special substance, clay taken from a "good and pure soil", from which the imams and Shī'ī believers were created, as propagated in their writings. The doctrine was frequently kept in secret, but after the establishment of the Buwayhid state in the tenth century CE many Shī'ī scholars, now that it was safe to disseminate the principles of their faith, openly promoted this doctrine. The article sheds light on the roots of this doctrine and its emergence in Twelver Shī'ism. It surveys the role of clay in pagan beliefs as well as in Judaism and Christianity. It discusses the Jewish belief in the clay from which Jews are made and the difference between the Jewish and the Gentile soul, as well as the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish sperm, and the belief that Jews are superior to the angels. Christians, too, maintain that they are God's favorite children, that God's spirit inheres in them and that they are thus the lords of the world and of the angels. The paper examines the sources from which Shī'ism derived its doctrine of the clay. It shows that this doctrine has gone through a number of different stages. In the first stage the clay was initially mentioned in Twelver Shī'ism, in the second stage the doctrine was elaborated and disseminated, and in the third stage it became firmly established. The study shows that initially the doctrine consisted merely of a number of *ḥadīths* associated with the issue of the imamate and the right of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his descendants to it. Subsequently it evolved into a doctrine that encompassed Twelver Shī'ism as a whole, perhaps in order to attach a spirit of sanctity and purity to the ideas, doctrines and policies of the Shī'ī believers.

Keywords: Shī'ism, Twelvers, clay of the believers, clay of the infidel, clay of Paradise, clay of Hell.

The topic's importance

The topic of the doctrine of the clay among Shī'īs was chosen for two reasons:

1. Very few previous studies have addressed it.
2. Numerous Shī'ī traditions speak of it.

The article is based mainly on the following five Shī'ī compositions:

1. *Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* by Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī al-'Āmirī al-Kūfī (d. 76/695), a Companion of the first five imams: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir. It is considered the earliest Shī'ī book, composed already in the days of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It goes under a number of other names as well: *Abjad al-shī'a* and *Kitāb al-saqīfa*;

some less well-known names are: *Asrār āl Muḥammad*, *Kitāb waḥāt al-nabī* and *Kitāb al-imāma*. This earliest historical-doctrinal Shī'ī text contains traditions about the virtues of the Prophet's family as related by the Prophet himself, traditions about 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and a number of reports of events following the Prophet's death, as related by eyewitnesses, for example the events at *al-Saqīfa*, as recounted by Salmān al-Fārisī. The book enjoys great popularity among Shī'īs, although some scholars expressed doubts about its authorship. It contains numerous *ḥadīths*, such as *ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* ("the *ḥadīth* of al-Ghadīr"), *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn* ("the *ḥadīth* of the two treasures"), *ḥadīth al-manzila* ("the *ḥadīth* of position"), *ḥadīth al-safīna* ("the *ḥadīth* of the Ark"), *ḥadīth bāb ḥiṭṭa* ("the *ḥadīth* of the Forgiveness Gate"), *ḥadīth al-ḥawḍ* ("the *ḥadīth* of the basin"), *ḥadīth sadd al-abwāb* ("the *ḥadīth* of shutting the doors"), *ḥadīth al-kisā' wa-āyat al-taḥīr* ("the *ḥadīth* of the cloak and the verse of purification"), *ḥadīth al-mubāhala* ("the *ḥadīth* of invoking the curse"), *ḥadīth al-katif* ("the *ḥadīth* of the shoulder"),¹ as well as important doctrinal issues of Shī'ism.

2. *Al-Maḥāsīn* a Shī'ī collection of traditions composed by the prominent Shī'ī scholar Abū Ja'far, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d. 274/887). Among Shī'ites the book, known as *Maḥāsīn al-Barqī*, is highly regarded and considered no less important than the "Four Books" of reliable Twelver Shī'ī traditions. It was an important source for al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, in which numerous traditions from *al-Maḥāsīn* are quoted.

3. *Al-Mu'min* by al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī (d. after 254/868), another highly regarded collection of 201 *ḥadīths*, divided into eight characteristics of believers: believers' severe afflictions; what God bestowed on the believers; brotherhood among believers; the believer's duty towards his brother; merit of seeing to the believer's needs; visiting a sick believer; merit of giving a believer to eat or drink, clothing him and paying his debt; what God has forbidden the believers. Early Shī'ī sources, among them *al-Kāfī*, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh*, *al-Maḥāsīn* and *Bihār al-anwār* borrowed from *al-Mu'min*.

4. *Al-Kāfī*, the most highly regarded *ḥadīth* collection of the "Four Books", by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940). It is divided into three parts: Principles, Branches and Garden. Some Shī'ī scholars are of the opinion that every *ḥadīth* in it is true, while others maintain that it also contains some unreliable traditions. The book's name, *al-Kāfī* ("The Sufficient") has been said to have been taken from a story ascribed to the twelfth imam, al-Mahdī, although this claim is disputed by some scholars. The book is notable for its comprehensiveness, its division into chapters, the number of traditions it contains, its complete chains of transmission, its extensive

¹ The shoulder bone, of man and beast, is very wide, and was used for writing at a time when paper was rare. See: Ibn Manẓūr, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Makram. *Lisān al-'arab*. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, Dār ṣādir, 1990, 9:294, s.v. *ktf*.

treatment of doctrinal, legal, ethical and social issues, and more. Numerous commentaries have been written on it.

5. *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh*, the second of the "Four Books", by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayhi l-Qummī al-Mashhūr (d. 381/991), one of the most important Shī‘ī *ḥadīth* collections and a significant source for religious legal decisions. Its traditions are arranged according to topics in jurisprudence. It is considered the largest and most important composition of al-Shaykh al-Ṣaddūq, in which he collected 5998 *ḥadīths*, only on Islamic jurisprudence, in contrast to *al-Kāfī*. Several commentaries on it have been written.

6. *Biḥār al-anwār* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1111/1699), a very well-known *ḥadīth* collection among Twelver Shī‘ites. The book, consisting of 110 volumes, was composed during the Safavid period. It contains traditions on Islamic scholastic theology, history, Islamic law, exegesis, ethics and grammar. It constitutes a kind of Shī‘ī encyclopedia. Al-Majlisī gave each volume a title, under which he lists the chapters, and under each chapter he gives the Qur’ānic verses that are directly relevant to the chapter. *Biḥār al-anwār* borrowed materials from numerous sources from different periods, such as *Baṣā’ir al-darajāt*, *al-Kharā’ij wal-jarā’ih*, *Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib* and more, thus providing an opportunity to compare between different traditions quoted in the book.

Methodology

The nature of the subject matter dictated the use of the following research methods:

Critical analysis: Shī‘ī traditions were examined using scholarly-based analysis and judged according to appropriate criteria of criticism. This was the main method used in this study.

In addition, the following two methods were also used:

The inductive method: This involved collecting the comments concerning the works used in this study, sorting them and deriving conclusions about them, in accordance with the study's criteria. This method is used throughout the study.

The descriptive method: This method involves describing the contents of the works in question, and comparing them to each other in order to determine the extent to which each adds materials of its own and how much is repeated, and in order to identify traditions that are in need of further research and aspects that have as yet not received scholarly attention.

Research questions

The article discusses and analyzes the doctrine of the "clay", its origins and its evolution, and provides answers to the following questions:

- What is the "doctrine of the clay"?
- Whence did the Shī‘a draw this doctrine?
- What were the stages in the doctrine's evolution?
- What did Shī‘īs hide the doctrine at first?
- When did it become overt?
- What was the objective of Shī‘ī authors in their writings on the doctrine of the clay?

Introduction

One pillar of the Imami Shī'ī faith is that the imams, and all Shī'ī believers, were created of clay which differs from that which was used to create the rest of mankind, a clay taken from "good, pure soil", from the remains of which the Shī'īs were created. It is believed that the imams were initially created from the light of God, and their people were given form by clay kept under the divine Throne. God's light remained in the imams and their people, who are therefore "illuminated". For this reason, Shī'īs believe that they are the best people in the world, after their imams.²

The present article will strive to clarify the origins of the Shī'ī doctrine of the clay, through an examination of pagan and non-pagan religions in which clay also played a role, and an inquiry into the similarities and differences in the Shī'ī doctrine and those of other faiths.

We begin with a survey of the role played by clay in some other religions:

A. Human origins in pagan religions

Most pagan religions are based on a racial and class distinction, which ascribes sanctity and purity to only a certain class of people. Kings and princes are glorified and treated as gods, or as empowered by a mother goddess. Their commands were to be implemented immediately, because their will was ostensibly divine or dictated by a deity. As Geoffrey Parrinder states in a comment on Mesopotamian religions: "The majority of texts relate to the king's official role in the cult. He was the vice-regent of the gods on earth. They invested him with authority to act on their behalf. He was expected to deal justly and without favour".³ According to Sumerian mythology, monarchy was a system that descended from heaven: the God Enlil and the goddess Ishtar sought a shepherd for mankind at a time when there was no king on earth; it was Enlil who appointed a king over mankind.⁴ In Babylon, Naram Sin king of Akkad as well as the allies of Ur-Namu king of Ur, demanded that they be worshipped as gods. They placed their names immediately after the names of the gods and appeared in public wearing the two-horned crown that testified to their divine status. Large temples were constructed in their honor and votive offerings were made to them. After the fall of the Ur III dynasty, a number of minor kings ruled over small regions. They, too, appeared before their subjects as gods, who were worshipped in local rites.⁵ Cyrus, king of Persia, declared that his rule over Babylonia was god-given: "The god Marduk surveyed all lands in order to find a king after his own heart's desire,... He called him Cyrus and made him king of the universe".⁶

B. Human origins in Indian religion

² For more details, see: al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb. *Al-Kāfī*, Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyya, 1365/1945, 1:390, *ḥadīth* no. 2, 2:402; al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān. *Al-Irshād*, Qumm: al-Mu'tamar al-'ālamī li-alfiyat al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413/1992, 1:44; al-Daylamī, al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥasan. *Irshād al-qulūb*, Qumm: Dār al-sharīf al-raḍī lil-nashr, 1412/1991, 1:44; al-Barqī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *Al-Maḥāsīn*, vol. II, Qumm: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyya, 1371/1951, 1:127ff. "Kitāb al-ṣafwa wal-nūr wal-raḥma min al-maḥāsīn".

³ Parrinder, Geoffrey. *World Religions: From Ancient history to the Present*. New York: Facts on File, 1971.p. 125.

⁴ See: Sha'fān, Kāmil. *Mu'taqadāt asyawiyya al-'Irāq, Fārs, al-Hind, al-Ṣīn al-Yābān*. Cairo: Dār al-nadā, 1999, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

Clay appears overtly in the Indian caste system. At first everything was created according to classes.⁷ The inhabitants of India in origin belong to three basic groups:

Turanians: Originally from Turkistan, they moved to India millennia before the present era.

Dravidians: A mixture of nomadic "Kūl" people who lived in jungles, mountainous regions and by rivers, and Turanians. They live mostly in the Sind Valley.⁸

Aryans: Some researchers believe that they originated along the Danube River in Europe and later emigrated to Asia, while others contend that Aryans originated in Central Asia, near the Gihon River, and later two large groups emigrated from their homeland, one to Europe and another to India through Iran.⁹ However, Gustave Le Bon, author of *The World of Indian Civilization*, maintains that Aryans originated in Iran itself,¹⁰ and that when the Aryans defeated the original inhabitants of India and wished to impose their rule on them, they invented legends that claimed that the caste system which made them dominate the natives was the will of the gods. This caste system was then enshrined in their holiest book, the Rig Veda, and established the Laws of Manu, which defined the status and role of each caste.

According to the Hindu myth, Brahma created Brahmins from his mouth, Kshatriyas from his arm, Vaishyas from his leg and Shudras from his foot. The latter's role is to serve the three noble castes. The Law of Manu says of the creation of mankind: "The world was hidden, with no bond, no way to reach it. Then Parmeshwar, the great god, made the material of creation appear. He wanted to create a man from himself. He created water and dropped sperm in it, which became an egg, from which Brahma came out. The egg split into two. From one part he created Paradise and from the other heaven, earth and what is between them, the eight directions and the wavy seas. From his mouth the Brahmins came, from his arm the Kshatriyas, from his leg the Vaishyas and from his foot the Shudras. As long as Brahma is awake, the world continues to exist. If he were to fall asleep, the resurrection would come".¹¹ Since the caste system was created by Brahma himself, it is eternal. There is no way to remove it, or for anyone to move up to a higher caste.¹²

In short, Hindus associate the strict social separation of their caste system with the origins of mankind. Buddhism protested against the system's injustice and the corruption to which it has given rise, but all attempts to alleviate its oppressiveness have failed, so firmly rooted is it in Hindu doctrine and society.¹³

C. Human origins in Zoroastrianism

⁷ Shalabī, Aḥmad. *Adyān al-Hind al-kubrā: al-hindūsiyya, al-jīniyya, al-būdhiyya*. Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, 2019, 52.

⁸ See: al-A'zamī, Muḥammad Diyā' al-Raḥmān. *Dirāsāt fī l-yahūdiyya wal-masīḥiyya wa-adyān al-Hind*, vol. II. Riyadh: Maktabat al-rushd nāshirūn, 2003, 522-523.

⁹ Ibid., 523.

¹⁰ Le Bon, Gustave. *The World of Indian Civilization*. Translated by David MacRae, New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1974, p. אתה חייב לצטט מהמהדורה האנגלית ????.

¹¹ *Dirāsāt fī l-yahūdiyya wal-masīḥiyya wa-adyān al-Hind*, 608.

¹² Shalabī, Aḥmad. *Adyān al-Hind al-kubrā*, 11th printing. Cairo: Dār al-naḥḍa al-miṣriyya, 1984, 55; Abū 'Aliyyān, Bassām Muḥammad. *ʿIlm al-ijtimā' al-dīnī*, 2nd printing, London: e-kutub Ltd., 2021, 116.

¹³ Al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad Aḥmad. *Muqāranat al-adyān*. Amman: Dār al-masīra, 1428/2007, 417.

According to Zoroastrianism, Zarathustra was no ordinary mortal, but a performer of miracles and a prophet. In Zoroastrian literature, especially the *Upasta*, his very birth and existence on earth were of a supernatural nature.

The circumstances of his creation and birth are related as follows:

God created a spiritual creature from the time of the first codices and the most sublime book of His Kingdom. When three-thousand years had passed, He realized His will in the form of shimmering light, shaped like a man. He surrounded him with seventy venerable angels. He created the sun, the moon, the planets, the stars and mankind, who remained unmoving for three-thousand years. He then placed the spirit of Zarathustra inside a tree that he had made in the highest of high and planted it in a mountain of Azerbaijan. He then mixed Zarathustra's spirit with cows' milk. Zarathustra's father drank of it. It was transformed into sperm and then into a chunk in his mother's womb. The devil and others pursued her, but then his mother heard a call from heaven that she was free of guilt. When she laughed, she was embraced by those that were present,

who deceived Zarathustra and put him in an enclosure with cattle, horses wolves, each of which protected him from their own kind. After that he grew until he reached his thirtieth year, when God sent him as a prophet and messenger to mankind.¹⁴

It would appear that the sanctity ascribed to kings in pagan religions had the objective of enhancing and consolidating their domination and influence. This was done by inventing a myth that made the kings representatives of the gods, who shared in the latter's sanctity. Next in order of importance were the priests, who created the myths and mediated between the king and the gods. Then came the wealthy, and finally the enslaved class, which according to the myth was created solely in order to serve the higher classes.

D. *Human origins in Judaism*

Jewish holy scripture maintains that Jews are constituted of elements that differ completely from those of others, who are inferior to them, that the difference between Jews and Gentiles is like the difference between humans and animals. They call non-Jews illiterate and *goyim*. Jewish books speak of the creation of Jews from superior clay. In the Torah there are numerous texts that call the Jews sons of God, while the Talmud speaks of the Jews' sanctity and purity in comparison to other nations. This status involves numerous laws and rules of behavior towards Gentiles. Below we present some of the texts which speak of the superiority of Jews and later we shall see that Twelver Shī'ism adopted the same attitude with respect to the qualities of the clay of which they were made.

Differences between the souls of Jews and non-Jews: Jews believe that their souls are part of God, and as such they differ completely from the souls of others. In the Talmud we read: "Jewish souls differ from others because they are part of God, just as a son is part of his father".¹⁵ Their souls are

¹⁴ Al-Shahrastānī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm. *Al-Milal wal-niḥal*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad al-Wakīl. Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Ḥalabī wa-shurakāhu lil-nashr wal-tawzī', no date of publication, 2:42.

¹⁵ Rohling, August. *Al-Kanz al-marṣūd fī qawā'id al-talmūd*, trans. Yūsuf Naṣrallāh, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-ma'ārif, 1899, 5:46.

dear to God, unlike the souls of other nations, which are impure, satanic or beastly. R. Menahem is quoted in the Talmud: "O Jews, you are humans, because your souls are the source of mankind, but the other nations' source is the impure spirit".¹⁶

Differences between Jewish and non-Jewish sperm: In the Jerusalem Talmud we read: "The sperm from which other, non-Jewish nations are created is the sperm of horses",¹⁷ and also: "The flesh of the peoples of the land is the flesh of donkeys and their sperm is the sperm of dumb animals".¹⁸

Jews believe that they are better than angels: Jews believe that God considers them better than angels, because they are part of God and partake of divine glory. They also maintain that had not God created them, the earth would not have been blessed, the sun and the rain would not have been created and no creature could have lived.¹⁹ This attitude of superiority is also reflected in Jewish laws on the treatment of non-Jews.

They believe that God created them in human form because that is what they merit, but other nations were created in the same form so that Jews could make them subservient to them and so that the masters could become accustomed to the slaves. According to a sage quoted in the Talmud, "non-Jewish women are like animals. God created Gentiles in human form so that they would be fit to serve the Jews, for whose sake the world was created, because it is not fit for a prince to be served day and night by a beast with the form of a beast. That is not acceptable at all, and contrary to good taste and humanity".²⁰ These texts show the principles on which the Jewish view of others is based. According to them, Jews are superior to other humans and possess features others do not have. The world is their possession and others are like animals, as declared by the Talmud.²¹

E. Human origins in Christianity

The doctrine of the clay appears in Christianity in a number of forms:

1. *The Christian belief that they are God's beloved children:* On this, the author of *Ṭarīq al-najāt min sharr al-ghulāt* says: "After the Jewish religion we witness the expansion of the same evil excess throughout Christianity, especially their claim that God has a son and that they are God's children. Although one group of Christians at first considered Christ only as God's prophet, due to his superiority over other men, they soon gradually gave this status to everyone who followed this religion as well, as testified by their Gospels".²² Christians claim that Christ is the Son of God and that they are sons of God, as we read in Matthew: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God",²³ "Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven".²⁴ Also: "If you forgive the people their lapses, your

¹⁶ Ibid., 1:53.

¹⁷ Ibid., 51.

¹⁸ Ibid., 66.

¹⁹ Ibid., 51.

²⁰ Ibid., 53.

²¹ Al-Qathāmī, Hind bint Dakhīl Allāh. *Athar 'aqīdat al-Yahūd fī mawqifihim min al-umam al-ukhrā*, MA thesis, Mecca: Umm al-Qurā University 1420-21/1999-2000, 156.

²² Al-Qummī, Ḥaydar 'Alī Qalamdārān. *Ṭarīq al-najāt min sharr al-ghulāt*, trans. from Persian by Sa'd Maḥmūd Rustum, no place of publication. Persian-language "al-'Aqīda" website, 1432/2011, 356. 🚩

²³ Matthew 5:9.

²⁴ Matthew 5:16.

heavenly Father will forgive you, and if you do not forgive the people their lapses, your Father will not forgive you your lapses".²⁵ In 1 John we also read:

Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called children of God; and *such* we are. For this cause the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not. Beloved, now are we children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be.²⁶

Also:

Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God. In this the children of God are manifest.²⁷

2. *Christians believe that God's spirit resides within them*: Christians believe that they are all sons of God, that God is their father and that they share God's fatherhood with Christ. It is therefore natural that God resides in them, as He did in Christ. For it would not be just for God's divinity to reside only in one of His sons, Christ, and deprive His other children of His presence.²⁸ As we read in 1 Corinthians: "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"²⁹ and "If any man destroyeth the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, and such are ye".³⁰ And in his epistle to the Ephesians, Paul says: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all".³¹

F. *Human origins in Shī'ī sects*

Numerous Shī'ī groups adhered fanatically to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the imams. The following are mentioned in treatises on Muslim sects: the Kāmiliyya, the 'Ilbā'iyya, the Mughīriyya, the Maṣūriyya, the Khaṭṭābiyya, the Kayāliyya, the Hishāmiyya, the Nu'māniyya, the Yūnusiyya, the Nuṣayriyya and the Ishāqiyya.³² The Mughīriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya adopted the doctrine of the clay.

The doctrine as adopted by the Mughīriyya

The Mughīriyya is named after its founder, al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī, Abū 'Abdullāh, a native of al-Kūfa. He was accused of heresy and astrology.³³ He rebelled during the reign of the emir

²⁵ Matthew 6: 141

²⁶ John 3:2-1.

²⁷ Ibid., 3: 9-10.

²⁸ Malkāwī, Muḥammad Aḥmad. *Al-yahūdī Shāwul Būlus al-Ṭarṭūsī wa-atharuhu fī l-'aqā'id al-naṣrāniyya al-wathāniyya*. Amman: Dār al-isrā' lil-nashr wal-tawzī', 1992, 149.

²⁹ 1 Corinthians 3:16.

³⁰ Ibid., 3:17.

³¹ Ephesians 4:5-6.

³² Al-Sharharstānī. *Al-Milal wal-niḥal* 1:173ff.

³³ Madelung, W. "al-Mughīriyya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Leiden: Brill, 1993, Vol. VII, pp. 347b-348b; see also: al-Ash'arī, 'Alī b. Ismā'īl. *Maqālat al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'aṣriyya, 1411/1990, 1:69-70; al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir. *Al-Farq bayna l-firaq*, ed. Ṭaha 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd, Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Ḥalabī wa-shurakāhu lil-nashr wal-tawzī', no date of publication, 146.

Khālid b. ‘Abdullāh al-Qasrī (d. 743), who defeated him and had him burned at the stake together with five of his followers in the year 119/737. The sect's account of Creation is as follows:

At the beginning of Creation, when God, may He be exalted, wanted to create the world, He spoke his supreme name. This name flew and a crown fell on it. This was interpreted by His statement: "Praise the name of thy Lord, the Most High,³⁴ and the supreme name is that crown". After the crown dropped on His head He wrote with His finger on the palm of his hand the deeds of His servants. He viewed it and was enraged by their insubordination. He sweated and from His sweat two seas were formed, one dark and salty and the other sweet and bright. He then gazed at the sea and saw His shadow. He went to grasp it and it flew away. He removed the two eyes of His shadow and made them into the sun and the moon, and annihilated the rest of the shadow. He said: "It is not fitting for there to be another god with me". He then created mankind from the two seas. He created the Shī‘a from the sweet, bright sea. These are the believers. And He created the infidel from the dark, salty sea".³⁵

He also said:

God, may He be exalted, created men before their bodies. The first thing He created was Muḥammad's shadow, as He says: "Say (O Muhammad): The Beneficent One hath no son. I am first among the worshippers".³⁶ Then he sent Muḥammad's shadow to the shadows of the people. Then he offered the heavens and the mountains to protect ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib from those who wished to do him wrong, but they refused. Then he made the same offer to the people and ‘Umar commanded Abū Bakr to undertake to help ‘Alī. He guaranteed him that he would help him betray him on condition that he would give him the office of caliph after him. Abū Bakr did do, which explains His statement: "Lo! We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it. Lo! He hath proved a tyrant and fool".³⁷ The tyrant and fool is Abū Bakr, while ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is the subject of the following statement by God: "(And the hypocrites are) on the likeness of the devil when he telleth man to disbelieve, then when he disbelieveth saith: Lo! I am quit of thee. Lo! I fear Allah, the Lord of the worlds".³⁸ The devil mentioned here is ‘Umar.³⁹

Al-Mughīra's description of the beginning of Creation seems to be in agreement with pagan mythology, for example the ancient Babylonian myth about the antiquity of the heavens and the sweet and salty water contained in the cosmos. Al-Mughīra used these elements in his theology and applied them to the Prophet's family and its enemies.

The doctrine according to the Khaṭṭābiyya

³⁴ Q 87:1.

³⁵ Al-Ash‘arī. *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn wa-khtilāf al-muṣallīn*, 1:69-71; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Farq bayna l-fīraq*, 177.

³⁶ Q 43:81.

³⁷ Q 33:72.

³⁸ Q 59:16.

³⁹ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna l-fīraq*, 147.

This sect is named after Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab al-Asadī al-Ajda‘, Abū Ismā‘īl, Ibn al-Zabiyān, a client of the Banū Sa‘d tribe.⁴⁰ He lived in the days of the sixth imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). When al-Ṣādiq became aware of his fanatic views, he distanced himself from him and told his adherents to do the same.⁴¹

The substance from which humankind was made is described in detail by one of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's students, al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar al-Ju‘fī, in a book entitled *al-Haft al-sharīf min faḍā’il mawlānā Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq ‘alayhi l-salām*. In a chapter entitled "Ma‘rifat ibtidā’ khalq al-mu‘min al-‘ārif" ("Knowledge of the Beginning of the Creation of the Knowledgeable Believer"), he states:

Abū Ja‘far, peace be upon him, said: "God created us one-thousand years before the Creation. We were spirits around the Throne, who praised God and with whose praise the dwellers of heaven were praised. Our tongue spoke all tongues, as He says: "Lo! We, even We were are they who set the ranks, Lo! We, even We are they who hymn His praise".⁴² God, may He be praised and exalted, chose Muḥammad, ‘Alī and the imams who belonged to their sect, who were created from His light, and placed him in His mercy. These are the good, pure spirits that were purified of evils and blights, and gladly accepted the guardianship. However, these bodies proved an ordeal for the believers in the country of the infidel wrongdoers, because of something whose knowledge was anticipated. The Exalted One said of the spirits of believers and unbelievers: "The record of the righteous is in ‘Iliyyin, Ah, what will convey unto thee what ‘Iliyyin is A written record".⁴³

In other words, the souls of those who believe in Muḥammad, ‘Alī and his successors pray next to God. If God wished to create bodies in which the good souls would reside, He makes the man eat good fruit, tasty food, with water, so that the sperm will gather. Then, when the man has intercourse with his wife and she becomes pregnant, three spirits will become complete in the fetus: the spirit of power, the spirit of desire and the spirit of life, as the Prophet said: "The believer is like a bee; if it eats, it eats well, and if it lies down, it lies down well". When the fetus is born, the good spirit descends, the illuminated spirit of faith, created from God's light. It settles in the body after it descends from the womb and the belly, and therefor grieves and weeps. This is a good sign, because the good spirit descends from the spirit and aromatic plants, from proximity to the Merciful One, to the body, which is a prison for the believer's spirit. For this reason you see the newborn child sad as it comes out. This is one of the signs of faith. As the Commander of the Faithful said: "The souls of the believers do not reside in the loins, cannot be contained by the womb and are not created from despised fluid, but are created of spring water. The souls, as the appearance of the body, are delicate and luminous, and cannot be perceived except by those who are of the same delicacy and luminousness. For the coarse cannot perceive the delicate, nor can the delicate perceive the

⁴⁰ Al-Hamīrī, Abū Sa‘īd Nashwān. *Al-Hūr al-‘ayn*, 2nd printing, ed. Muṣṭafā Kamāl, Beirut: Dār āzār and Sanaa: al-Maktaba al-yamaniyya, 1985, 220; al-Nabakhtī, al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā. *Firaq al-shī‘a*, Beirut: Manshūrāt al-riḍā, 2012, 820=84.

⁴¹ Al-shahrastānī, *al-Milal wal-niḥal*, 1:179.

⁴² Q 37:165-166.

⁴³ Q 43:18-20.

coarse. Thus are the souls of the believers. They slip away from the body, become acquainted with each other in Paradise, where they proceed freely as they wish and then they find shelter in the shadow of the Throne, thanks to God, Lord of the worlds.⁴⁴

Elsewhere al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fī says:

The spirits of the believers and of the angels are one, of the same kind as the spirits of the saints and the pure. They are luminous, radiant, not dark, while the spirits of the infidel are of the same kind as those of the devils, whose spirits are black and dark, not luminous.⁴⁵

Al-Ju'fī ends his book with a long tradition in which he mentions the clay from which believers and non-believers were created, their mixture and its effects, in a chapter entitled "Knowledge of the rights of the brothers, the superiority of the believer, to which is added the matter of the mixture".⁴⁶ This is the same tradition with which Ibn Bābawayhi al-Qummī ends his own book, *ʿIlal al-sharāʿi*, evidence that Twelver Shī'ism borrowed this doctrine from heterodox Shī'ī sects.

Evolution of the doctrine of the clay in Twelver Shī'ism

The doctrine of the special clay from which Shī'ī leaders and believers were created went through several stages over time. We can divide its development into three basic stages:

A. *The first stage*: The first work in which traditions concerning the illustrious clay from which the imams were created Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī's,⁴⁷ the earliest Shī'ī *ḥadīth* collection, dating to the first century AH. The first *ḥadīth* which Sulaym reported concerning 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the latter's declaration to the people during the reign of Uthmān that the clay from which the Prophet and his family were created was of a superior kind, taken from beneath the Throne.

The first stage of the doctrine of the clay focused on the unique aspects of the creation of the Prophet, his family and the imams who succeeded him, all of whom were considered to possess superior qualities that were inherent in them from birth, and who were therefore considered as most deserving to lead the Muslim nation after the Prophet, as related in the traditions transmitted by Sulaym b. Qays.

B. *The second stage: Dissemination and inculcation of the doctrine of the clay*

The first traditions concerning the imams' clay appear in *Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*. In that book, there are five such traditions. However, in the third century AH these were further disseminated, and new traditions were added. Aḥmad b. Abī 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d. 274 or 284/887 or 897) presented them in his *al-Maḥāsīn*, despite the fact that many Shī'ī scholars considered the traditions in that book to be unreliable, based on incomplete chains of transmission

⁴⁴ Al-Ju'fī, Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar. *Al-Haft al-sharīf*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1977, 68-70.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 70-71.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 191ff.

⁴⁷ His full name: Abū Ṣādiq Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī al-'Āmirī, a close companion of the imams 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir. He was born two years before the *hijra*. He was twelve years old when the Prophet died, and moved to Medina at the age of sixteen. He sat in the company of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and related traditions about al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. The book with his name as title, *Sulaym b. Qays*, is attributed to him. According to some Shī'ī sources, Sulaym is not mentioned in any reports. See: al-Ghaḍā'irī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī*, Qumm: Mu'assasat ismā'īliyyān, 1364/1944, 3:175.

and carelessly chosen.⁴⁸ In fact, a senior scholar of Qom, named Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā,⁴⁹ expelled him from the city because he distrusted the traditions he relayed.

Al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058) says of him that he "trusted himself and reported weak traditions based on incomplete chains of transmission".⁵⁰ Al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1273) in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl* says of him: "Most of the traditions are in the name of weak transmitters, and he relayed mostly traditions with incomplete chains of transmission". According to Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī (d. before 450/1058), "The people of Qom defamed him, although it is not he who deserves blame but he who transmits in his name, for he did not care from whom he borrowed, in the manner of the reporters. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī (d. ?) expelled him from Qom, then he returned him and apologized".⁵¹ The modern Shīʿī scholar Muḥsin al-Amīn (d. 1371/1952) in his *Aʿyān al-shīʿa* says: "It appears that his expulsion from Qom was due to his transmission of unreliable traditions, based on incomplete chains of transmission". However, despite all of the above, some Shīʿīs, especially in later times, treated his traditions as authentic and did not consider his weak chains of transmission a drawback. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm in his *al-Fawāʾid al-rijāliyya*, admitted that some of his reports should be refuted, but defended him: "True, they discredited him, but it was the tradition that deserved discreditation, not his person. I also know that the tradition should not be discredited, unless it is reported anonymously or with an incomplete chain of transmission".⁵² Despite such attempts at justification, in a chapter entitled "Mā jāʾa fī l-ithnay ʿashar wal-naṣṣ ʿalayhim" ("Reports on the Twelve and What Was Written about Them") in *al-Kāfi*, we read that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā wished to argue that such a tradition did not come from al-Barqī: "Muḥammad b. al-Yaḥyā said: I said to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār: O Abū Jaʿfar, I wished that this report had not come from Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbdullāh. He said: He told it to me ten years before 'the Confusion'⁵³ (al-Ḥayra)".⁵⁴ This statement indicates that at a certain time, after "the Confusion", al-Barqī changed his policy on what traditions to transmit, and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā hoped that the transmission in question were not chosen by his route, but Shīʿī biographers attempted to disprove the accusations against him.

⁴⁸ See al-Ṭūsī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. *Al-Fihrist*, al-Najaf: al-Maktaba al-riḍawīyya, no date of publication, 20.

⁴⁹ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist* 60-61; Ibn ʿĪsā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *al-Nawādir*, ed. Madrasat al-imām al-mahdī, Qumm: Madrasat al-imām al-mahdī, 1408/1987.

⁵⁰ Al-Najāshī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. Qumm: Muʿassasat al-nashr al-islāmī, 1407/1986, 76.

⁵¹ Al-Ghaḍāʾirī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī*, Qumm: Muʿassasat ismāʿīliyyān, 1364/1944, 1:148.

⁵² Al-Amīn, Muḥsin. *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, ed. Ḥasan al-Amīn, Beirut: Dār al-taʿāruf, 1403/1983, 3:106-107.

⁵³ "The Confusion" was the period following the death of the eleventh imam al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī in the year 260/873, without naming a successor. This caused much confusion among Shīʿīs and led to the formation of various groups who championed different solutions. "The Confusion" lasted until the middle of the fourth century AH. See: Al-Ṣadūq, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābawayhi l-Qummī. *Kamāl al-dīn wa-tamām al-niʿma*, 2nd printing, Qumm: Dār al-kutub al-islāmīyya, 1395/1975, 1:47, 112, 139, 156, 227, 257, 286-288, 304, 330, 2:426, 657; see also: al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. *Kitāb al-ghayba lil-ḥujja*, Qumm: Muʿassasat al-maʿārif al-islāmīyya, 1411/1990, 3ff., 93, 164, 336; al-Nuʿmānī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. *Al-Ghayba*, Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1397/1976, 61, *ḥadīth* no. 4, 185, *ḥadīth* no. 36, 186, *ḥadīth* no. 37.

⁵⁴ Al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb. *Al-Kāfi*, Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-islāmīyya, 1365/1945, 1:526-527, *ḥadīth* no. 2.

An examination of the traditions which al-Barqī quotes in his *al-Mahāsin*, especially those about the clay,⁵⁵ reveals that his accusers were right, contrary to the firm declarations of latter-day scholars in Qom. He did indeed borrow traditions from heterodox Shī'ī sects. Thus, for example, his traditions concerning the beginning of creation shows great similarities to claims by the Mughīriyya sect. However, al-Barqī did not disseminate this tradition until he judged the circumstances to be appropriate, in the age of confusion which beset the Shī'a during the period of the occultation. Al-Barqī, as noted in his biography, lived during the reigns of the eighth imam 'Alī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), the ninth imam Muḥammad al-Jawād (d. 220/835), the tenth imam 'Alī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and was still alive at the death of the eleventh imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 260/874). After each imam's death numerous parties arose within Shī'ism, which disputed and fought with each other, giving rise to traditions such as "the clay of the believer", which aims at confirming Shī'ism. *Al-Mahāsin*, with its chapters on "The Creation of Believers from God's Light", "The Creation of the Believers from the Uppermost Heavens", "The Creation of the Believers from the Clay of Paradise",⁵⁶ etc.

A contemporary of al-Barqī, the third-century AH scholar al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Kūfī al-Ahwāzī (d. after 254/868),⁵⁷ focused in his book *al-Mu'min* on the virtues of Shī'ites, and the trials and tribulations which they suffer, which he associates with the noble clay of which they were created. He explains that the relations of true brotherhood among Shī'ites is also due to the fact that they were all created from this clay,⁵⁸ clearly demonstrating that he and al-Barqī shared the same objectives.

Subsequently, many others proceeded in the same manner, for example al-Ṣaffār (d. 290/902) in his *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt fī faḍā'il āl Muḥammad*, using traditions that very clearly expressed the close ties between the clay and the doctrines of Twelver Shī'ism, as we shall show below.

Al-Barqī and al-Ahwāzī were thus the first to have associated the creation of the imams with special clay.

C. The third stage: Consolidation of the doctrine of the clay

While in the first stage the idea of a special creation from a special clay was applied only to the Prophet and his family, and appeared in no more than five traditions, in the second stage it was extended to all those who adhered to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the imams after him. In the third stage, the doctrine of the clay reached its culmination. This stage may be considered the period when this doctrine was consolidated among Twelver Shī'ites. In the fourth century AH the Buwayhid dynasty was in power in Baghdad. The Buwayhids were adherents of Twelver Shī'ism, whose power and influence grew and enabled it to disseminate its doctrines. The fourth century AH was

⁵⁵ Al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 1:127ff.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 1:23-224, 238-241.

⁵⁷ A prolific writer of *ḥadīth*. He and his brother al-Ḥasan were close associates of the fourth imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. For more details see: al-Barqī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-rijāl*, Tehran: publisher's name, 1324/1906, 54-56; al-Tafrashī, Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥusayn. *Naqd al-rijāl*, Beirut: no publisher's name, 1419/999, 2:91-92; Shabīrī, Muḥammad Jawād. *Nawādir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā* or *Kitāb al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd*, no place of publication, no date, 23-26; al-Najāshī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, Qumm: no publisher's name, 1407/1986, 252, 262, 311.

⁵⁸ Al-Ahwāzī, Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd. *Al-Mu'min*, ed. Madrasat al-imām al-mahdī, Qumm: al-Ḥawza al-'ilmiyya, 1404/1983, 59, 74, 87, 88.

thus the period in which the bulk of Shī'ī doctrines were shaped and in which most of the denomination's major theologians lived. One of the doctrines that were consolidated at the time was that of the special clay. Al-Kulaynī (d.329/940) in his *al-Kāfi*, considered the most reliable of the four major Shī'ī tradition collections, has an entire chapter entitled "Bāb ṭīnat al-mu'min wal-kāfir" ("Chapter on the Clay of the Believer and the Infidel"). This chapter constituted a qualitative jump in the evolution of this doctrine among Shī'īs. It was now applied not only to the Twelver imams and their adherents. The unbelieving enemies of the Prophet's family also now received a separate chapter in the most highly esteemed tradition collections. The number of traditions that deal with the doctrine of the clay grew after al-Kulaynī, reaching sixty-seven in al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*, in a chapter entitled "Bāb al-ṭīna wal-mīthāq" ("Chapter on the Clay and the Covenant").⁵⁹

Subsequently his student Ibn Bābawayhi al-Qummī, known as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, collected numerous traditions about the clay. He went so far as to make the clay the cause of good and bad behavior, as he describes in his *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh*,⁶⁰ considered by Shī'ī scholars an encyclopedia of Muslim jurisprudence.

The Shī'a, which felt safe under Buwayhid rule, thus not only disseminated their hidden traditions concerning the clay, but made confirmed it as a doctrine, which was expressed in works of *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence, exegesis, supplications, pilgrimage and more.

Under Safavid rule, after Shāh Ismā'īl captured Tabrīz, Twelver Shī'ism became the state religion and Sunnīs were persecuted. The Shāh minted coins in his name and added the third *shahāda* in the call for prayer. The first three caliphs were cursed in sermons while the imams were sanctified.⁶¹ It was in this atmosphere that Shī'ī scholars strove to interpret and confirm what had been stated by the scholars of the fourth century AH such as al-Kulaynī and Ibn Bābawahi l-Qummī, in the later four books and others. New traditions that further confirmed the doctrine, not mentioned in previous collections, were added, for example by al-Māzandarjī (d. 1068/1657), who commented on the "clay" traditions in *al-Kāfi*, al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680) in his *al-Wāfi* and al-Majlisī (d. 1111/1699), who in his comprehensive *Biḥār al-anwār* explained the doctrine, added some more traditions, and criticized those who rejected it. To summarize, it may be said that the "doctrine of the clay" began with five *ḥadīths* closely connected to issues of the imamate and the right to it of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his descendants, and subsequently evolved to encompass Twelver Shī'ism as a whole, until it became firmly rooted in Shī'ī doctrinal works, reaching its culmination in the scholars of the eleventh century AH and later.

Conclusion

We saw that the roots of the doctrine of the clay, which was espoused in many religions and nations, were not the result of chance, but were born of a desire to surround the ideas and policies

⁵⁹ Al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Biḥār al-anwār*, 4th printing, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-wafā', 1404/1984, 5:225-276.

⁶⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayhi l-Qummī. *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh*, Qumm: Mu'assasat al-nashr al-islāmī, 1413/1992, 4:327.

⁶¹ Ṭāqqūs, Muḥammad Suhayl. *Tārīkh al-dawla al-ṣafawiyya fī Īrān*. Beirut: Dār al-nafā'is, 2009-9, 35.

of those who adopted it with an aura of sanctity and purity. The same was true of the doctrine as adopted by Twelver Shī'ism, in which it went through several stages in different times and places and under various circumstances. Beginning with five traditions associated with the right of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his descendants to the imamate, it evolved until it encompassed the entire Shī'ī community, and then went through a stage of official confirmation by Shī'ī scholars, reaching its high point with the scholars of the eleventh century AH and later. At first the doctrine was kept secret, but with the establishment of the Buwayhid state Shī'ī scholars felt safe and began to disseminate it publicly, until eventually the traditions on the clay became permanently established in Shī'ī literature on *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence, exegesis, pilgrimage and other genres.

Shī'ī religious leaders traditionally made efforts to raise the morale of the community, which faced political persecution in the course of its long history, both by hostile regimes and by Sunnī society, which was hostile to Shī'ī theology in general. One way to do this was to speak of the believers (i.e. Shī'ītes) as possessing a unique nature.⁶² The spoke of a special clay, similar to the clay of which the imams themselves were created, and composed numerous traditions of a propaganda-like political and psychological nature, based on fantasy rather than reality, through which they attempted to encourage the believers' morale, which suffered under internal and external pressures. They also helped to block Shī'ī voices that protested against theological innovations such as the divine nature of the imams, and to frighten Shī'īs into maintaining their loyalty to the imams, by accusing opponents of having been created from evil clay. This they did as a psychological bulwark against the hostile propaganda aimed against them, in order to alleviate the Shī'īs' feeling of isolation as a boycotted minority and encourage them to remain loyal to the Prophet's family.

One last, necessary comment concerns the issue of the historical veracity of the traditions mentioned in the present study. It must be admitted that many of the materials we quoted are of a very doubtful nature. However, this does not affect our conclusions, since Shī'ī scholars have treated them as true, and as a result they have become accepted as true by the believers.

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⁶² The nature of the clay from which Shī'īs were made was not the only topic addressed in these efforts, which included also extolling the imams, stressing their intercession on the Day of Resurrection, anticipation of the Occulted Imam, and more. For further details see: al-Kātib, Aḥmad. *Al-Tashayyu' Al-siyāsī wal-tashayyu' al-dīnī*, Beirut: Dār al-intishār al-'arabī, 2009, 221.

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