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Efforts to Systematize the Imāmiyya Kalām in the Early Period: The Example of al-Shaykh al-Mufid

Erken Dönemde İmāmiyye Kelâmını Sistemize Çabaları: Şeyh Müfid Örneği

Bekir ALTUN

Ars. Gör. Dr., İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi Anabilim Dalı,
İstanbul, Türkiye

bekir.altun@istanbul.edu.tr

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5611-1840>

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Abstract

Our research suggests al-Shaykh al-Mufid was the first author to write down “Systematic Kalām” within the framework of Imāmiyya works, which has survived to the present day. He reviewed and rationalized the theological issues of Imāmiyya, and produced major works like *Taṣḥīḥ al-I’tiqādāt*, *Awā’il al-Maqālāt*, *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*, and *al-Nukat al-I’tiqādiyya*, in that context. While the method and content of *Taṣḥīḥ* and *Awā’il* seem to be influenced by the Baghdad School of Mu’tazila’s, particularly that of Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, they do not systematically examine the subjects. His works title *al-Nukat* on the other hand, show clear influence of the Baṣran School of Mu’tazila, especially al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār. In both texts al-Mufid collects the belief of the Imāmiyya under five basic principles: tawḥīd, justice, prophethood, imāmate, and ma’ād/resurrection. This study will examine how al-Shaykh al-Mufid tried to systematize the Imāmiyya creed through his four works.

Keywords: Imāmiyya, al-Shaykh al-Mufid, systematic kalām, *Awā’il al-Maqālāt*, *al-Nukat*, Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, Mu’tazila.

Öz

Araştırmalarımız, günümüze ulaşan eserleri çerçevesinde İmâmiyye’de ilk “Sistematik Kelam” eserinin Şeyh Müfid tarafından yazıldığını göstermektedir. Müfid, İmâmiyye’nin itikadî konularını yeniden gözden geçirerek bu konuları akılcı bir yöntemle izah edilebilir hale getirmiş ve zamanla belirli bir sistem içerisine yerleştirmiştir. Bu bağlamda *Taṣḥīḥ al-I’tikādāt*, *Evâilü’l-Makâlât*, *en-Nüket fī Mukaddimâti’l-usûl* ve *en-Nüketü’l-I’tikâdiyye* gibi rasyonel yapıda eserler kaleme almıştır. *Taṣḥīḥ* ve *Evâil*’in usûl ve içeriğinde Bağdat Mu’tezilesi’nin, özellikle Ebu’l-Kâsım el-Belhî’nin tesiri görülür. *Evâil*’de sistematik hale geçişin izleri bulunsa da bu iki eserin konu bazlı sistematik bir yapısı yoktur. *en-Nüket fī Mukaddimâti’l-Usûl* ve *en-Nüketü’l-I’tikâdiyye* adlı diğer iki eserinde ise Basra Mu’tezilesi’nin özellikle Kādî Abdülcebbar’ın etkisi görülür. Müfid’in, *en-Nüket* adındaki bu iki eserinde İmâmiyye’nin itikadî meselelerini tevhid, adalet, nübüvvet, imamet ve meâd olmak üzere beş temel esas altında birleştirdiği müşahade edilmektedir. Bu çalışmada da Şeyh Müfid’in zikri geçen dört eseri üzerinden İmâmiyye akâidini nasıl sistematiğe getirmeye çalıştığı incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İmâmiyye, Şeyh Müfid, sistematik kelam, *Evâilü’l-Makâlât*, *en-Nüket*, Ebu’l-Kâsım el-Belhî, Kādî Abdülcebbar, Mu’tezile.

Introduction

Since the occultation of the twelfth imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī in 260/874, Imāmiyya scholars have tried to collect akhbār (*ḥadīths*). They used the collected akhbār to create their own beliefs and stayed away from a rational attitude. However, it has become difficult to challenge the criticisms on this issue only with akhbār, as the occultation period extended further. With the end of the era of the Safirs (*Envoys*) (260-329/874-941), who allegedly met with imām in occultation, in 329/941, the rational attitude took an important place in Imāmiyya kalām. Although scholars like Nawbakhtis and Ibn Qiba al-Rāzī (d. 310/922 approx.), who were influenced by Mu’tazilite ideas (end of 3/9th century and beginning of 4/10th century) pioneered rational approaches among Imāmiyya, al-Shaykh al-Mufid was the first to rationally classify and systematize Imāmiyya kalām within the

framework of Imāmiyya. These works have survived to the present day.¹ Al-Mufid lived during the Buwayhids period which supported both Shī'ite and Mu'tazilite scholars. Influenced by the Mu'tazilite thought, he became one of the first representatives of a new reason-based formation, known as the Uṣūliyya, along with Ibn Junaid and Ibn Abī 'Aqīl within the Imāmiyya.² Accordingly, it is necessary to shed light on the life of al-Mufid, given his important role in the rationalization of Imāmiyya kalām.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu'mān, called al-Shaykh al-Mufid, is also referred to by his nickname Abū 'Abd Allāh.³ Although various dates, such as 333/945,⁴ 336/948,⁵ and 338/950,⁶ are cited as his date of birth, the year 338/950, cited by his student Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) is likely more accurate.⁷ He was born in the city of Ukbarā⁸ near Baghdād. At the age of seven, he moved to Karkh, with his father⁹ one of Baghdād's Shī'ite neighborhoods, to get education.¹⁰ He was initially taught by his father, before being educated by notable Mu'tazilite scholars, including Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/979), Alī b. Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) and Muḥammad b. Imrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994). He was also taught by Imāmiyya scholars Abū al-Jaish al-Balkhī (d. 367/977-978) and Abū Yāsir, who

¹ Mazlum Uyar, *Imāmiyye Şîası'nda Düşünce Ekolleri: Ahbârîlik* (İstanbul: Ayışığı Kitapları, 2000), 89.

² See. Halil İbrahim Bulut, *Şîa'da Usulîliğin Doğuşu ve Şeyh Müfid* (Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2013), 79, 212-234; Habib Kartaloğlu, "İmamiyye'de Ahbârî-Usulî Farklaşması: Şeyh Saduk ve Şeyh Müfid Örneği," *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 13/24 (February 2011), 200.

³ Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, no date), 252, 279; Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl Al-Najāshī* (Beirut: Shirkah al-A'lemī li'l-Maṭbū'āt, 2010), 381; Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, critical ed. Muḥammed Sādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Qum: Manshūrāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, no date), 157-158; Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim Al-'Ulamā'*, critical ed. Muḥammed Sādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', no date), 112-113.

⁴ Mirzā 'Abd Allāh Afandī al-Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ Al-'Ulamā' Wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'*, critical ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qum: Maktabah Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā al-Mar'ashī, 1403), 5/5/176-177.

⁵ Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 384; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Al-Shaykh al-Mufid ve 'Atā'uh al-Fikrī al-Khālīd," *Ḥayāt Al-Shaykh al-Mufid*, ed. Ḥasan al-Amīn et al. (Qum: Dār al-Mufid, 1431), 16.

⁶ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 279; Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 158; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, 112.

⁷ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *Ṭabaqāt A'lām Al-Shī'ah* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2009), 2/186-187; Bulut, *Usulîliğin Doğuşu*, 55-57.

⁸ Ukbarā is one of the small cities located on the Tigris River northeast of Baghdād. See. İbn Havkal, *10. Asırda İslām Coğrafyası*, trans. Ramazan Şeşen (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2017), 228.

⁹ The reconstruction of the Karkh neighborhood is before the reconstruction of Baghdād by the Abbasids. This neighborhood became the center of Shī'ites after the Buwayhids dominated Baghdād. See. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam Al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Şādir, 1977), 1/457; 4/448; M. Streck, "Kerh," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977), 6/585-587; Shawqī Daif, *Tārīkh Al-Adab al-'Arabī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1990), 5/267.

¹⁰ Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris Tabrizī, *Raiḥānah Al-Adab Fi Tarājim al-Ma'Rūfīn Bi'l-Kunyah Aw al-Laqaḥ* (Tahran: Çāphāna-i Ḥaydarī, 1374), 5/361-363; Bulut, *Usulîliğin Doğuşu*, 57-58.

were very well trained in Mu'tazila theology. Because of his closeness with Mu'tazila scholars, al-Shaykh al-Mufid was nicknamed "al-Mufid" likely by one of his teachers al-Rummānī,¹¹ or his peer al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025).¹² These particular scholars attached importance to the reason. Besides them, al-Mufid also took lessons from Akhbārī scholars like al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991-992) and Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Kulawayh al-Qummī (d. 369/979-980).¹³ Thanks to his education under scholars who emphasized on reason, he made significant contribution to the rationalization and systematization of Imāmiyya kalām.

Al-Shaykh al-Mufid's most significant contributions to the Shī'ite tradition came in the subjects of usūl al-khamsa (tawhīd, justice, ma'ād, prophethood and imāmate) as he attempted to systematize them. His views on these issues are present in many of his works.¹⁴ He collected his opinions in general in *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt*, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*, and *al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya*. In our opinion, these four represent his efforts to systematize the Imāmiyya kalām. In this context, we will comparatively discuss how al-Mufid represented this tradition in the early period through the aforementioned works.

1. Efforts of al-Shaykh al-Mufid to Systematize the Imāmiyya Kalām

Al-Shaykh al-Mufid tried to rationalize and systemize the Imāmiyya kalām. To do so, he first investigated the system laid out by his predecessors in Imāmiyya theology before examining the systems of other sect scholars, who he considered to be close to his ideas. Therefore, the systematics of his works are quite different from the existing approaches and he gradually made his works more systematic. An examination of his theological works shows that he described three different methods in systematizing the Imāmiyya kalām. The first is evident in his work

¹¹ For the narrations about al-Rummānī, see. al-Qāḍī Nūr Allah al-Mar'ashī al-Tustarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* (Dār al-Hishām, no date), 2/157-158; Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'ah al-Baḥrayn Fī al-Ijāzāt Wa Tarājim Rijāl al-Hadīth*, critical ed. Muḥammad Sādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Manāma: Maktabah Fakhrāvi, 2008), 343-344; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khānsārī, *Rawḍāt Al-Jannāt Fī Aḥwāl al-'Ulamā' Wa al-Sādāt* (Beirut: al-Dār al-Islāmiyyah, 1991), 6/149-150; Bulut, *Usuliliğin Doğuşu*, 62-63.

¹² For the narrations about al-Qāḍī Abd al-Jabbār, see. Tustarī, *Majālis*, 2/158-159; Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'ah al-Baḥrayn*, 344-345; Abū al-Qāsim el-Mūsawī al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth ve Taḥṣīlū Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt* (Najaf: Maktabah al-Imām al-Khū'ī, no date), 18/219; Bulut, *Usuliliğin Doğuşu*, 63-65, 127.

¹³ For the teachers of al-Shaykh al-Mufid, see. Martin J. Mcdermott, *The Theology of Al-Shaikh al-Mufid* (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1978), 9-13; S. Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shī'ite Imāmiyyah Thinkers* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1988), 82-83; Bulut, *Usuliliğin Doğuşu*, 79-98; Avni İlhan, "Mufid Şeyh," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006), 31/502-503.

¹⁴ For a list of his works, see. İrfan Abdülhamid, *The Intellectual Relationship between Mu'tazilism and Shī'ism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, PhD Dissertation, 1965), Appendices: 7; Mcdermott, *Al-Shaikh al-Mufid*, 25-45; Akhtar, *Imāmiyyah Thinkers*, 88-93; Bulut, *Usuliliğin Doğuşu*, 129-165.

titled as *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt*, which he wrote to correct his teacher al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's called *al-I'tiqādāt*. The second method appears in *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, which follows the method of the Baghdād Mu'tazila and Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931). The third method is present in *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl* and *al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya*, which apparently follow the Baṣran Mu'tazila and the methodology of 'Abd al-Jabbār. The first two works, namely *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt* and *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, do not contain any specific systematics. In the works called *al-Nukat*, the effect of 'Abd al-Jabbār's systematic is clearly observed. When these are classified according to the methodology in question, we see al-Mufīd's three-stage approach to systematize Imāmiyya kalām. The following passages will examine these three stages respectively.

2. Transition to the Rational System

Al-Mufīd made his first attempt at clarifying the Imāmiyya theology in *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt* as he rationalized the theological thoughts of his teacher al-Ṣadūq, based on the akhbār. Al-Mufīd agreed with some of his teacher's ideas, but needed to correct many of them. He touched upon some issues related to tawḥīd, justice, imāmate, and ma'ād (return to life after death) in his work. However, rather than developing an authentic system to examine these issues, he replicated al-Ṣadūq. In *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt*, al-Mufīd's general aim was to eliminate the weak narrations within the Imāmiyya creed, place the basic theological issues on more solid ground while making the basic issues explicable and open to clarification through reason. The intellectual background of al-Mufīd's attitude shows the influence of Mu'tazilite thought, especially that of the Baghdād Mu'tazila. As a matter of fact, unlike al-Ṣadūq, he said that humans were the creator of their actions, not Allāh. To explain this, he dealt with human actions and divine actions within the framework of ḥusn-qubuḥ (good-evil). In this context, he said there are qabīḥ (evil) actions in the actions of the servants ('Abd/human) and that Allāh did not create or will the qabīḥ actions.¹⁵ Besides, he explained death and life with the Mu'tazila's principle of aṣḥāḥ¹⁶ and said that the al-khabar al-wāḥid (single tradition/report)

¹⁵ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu'mān al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ I'tiqādāt Al-Imāmiyyah*, critical ed. Ḥusain Dargāhi (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-'Ālamī li-Alfiyah al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413), 42–45, 48–51; Abū al-Qāsim 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Ka'bi al-Balkhī, *Kitāb Al-Maqālāt ve Ma'ah 'Uyūn al-Masā'il Wa al-Jawābāt*, critical ed. Hüseyin Hansu et al. (Istanbul: KURAMER, 2018), 320–322; Ebū Ali el-Cübbāi, *Kitābu'l-Makālāt: İtikādî Mezheplere Yönelik Klasik Bir Eleştiri*, trans. Özkan Şimşek et al. (İstanbul: Endülüş Yayınları, 2019), 106; 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Qādi 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Şerhu'l-Usūli'l-Hamse: Mu'tezile'nin Beş İlkesi*, trans. İlyas Çelebi (İstanbul: TYEK Yayınları, 2013), 1/214–216, 2/8–14.

¹⁶ Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ*, 94–97; Balkhī, *Al-Maqālāt*, 322–329.

does not require action ('amal).¹⁷ This work by al-Shaykh al-Mufid, showing his theological and rational side, holds an important place in the Imāmiyya tradition. Despite not having a systematic approach, here he developed the method of criticizing the akhbār to prove the creedal issues, and using reason. Thus, by combining logic and revelation (naql), he took the first step toward a rational method in kalām.

3. First Signs of Transition to Systematization

In his *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, al-Mufid offers more space to reason and Mu'tazilite ideas as he continues to adopt the methodology from his previous work. Although he does not yet deal with the ideas in a particular systematic way, it he follows a specific order in some places. In fact, in the critical edition text we have, he generally deals with the issues in the following order: tawhīd,¹⁸ justice,¹⁹ prophethood,²⁰ imāmate,²¹ ma'ād,²² and laṭīf al-kalām (natural philosophy).²³ He touches on these issues on their specific pages, as well as on other pages. However, he explains all the issues in a mixed way, especially outside of these pages. Considering the Imāmiyya works that have survived to the present day, it is understood that al-Mufid was the first author to independently focus on the issues of "laṭīf al-kalām." The emphasis Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī put on this issue influenced al-Mufid's assessments of these issues and decision to include them in his works. Because al-Balkhī generously covered, these issues in his work *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*.²⁴ Al-Mufid also referred to al-Balkhī in almost every subject he dealt with on this issue. In fact, al-Mufid said that he agreed with the Baghdād Mu'tazila or al-Balkhī in most of the cases he discussed in this particular work.

Apparently, al-Mufid may have been influenced by al-Balkhī's thoughts and the system of his work called *al-Maqālāt*. In fact, in some parts of his work, al-Balkhī sequentially deals with some of the issues in the same theme despite generally dealing with the subjects in a diverse way. Although it may seem diverse, he has

¹⁷ Mufid, *Taṣḥīh*, 123; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Ṣerh*, 2/718.

¹⁸ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu'mān al-Shaykh al-Mufid, *Awā'il Al-Maqālāt Fī al-Madhāhib Wa al-Mukhtārāt*, critical ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ansārī (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-'Ālamī li-Alfiyah al-Shaykh al-Mufid, 1413), 51-57 (art. 18-25).

¹⁹ Mufid, *Awā'il*, 57-61 (art. 26-31).

²⁰ Mufid, *Awā'il*, 62-64 (art. 32-35).

²¹ Mufid, *Awā'il*, 64-76 (art. 36-52).

²² Mufid, *Awā'il*, 76-88 (art. 53-71).

²³ Mufid, *Awā'il*, 95-139 (art. 82-156). It includes the addition of al-Sharif al-Raḍī between pages 134-139 (art. 153-156). al-Shaykh al-Mufid requested that this addition be included in the work. Thus, we can say that the ideas in this addition of al-Raḍī also represent the views of al-Mufid. In our opinion, there is no harm in attributing the ideas in this addition to al-Mufid together with al-Raḍī. For the explanation before article 153, see. Mufid, *Awā'il*, 134.

²⁴ Balkhī, *Al-Maqālāt*, 441 etc.

dealt with them in the critical edition text we have. He focuses on mainly the matters related to tawhīd between pages 239-285, issues related to prophethood between pages 285-296, issues related to justice between pages 296-363, issues related to ma'ād between pages 363-407, issues related to the imāmate between pages 426-441, and issues related to laṭīf al-kalām between pages 441-486. As mentioned before, it is difficult to make a page classification based on the subject since the issues are handled in a mixed way. As observed, although it does not display a systematic appearance in the full sense, it is similar to the system of al-Mufīd's *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*. Although we cannot talk about a complete system, we can however say that this work by Mufīd is the first to show signs of systematization in the field of kalām. Al-Mufīd discussed his work under the title of four chapters (bāb). In the first chapter, he terminologically examined the meanings of the words "tashayyu'" and "i'tizāl" to reveal the differences of opinion between Mu'tazila and Imāmiyya as well as to determine the sectarian affiliation. In the second chapter, he discussed the differences in belief between the Imāmiyya and other Shi'ite sects. In the third chapter, he pointed out the main issues the Imāmiyya agreed on against the Mu'tazila and other sects. In the fourth chapter, he presented a comparative view of the other sects or members of the sect, especially the Mu'tazila.²⁵

Al-Mufīd wrote this work not to systematize the Imāmiyya theology, but to show that the Imāmiyya theology is different from the views of the other sects, especially the Mu'tazila. However, he emphasizes these differences by putting the imāmate at the center and quotes many views, especially from Mu'tazila, on matters other than the imāmate. This is a clear example of how Imāmiyya started to methodologically take on a Mu'tazilite structure in kalām, while showing the first signs of becoming systematic. It is also observed that he tried to establish a certain subject-based system in his other works, which we will discuss next. This system is similar to that 'Abd al-Jabbār followed in his works. The following reasons may have influenced al-Mufīd's inclination to Mu'tazilite thought:

- Being educated by Mu'tazila scholars,
- The rational structure of the Mu'tazila
- The systematic structure of Mu'tazilite thought,
- Conflicts between Shi'ite groups and Sunnī groups,
- Support of Buwayhids to Shi'a and Mu'tazila,
- Scientific meetings of the Buwayhids, bringing together Mu'tazila and Imāmiyya scholars.²⁶

²⁵ Mufīd, *Awā'il*, 33-34; Mustafa Öz, "Evā'ilü'l-Makâlât," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995), 11/514-515; Bulut, *Usulîliğin Doğuşu*, 133-135.

²⁶ For detailed information on the subject, see. Bekir Altun, *Büveyhîler Döneminde Mu'tezile-İmâmiyye Etkileşimi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, PhD Dissertation,

We do not have any clear information on when al-Mufid may have authored his works. However, when we evaluate the methodology in his works and the change in his views, we get the following chronological order: *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt*, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*, and *al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya*. In his work titled *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt*, he corrects the views of his teacher al-Ṣadūq, therefore we believe that he wrote this following his teacher's death year in 381/991. If he wrote it prior to the death, we could argue that it may have been sometime after 368/979, since it is recorded that al-Ṣadūq authored his work that year.²⁷ However, the idea that al-Mufid would correct the ideas of his teacher, the leader of the Imāmiyya, while they are still alive is not sound. Therefore, we believe that al-Mufid may have written his works based on reason after 381/991.

We can also say *Awā'il al-Maqālāt* may have been written in 389/999, before 'Abd al-Jabbār came to Baghdād, since the latter's influence has not yet been found in that work. When 'Abd al-Jabbār came to Baghdād on the specified date,²⁸ al-Sharīf al-Raḍī said that he has read some of his works, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa*, in particular, under his supervision.²⁹ Although today's Shī'ite researchers do not want to accept it,³⁰ there is a prevailing opinion that al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā was also one of his students on this date.³¹ In fact, if we examine in detail al-Mufid's two works titled *al-Nukat* and the works of his students al-Murtaḍā and Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī's on kalām, almost all of their ideas, except for issues that directly concern the imāmate [such as prophethood, *wa'd* and *wa'id* (*promise and threat*)], almost completely coincide with those of 'Abd al-Jabbār.³² It seems that the influence of

2022). See also. Ahmet Güner, *Büveyhilerin Şîh-Sünnî Siyaseti* (İzmir: Tıbyan Yayıncılık, 1999); Muharrem Akoğlu, *Büveyhiler Döneminde Mu'tezile* (Ankara: İlahiyât, 2008).

²⁷ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharīrah İlā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1983), 2/226.

²⁸ al-Qāḍī Abd al-Jabbār stopped by Baghdād after a pilgrimage in 389/999 and stayed there for a year. Before this date, he went to Basran in 346/957, after taking kalām lessons from Abū Ishāq b. Ayyāsh (d. 386/996) for a while, he moved to Baghdād, stayed here until 360/970, and became a student of Abū Abd Allah al-Basrī. See. Abū Ṣād al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad Ḥākim al-Jushamī, "Sharḥ Al-'Uyūn," *Faḍl Al-'Itizāl Wa Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah*, critical ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Tūnis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyyah, 1986), 365–367; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt Al-Mu'tazila*, critical ed. Susanna Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kātūlikiyya, 1961), 112–113; Metin Yurdağür, "Kādī Abdülcebbār," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2001), 24/103–105.

²⁹ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Mūsā al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyah* (Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1422), 330.

³⁰ Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ja'farī, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā Aḍwā 'alā Ḥayātih Wa Āṣārih," *Al-Mulakhkhaṣ Fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, auth. al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. Mūsā (Tahran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānīshgāhī, 1381), 8.

³¹ 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, "Faḍl Al-'Itizāl Wa Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah," *Faḍl Al-'Itizāl Wa Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah*, critical ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Tūnis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyyah, 1986), 383–384; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt*, 117.

³² For detailed information on the subject, see. Altun, *Mu'tezile-İmāmiyye Etkileşimi*. See also. Hulusi Arslan, *İslam Düşünce Geleneğinde Şia-Mu'tezile Etkileşimi (Şerif El-Murtazâ Örneği)* (İstanbul:

‘Abd al-Jabbār’s ideas and methodology emerged in the works of Imāmiyya’s Uṣūlī scholars after 389/999.

4. Early Examples of Systematic Kalām

The *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*, written by al-Shaykh al-Mufid, is an introduction to the “uṣūl al-dīn”, that is, the kalām. This particular work, written about the methodology to be followed in the writing of the works on kalām, and its terms, shows features of being the first to be written to systematize the Imāmiyya kalām.³³ Another work written with the same methodology is *al-Nukat al-I’tiqādiyya*. This too is a treatise (risāla), systematizing the Imāmiyya creed and as the name suggests, is a brief summary. Before discussing the methodology of these works, we should briefly touch on the issue of belonging, since there is doubt about it belonging to al-Shaykh al-Mufid.

Mcdermott compared al-Mufid’s views in *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl* and *al-Nukat al-I’tiqādiyya* with his views in *Awā’il al-Maqālāt*. He determined that some of these views were different from *Awā’il al-Maqālāt*. Mcdermott added that al-Mufid did not use some of the philosophical terms used in these works in his other works, and that these terms became widely used only after his death. Accordingly, in *al-Nukat al-I’tiqādiyya*, al-Mufid used the concept of mawjūd mumkun (likely being)

Endülüs Yayınları, 2017); Hussein Ali Abdulsater, *Shi’i Doctrine Mu’tazili Theology: Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Imami Discourse* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

³³ Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusainī, “Taqdīm,” *Al-Nukat Fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*, auth. al-Shaykh al-Mufid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān (Qum: al-Mu’tamar al-‘Ālamī li-Alfiyah al-Shaykh al-Mufid, 1413), 8. There is another work called *al-Yāqūt fī Ilm al-Kalām*, which is known to be written by Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht (he is known as Ibn Nawbakht), who is mentioned to have died in the first half of the fourth century, in some early sources. See. al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-‘Allāmah al-Ḥillī, *Anwār Al-Malakūt Fī Sharh al-Yākūt*, critical ed. Muḥammad Najmī al-Zanjānī (Qum: al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1984), 2; Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ*, 5/4/38; ‘Alī Akbar Ḍiyā’ī, “Muqaddima,” *Al-Yāqūt Fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām* (Qum: Maktabah Ayat Allāh al-Mar’ashī, 2007), 13–15. If this work was copyrighted before Mufid, the first systematic work is the work of Ibn Nawbakht. However, Madelung said that the content of this work contains contradictions to the views of the Nawbakhtīs, that it is more suitable for the views of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and emphasized the possibility that this work may have been written a century later than the specified date. Ali Akbar Ziyāī who analyzed Ibn Nawbakht’s work, shared the same opinion and concluded that Ibn Nevbaht may have lived between the fifth and seventh centuries AH. See. Wilferd Madelung, “Imamism and Mu’tazilite Theology,” *Le Shi’isme Imāmīte*, ed. T. Fahd (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979), 15; Ḍiyā’ī, “Muqaddima,” 15–18. When the content and methodology of *al-Yāqūt* are examined, we can say that Madelung and Ali Akbar Ziyāī are right in this regard. Because it is not possible to talk about the existence of a systematic kalām work in Imāmiyya until al-Shaykh al-Mufid. When we look at the systematic kalām works of al-Shaykh al-Mufid, it is understood that he wrote these works towards the end of his life, that is, towards the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century AH.

for hādith (existing later) beings.³⁴ Mcdermott said that before al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), the concept of possible being for created beings only took place in this work and that the concepts of possible being and necessary being were different from the usage in al-Fārābī's (d. 339/950) philosophy, which produced these concepts. He did not consider it possible for al-Mufīd, who stated that he did not know about the terminology of philosophers, to use these terms to prove the existence of Allāh. In addition, the fact that the concepts of possible and necessary being were used only in this work among the existing works of al-Mufīd led him to this thought. He said that the parts in these work that contain information about justice, prophethood and imamate, are compatible with al-Mufīd's system of thought. He then said that some of the information in the section about *ma'ād* contradicted the information in *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*. In fact, he said there is no doubt among the believers about the witnessing of the limbs (shahāda al-jawāriḥ) on the day of judgment, and he explained that the witnessing of the limbs has a figurative meaning in *Awā'il*.³⁵

If we talk about Mcdermott's claims about necessary and possible being, it would be useful to check whether al-Mufīd's students used these concepts. When we examine the works of al-Murtaḍā that have survived to the present day, we do not see such uses. However, Al-Ṭūsī his another student used these concepts in a sense his teacher used in the issue of proving ma'rifa Allāh (knowledge of God) in his treatises "*Masā'il al-Kalāmiyya* (pp. 91-100)" and "*Risāla fī al-Itiqādāt* (pp. 101-107)" of his work *al-Rasā'il al-Ashr* has used.³⁶ It can be considered normal that al-Murtaḍā did not use these concepts since he followed the Baṣran Mu'tazila³⁷ (especially 'Abd al-Jabbār), rather than al-Mufīd in these matters. While al-Ṭūsī was a follower of al-Murtaḍā in general, he also shared the views of al-Mufīd on many issues. As a result, we can see the use of two of his teachers in his works. Mcdermott may not have had the opportunity to make such a comparison when he wrote his work, since he did not have these treatises of al-Ṭūsī, because the work that we are comparing was not mentioned in the bibliography of his book.

Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusainī³⁸ said there was only one work of al-Mufīd called *al-Nukat*, and this work was *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*. They said there was no doubt about this information and added that they did not consider it possible to attribute it to al-Mufīd because of the attribution of *al-Nukat al-Itiqādiyya* to al-

³⁴ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu'mān al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Al-Nukat al-Itiqādiyyah*, critical ed. Rızā al-Muhtārī (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-'Ālamī li-Alfiyah al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413), 17.

³⁵ Mufīd, *Al-Nukat al-Itiqādiyyah*, 47; Mufīd, *Awā'il*, 125 (art. 135); Mcdermott, *Al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 41-44.

³⁶ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Rasā'il al-Ashr* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1414), 93-94, 104-105.

³⁷ Arslan, *Şia-Mu'tezile Etkileşimi*, 60-61; Abdulsater, *Shi'i Doctrine*, 79.

³⁸ al-Ḥusainī made a critical edition of al-Mufīd's *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl* and wrote an introduction (taqdīm) to his work *al-Nukat al-Itiqādiyya*.

‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) in some manuscripts³⁹ and the differences between al-Mufid’s other works in terms of style. However, at a symposium on the thousandth anniversary of al-Mufid’s death, he and the organizing committee, despite all their differences, decided to publish this work and attributed it to al-Shaykh al-Mufid.⁴⁰ We do not see any problem attributing *al-Nukat al-Itiqādiyya* to al-Mufid, since it is in harmony with the majority of his views in his other works. His views here were influential on his students. Additionally, his use of the question-answer method in his two works called *al-Nukat* indicates that they are of a similar style.

The other work Mcdermott is suspicious of attributing to al-Mufid is *al-Nukat fi Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*. Although he makes other claims, he tries to justify his claim by saying that he puts reason before the revelation in al-Mufid. As a matter of fact, while al-Mufid, in his book *Awā’il al-Maqālāt*, says the reason cannot be separated from the revelation and needs the help of revelation, in this work, he says that the first responsibility that God imposes on man in terms of obligation (taklīf) is to reason about ma’rifa Allāh.⁴¹ Thereupon, Mcdermott said that al-Mufid’s claims that reason needs the help of revelation in *Awā’il* and that he puts reason before the revelation in *al-Nukat*, creates a contrast between these two works.⁴² However, we cannot say there is a contradiction on this issue. Because, according to al-Mufid, while the condition of moral obligation is a reason, reason needs revelation in the determination of the issues for which one is responsible. That is, the reason needs the help of revelation in determining the limits of the obligation, and the reason comes before it. Al-Mufid said apart from *al-Nukat*, knowing Allāh (ma’rifa Allāh), His prophet, and everything unseen is acquired knowledge and added that there is no question of compulsion in these matters in *Awā’il*.⁴³ If al-Mufid had made the statement that reason need revelation before obligation, as Mcdermott said, these two statements in the same work would have been inconsistent. In this case, *al-Nukat* does not seem to contradict the statement in *Awā’il*, that the “The first thing that Allāh has made obligatory for a responsible servant is to reason on the evidence of

³⁹ The methodology of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s work, called *al-Bāb al-Ḥādī Ashar*, is also similar to the methodology of this work. Because al-Ḥillī classified his work as attributes, justice, prophethood, imāmate and ma’ād. See. al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-‘Allāmah al-Ḥillī, *Al-Bāb al-Ḥādī Ashar*, critical ed. Maḥdī Muḥaqqiq (Tahran: Mu’assasa-i Matālāt-i Islāmī Dānishgāh-i McGill, 1986). While this is an indication that al-Ḥillī followed al-Mufid, it also indicates that the work belongs to al-Ḥillī.

⁴⁰ Mufid, *Al-Nukat al-Itiqādiyyah*, 3–4.

⁴¹ Mufid, *Awā’il*, 44; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān al-Shaykh al-Mufid, *Al-Nukat Fi Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*, critical ed. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusainī (Qum: al-Mu’tamar al-‘Ālamī li-Alfiyah al-Shaykh al-Mufid, 1413), 20.

⁴² Mcdermott, *Al-Shaikh al-Mufid*, 44–45, 62–66.

⁴³ Mufid, *Awā’il*, 61.

ma'rifa Allāh.” Al-Ḥusainī did not doubt the belonging of this work to al-Mufīd. As mentioned above, al-Ḥusainī did not doubt the belonging of the work to al-Mufīd, in terms of harmony and style with his other works in his introduction to this work.⁴⁴

As we mentioned before, al-Sheikh al-Mufid was born in Baghdad, the cradle of Islamic philosophy. He benefited from its scholarly tradition, was educated by several prominent Shī'ite, Sunnī and Mu'tazilite scholars, and wrote many works on the Akhbārī and Uṣūlī thought system of the Imāmiyya. He tried to save the Imāmiyya kalām from the akhbār-based structure and rationalize it. While his early works were closer to the Akhbārī school, his later works represented the Uṣūlī school due to its rational aspect. Therefore, there is no contradiction in his revised thoughts over time. It is quite natural that he used new terms in a work that he may have written toward the end of his life, because his intellectual life is a bridge for the transition from the Akhbārī school to the Uṣūlī school in Imāmiyya, and the systematization of kalām. Moreover, it is known that the term possibility was used by Kindī (d. 252/866), long before al-Mufīd, while the terms necessary and possible existence entered Islamic terminology with Fārābī (d. 339/950).⁴⁵ These scholars, on the other hand, lived in Baghdād for many years, benefited from its scholarly scene and contributed to the scholarly tradition.⁴⁶ There is no contradiction in using the scholarly terminology of his geography by al-Mufid, who grew up in Baghdād.

If we put aside the discussion of belonging and focus on the system in al-Mufid's two works *al-Nukat*, it can be said that they are the first systematic kalām and most systematic works of the Imāmiyya literary tradition. His *al-Nukat fi Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl* is an introductory book to the science of kalām. Like all sciences, the science of kalām has its terms. Some words have different meanings in the different branches of science. Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd has compiled this work especially to reveal the terminology of Imāmiyya theology on the issues of tawḥīd, prophethood, imāmate, plus wa'd and wa'id.

In the first chapter of his work, al-Mufid details the nature of concepts like naẓar, 'aql, 'ilm, ma'rifa, shakk, yaqīn, ḥaqq, bāṭil, ṣaḥīḥ, fāsīd, ṣidq, kidhb, ḥasan, qabīḥ, ḥujja, shubha, shai', mawjūd, ma'dūm, ḥadath, qidam, jism, jawhar, 'araḍ, ijtimā', iftirāk, ḥaraka, sukūn, and 'ālam. In the second, third and fourth chapters, he mentions the subject of tawḥīd, in the context of the origin of the universe (ḥudūth al-'ālam) and divine attributes. He dealt with the issues of prophethood in

⁴⁴ Ḥusainī, “Taqdīm,” 8–9.

⁴⁵ Sibel Kaya, “Zorunlulukla İlişkilendirilen Mümkün Varlık Tasavvurunun İslâm Felsefesindeki Konumu ve Müteahhîr Dönem Kelâmına Yansımaları,” *Bilimname* 2018/1/35 (2018), 538–539.

⁴⁶ See. Mahmut Kaya, “Kindî Ya'kûb b. İshak,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2002); Mahmut Kaya, “Fârâbî,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995).

the fifth chapter, the imāmate in the sixth, before discussing wa'd and wa'id in the seventh chapter. After explaining the theological terms an introductory chapter, he tried to systematize the Imāmiyya kalām under four main topics, namely, the issues of tawhīd, prophethood, imāmate and wa'd and wa'id. In the introduction, he also dealt with the issues of laṭīf al-kalām, something other sectarian theologians had frequently mentioned before, thus trying to explain all theological issues. However, he did not include the issue of justice here. This is probably due to the missing pages of the manuscripts that have survived to the present day, or their falsification because he had discussed issues related to justice in all his kalām works that we examined.⁴⁷ As mentioned above, he included the terms ḥasan and qabīḥ related to justice in the first part of his work. Hence, it seems illogical that would not deal with the issue of justice in a work that tried to systematize the Imāmiyya kalām. If he did not deliberately mention this issue, we do not have any information about the reason.

Al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya is another one of al-Mufīd's works, where he systematized and succinctly revealed the Imāmiyya kalām. This is al-Mufīd's most systematic work in the extent of a brief treatise, where he lists the subjects of uṣūl al-dīn under five principles: tawhīd, justice, prophethood, imāmate, and ma'ād. Unlike his other works, here he dealt with the issues of laṭīf al-kalām, while explaining the origin of the universe and divine attributes under the subject of tawhīd and he did not discuss them under separate titles. Unlike his other works called *al-Nukat*, here he briefly touched on the subject of justice within the context of the issue of ḥusn and qubḥ but did not dwell on it much, while expansively covering tawhīd within the framework of ma'rifa Allāh and divine attributes.⁴⁸

In terms of method and content, al-Mufīd's two works called *al-Nukat* are like 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa* and *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*⁴⁹. The method of handling the subjects is more similar to *al-Mukhtaṣar*'s in that it is in the form of a question (فإن قيل) and answer (فقل/فالجواب). In terms of system and content, it has many similarities to both the *Sharḥ* and *al-Mukhtaṣar*. However, the most significant difference between al-Mufīd's works and these is the approach to the subjects of imāmate and prophethood. 'Abd al-Jabbār handles the subject of prophethood independently in his work *al-Mukhtaṣar*, since he examines this subject within the framework of ḥusn, qubḥ and luṭf. He generally deals with this

⁴⁷ Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ*, 42, 46, 63, 103; Mufīd, *Awā'il*, 57–61; Mufīd, *Al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyyah*, 32–33.

⁴⁸ Mufīd, *Al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyyah*, 16–31.

⁴⁹ It is known that al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār wrote this work as a summary of his work *al-Mughnī*, upon the request of the Buwayhids Vizier al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995). See. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, "Al-Mukhtaṣar Fī Uṣūl al-Dīn," *Rasā'il al-'Adl Wa al-Tawhīd*, critical ed. Muḥammad Amāra (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥilāl, 1971), 167.

subject within the issue of justice.⁵⁰ He examined the issues related to the imāmate under the subject of al-amr bi al-ma'rūf al-nahy 'an al-munkar (commanding the good and forbidding evil) in the five-based classification, and under the subject of justice in the two-base classification (tawḥīd and justice).⁵¹ Al-Mufīd displaying a definite stance on this issue, mentioned the issues of prophethood and imāmate among the main subjects of uṣūl al-dīn. It is understood that this usage has become widespread with al-Mufīd in Imāmiyya. al-Murtaḍā who was a student of al-Mufīd and 'Abd al-Jabbār, followed the path of his teacher al-Mufīd and criticized 'Abd al-Jabbār. He said that the issues of prophethood and imāmate should be handled as separate principles.⁵² Likewise, al-Ṭūsī, who follows his teacher al-Murtaḍā in his works on kalām,⁵³ also mentioned prophethood and imāmate as separate principles.⁵⁴

Another situation that became widespread with al-Mufīd, is the efforts to gather the subjects related to uṣūl al-dīn under five principles. Although it seems that in the copies of his work *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl* we have, the issue of justice does not appear to be included, he mentioned this subject independently in his work *al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya*. Here, he built the uṣūl al-dīn on five main principles: tawḥīd, justice, prophethood, imāmate, and ma'ād. His student al-Murtaḍā applied this method in his works named *Jumal al-'Ilm wa al-'Amal* and *Sharḥ Jumal al-'Ilm wa al-'Amal*.⁵⁵ His another student al-Ṭūsī, used similar classifications, although not precisely the same classification in his work *al-Iqtisād*. It can be seen that al-Ṭūsī combined the classification of al-Mufīd's two works. Accordingly, he built the kalām part of his work on five principles: tawḥīd, justice, wa'd and wa'id, prophethood, and imāmate.⁵⁶ As mentioned before, al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, who lived about three centuries after him, used the classification of al-Mufīd's work called *al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya* in his work *al-Bāb al-Ḥādī Ashar*.⁵⁷ It seems that 'Abd al-

⁵⁰ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Ṣerḥ*, 2/420-422; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, "Al-Mukhtaṣar," 235-237.

⁵¹ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Ṣerḥ*, 1/200-206; 2/420-490 (prophethood), 688-714 (imāmate).

⁵² 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain al-Mūsā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* (Qum: Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 1405), 1/165-166.

⁵³ Almost all of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī's works in the field of kalām are like commentaries on al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's works. His ideas are often a repetition of his teacher's. See. Hassan Ansari - Sabine Schmidtke, "Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: His Writings on Theology and Their Reception," *The Study of Shi'i Islam*, ed. Farhad Daftary - Gurdofarid Miskinzoda (London: IB Tauris, 2014), 486-487; Altun, *Mu'tezile-Imāmiyye Etkileşimi*, 203, 206.

⁵⁴ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Iqtisād Fī Mā Yajib 'alā al-'Ibād*, critical ed. Muḥammad Kāzım el-Müsevī (Qum: Markaz Nūr al-Anvār, 1430), 283, 353.

⁵⁵ 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain al-Mūsā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Jumal Al-'Ilm Wa-l-'Amal*, critical ed. Rashīd al-Ṣaffār (Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Nu'mān, 1967), 30, 32, 43, 45, 47; 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain al-Mūsā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Sharḥ Jumal Al-'Ilm Wa-l-'Amal*, critical ed. Ya'qūb al-Ja'farī (Tahran: Dār al-Uswah, 1419), 39, 83, 169, 191, 241.

⁵⁶ Ṭūsī, *Al-Iqtisād*, 55, 105, 201, 283, 351.

⁵⁷ Ḥillī, *Al-Bāb al-Ḥādī Ashar*, 5, 25, 34, 39, 52.

Jabbār's five-based uṣūl al-dīn classification had an impact on Imāmiyya scholars, especially al-Mufīd.

Al-Mufīd's two works called *al-Nukat* are similar to the works of 'Abd al-Jabbār in content and methodology. When we consider the five-based classification, especially the issues of tawhīd and justice, it summarizes the views of 'Abd al-Jabbār despite some minor differences. If it does not directly relate to the imāmate, the same is true for the other issues. In fact, while al-Mufīd mentions the differences of opinion between Mu'tazila and Imāmiyya in his work *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, he draws attention to the principle of imāmate of Imāmiyya and al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn of Mu'tazila and tries to show the similarities other than these two as unimportant. According to him, these two views express sectarian identity.⁵⁸

The influence of the two Mu'tazila schools, al-Balkhī and 'Abd al-Jabbār in particular, on the al-Mufīd's ideas and methodology probably lies within these scholars' views on imāmate. In fact, al-Balkhī is a Baghdād Mu'tazila scholar and, like all Baghdādī scholars, he said 'Alī was the most superior (afḍal) of people after Muḥammad.⁵⁹ 'Abd al-Jabbār, on the other hand, is a scholar of the Baṣran Mu'tazila and is one of those who criticize the Imāmiyya's understanding of imāmate. He even focused on the issue in the 20th volume of his work titled *al-Mughnī*. While it is possible to conclude from his statements in *Mughnī* that 'Alī is most superior, he did not make a clear statement on this subject.⁶⁰ During 'Abd al-Jabbār's lifetime, most of the Baṣran Mu'tazila scholars, especially Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and al-Rummānī adopted 'Alī's superiority. However, it has been claimed that 'Abd al-Jabbār eventually changed his opinion on this issue. His student Mānkdim Shashdīw, whose work *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa* said 'Abd al-Jabbār adopted the view that 'Alī was most superior while he was writing the *Sharḥ*, and that he had not expressed an opinion on this subject before.⁶¹ All this indicates that the views of al-Balkhī and 'Abd al-Jabbār on imāmate were influential in al-Mufīd's inclination to their methodologies and thoughts. We can say that al-Mufīd's opening of the floodgate to this led his students, al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī to 'Abd al-Jabbār's works, views, and methodology. In addition, 'Abd al-Jabbār was the owner

⁵⁸ Mufīd, *Awā'il*, 34–38.

⁵⁹ Balkhī, *Al-Maqālāt*, 435.

⁶⁰ 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Al-Mughnī Fī Abwāb al-Tawhīd Wa al-ʿAdl* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Misriyyah, 1963), 20/2/413–444; Veysi Ünverdi, *Mu'tezile ve İmâmet (İmâmiyye Şîasi'nin İmâmet Anlayışının Eleştirisi: Kâdî Abdülcebbar Örneği)* (İstanbul: Endülüs Yayınları, 2020), 212–223.

⁶¹ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Şerḥ*, 2/714. Since Mānkdim Shashdīw is a person with a Shi'ite-Zaidī inclination, it is necessary to be cautious about what he says about this subject. Because, in the works of 'Abd al-Jabbār that have survived to the present day, there is no such direct expression of him. For reviews on the subject, see. Altun, *Mu'tezile-İmâmiyye Etkileşimi*, 109–111.

of systematic works that al-Mufid could take as an example, and the teacher of his students al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. These may be some of the reasons why al-Mufid tended toward ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s works and ideas.

Conclusion

The first systematic kalām works of Imāmiyya that survived to present day belong to al-Mufid. In his work *Awā’il al-Maqālāt*, his handling of some issues sequentially, although not under the titles, gives the first signals of the transition to a systematization. However, it is not possible to talk about the subject-based methodology of this work. The first work in which he systematized the Imāmiyya kalām was *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl*. In this work, he built the Imāmiyya kalām on four basic principles: tawḥīd, prophethood, imāmate, and wa’d and wa’id. However, he did not include the issue of justice. Although we do not know why he did so, he included justice-related issues to in all of his other works. On the other hand, in his work *al-Nukat al-I’tiqādiyya*, he handled the Imāmiyya kalām within the framework of five principles: tawḥīd, justice, prophethood, imāmate, and ma’ād. Although Mcdermott doubted the belonging of these two works to al-Mufid, Shi’ite researchers did not doubt that *al-Nukat fī Muqaddimāt al-Uṣūl* belonged to him. Since his *al-Nukat al-I’tiqādiyya* is compatible with his other works, they did not see any harm in publishing it by showing it as belonging to al-Mufid.

In our opinion, considering the views and scholarly position of al-Mufid, there is no objectionable situation showing these two works as belonging to him. The influence of the Baghdād Mu’tazila (especially al-Balkhī) in his work *Awā’il al-Maqālāt* and the Baṣran Mu’tazila (especially ‘Abd al-Jabbār) in his works *al-Nukat* can be seen both in terms of method and content. While al-Mufid was influenced by ‘Abd al-Jabbār in his five-based classification of uṣūl al-dīn, he also avoided imitating him completely by making the issues of prophethood and imāmate the main elements of the five-based classification. Thus, he was the first scholar to systematize the Imāmiyya kalām under five main principles, by displaying a Mu’tazilite attitude. His students al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī, who came after him, also followed his footsteps in applying this method.

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