

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ABŪ ḤANĪFA AND ZAYD IBN  
‘ALĪ  
– An Assessment in the Context of an Account in  
*al-Majmū‘ al-fiqhī*–**

Eren Gündüz  
*Uludağ University, Bursa-Turkey*

---

**Abstract**

This article analyzes various claims made by modern-day scholars about the educational connection between Zayd ibn ‘Alī and Abū Ḥanīfa. In light of historical data, these claims are evaluated here on the basis of an account in *al-Majmū‘ al-ḥadīthī wa-l-fiqhī*, attributed to Zayd. The main findings of the article are as follows: 1. Apart from the account in *al-Majmū‘*, there is no narration in early Islamic sources that is concerned with their educational relationship. 2. Abū Ḥanīfa saw Zayd, listened to his speeches, and recognized his superior qualities, but never served him as a disciple. 3. Before meeting in al-Kūfa, they did not recognize or interact with one another. Before meeting Zayd, Abū Ḥanīfa was a renowned *faqīh* in al-Kūfa, appreciated by friends of Zayd for his scientific authority. There was, however, no period of association between the two. Therefore, the argument that Abū Ḥanīfa served as a disciple of Zayd ibn ‘Alī for two years in al-Ḥijāz or al-Kūfa is rejected.

*Key Words:* Zayd ibn ‘Alī, *al-Majmū‘ al-fiqhī*, *Majmū‘ al-fiqh*, Abū Ḥanīfa

## Introduction

Several modern-day studies have presented various claims about the educational relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) and Zayd ibn ʿAlī (d. 122/740).<sup>1</sup> Certain researchers have claimed that Abū Ḥanīfa gained knowledge (ʿilm) from Zayd ibn ʿAlī, whereas others have gone one step further, arguing that Abū Ḥanīfa was Zayd’s disciple. Another group of studies refers to the accounts that list Zayd ibn ʿAlī among the masters (*sheikhs*) of Abū Ḥanīfa, although no such account exist. All of these assertions require close scrutiny.

Did Abū Ḥanīfa study with Zayd ibn ʿAlī? What references are used by those who defend this argument? Was this a master-apprentice relationship or a meeting of colleagues? Did the education of Abū Ḥanīfa by Zayd ibn ʿAlī occur in a two-year period of discipleship? What are the grounds for such an assertion? What is the main basis of claims which argue that an educational relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī existed?

In this article, we will determine how the various claims about this relationship have emerged, and explain the source of the ambiguity.

<sup>1</sup> See Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa: Ḥayātub<sup>ā</sup> wa-ʿaşrub<sup>ā</sup> - ārāʿub<sup>ā</sup> wa-fiqub<sup>ā</sup>* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1947), 30, 79; Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, *İmam-ı Azam ve Eseri [al-İmām al-Aʿzam and His Heritage]* (translated into Turkish by Kemal Kuşçu; Istanbul: Çağaloğlu Yayınevi, 1963), 17; Muştafā al-Shakʿa, *al-İmām al-Aʿzam Abū Ḥanīfa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Lubnāniyya, 1983), 54; Şālih Aḥmad al-Khatīb, *al-İmām Zayd al-muftarā ʿalayb* (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwa al-Jadida, 1984), 65; Ahmet Özel, *Hanefî Fıkıh Âlimleri [Ḥanaḫî Jurisprudents]* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), 14; Ali Bakkal, *İslâm Fıkıh Mezbepleri [Islamic Legal Schools]* (Istanbul: Rağbet Yayınevi, 2004), 62; Ekrem Sağıroğlu, *İmam-ı Azam Ebû Hanîfe: Hayatı, Siyaseti, Eseri [al-İmām al-Aʿzam Abū Ḥanīfa: His Life, Political Ideas and His Heritage]* (Istanbul: Yasin Yayınevi, 2002), 43; İsmet Demir, *İmâm-ı Âzam Ebû Hanîfe: Hayatı, İslâm Hukuku ve Hanefî Mezbebi'ni Tedvindeki Metodu [al-İmām al-Aʿzam Abū Ḥanīfa: His Life and His Place in the Formation of Islamic Law and Ḥanafism]* (Istanbul: Seçil Ofset, 2005), 105; Mehmet Erdoğan, “İbn Mesʿūd’dan Ebû Hanîfe’ye Rey Mektebi [The School of Raʿy from Ibn Masʿūd to Abū Ḥanīfa],” in İbrahim Hatiboğlu (ed.), *İmâm-ı Âzam Ebû Hanîfe ve Düşünce Sistemi – Sempozyum Tebliğ ve Müzakereleri – [al-İmām al-Aʿzam Abū Ḥanīfa and His Thought – Symposium Proceedings –]* (Bursa: Kurav Yayınları, 2005), I, 332; İsa Doğan, *İmam Zeyd b. Ali [al-İmām Zayd ibn ʿAlī]* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2009), 129.

Subsequently, we will analyze an account we consider to be highly important in the context of this study.

### **The Educational Relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī as Described in Several Contemporary Studies**

The researcher who focused on the relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī the most was Muḥammad Abū Zahra (d. 1974). His works, *Abū Ḥanīfa: Ḥayātuh<sup>ā</sup> wa-ʿaṣrub<sup>ā</sup> - ārāʾuh<sup>ā</sup> wa-fiḡbuh<sup>ā</sup>*, *al-Imām Zayd* and *Tāriḡb al-madhābīb al-Islāmiyya*, have served as a reference for subsequent studies. Thus, it is appropriate to begin by concentrating on Abū Zahra's works.

Based on the works of Abū Zahra, we can conclude that Abū Ḥanīfa knew of Zayd ibn ʿAlī. Nevertheless, this knowledge was limited to information exchanged during their meetings and was not a relationship of master-apprentice. Abū Zahra writes:

We do not suspect that Abū Ḥanīfa met Zayd ibn ʿAlī; but we do not believe that he was affiliated with him. On the contrary, he received knowledge from Zayd during their meetings, without any affiliation.<sup>2</sup>

Abū Zahra bases his argument that Abū Ḥanīfa received ʿilm from Zayd ibn ʿAlī on the following account, cited from *al-Rawḡ al-naḡīr Sharḡ Majmūʿ al-fiḡb al-kabīr* by al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḡmad al-Sayyāghī al-Ḥaymī al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1221/1806):

Abū Ḥanīfa said: I have seen Zayd ibn ʿAlī and his friends (*ablab<sup>ā</sup>*), but I have never seen a man more *faḡīb*, wise, witty, or honest than him in his day. He was a peerless personality.<sup>3</sup>

Abū Zahra also mentions this account in his *al-Imām Zayd*.<sup>4</sup> The source records statements made by Abū Ḥanīfa about Zayd, as well as references to the scientific discussions between the two. This is the source of Abū Zahra's claim that Abū Ḥanīfa considered Zayd ibn ʿAlī

<sup>2</sup> Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79.

<sup>3</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḡmad al-Sayyāghī al-Ḥaymī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Rawḡ al-naḡīr Sharḡ Majmūʿ al-fiḡb al-kabīr li-l-Imām Zayd* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, n.d.), I, 50; cf. Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79; id., *al-Imām Zayd* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1959), 70.

<sup>4</sup> Abū Zahra, *al-Imām Zayd*, 70.

to be the wisest scholar of his day.<sup>5</sup> Contrary to our expectations, there is no record of an actual discussion or scientific debate between Zayd and Abū Ḥanīfa. Did Abū Zahra find this account sufficient to claim that Abū Ḥanīfa received *‘ilm* from Zayd? We do not know. It is striking, however, that in the aforementioned works, despite the existence of quotations from such works as *Tārīkh Baghdād* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* by Muwaffaq ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī (d. 568/1173), *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* by Ibn al-Bazzāzī (d. 827/1424), and *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232)<sup>6</sup>, Abū Zahra only refers to al-Sayyāghī in this matter; this probably signifies that Abu Zahra does not have sufficient information, and prefers to leave the issue rather ambiguous. Was there any other information in *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* or other works that convinced Abū Zahra of such a view, even though he did not cite them? An examination of other works on the subject reveals even more ambiguity. For example, in his *al-Imām al-A‘zam Abū Ḥanīfa*, Muṣṭafā al-Shak‘a argues, “... But whatever the view on the issue is, Abū Ḥanīfa was a student of Zayd.”<sup>7</sup> Shak‘a does not, however, refer to any source. In addition, just as in Abū Zahra’s works, even though al-Shak‘a cites accounts of meetings between Abū Ḥanīfa and Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja‘far al-Šādiq and ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan,<sup>8</sup> we see that there is no evidence of his meeting with Zayd or having any association with him. The situation is almost identical in other studies on the subject.<sup>9</sup>

Aside from the data in *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, some works mention Zayd ibn ‘Alī as being one of the masters of Abū Ḥanīfa,<sup>10</sup> while others do not.<sup>11</sup> What is common in all of these studies is the lack of any

<sup>5</sup> Abū Zahra, *al-Imām Zayd*, 179.

<sup>6</sup> For several examples, see Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 37, 38, 49, 73, 74; id., *al-Imām Zayd*, 44, 47, 51, 57, 58, 64, 71 et seq.; id., *Tārīkh al madhbāb al-Islāmīyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 348, 349, 351.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Shak‘a, *al-Imām al-A‘zam*, 54.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 49-58; Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 80-81.

<sup>9</sup> For other examples see al-Khaṭīb, *al-Imām Zayd*, 65; Özcel, *Haneḫī Fıkıb Âlimleri*, 14; İḥamīdullah, *İmam-ı Azam ve Eseri*, 17.

<sup>10</sup> See Muwaffaq ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1981), 41.

<sup>11</sup> See Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Dhahabī, *Manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa ve sāhibayb’ Abī Yūsuf wa-Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan* (Cai-

information that clearly defines the relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī. Maybe this is why Abū Zahra only relies on *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* in this matter. Can this work lead us to the source of the views on this subject? In our analysis, we found two points of reference for al-Sayyāghī. One of these is *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dbikr al-kbiṭaṭ wa-l-āthbār* by Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). The words, which are quoted by Abū Zahra from *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* and attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, are cited by al-Sayyāghī from this author.<sup>12</sup> Other writers referred to by al-Sayyāghī are Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf (d. 1191/1777) and Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn (ibn al-Muʿayyad billāh Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim) (d. 1090/1679), both of whom are Zaydī. Because these authors lived in a later era, they can be disregarded. The last two, however, have led us to examine the relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī in a different light. Thus far, theories about this connection have been based on general historical and biographical works on these figures, including works from the Zaydī world. Identifying the approach to the subject in these works enables an appropriate assessment of their theories.<sup>13</sup>

Our second question, “Did the education of Abū Ḥanīfa by Zayd ibn ʿAlī consist of a two-year period of discipleship?” is not explicitly addressed by Abū Zahra. His statement, “We do not believe he was affiliated to Zayd ibn ʿAlī. On the contrary, he received knowledge from Zayd during their meetings, without any affiliation,”<sup>14</sup> affirms that Abū Ḥanīfa was not a regular student of Zayd. However, Abū Zahra does not describe when these meetings took place or at what intervals they occurred. Similarly, Abū Zahra apparently quotes from *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* once again: “It is rumored that Abū Ḥanīfa was his student for two years (*tatalmadha lab<sup>u</sup> sanatayn*)”;<sup>15</sup> however, what is being commented on here is whether Abū Ḥanīfa was a bound

---

ro: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, n.d.), 11; Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Bazzāzī al-Kardārī, *Manāqib al-Imām al-ʿAzam Abī Ḥanīfa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1981), 85.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 50; cf. Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dbikr al-kbiṭaṭ wa-l-āthbār* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), II, 436.

<sup>13</sup> As it would be more appropriate to handle the approaches of these people in later chapters of our study, they will not be discussed here.

<sup>14</sup> Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79; al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 66.

disciple to Zayd. After writing, “It is rumored that he was his student for two years” without giving any references, Abū Zahra quotes from al-Sayyāghī: “I saw Zayd ibn ‘Alī and his friends ...”<sup>16</sup> He writes, “We do not suspect that Abū Ḥanīfa met him; but we do not believe he was affiliated with Zayd ibn ‘Alī.”<sup>17</sup> As Abū Zahra accepts that Abū Ḥanīfa met with Zayd ibn ‘Alī, even though it was not a form of regular discipleship, the question remains, when and where could these meetings have occurred, in al-Ḥijāz or in al-Kūfa? According to Abū Zahra, the answer is al-Kūfa.

In his work, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, Abū Zahra relates the accounts that Abū Ḥanīfa met Muḥammad al-Bāqir when he was still a disciple to Ḥammād, and met Ja‘far al-Šādiq in al-Ḥira in the presence of al-Manšūr, the second ‘Abbāsīd Caliph.<sup>18</sup> Abū Zahra does not provide any information about the time or place of Abū Ḥanīfa’s meeting with Zayd ibn ‘Alī. In his *al-Imām Zayd*, however, Abū Zahra claims that Abū Ḥanīfa met Zayd in al-Kūfa and, providing quotations about Zayd, heralds the intellectual discussions that would occur between them.<sup>19</sup> This evidently does not contradict the fact that Abū Ḥanīfa may have met Zayd ibn ‘Alī during his sojourns in al-Ḥijāz; nonetheless, it is most likely that the two-year period of meetings mentioned happened when both were residing in the same region. These meetings must have occurred during Abū Ḥanīfa’s residence in al-Ḥijāz or Zayd’s sojourn in al-Kūfa. Abū Zahra does not relate anything else about Zayd’s time in al-Kūfa or his intellectual connections with Abū Ḥanīfa. As for Abū Ḥanīfa’s residing in al-Ḥijāz, Abū Zahra relates that this occurred long after the death of Zayd ibn ‘Alī. According to Abū Zahra, in 130/747-748, Abū Ḥanīfa escaped the torture of the Umayyad governor, ‘Umar ibn Hubayra, and sought refuge in Mecca, where he continued to live for two years. When the Umayyad Caliphate ended in 132/750, he returned to al-Kūfa and paid homage to al-Šaffāḥ, the first ‘Abbāsīd Caliph, while continuing to live in Mecca until 136/753-54 due to unrest in ‘Irāq.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, according to Abū Zahra, Abū Ḥanīfa resided in al-Ḥijāz only after Zayd’s death. As Abū

<sup>16</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 50; cf. Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79; id., *al-Imām Zayd*, 70.

<sup>17</sup> Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79.

<sup>18</sup> Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79-81.

<sup>19</sup> Abū Zahra, *al-Imām Zayd*, 179.

<sup>20</sup> Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 41-42.

Zahra gives no details about the sojourn of Zayd ibn ʿAlī in al-Kūfa, apart from relating their meeting in this city, he cannot claim that Abū Ḥanīfa was Zayd's disciple for two years. Thus, it cannot be accurately claimed that Abū Zahra affirms Abū Ḥanīfa as a disciple of Zayd ibn ʿAlī for a period of two years.<sup>21</sup> The emergence of such a claim, however, is not totally unrelated to the fact that Abū Zahra left the subject ambiguous. We will return to the sources of Abū Zahra that serve as the grounds for this assertion during our investigation of the third question. At this point, however, we must investigate whether this assertion originated in the works of Abū Zahra.

In his *al-Imām al-ʿAzam Abū Ḥanīfa*, Muṣṭafā al-Shakʿa argues that Abū Ḥanīfa studied with Zayd ibn ʿAlī, but he offers no support for this assertion. Moreover, this suggestion, given without reference, contradicts the above-given findings of Abū Zahra. Then again, despite Abū Zahra's assertion that Abū Ḥanīfa lived in al-Ḥijāz after 130/747-748, according to al-Shakʿa, the interaction between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī happened during Abū Ḥanīfa's stay in al-Ḥijāz.<sup>22</sup> In other relevant studies, the same assertion is found without any references. In certain works, however, writers refer to *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī. İsmet Demir, for example, refers to him, stating: "Even though Abū Ḥanīfa was one year younger than Zayd ibn ʿAlī, he was the latter's disciple for two years, and in a sense, made up for his deficiency in ḥadīth thanks to Zayd ibn ʿAlī, who was a master of ḥadīth from the school of *raʿy*".<sup>23</sup> However, upon a closer analysis of *al-Kashshāf*, we see that al-Zamakhsharī says nothing about the educational relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd. The description in this work refers to the reaction of Abū Ḥanīfa to Zayd ibn ʿAlī's rebellion.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Erdoğan, "İbn Mesʿūd'dan Ebū Hanīfe'ye Rey Mektebi," 332.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Shakʿa, *al-Imām al-ʿAzam*, 54.

<sup>23</sup> Demir, *İmām-ı Âzam*, 105; cf. Abū l-Qāsim Jār Allāh Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʿiq ḡhawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa-uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʿwīl* (ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwid; Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-ʿUbaykān, 1998), I, 318.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī says the following: "Abū Ḥanīfa secretly placed a *fatwā* on Zayd ibn ʿAlī to help and provide him with financial assistance and concerned with the necessity of rebelling together." See al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, I, 318.

As explained above, one of the main sources in contemporary studies suggesting an educational connection between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī is the following quote, attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa:

I have seen Zayd ibn ʿAlī and his friends, but have never seen a man more *faqīh*, wise, witty, or honest than him in his day. He was a peerless personality.<sup>25</sup>

Abū Zahra takes this quote from al-Sayyāghī, who, in turn, took it from al-Maqrīzī. Other contemporary works clarify that this quotation cannot be found in any source earlier than al-Maqrīzī.<sup>26</sup> Another support for the claim that Abū Ḥanīfa was a disciple of Zayd for two years is the statement by Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh ibn al-Qāsim, a Zaydī scholar, to whom al-Sayyāghī refers.

Al-Sayyāghī writes:

In the marginal notes (*taʿlīq*) of *al-Majmūʿ* transmitted by Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn, I saw that Abū Ḥanīfa was among the disciples of Zayd ibn ʿAlī, and that he took lessons from him for two years.<sup>27</sup>

There is no other valid support for a period of two years in Zaydī literature. As a matter of fact, despite al-Sayyāghī being willing to collect all the material in favor of Zayd ibn ʿAlī and his *al-Majmūʿ*, and to examine all claims about them in his voluminous work, which is a commentary on *al-Majmūʿ*, he never cites Zaydī or Sunnī sources of the early period in support of this claim. Although carrying out a thorough analysis of several early Zaydī and Imāmī sources, we have been unable to find any evidence to support this assertion.<sup>28</sup> Never-

<sup>25</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 50; cf. Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 79; id., *al-Imām Zayd*, 76.

<sup>26</sup> At this stage, we would like to mention two works and their references that describe the words attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, with respect to the connection between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī: Aḥmad Shawqī Ibrāhīm ʿAmarraǧī, *al-Ḥayāt al-siyāsiyya wa-l-fikriyya li-l-Zaydiyya fī l-mashriq al-Islāmī* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 2000), 37 (referring to *al-Mawāʿiẓ* by al-Maqrīzī); Faḍīla ʿAbd al-Amīr al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-firqa al-Zaydiyya bayna l-qarnayn al-thānī wa-l-tbālith li-l-bijra* (Baghdād: Wizārat Turāth, 1974), 83 (referring to *al-Aʿlām* by Ziriklī).

<sup>27</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 66.

<sup>28</sup> In this matter, the following works can be referred to: *al-Kutub al-arbaʿa*; *al-Rijāl* by al-Najāshī; *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī; *Amālī* by Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Zayd; *al-Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Yaḥyā ibn Ḥusayn



theless, even though there is an account in *al-Majmūʿ*, narrating that Abū Ḥanīfa and his companions went to a house in al-Kūfa where Zayd secretly lived and they met, the commentator does not cite this account when discussing whether or not Abū Ḥanīfa was a disciple of Zayd ibn ʿAlī, and gives no detail or interpretation of the significance of this encounter.<sup>29</sup> For this reason, this account must be carefully evaluated.

### Evidence for the Relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī

The principal source for the basis of our article is the following account found in *al-Majmūʿ*,<sup>30</sup> attributed to Zayd ibn ʿAlī:

قال أبو خالد رضي الله عنه لما دخل زيد بن علي عليهم السلام الكوفة استخفى في دار عبدالله بن الزبير [الاسدي] فبلغ ذلك أبا حنيفة فكلم معاوية بن إسحاق السلمي ونصر بن خزيمه العبسي وسعيد بن خثيم حتى دخلوا على زيد بن علي عليهم السلام فقالوا هذا رجل من فقهاء الكوفة، فقال زيد بن علي عليه السلام ما مفتاح الصلاة وما افتتاحها وما استفتاحها وما تحريمها وما تحليلها، قال: فقال ابوحنيفة مفتاح الصلاة الطهور وتحريمها التكبير وتحليلها التسليم وافتتاح الصلاة التكبير لان النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم كان اذا افتتح الصلاة كبر ورفع يديه والاستفتاح هو سبحانك اللهم وبحمدك وتبارك اسمك وتعالى جدك ولا إله غيرك لانه روي عن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم انه كان اذا استفتح الصلاة قال ذلك فأعجب زيدا عليه السلام ذلك منه.

Abū Khālid said the following: When Zayd ibn ʿAlī came to al-Kūfa, he hid in the house of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr [al-Asadī]. When Abū

Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq; *Nuṣrat madhbāb al-Zaydiyya* by Ṣāhib ibn ʿAbbād; *al-Ifāda fī tārikh al-aʿimma al-sāda* by Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq al-Hārūnī; and *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʿimmat al-Zaydiyya* by al-Maḥallī.

<sup>29</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir*, II, 5-6.

<sup>30</sup> The editions of the book: Zayd ibn ʿAlī, “*Corpus Iuris*” di Zaid Ibn ʿAlī (= *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*) (ed. Eugenio Griffini; Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1919); id., *Musnad al-Imām Zayd* (ed. ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ ibn Yaḥyā; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983); id., *al-Majmūʿ al-ḥadīthī wa-l-fiqhī* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥammūd al-ʿIzzī; ʿAmmān: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd ibn ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2002); for more about this book see Eren Gündüz, *Zeyd bin Ali: Hayatı, Eserleri ve İslam Hukuk Düşüncesindeki Yeri* [*Zayd ibn ʿAlī: His Life, Works, and Place in Islamic Legal Thought*] (Istanbul: Düşünce Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008).

Ḥanīfa learned about this, he spoke to Mu‘āwiya ibn Ishāq al-Sulamī, Naṣr ibn Khuzayma al-‘Absī and Sa‘īd ibn Khuthaym. When they finally met with Zayd ibn ‘Alī, they said about Abū Ḥanīfa: “This is one of the *faqīhs* of al-Kūfa.” Thereupon, Zayd ibn ‘Alī asked: “What is the key (*miftāḥ*), the initial words (*iftitāḥ*), the initial prayer (*istiftāḥ*), the beginning (*taḥrīm*) and the end (*taḥlīl*) of the *ṣalāt*?” Abū Ḥanīfa responded: “The key of the *ṣalāt* is purification (*al-ṭubūr*); its beginning is *takbīr*; and its end is *salām* (*al-taslīm*). The *ṣalāt* begins with *takbīr* because the Prophet (pbuh) recited *takbīr* and raised his hands at the beginning of the *ṣalāt*. Here is the opening prayer: Glory be to You, O Allah, and all praises are due unto You, and blessed is Your name and high is Your majesty and there is no god but You. It is related from the Prophet (pbuh) that he recited this prayer when he wanted to begin the *ṣalāt*.” The answer pleased Zayd ibn ‘Alī.<sup>31</sup>

First, we have to stress the authenticity of the prayer at the end of this account, as it is attributed to the Prophet in both Sunnī and Shī‘ī ḥadīth sources.<sup>32</sup> As for *al-Majmū‘* which includes the account, there are varying opinions about its status.

According to Zaydīs, due to its content and its attribution to Imām Zayd, this is a reliable book of ḥadīth and fiqh.<sup>33</sup> Sunnī ḥadīth and fiqh literature, however, does not attribute any value to the book. This is because Abū Khālid ‘Amr ibn Khālid, the first narrator of the book, said that he was the only one who narrated it from Zayd. Abū Khālid is a weak narrator who is heavily criticized by Sunnī scholars

<sup>31</sup> Zayd ibn ‘Alī, *al-Majmū‘ al-ḥadīthī wa-l-fiqhī*, 85.

<sup>32</sup> For the account related as *مفتاح الصلاة الطهور وتحريمها التكبير وتحليلها التسليم* by Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, see al-Tirmidhī, “Ṣalāt,” 176. The ḥadīth has also been transmitted from ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ibn ‘Abbās through various chains of narrators. See Ibn Māja, “Ṭahāra,” 3; al-Tirmidhī, “Ṭahāra,” 3; “Ṣalāt,” 176. Some parts of this account are directly attributed to ‘Alī, related in four credible ḥadīth sources of the Imāmiyya; see Ja‘far Subḥānī, *Buḥūth fī l-mīlāl wa-l-niḥāl* (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1995), VII, 137-154.

<sup>33</sup> See Ibrāhīm ibn Qāsim ibn al-Imām al-Mu‘ayyad billāh, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya* (ed. ‘Abd al-Salām ibn ‘Abbās al-Wajīh; ‘Ammān: Mu‘assasat al-Imām Zayd ibn ‘Alī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2001), I, 49-51; al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 11, 68-69; ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥammūd al-‘Izzī, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth ‘inda l-Zaydiyya wa-l-muḥaddithīn* (‘Ammān: Mu‘assasat al-Imām Zayd ibn ‘Alī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2001), 17, 144, 275; Zayd ibn ‘Alī, *Musnad*, 17.

of *ʿilm al-rijāl*, and is not considered to be a competent scholar in ḥadīth narration.<sup>34</sup>

Many accounts in the work can be found in both Shīʿī and Sunnī ḥadīth sources. Nevertheless, it cannot be expected that any value be assigned by Imāmī Shīʿīs to this work due to their approach to the ḥadīth.<sup>35</sup>

The first modern study of the subject is found in *Corpus Iuris di Zaid Ibn ʿAlī* (= *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*) edited by Griffini (d. 1925). The work was well received by certain experts from both the Western and Islamic worlds.<sup>36</sup>

As for the content of the account, it is accepted that Abū Ḥanīfa's response to Zayd ibn ʿAlī is accurate given its appearance in related sources. One of the versions appears in *Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa* as follows:<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-iʿtidāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifā, n.d.), III, 257.

<sup>35</sup> See Subḥānī, *Buḥūth*, VII, 137-139; cf. Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, *Tabḍīb al-aḥkām* (ed. al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Khursān; Beirut: Dār Ṣaʿb, 1981), VII, 251; id., *al-Istibṣār fī-mā ukbtulifa min al-akbbār* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1970), I, 66. For Shīʿī views of ḥadīth and the support for the above-given belief, see Etan Kohlberg, "Shīʿī Ḥadīth," in A. F. L. Beeston et al. (eds.), *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 299-307; Saffet Köse, "Fıkıh Literatürünün Tartışmalı İki Eseri: *el-Mecmūʿu'l-kebir* ve *el-Mebâric fî'l-hiyel* [Two Discussed Works of the Fiqh Literature: *Al-Majmūʿ al-kabîr* and *al-Makbârij fî l-hiyal*]," *İslâm Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi* [Journal of Islamic Law Studies] 3 (2004), 289-311, particularly pp. 296-297.

<sup>36</sup> Al-ʿAbbās ibn Aḥmad ibn İbrâhîm ibn Aḥmad al-Yemenî, *Tatimmat al-Rawḍ al-naḍîr* (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, n.d.), 331-344; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), I, 552-555; id., *Târikh al-turâth al-ʿArabî* (translated into Arabic by Maḥmūd Fahmî Hîjâzî; Riyâd: Jâmiʿat al-Imâm Muḥammad ibn Suʿūd al-Islâmiyya, 1991), I (part: III), 315; Muḥammad ʿAjjâj al-Khatîb, *al-Sunna qabla l-tadwîn* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1963), 371; id., *al-Mukhtaṣar al-wajîz fî ʿulûm al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risâla, 1987), 83; id., *Uṣûl al-ḥadīth: ʿUlûmub<sup>â</sup> wa-muṣṭalaḥub<sup>â</sup>* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), 216; Köse, "Fıkıh Literatürünün Tartışmalı İki Eseri," 291-301.

<sup>37</sup> Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allâh al-Iṣfahânî, *Musnad al-Imâm Abī Ḥanīfa* (Riyâd: Maktabat al-Kawthar, 1994), 130; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybânî, *al-Āḥbâr* (ed. Abū l-Wafâʾ al-Afghânî; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1993), I, 1.

عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال الوضوء مفتاح الصلاة، والتكبير تحريمها، والتحليل تسليم وفي كل ركعتين تسليم، ولا تجزئ صلاة إلا بفاتحة الكتاب، ومعها غيرها.

The Prophet (pbuh) said: *Wuḍūʾ* is the key of the *ṣalāt*. *Takbīr* ends its connection with the world and *salām* restores its connection. The *salām* takes place in every two *rakʿas*. The *ṣalāt* may be valid only if the Fātiḥa of the Book is recited, along with another [sūra].

This account, narrated by Abū Saīd al-Khudrī, is found in *al-Sunan* by al-Bayhaqī with the same wording and chain of narrators (‘an Abī Ḥanīfa ‘an Abī Sufyān ‘an Abī Naḍra ‘an Abī Sa‘īd al-Khudrī).<sup>38</sup>

Upon Zayd ibn ‘Alī’s question, “What is the key of the *ṣalāt*?” Abū Ḥanīfa answers: “The key of the *ṣalāt* is purification (*ṭubūr*).” In his response, he uses the word *ṭubūr*, whereas these narrations use the term *wuḍūʾ*. The word *ṭubūr* means the action of eliminating the condition of impurity and absence of *wuḍūʾ*, a state that hinders the performance of the *ṣalāt* in fiqh literature. It is synonymous with the word *wuḍūʾ*, which signifies purity from the condition that requires *wuḍūʾ*.<sup>39</sup> Other subtle changes in the narrations are found in the translocation of the subject and verb. Considering that the expressions *wuḍūʾ* and *ṭubūr* are synonymous, there is no inconsistency between the beginning of these narrations and the one found in *al-Majmūʿ*. The remainder of the narration is not found in *Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*. Nevertheless, Abū Ḥanīfa refers to this hadith by stating: “Here is the opening prayer: *Subḥānaka-llāhumma wa-bi-ḥamdik wa-tabāraka-smuk wa-ta‘ālā jadduk wa-lā ilāha ghayruk*. As is related from the Prophet (pbuh), he said this prayer when he wanted to begin the *ṣalāt*.” This, despite being slightly modified, was narrated by Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī in other credible ḥadīth sources.<sup>40</sup>

The inaugural prayer of the *ṣalāt*, which is found in this account within Ḥanafī tradition, is replaced by other Qur’ānic-based wordings in Zaydī fiqh. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the narration is contrary to Zaydī fiqh. Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq

<sup>38</sup> Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā* (Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Uthmāniyya, 1927), II, 380.

<sup>39</sup> Sa‘dī Abū Jayb, *al-Qāmūs al-fiqhī* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1982), 234.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Nasā‘ī, “Ifitāḥ,” 19; al-Tirmidhī, “Ṣalāt,” 179.

(d. 298/911), the founder of the Hādawī branch of Zaydiyya, after mentioning an inaugural prayer attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib – which is also found in *al-Majmū‘*<sup>41</sup> – writes: “This is the most beautiful prayer we ever heard among the ones said during inauguration.” Thus, he sees other inaugural prayers as valid in terms of fiqh.<sup>42</sup> Al-Sayyāghī also says “This inauguration is one that is rumored to belong to the Prophet, and it is known as ‘the inauguration of Ibn Mas‘ūd’ (*istiftāḥ Ibn Mas‘ūd*) by ḥadīth scholars [*abl al-ḥadīth*.]”<sup>43</sup>

Before commenting on the aforementioned account, it is necessary to evaluate it from a historical point of view. Have historical sources ever recorded such an event? In other words, can we historically verify that Zayd ibn ‘Alī came to al-Kūfa, hid in this city, and met Abū Ḥanīfa there?

The account in *al-Majmū‘* is found neither in historical works nor in biographies. Nevertheless, it is possible to obtain some clues as to the probability of the encounter. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232), who recorded historical events, give the date of the rebellion of Zayd ibn ‘Alī as 121/738-739 and his murder as 122/739-740.<sup>44</sup> In spite of conflicting opinions about the residence of Zayd ibn ‘Alī in al-Kūfa, it is certain that he stayed there during the reign of Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar, who became governor of ‘Irāq following the dismissal of Khālīd ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. Al-Qasrī’s governorship of ‘Irāq took place between 105/723-724 and 120/737-738. The assignment of Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar as governor was in 121/738-739.<sup>45</sup> In

<sup>41</sup> Zayd ibn ‘Alī, *al-Majmū‘ al-ḥadīthī wa-l-fiqhī*, 85.

<sup>42</sup> Yahyā ibn al-Ḥusayn Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, *al-Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Yemen: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003), I, 91.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, II, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm; Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.), VII, 160, 180; ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1987), IV, 443, 452.

<sup>45</sup> Abdulkерim Özyaydın, “Hālīd ibn Abdullah el-Kasrī [Khālīd ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī],” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* [*Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam*], XV, 281-282; Mustafa Demirci, “Emevīlerin Irak Valisi Hālīd ibn Abdullah el-Kasrī’nin Hayatı ve Faaliyetleri [The Life and Activities of Khālīd ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, the ‘Irāq Governor of the Umayyads],” *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* [*Journal of Academic Research in Religious Studies*] 4/3 (2004), 61-74; Melek Yılmaz Gömbeyaz, “Bir Emevī Valisi:

light of the accounts in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Zayd ibn ‘Alī was sent by Caliph al-Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 105-125/724-743) to Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar to confront Khālid al-Qasrī, the previous governor, regarding a past case.<sup>46</sup> Zayd ibn ‘Alī did not, however, leave al-Kūfa immediately, rather staying there for another four or five months.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, certain residents of al-Kūfa visited him and incited a rebellion.<sup>48</sup> Thereafter, the governor, who had been warned by Caliph al-Hishām, made continuous inquiries about Zayd and forced him to leave the city.<sup>49</sup> Zayd ibn ‘Alī left the city, but returned upon promises of support by the al-Kūfa Shī‘īs who had followed him to al-Qādisiyya.<sup>50</sup> It was at this time that Zayd ibn ‘Alī hid in al-Kūfa.<sup>51</sup> He spent two months of his secret eleven-month preparations for rebellion<sup>52</sup> in Baṣra.<sup>53</sup> According to an account in *al-Majmū‘*, upon his arrival in al-Kūfa Zayd hid. Therefore, Abū Ḥanīfa’s meeting with Zayd ibn ‘Alī during the latter’s secret residence in al-Kūfa could have been possible only a few months before Zayd’s death.<sup>54</sup>

The Sunnī sources provide no reference to a meeting or dialogue between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd as related in *al-Majmū‘*, and there is no evidence to show that he was taught by Zayd.

Apart from this account on the educational relationship between Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ‘Alī, some historical and biographical sources give several accounts of Abū Ḥanīfa’s opposition to the revolt of Zayd. Although they are not directly related to our subject, we would like to mention such accounts here in the hope of providing

---

Hālid b. Abdullah al-Kasrī [An Umayyad Governor: Khālid ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī],” *ISTEM* 8 (2006), 237-254, particularly 250.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 161.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 167.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 166.

<sup>49</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 169-171.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 166; Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq al-Hārūnī, *al-Ifāda fī tārīkh al-a’imma al-sāda* (Yemen: Manshūrāt Markaz Ahl al-Bayt, 2001), 45.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 171.

<sup>52</sup> al-Hārūnī, *al-Ifāda*, 47.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 171.

<sup>54</sup> According to many accounts, Zayd ibn ‘Alī passed away in 122/739-740, at the age of 42. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 180; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IV, 443; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1992), V, 390.

some clues. As related in *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* by al-Maḥallī (d. 652/1254), when Zayd ibn ʿAlī began to invite people in al-Kūfa to pay homage to him, he sent al-Fuḍayl ibn al-Zubayr to Abū Ḥanīfa. When Fuḍayl came to Abū Ḥanīfa and delivered the letter from Zayd ibn ʿAlī, Abū Ḥanīfa was speechless. Then, he cried, “Shame on you; what are you talking about?” Fuḍayl responded: “Why do you not help him? It is just to make *jibād* alongside him.” Abū Ḥanīfa asked, “Which *faqīhs* have joined him?” Fuḍayl responded, “Salama ibn Kuhayl, Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād, Hāshim Hārūn ibn Ṣaʿd, Abū Hāshim al-Rummānī, Ḥajjāj ibn Dīnār and others.” Abū Ḥanīfa did not give his final answer that day. The following day, when he secretly met with the envoy, he declared: “Send him my regards. As for rebellion with you (*al-kburūj maʿak*), this I cannot do. However, I have assistance and power to help you in your *jibād* against your enemy; you and your companions may use this for mounts and weapons.” Thus, he subsidized Zayd ibn ʿAlī. The amount was rumored to be thirty thousand dirham or dīnār.<sup>55</sup>

Abū Ḥanīfa said the following regarding the revolt of Zayd ibn ʿAlī: “This rebellion seems to be like the rising of the Prophet on the day of Badr.”<sup>56</sup> When asked why he had not joined in the war alongside Zayd ibn ʿAlī, he answered: “If I knew people would not desert him, contrary to what they did to his grandfather, I would certainly join him in *jibād*, since he is the just imām. It is for this reason that I provided him with financial support.”<sup>57</sup>

### Assessment & Conclusion

1. At the beginning of the account in *al-Majmūʿ*, it is said that Zayd ibn ʿAlī kept himself out of sight in a house when he arrived in

<sup>55</sup> Ḥamīd al-Shahīd ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maḥallī, *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* (ed. al-Murtaḍā ibn Zayd al-Maḥṭūrī; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Yemen: Maktabat Markaz Badr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 2002), I, 254; cf. Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb jumal min Ansāb al-asbrāf* (eds. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyāḍ Zirīklī; Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), III, 1361; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, (ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr; Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, n.d.), 147; al-Hārūnī, *al-Ifāda*, 46; Ibn al-Bazzāzī, *Manāqib*, 267.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Bazzāzī, *Manāqib*, 267; Abū Zahra, *Tārikh al-madbāhib*, 348; id., *al-Imām Zayd*, 71.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Makkī, *Manāqib*, I, 342; Ibn al-Bazzāzī, *Manāqib*, 267, Abū Zahra, *Tārikh al-madbāhib*, 348; id., *al-Imām Zayd*, 71.

al-Kūfa. When Abū Ḥanīfa was informed of the situation, and after discussing it with colleagues, he visited Zayd. Therefore, Abū Ḥanīfa acknowledged Zayd ibn ʿAlī. His decision may also indicate that Abū Ḥanīfa knew Zayd ibn ʿAlī beforehand. Their acquaintance may date back to the visits of Abū Ḥanīfa in al-Ḥijāz, or perhaps to Zayd's sojourn in the city four to five months prior to his secret residence in al-Kūfa. Zayd ibn ʿAlī was in al-Kūfa due to a lawsuit, and he was confronted by the former governor in the mosque at the behest of Caliph al-Hishām. It is improbable that Abū Ḥanīfa, known for his love of the Ahl al-bayt, was unaware of or indifferent to the meeting. Therefore, it is clear that Abū Ḥanīfa already knew Zayd at the time. As to the question of whether Abū Ḥanīfa had known Zayd before the latter came to al-Kūfa, we have no credible information. It is known, however, that Abū Ḥanīfa met with Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Zayd's older brother, in Medina. It is possible that Abū Ḥanīfa met him either during this period or after the demise of al-Bāqir in Medina, where Zayd lived, or in Mecca during ḥajj. The words attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa about Zayd ibn ʿAlī can be understood in this context. That is, Abū Ḥanīfa met Zayd, listened to his speeches and recognized his superior intellect. However, did Zayd ibn ʿAlī know Abū Ḥanīfa? Was it a one-sided recognition, or a mutual acquaintance? The account of *al-Majmūʿ* relates that during the meeting, Abū Ḥanīfa was introduced to Zayd ibn ʿAlī as “a man among the *faqīhs* of al-Kūfa,” not as his student. Furthermore, the narrator Abū Khālid reports that he had been with Zayd ibn ʿAlī for five years in Medina before the latter came to al-Kūfa. He claims that he lived with Zayd for months and followed him, even during ḥajj. He sat at Zayd's feet while in al-Kūfa, up until the time of his assassination.<sup>58</sup> As even this narrator, who reports that he was always with Zayd, describes Abū Ḥanīfa's introduction to Zayd in such a manner, it is clear that there was no mutual interaction between the two before this event.

Again, based on the statements of the narrator, we can conclude that this meeting occurred during Zayd's secret sojourn in al-Kūfa. As a matter of fact, because Zayd hid in the house of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr al-Asadī, it is likely that this meeting happened during Zayd's secret residence, which began after his return from al-Qādisiyya and

<sup>58</sup> See Zayd ibn ʿAlī, *Musnad al-Imām Zayd*, 340-341.



which lasted eleven months.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, we can reach the following conclusions:

First, prior to the meeting, Abū Ḥanīfa was a well-known *faqīh* in al-Kūfa, whose scientific authority is highly regarded by friends of Zayd. Accordingly, Zayd's friends introduced him as one among the *faqīhs* of al-Kūfa. During the meeting, Abū Ḥanīfa did not open the conversation with Zayd. Instead, he caught Zayd's attention with his reference to the ḥadīth in response to Zayd's test.

Second, there is no source to confirm that Abū Ḥanīfa studied from Zayd for two years following the meeting. Therefore, it is impossible to suggest his dwelling in al-Kūfa was for this purpose. Additionally, at the time, Zayd ibn ʿAlī was too busy with preparations for the rebellion, making such a relationship unlikely.

2. As described above, the main source for the two-year discipleship of Abū Ḥanīfa under Zayd ibn ʿAlī is Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn, who is a Zaydī. This assertion, however, based on this narrator of *al-Majmūʿ*, contradicts the account in *al-Majmūʿ*. Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf (d. 1191/1777), another narrator and commentator of *al-Majmūʿ*, claims the due to the Umayyad government, Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd could meet only in secret.<sup>60</sup> Again, according to the account in *al-Majmūʿ*, their meeting was a secret one. It has been demonstrated, however, that Zayd ibn ʿAlī did not know Abū Ḥanīfa prior to this meeting. Moreover, this meeting is not proof that Abū Ḥanīfa studied with Zayd. Even if we accept that the beginning of his sojourn in al-Kūfa coincided with the meeting, it is well known that this period did not exceed one year.<sup>61</sup> In addition, this period was during a time when Zayd ibn ʿAlī was constantly pursued by the governor's men and thus was continuously on the move. It is improbable he continued teaching during such a period. There is no satisfactory information which supports the assertion that Abū Ḥanīfa was a disciple of Zayd for two years while in al-Ḥijāz. In fact, what is certain about Abū Ḥanīfa's time in al-Ḥijāz is that it occurred between 130/747-748 and 132/749-750, long after Zayd ibn ʿAlī's death.

<sup>59</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 172, 173; al-Hārūnī, *al-Ifāda*, 47.

<sup>60</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 66.

<sup>61</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, VII, 172-173; al-Hārūnī, *al-Ifāda*, 47.

3. According to the account in *al-Majmūʿ*, the dialogue between Zayd ibn ʿAlī and Abū Ḥanīfa reveals that Abū Ḥanīfa’s answers are based on a ḥadīth. Zayd did not ask him for its source. In *Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*, however, which compiles the ḥadīths narrated by Abū Ḥanīfa, it is explicitly stated that he attributed this account to the Prophet via narrators who were not among the Ahl al-bayt. Therefore, his response in the presence of a great scholar and *faqīh* like Zayd ibn ʿAlī, and Zayd’s satisfaction with this response, indicate that Abū Ḥanīfa possessed a high-level of knowledge. The ignorance of Zaydī narrators and writers, who claim that Abū Ḥanīfa was a student of Zayd, based on the abovementioned meanings derived from Abū Khālīd’s narration, indicate that their assessment is inaccurate. This conclusion is supported by the fact that al-Sayyāghī, while evaluating the argument that Abū Ḥanīfa studied with Zayd ibn ʿAlī for two years in *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, does not go beyond referring to this belief in the introduction to the book,<sup>62</sup> and provides no further information about the connection between the two.<sup>63</sup>

4. The most important support for those who support the claim that Abū Ḥanīfa was a disciple of Zayd ibn ʿAlī is the following quote: “I have seen Zayd ibn ʿAlī and his friends, but never have I seen a man more *faqīh*, wise, witty, or honest than him in his day. He was a peerless personality.” There is, however, no source for these statements prior to the one related by al-Maqrīzī.<sup>64</sup>

5. Aside from Zayd’s father ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, his elder brother Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Jaʿfar al-Şādiq and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan, Zayd ibn ʿAlī is also mentioned as one of the teachers of Abū Ḥanīfa; there is an impression that the last one was added on to the former names. There are historical sources for Abū Ḥanīfa’s meeting with Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Şādiq and studying with them.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, I, 66.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, II, 5.

<sup>64</sup> Here, it should be noted that Abū Ḥanīfa also uttered similar words about Jaʿfar al-Şādiq, however, the interpretation of this as if Abū Ḥanīfa was a student of Jaʿfar has been reasonably criticized. See İsmail Hakkı Ünal, “Ebû Hanife Üzerine Bir Sohbet [A Conversation on Abū Ḥanīfa],” *İslâmî Araştırmalar (Ebû Hanife Özel Sayısı) [Islamic Researches (Special Issue: Abū Ḥanīfa)]* 15/1-2 (2002), 327. Mehmet Atalan, “Ebû Hanife ve Ali Oğulları [Abū Ḥanīfa and the ʿAlids],” *Dimî Araştırmalar [Religious Studies]* 8/24 (2006), 165-167.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Makkī, *Manāqib*, I, 143, 148.

However, the only source for his meeting and having a dialogue with Zayd is the dubious account found in *al-Majmūʿ*.

6. Abū Ḥanīfa and Zayd ibn ʿAlī are contemporaries. Abū Ḥanīfa was born in 80/699-700.<sup>66</sup> The earliest birth date given for Zayd ibn ʿAlī is 75/694-695. Other dates given are 76/695-696, 78/697-698, and even 80/699-700 as Zayd's year of birth.<sup>67</sup> Even if 75/694-695 is accurate, the age difference is insignificant, as there was no shame in studying from someone who was the same age or a few years older. It is striking, however, that Zayd is not considered to be among the *ṣaḥāba* and older *tābiʿūn*. It is unlikely that Abū Ḥanīfa would have studied from a peer when many *tābiʿūn* scholars and other prominent figures of Ahl al-bayt, such as ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 94/713) and his son Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732), were available. Although in *Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*, there are reports which Abū Ḥanīfa transmitted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir,<sup>68</sup> a man respected in both Sunnī and Shīʿī circles due to his scientific authority, and also from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan<sup>69</sup> and Jaʿfar al-Šādiq,<sup>70</sup> who were alive after al-Bāqir's death, there is no narration from Zayd ibn ʿAlī.<sup>71</sup>

The educational and jurisprudential methodology of Abū Ḥanīfa also casts doubt upon the belief that he was a disciple of Zayd. It has been documented that Abū Ḥanīfa hashed out problems in a circle of experts from various backgrounds.<sup>72</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa once stated that he always accepted the words of the *ṣaḥāba* in controversial matters, but as for the opinions of the *tābiʿūn*, such as Ibrāhīm, al-Shaʿbī, Ibn Sīrīn, ʿAṭāʾ, and Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab, he added, "I can judge as they

<sup>66</sup> Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Intiqāʾ fi faḍāʾil al-aʿimma al-thalātha al-fuqabāʾ* (ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda; Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 1997), 188.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Sayyāghī preferred 75/694-695 as the date of his birth, while Muḥsin al-Amīn and Abū Zahra preferred 78/697-69 and 880/699-700 respectively. See al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir*, I, 52; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Taʿāruf li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1986), II, 107; Abū Zahra, *al-Imām Zayd*, 33. For further discussion see Gündüz, *Zeyd bin Ali*, 30-31.

<sup>68</sup> Abū Nuʿaym, *Musnad*, 27.

<sup>69</sup> Abū Nuʿaym, *Musnad*, 172.

<sup>70</sup> Abū Nuʿaym, *Musnad*, 66.

<sup>71</sup> Abū Nuʿaym, *Musnad*, 105.

<sup>72</sup> Abū Zahra, *Tārīkh al-madbāhib*, 337.

do.”<sup>73</sup> Zayd ibn ‘Alī could be regarded to be one of the younger *tābi‘ūn*.

7. Abū Ḥanīfa lists some of his teachers and talks extensively about Ḥammād while making no mention of Zayd ibn ‘Alī.<sup>74</sup> When he was asked about the source of his knowledge, he stated, “I was in the spring of knowledge and affiliated with one of the *faqībs* there.” The *faqīb* mentioned is Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaymān (d. 120/738).<sup>75</sup> During Zayd ibn ‘Alī’s lifetime Abū Ḥanīfa was a prominent disciple of the educational circle of Ḥammād in al-Kūfa, where there was a strong intellectual tradition from the time of ‘Umar. After Ḥammād’s death, Abū Ḥanīfa was assigned to be the head of this group, which was comprised of many *faqībs*. Ḥammād passed away one or two years before the death of Zayd ibn ‘Alī.<sup>76</sup> Subsequently, Abū Ḥanīfa was placed in charge of the education in his master’s group, while Zayd ibn ‘Alī secretly prepared for revolt.<sup>77</sup>

8. According to accounts of Abū Ḥanīfa’s involvement in Zayd’s revolt, it is reported that he provided financial support for Zayd ibn ‘Alī, but did not pay homage to him. Abū Ḥanīfa had already reached the necessary intellectual maturity to construct his own attitude and behavior. These accounts, however, are considered unilaterally, in favor of the assertion that he was a disciple of Zayd.

In conclusion, according to the sources at our disposal, there is no credible evidence that Abū Ḥanīfa studied with Zayd ibn ‘Alī, particularly in respect to the account in *al-Majmū‘*. This account considers Abū Ḥanīfa to be a renowned *faqīb* even before meeting Zayd. Abū

<sup>73</sup> Al-Makkī, *Manāqib*, 80; Abū l-Faḍl Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūfī, *Tabyīḍ al-ṣaḥīfa fī manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* (ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Naṣṣār; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990), 108, 112.

<sup>74</sup> In his own words, he followed his lessons for 18 years. When the Caliph al-Manṣūr asked him from whom he had received knowledge, he answered, “From Ḥammād, from ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās through Ibrāhīm.” For this and similar quotes, see Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Baghdādī, *Tāriḫ Baghdād aw Madīnat al-salām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d.), XIII, 334; Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 30.

<sup>75</sup> See Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 71; id., *Tāriḫ al-madbābīb*, 333, 335.

<sup>76</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Manāqib*, 11.

<sup>77</sup> Al-Makkī, *Manāqib*, 61.

Ḥanīfa was perhaps mistakenly considered to be one of the disciples of Zayd ibn ‘Alī because of his explicit sympathy toward the Ahl al-bayt, his support for Zayd ibn ‘Alī’s revolt, and his words of praise for Zayd’s scholarship. Later, this belief became a common conviction that has been disseminated through recent works on the subject.

## REFERENCES

- Abū Jayb, Sa‘dī, *al-Qāmūs al-fiqhī* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1982).
- Abū Zahra, Muḥammad, *Abū Ḥanīfa: Ḥayātub<sup>ū</sup> wa-‘aşrub<sup>ū</sup> - ārā’ub<sup>ū</sup> wa-fiqhub<sup>ū</sup>* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1947).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *al-Imām Zayd* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1959).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Tārīkh al madbāhib al-Islāmiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, n.d.).
- ‘Amarraji, Aḥmad Shawqī Ibrāhīm, *al-Ḥayāt al-siyāsiyya wa-l-fikriyya li-l-Zaydiyya fī l-masbriq al-Islāmī* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūli, 2000).
- al-Amīn, Muḥsin, *A‘yān al-Sbī‘a*, 9 vols., (Beirut: Dār al-Ta‘āraf li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 1986).
- Atalan, Mehmet, “Ebū Hanife ve Ali Oğulları [Abū Ḥanīfa and the ‘Alids],” *Dinî Araştırmalar [Religious Studies]* 8/24 (2006), 157-169.
- Bakkal, Ali, *İslām Fıkıh Mezbepleri [Islamic Legal Sects]* (Istanbul: Rağbet Yayınevi, 2004).
- al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir, *Kitāb jumal min Ansāb al-asbrāf* (eds. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyāḍ Ziriklī; Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996).
- al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 10 vols., (Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1927).
- Demir, İsmet, *İmām-ı Âzam Ebū Hanīfe: Hayatı, İslām Hukuku ve Hanefî Mezbebi’ni Tedvindeki Metodu [al-Imām al-A‘zam Abū Ḥanīfa: His Life and His Place in the Formation of Islamic Law and Ḥanafism]* (Istanbul: Seçil Ofset, 2005).
- Demirci, Mustafa, “Emevîlerin Irak Valisi Hâlid ibn Abdullah el-Kasrî’nin Hayatı ve Faaliyetleri [The Life and Activities of Khâlid ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, the ‘Irāq Governor of the Umayyads],” *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi [Journal of Academic Research in Religious Studies]* 4/3 (2004), 61-74.
- al-Dhahabī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān, *Manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa ve sāhibayb<sup>i</sup> Abī Yūsuf wa-Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, n.d.).

- \_\_\_\_\_ *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, 4 vols., (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifā, n.d.).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 23 vols., (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risāla, 1992).
- Doğan, İsa, *İmam Zeyd b. Ali [al-Imām Zayd ibn ʿAlī]* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2009).
- Erdoğan, Mehmet, “İbn Mesʿūd’dan Ebû Hanîfe’ye Rey Mektebi [The School of Raʿy from Ibn Masʿūd to Abû Ḥanîfā],” in İbrahim Hatiboğlu (ed.), *İmām-ı Âzam Ebû Hanîfe ve Düşünce Sistemi – Sempozyum Tebliğ ve Müzakereleri – [al-Imām al-Aʿzam Abû Ḥanîfa and His Thought – Symposium Proceedings –]* (Bursa: Kurav Yayınları, 2005), I, 317-341.
- Gündüz, Eren, *Zeyd bin Ali: Hayatı, Eserleri ve İslam Hukuk Düşüncesindeki Yeri [Zayd ibn ʿAlī: His Life, Works, and Place in Islamic Legal Thought]* (Istanbul: Düşünce Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008).
- Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, Yahyā ibn al-Ḥusayn, *al-Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, 2 vols., (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Yemen: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003).
- Ḥamīdullah, Muḥammad, *İmām-ı Azam ve Eseri [al-Imām al-Aʿzam and His Heritage]* (translated into Turkish by Kemal Kuşçu; Istanbul: Çağaloğlu Yayınevi, 1963).
- al-Hārūnī, Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq, *al-İfāda fī tārīkh al-aʿimma al-sāda* (Yemen: Manshūrāt Markaz Ahl al-Bayt, 2001).
- Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Intiqāʾ fī faḍāʾil al-aʿimma al-thalātha al-fuqahāʾ* (ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda; Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 1997).
- Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī tārīkh*, 11 vols., (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1987).
- Ibn al-Bazzāzī, Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Kardārī, *Manāqib al-Imām al-Aʿzam Abī Ḥanīfa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1981).
- Ibrāhīm ibn Qāsım ibn al-Imām al-Muʿayyad billāh, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3 vols., (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām ibn ʿAbbās al-Wajīh; ʿAmmān: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd ibn ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2001).
- al-İşfahānī, Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, (ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Şaqr; Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifā, n.d.).
- al-İşfahānī, Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa* (Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Kawthar, 1994).

- al-ʿIzzī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥammūd, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth ʿinda l-Zaydiyya wa-l-muḥaddithīn* (ʿAmmān: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd ibn ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2001).
- al-Khatīb, Muḥammad ʿAjjāj, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-wajīz fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risāla, 1987).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *al-Sunna qabla l-tadwīn* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1963).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth: ʿUlūmub<sup>a</sup> wa-muṣṭalaḥub<sup>a</sup>* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989).
- al-Khatīb, Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad, *al-Imām Zayd al-muftarā ʿalayh* (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwa al-Jadīda, 1984).
- al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādādi, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *Tārikh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-salām*, 14 vols., (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.).
- Kohlberg, Etan, “Shīʿī *Ḥadīth*,” in A. F. L. Beeston et al. (eds.), *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 299-307.
- Köse, Saffet, “Fıkıh Literatürünün Tartışmalı İki Eseri: *el-Mecmûʿuʿl-kebîr* ve *el-Mebâric fiʿl-biyel* [Two Discussed Works of the Fiqh Literature: *Al-Majmûʿ al-kabîr* and *al-Makbârij fi l-biyal*,” *İslâm Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi [Journal of Islamic Law Studies]* 3 (2004), 289-311.
- al-Maḥallî, Ḥamīd al-Shahīd ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardīyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya*, 2 vols., (ed. al-Murtaḍā ibn Zayd al-Maḥṭūrî; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Yemen: Maktabat Markaz Badr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 2002).
- al-Makkî, Muwaffaq ibn Aḥmad, *Manāqib Abi Ḥanīfa*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabî, 1981).
- al-Maqrîzî, Abū l-ʿAbbās Taqî al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir, *al-Mawāʿiz wa-l-ʿitibār bi-dbikr al-kbiṭaṭ wa-l-āthbār*, 2 vols., (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.).
- Özaydın, Abdülkerim, “Hâlid ibn Abdullah el-Kasrî [Khâlid ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrî],” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA) [Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam]*, XV, 281-282.
- Özel, Ahmet, *Hanefî Fıkıh Âlimleri [Hanafî Jurisprudents]* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1990).

- Sağiroğlu, Ekrem, *İmam-ı Azam Ebû Hanîfe: Hayatı, Siyaseti, Eseri* [*al-Imâm al-A‘zam Abû Hanîfa: His Life, Political Ideas and His Heritage*] (Istanbul: Yasin Yayinevi, 2002).
- al-Sayyâghî, Sharaf al-Dîn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Şan‘ânî al-Ḥaymî, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍîr Sharḥ Majmû‘ al-fiqḥ li-l-Imâm Zayd*, 4 vols., (Beirut: Dâr al-Jil, n.d.).
- Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, 9 vols., (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Tārîkh al-turāth al-‘Arabî* [*Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*] (translated into Arabic by Maḥmūd Fahmî Ḥijāzî; Riyāḍ: Jāmi‘at al-Imâm Muḥammad ibn Su‘ūd al-Islāmiyya, 1991).
- al-Shak‘a, Muştafâ, *al-Imâm al-A‘zam Abû Hanîfa* (Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-Lubnāniyya, 1983).
- al-Shāmî, Faḍîla ‘Abd al-Amîr, *Tārîkh al-fırqa al-Zaydiyya bayna l-qarnayn al-tbānî wa-l-tbālîth li-l-bijra* (Baghdād: Wizārat Turāth, 1974).
- al-Shaybānî, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, *al-Āthbār*, 11 vols., (ed. Abû l-Wafâ’ al-Afghānî; Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1993).
- Subḥānî, Ja‘far, *Buḥūth fî l-mîlal wa-l-niḥal*, 7 vols., (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Imâm al-Şādiq, 1995).
- al-Suyūṭî, Abû l-Faḍl Jalāl al-Dîn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abî Bakr, *Tabyîḍ al-şahîfa fî manāqîb Abî Hanîfa* (ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Naşşār; Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990).
- al-Ṭabarî, Abû Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarîr, *Tārîkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, 11 vols., (ed. Muḥammad Abû l-Faḍl Ibrāhîm; Cairo: Dâr al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.).
- al-Ṭūsî, Abû Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Alî, *al-Istibşār fî-mā ukbtulîfa min al-akbbār*, 2 vols., (Tehran: Dâr al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1970).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Tabdhîb al-ahkām*, 10 vols., (ed. al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Khursân; Beirut: Dâr Şa‘b, 1981).
- Ünal, İsmail Hakkı, “Ebû Hanîfe Üzerine Bir Sohbet [A Conversation on Abû Hanîfa],” *İslâmî Araştırmalar (Ebû Hanîfe Özel Sayısı)* [*Islamic Researches (Special Issue: Abû Hanîfa)*] 15/1-2 (2002), 309-333.
- al-Yemenî, al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhîm ibn Aḥmad, *Tatimmat al-Rawḍ al-naḍîr* (Beirut: Dâr al-Jil, n.d.).
- Yılmaz Gömbeyaz, Melek, “Bir Emevî Valisi: Hâlid b. Abdullah el-Kasrî [An Umayyad Governor: Khâlid ibn ‘Abd Allâh al-Qasrî],” *İSTEM* 8 (2006), 237-254.



al-Zamakhsharī, Abū l-Qāsim Jār Allāh Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʿiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūb al-taʿwīl*, 6 vols., (ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwiḍ; Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-ʿUbaykān, 1998).

Zayd ibn ʿAlī, “*Corpus Iuris*” di Zaid Ibn ʿAlī (= *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*) (ed. Eugenio Griffini; Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1919).

\_\_\_\_\_ *al-Majmūʿ al-ḥadīthī wa-l-fiqhī* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥammūd al-ʿIzzī; ʿAmmān: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd ibn ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2002).

\_\_\_\_\_ *Musnad al-Imām Zayd* (ed. ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ ibn Yaḥyā; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983).