Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam

Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung

Edited by

Farhad Daftary and Josef W. Meri

Contents

List of Tables and Figures

List of Abbreviations

AI	*Annales Islamologiques*
BEO	*Bulletin d'Études Orientales*
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New edition), Leiden
EIR	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*, New York and London
GAL	C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur,* Leiden
GAS	F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JIS	*Journal of Islamic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
MF	W. Madelung, *Maktabhā va firqahā-yi Islāmī* (tr.), J. Qāsimī, Mashhad
MME	*Manuscripts of the Middle East*
NS	New Series
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
REM	W. Madelung, *Religious and Ethnic Movements in*

The *ijāza* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhijī to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qaṭīfī: A Source for the Twelver Shiʿi Scholarly Tradition of Baḥrayn

Sabine Schmidtke

There are numerous types of evidence that give us information about the ways and means of transmitting knowledge and scholarship in the Islamic world.* These include notes attesting that someone has studied with a teacher either as an auditor or by reading a text to him, colophons by an author or a scribe, collation notes, or ownership statements. These typically appear in connection with a concrete text and may be found at the beginning or end or in the margins of a text. Further classes of texts that give information about the transmission of knowledge are reports about one's own studies that are unconnected with texts, that circulate as *fahrasa, mashyakha (mashīkha), barnāmaj, thabat* or *muʿjam.* One of the most variegated types in this category of evidence of transmission of knowledge is the *ijāza,* the 'license to transmit.' The recipient – or recipients (*mujāz,* plural, *mujāzūn*) – of an *ijāza* is authorized by the issuer (*mujīz*) to transmit to others the contents specified in the *ijāza.* These might refer to one or

several works, or to a whole body of works that is either precisely specified or only cursorily hinted at. The dividing line between one type of certificate and another is often blurred. If the authorization to transmit follows instruction of the *mujāz* by the *mujīz*, for example, this is called *ijāzat al-samāʿ* or *ijāzat al-qirāʾa*, according to the kind of instruction. Similarly, the description of the course of one's studies can form part of an *ijāza*.

It appears that what was originally an oral authorization to transmit came increasingly to be documented in writing and formalized in structure and terminology parallel with the growing dominance of the written word and the growing institutionalization of the scholarly culture. Besides the license to transmit that was issued for specified texts, there were 'text-independent' *ijāzāt* that were not tied to specific contents or texts either in their outward appearance or the contents for which the *ijāza* was issued. Because of their generally large scope, such text-independent *ijāzāt* often no longer appeared in the margins or at the beginning or end of other texts, but themselves became autonomous texts, sometimes taking the form of books. The contents authorized to be transmitted were usually comprehensive, frequently comprising the whole literature of a certain scholarly tradition.

It is obvious that these thousands of certificates, which in most cases exist only in manuscript form, are of great value for research. They can be consulted for reconstructing the history of transmission of individual texts and manuscripts, and they also say something about their quality. They contain important biographical and bibliographical data on a multitude of Muslim scholars, and thus serve to reconstruct whole scholarly traditions and networks. Moreover, they provide information about the social aspects of the transmission of knowledge.

Despite numerous studies of the different types of testimonies, we are still far from even an approximately complete picture of their historical development and different forms. In order to get a clearer picture of the historical formation of the *ijāza* – for example, in its various functions and elements, its social value and what it says about the social structure of scholars – it would be

necessary to catalogue all the available materials, to analyse them in a systematic manner, and finally, to devise a typology for them.[1]

The following pages will examine an *ijāza* by 'Abdallah b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhījī (1086–1135/1675–1722), a well-known representative of the Akhbāriyya school within Twelver Shi'ism, to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qaṭīfī (ca. 1095–1164/1684–1751) that was granted on Monday 23 Ṣafar 1128/17 February 1716.[2] This belongs to the type of text-independent *ijāza*; its *matn* covers the entire culture and literature of Imāmī scholars. Both scholars came from Baḥrayn, which, at the time, also included the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula including al-Qaṭīf and al-Aḥsā. Both were students of Sulaymān 'Abd Allāh b. al-Baḥrānī al-Māḥūzī (1075–1121/1665–1709), with a difference in age of only eight years; at the time of the issue of the *ijāza* al-Samāhījī was 40 years old, and Nāṣir al-Jārūdī about 32.[3]

The *ijāza* consists of the following parts: (i) opening prayer and introduction (pp.49–51); (ii) main section of the *ijāza*, with references to the contents and the extent of the license to transmit (pp.51–276); (iii) end of the *ijāza*, with a reference to the conditions of the license, and colophon (pp.276–277).

The short prayer at the beginning of the text (p.49) is followed by the introduction (pp.49–51), providing information on the persons issuing and receiving the *ijāza*. Al-Samāhījī's statements about the *mujāz* indicate a cordial relationship between him and Nāṣir al-Jārūdī, of whom he obviously thought highly for his erudite knowledge and noble character. This acknowledged equality is further suggested by al-Samāhījī's remark that he himself had previously asked for and received an *ijāza* from Nāṣir al-Jārūdī (p.49).[4] Al-Samāhījī then explains in detail that al-Jārūdī studied with him after his move from al-Qaṭīf to Baḥrayn and names the following works in this connection: three of the four canonical *ḥadīth* works of the Imāmiyya, namely Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī's (d.329/941) *al-Kāfī*, Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī's (d.460/1067) *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and his *Istibṣār*; two of al-Samāhījī's own works, namely *Jawāhir al-Baḥrayn fī aḥkām al-thaqalayn* and *Maṣā'ib al-shuhadā' wa-manāqib al-su'adā'*, a portion of the biographical work *Manhaj al-maqāl fī taḥqīq aḥwāl al-rijāl* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-

Astarābādī (d.1028/1618–19), a portion of the legal work *Sharā'i'*
al-Islām fī masā'il al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d.676/
1278), and the two commentaries on this work by Muḥammad b.
Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-ʿĀmilī (d.1009/1600–01) and al-Shahīd
al-Thānī (d.966/1558); and further, two legal works of the ʿAllāma
al-Ḥillī (d.726/1325), *Irshād al-adhhān ilā aḥkām al-īmān* and
Mukhtalaf al-Shīʿa fī aḥkām al-sharīʿa, as well as al-Samāhījī's *Kitāb*
al-khuṭab, a compendium of sermons he had delivered on various
occasions. It appears that the instruction which al-Jārūdī received
from al-Samāhījī continued over several years, and that it also
covered writings and disciplines in addition to those mentioned.[5]
The esteem of al-Samāhījī for al-Jārūdī and his erudition and the
fact that the latter had earlier granted an *ijāza* to him indicate
that the document under discussion must be considered an 'hon-
orary' *ijāza* (*ijāza mudabbaja*). This term is used when two equal
and usually reputed scholars grant each other the right to
transmit.[6]

In the introduction, al-Samāhījī also addresses the issue of the
functions of the *ijāza*. By contrast to other scholars, who include
within such documents theoretical elaborations concerning the
function of *ijāzāt* – as in the case of Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Qaṭīfī
(d. after 945/1539) in his various *ijāzāt*,[7] or ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī
(d.1173/1759–60) in his *ijāza al-kabīra*[8] – al-Samāhījī deals nei-
ther in the introduction of the document nor elsewhere in the
text with the theoretical issue of the function of an *ijāza* or other
matters related to its issuance. Al-Samāhījī indicates, however, the
reasons for al-Jārūdī's request to receive an *ijāza*. These reasons
give us some idea of the functional aspect of the *ijāza*.

According to al-Samāhījī, al-Jārūdī first asked him to issue a
permit of transmission for all those subject matters he himself
had been authorized by his shaykhs to transmit, as well as for eve-
rything written by al-Samāhījī himself. This would connect the
chain of transmission back to the Imams.[9] Thus, the first func-
tion of an *ijāza* is to link later generations of scholars to the Prophet
and the Imams by attributing to the *mujāz*, the recipient of an
ijāza, a place in this chain of transmitters. Generally, blessings are
attributed to the practice of that pious usage.[10]

Al-Samāhījī goes on to say that al-Jārūdī asked him to enumer-
ate all the ways of transmission (*ṭuruq*) and writings (*kutub*) known
to him.[11] This request for documentation of the scholarly tradi-
tion points to the essential function of the comprehensive,
text-independent *ijāzāt* similar to that in biographical works. In
many cases these two genres cannot be clearly distinguished from
one another. Twelver Shiʿi examples from the 12th/18th century
are the already-mentioned *al-Ijāza al-kabīra* of ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī
and *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, a *ṭabaqāt*-work of Imāmī culture, though
technically an *ijāza* issued by Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d.1186/
1772) for two of his nephews;[12] examples from the 14th/20th
century are *al-Lumʿa al-mahdīya ilā'l-ṭuruq al-ʿilmiyya* by Ḥasan al-
Mūsawī al-Kāẓimī (1272–1354/1855–1936), technically also an
ijāza issued for Mahdī b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Iṣfahānī in 1329/
1911,[13] and Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-ʿĀmilī al-Kāẓimī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt
fī ṭabaqāt mashāyikh al-ijāzāt*, an Imāmī *ṭabaqāt*-work which formally
is also an *ijāza*, issued in 1326/1908–9 for Muḥammad Murtaḍā
al-Ḥusaynī al-Janfūrī (d. about 1333/1914–15).[14]

The introduction is followed by the actual content, the *matn* of
the document, for which al-Samāhījī issues the license to trans-
mit. It is introduced with the usual phrase *fa-ajaztu lahu ... an
yarwiya ʿannī* (p.51). The license begins with a detailed
autobibliographical list of his own works (pp.51–60) which the
recipient is authorized to transmit. Here he often gives further
information about things like the occasion, contents, scope, lan-
guage or significance of the respective titles.[15] Sometimes he notes
the time needed to write the single works[16] or, in the case of un-
finished works, he notes which parts of a work have already been
completed.[17] The autobibliography contains 45 titles of the total
58 works known to have been written by al-Samāhījī. The general
phrase at the beginning of the list of works (*fa-ajaztu lahu ... an
yarwiya ʿannī ...*), as well as the precise information about the in-
dividual titles, indicate that al-Samāhījī intended to present a
complete list. The modern-day editor of the *ijāza* assumes that
the discrepancy between the number of titles quoted and the total
of al-Samāhījī's works occurs because al-Samāhījī wrote some works
only after the *ijāza* was issued. In addition, al-Samāhījī may have

left out some titles he deemed less important (p.29).[18] Al-Samāhījī
concludes his autobibliography by pointing out that the authori-
zation to transmit covers all his writings, including future ones.[19]

Besides serving other functions, *ijāzāt* always present self-testi-
monies, insofar as their issuers themselves claim, either implicitly
or explicitly, the right to transmit certain subjects of knowledge
that they now confer on the *mujāz*. When the *mujīz* issues a permit
of transmission for his own works, his right to do so is self-evident
and does not need any further comment. When the permit ex-
tends to texts by other authors, however, the *mujīz* usually identifies
those who have transmitted the knowledge to him, in greater or
lesser detail. Often in an *ijāza* a *mujīz* indicates his social rank
within the scholarly tradition to which he belongs. In the case of
the most comprehensive *ijāzāt*, composed for the most part by
prominent scholars at the height of their careers, the authors
apparently sought to establish their own eminent position within
their professional circle by means of such texts. A typical core
element is often the autobibliography of the *mujīz*, usually a com-
plete list of his works finished before the issue of the *ijāza*, but
often also including unfinished writings and often providing de-
tails about the size, content or other characteristics of the
individual titles. Examples of autobibliographical lists within *ijāzāt*
are the *ijāza* of the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī for Muhannāʾ b. Sinān which,
apart from the autobibliography arranged by disciplines, does not
contain any other element;[20] the *ijāza* of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī
(d. after 906/1501), issued on Monday 10 Jumādā I 896/ 21
March 1491, for Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Gharawī;[21] the *ijāza al-
kabīra* of ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī,[22] and the *ijāza* of Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī
known as *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*;[23] or the autobibliographical *ijāza* of
the Egyptian ophthalmologist and encyclopedian Ibn al-Afkānī
(d.749/1348).[24] Frequently, rather than giving an exhaustive
autobibliography in an *ijāza*, a *mujīz* included only a selection of
his writings.[25]

In addition to authorizing transmission of his own works, al-
Samāhījī confers on Nāṣir al-Jārūdī the license to transmit
everything he himself has heard from or read to his shaykhs (p.60:
wa-jamīʿ mā samiʿtuhu min mashāyikhī wa-qaraʾtuhu ʿalayhim wa-

ajāzuhu lī). This sets up the framework for the structure of the
following portions of the *ijāza*. Al-Samāhījī discusses his different
shaykhs, putting in first place his most important teacher Sulaymān
al-Māḥūzī (pp.60 ff.). From him, al-Samāhījī heard *ḥadīth* for which
he received two *ijāzas* from Sulaymān, namely in Shaʿbān 1109/
February-March 1698 and in the year 1119/1707–08 (pp.74,
271).[26] Al-Samāhījī confers on the *mujāz* the license of transmis-
sion for all the writings of al-Māḥūzī (pp.73–74: *wa-ajaztu lahu ...
jamīʿ mā ṣannafahu shaykhī wa-ustādhī ...* Sulaymān ... al-Māḥūzī);
he then takes the occasion to give a detailed but avowedly incom-
plete list of the works of his shaykh, to praise him as a scholar, and
to provide information about his place of origin, dates of birth
and death, biography and place of burial (pp.75–80).[27] Moreo-
ver, al-Samāhījī confers on the *mujāz* the right to transmit
everything that Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī passed on from his shaykhs
(p.80: *wa-mā rawāhu ʿan mashāyikhihi*). Al-Samāhījī continues to
discuss seven teachers of Sulaymān, again noting their writings as
far as he knew or considered them significant, evaluating their
erudition and providing biographical data, dates of birth and
death, and place of burial. Throughout the presentation al-
Samāhījī makes every effort to provide the most precise and
complete information possible. At the end of his report on al-
Māḥūzī's transmitters, he evaluates their relative significance for
his teacher, rating Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (1037–1110/1627–
1698) as the most important shaykh from whom Sulaymān
received an *ijāza* (p.97: *wa-kāna aʿẓam iʿtimādihi fī l-riwāya ʿala'l-
ʿAllāma al-Majlisī li-ijāzatihi lahu*), immediately followed by
Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Iṣbaʿī al-Shākhūrī al-Baḥrānī and Hāshim b.
Sulaymān b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Jawād al-Katkānī (d.1107/1695–
96 or 1109/1697–98): Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī is said to have read to
both of them (p.97: *wa-shaykhuhu al-shaykh Sulaymān b. ʿAlī li-
qirāʾatihi ʿalayhi wa'l-Sayyid Hāshim*). As for the other shaykhs
mentioned – Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ṣāliḥ al-Maqābī
al-Baḥrānī (d.ca. 1102/1690–91), Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-
Qadamī al-Baḥrānī, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Baḥrānī al-Karzakānī
(d. before 1128/1716) and Muḥammad b. Mājid b. Masʿūd al-
Māḥūzī (d.ca. 1105/1693–94) – Sulaymān only attended some

of their lectures as a listener (p.97: *wa-ammā bāqīhā fa-bi-l-samāʿ minhum fī baʿḍ al-majālis wa'l-madāris*). With the exception of Muḥammad b. Mājid al-Māḥūzī, al-Samāhījī apparently did not meet any of these transmitters personally.

Thereafter, al-Samāhījī discusses two more of his shaykhs: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Nuʿaymī al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī (d.1130/1718), who was also a fellow student with him under Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī (pp.64–65, 99–100, 114 ff.), and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥaydar al-Makkī al-ʿĀmilī (d.1139/1726–27) (pp.101–102); al-Samāhījī says that he had received a license of transmission from both (pp.99, 101). According to a marginal note which al-Samāhījī later added to his *ijāza*, he also received an *ijāza* from his teacher ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d.1131/1718–19) issued in Jumādā I 1129/ April–May 1717.[28] It should be noted that ʿAlī is the only shaykh whom al-Samāhījī mentions in the *ijāza* without naming his transmitters (p.113). As for the remaining two shaykhs of al-Samāhījī, Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Baḥrānī al-Maʿnī (d.ca. 1130/1717–18) (pp.107–113, 160ff) and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Sārī (pp.117ff), information is sparse: only their place of origin is indicated, namely Maʿn and Sār, two villages in the region of Awāl. As for Maḥmūd, al-Samāhījī adds that at the time of writing the *ijāza* he was almost a hundred years old and had worked as imam in his home village.

In discussing his shaykhs al-Samāhījī also notes that he personally met some of their transmitters. He states that he met, together with his teacher Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī, Muḥammad b. Mājid al-Māḥūzī in Mājid's village, al-Māḥūz, under whom both Sulaymān and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf had studied. On this occasion Sulaymān and Muḥammad b. Mājid are reported to have disputed a legal issue (pp.115–116). Al-Samāhījī further mentions personal meetings with two teachers of his shaykh Muḥammad al-Makkī al-ʿĀmilī on the way to Mecca: Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Nabāṭī (d.1138/1725–26) and Muḥammad Shafīʿ b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Astarābādī (d.1117/1705–6) (pp.102, 106).

Proceeding from the list of his shaykhs and their transmitters, al-Samāhījī then draws in his *ijāza* a comprehensive and multi-branched network of Twelver Shiʿi scholars with countless chains

of transmissions. He thereby presents such well-known figures of Imāmī scholarship as Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, the most frequently quoted transmitter to whom al-Samāhījī traces back the chains of transmissions of his shaykhs; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithī al-ʿĀmilī (d.1031/1621), the Shahīd al-Thānī, the Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī (d.786/1384), the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī and his students, and Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī. Al-Samāhījī also includes more distant chains of transmitters, such as the seven *isnāds* of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (pp.166–175).[29]

Having reached Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī in his presentation of transmitters, al-Samāhījī modifies his approach (pp.220ff). He no longer focuses solely on the individual transmitters but also on their respective writings, for which he again indicates the various chains of transmission. In doing so, he does not initially discuss specific writings, but rather the scholar's whole body of works, briefly described by formulae such as *jamīʿ muṣannafāt wa-marwīyāt al-shaykh …/ muṣannafāt wa-marwīyāt al-Sayyid …/ jamīʿ muṣannafāt al-shaykh …/ muṣannafāt al-shaykh …/ kutub wa-marwīyāt al-shaykh* …. The fundamental organizational principle remains, however; chains of transmitters are traced backwards chronologically – but as in the preceding section, these chains are again frequently interrupted to indicate alternative chains. The chains end with Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī and Ibn Bābawayh (d.381/991), whose routes of transmission are traced back to the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d.148/765) (p.253), or through the Imams to the Prophet himself (p.255).

Toward the end of this section of the text al-Samāhījī indicates his *isnāds* for quite a few specific works, organized by their respective disciplines. He starts with two individual Imāmī writings, the famous prayer book *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya* by the Imam ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (d.94/712 or 95/713) and the epistle (*risāla*) of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Najāshī (d.450/1058) to the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (pp.256–257). He then lists numerous works of mostly Sunni authors from the disciplines of the Qurʾan reading (*kutub al-qirāʾa waʾl-tajwīd*) (pp.257–260),[30] linguistics and lexicography (*kutub al-lugha*) (pp.260–262),[31] and grammar (*kutub*

al-naḥw wa 'l-taṣrīf wa 'l-ʿarūḍ) (pp.262–266).³² Al-Samāhījī closes
this section with two Sunni Qurʾanic exegeses, the *Kitāb al-kashshāf
ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl* of Abū l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (d.538/1144),
the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-
Bayḍāwī (d.c.710/1310), and two canonical *ḥadīth* collections of
Sunnis, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d.256/870) and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of
Muslim (d.261/875).

In concluding the document, al-Samāhījī again emphasizes the
great importance of constructing a link to the Prophet and the
Imams by means of chains of transmission, by quoting four tradi-
tions with *isnāds* going back to the Prophet and including most of
the Imams, as well as numerous prominent Twelver Shiʿi scholars
(p.270). In giving his chain of transmitters for the first of the four
traditions, al-Samahījī also indicates the precise circumstances
under which he heard this tradition from his shaykh Sulaymān al-
Māḥūzī.³³

The *ijāza* ends with typical standard elements for such texts.
These are concisely formulated by al-Samāhījī: he authorizes the
mujāz to transmit the contents listed in the *ijāza* to whomever he
wants, provided the *mujāz* respects the usual conditions, and his
recipient is capable of transmitting the knowledge to others
(p.276). The document closes with a colophon and final prayer
(p.277).

For al-Samāhījī what is most important in his presentation of
the Imāmī scholarly network is the greatest possible documenta-
tion. Whenever a scholar is mentioned for the first time,
al-Samāhījī provides information about him. The only exception
to this occurs in the last part of the *ijāza*, in which most of the
authors are Sunnis; there only persons who have some relation-
ship with Twelver Shiʿism are discussed (pp.261, 263, 265). The
total of 186 entries for individual scholars varies considerably, both
in length and in detail. In some cases al-Samāhījī gives only cur-
sory information, indicating, for example, that a certain person
was a jurist (e.g. p.227: *wa-kāna faqīhan*) or judge (e.g. p.226: *wa-
kāna qāḍiyan*), or that a scholar was an eminent personality (e.g.
p.143: *wa-huwa rajul fāḍil*; p.191: *wa-kāna fāḍilan*). By contrast,
entries on more important scholars are comprehensive, sometimes

running to eight pages of the printed edition.[34] As a rule, al-Samāhījī gives information about a scholar's erudition, place of origin, dates of birth and death, or even place of burial, and he identifies each person's writings or indicates if the person did not write anything, or if he simply had no information about this. At times al-Samāhījī indicates the family relationships between well-known colleagues; sometimes, he reveals the source of his information, such as the *ijāzāt* of earlier scholars he had access to (e.g. pp.118, 137, 177) or statements of his teacher (pp.81, 90, 134). Quite often he goes beyond the mere listing of facts. He often classifies individual scholars according to their affiliations to the Akhbāriyya or the Uṣūliyya, for example. However, al-Samāhījī does not use these distinctions as his sole criteria for evaluating individual scholars; his comments on them or their specific writings are quite nuanced. In many cases, al-Samāhījī also refers to discussions of relevant topics in his own writings. Khalīl b. Ghāzī al-Qazwīnī, a hardliner Akhbārī, for instance, is reproached for falsifying *ḥadīth*s (p.131); at the same time, members of the Uṣūliyya are more or less fairly discussed by al-Samāhījī, despite his sometimes sharp criticism of them. He begins his entry on the 'Allāma al-Ḥillī (pp.182–185), for instance, by appreciating his renown and comprehensive learning. To be sure, al-Samāhījī labels him as a pure *uṣūlī* (p.183: *kāna uṣūlīyan baḥtan wa-mujtahidan ṣirfan*) and faults him for numerous contradictions and negligence in his *ḥadīth* collections and legal works, but he refutes the judgment of Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī that the 'Allāma was the first to go in the direction of independent legal reasoning. Al-Samāhījī argues, instead, that the 'Allāma only contributed to the spread of this approach, even if he did so in a crucial way (p.183).

Often al-Samāhījī extends his entry on a scholar to elaborate on other persons who were somehow connected to that scholar, such as family members (pp.69, 132, 232), and predecessors or successors in public offices (pp.69, 109ff); this is done irrespective of whether or not these persons were links in his chain of transmission. One of the most comprehensive digressions within the *ijāza*, which precedes the discussion of al-Samāhījī's teacher

Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī, is the detailed presentation of seven of al-Samāhījī's fellow students under Sulaymān (pp.60–71). Al-Samāhījī himself studied under only two of them: Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAṣfūr al-Dirāzī al-Baḥrānī (d.1131/ 1718) with whom he studied grammar, and under Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Nuʿaymī al-Bilādī, from whom he received an *ijāza* (pp.99– 100). In a strictly functional presentation of chains of transmitters the other five fellow students would actually have no place in the *ijāza*. Also, with regard to other persons discussed in digressions, al-Samāhījī occasionally points out that they held no position in his chains of transmitters. The entry on Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maqābī (d.1085/1674), for example, is supplemented by a digression on his three sons ʿAbd al-Nabī, Sulaymān and Zayn al-Dīn; al-Samāhījī met each of them personally, but he stresses that none of them was his transmitter (pp.110–111). Detailed information about contemporary scholarly tradition can also be found in the *Ijāza al-kabīra* of ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī, who discusses 68 scholars he met personally during his lifetime.[35] To provide as complete information as possible, al-Baḥrānī similarly mentions numerous scholars in his *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, while he specifies that he does not have the right to transmit from them.

The more al-Samāhījī proceeds backwards, the more the chains of transmission fan out. This can be observed already when al-Samāhījī describes his own teachers and their immediate transmitters. Discussing the teachers of Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī (pp.80–90), al-Samāhījī names in three out of seven cases the first level of transmitters, in three cases the second, and in only one case the third level. In discussing the transmitters of his shaykh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Bilādī, al-Samāhījī gives not only the first but also the second level of transmitters in two out of four cases (pp.99, 114). For Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī al-ʿĀmilī, he gives two transmitters; for one of these he names one transmitter, for the other as many as four. In two of the four cases their transmitters too are named (pp.102–105). In the case of the four transmitters of Maḥmūd al-Maʿnī, al-Samāhījī mentions the second level for one of them and goes as far as the third level for another one of them (pp.107–109). In the case of his shaykh Aḥmad al-

Sārī (pp.117–118) al-Samāhījī gives only one transmitter, but notes three of his transmitters. For one of these three he also identifies two further levels of transmitters. Incidentally, it is in speaking of Aḥmad al-Sārī that the term *haylūla* ('break' or 'separation') is used in the document for the first time as an indicator of an alternative *isnād* element in the presentation of the chain of transmitters (p.118). The farther back al-Samāhījī moves chronologically, the more incomplete the chains of transmitters become. Correspondingly, alternative *isnād* elements introduced by *haylūla* become more frequent. Furthermore, expressions are used that are typically employed when the *isnād* fans out: *'an mashāyikhihi* (p.86, 106), *'an mashāyikhihi minhum* ... (pp.87, 107), *ilā ākhir asānīdihimā* (p.150), *'an 'iddat min mashāyikhihi ashharuhum* ... (p.173), *wa-ghayruhum min al-mashāyikh bi-ṭuruqihim ilā mashāyikhihim* ... (p.182), *'an jamā'a kathīra min talāmidhat* ... (p.182), ... *yarwī 'an jamā'a min mashāyikh amthaluhum* ... (p.197), *wa-ghayrihim min al-mashāyikh bi-ṭuruqihim ilā mashāyikhihim* (p.182), *bi-wāsiṭat jamā'a min mashāyikhihi* ... (p.231), *'an ghayr wāḥid min al-thiqāt min aṣḥābihi* (p.208), *rawā 'an jamā'a min aṣḥābihi minhum* ... (p.243); *wa-bi-l-ṭuruq allatī dhakarnāhā kullahā 'an* ... (p.243), *rawā 'anhu jamā'a min aṣḥābihi minhum* ... (p.243), *wa-huwa yarwī 'an jamā'a min al-thiqāt wa-a'yān al-ruwāt* (p.248), *wa-huwa yarwī 'an jamā'a min al-ruwāt wa-a'yān al-thiqāt* (p.249); *yarwī 'anhu jamā'a* (p.250), *wa-huwa yarwī 'an jamā'a* (p.250), *rawā 'anhu jamā'a minhum* ... (p.253), *'an jamā'a min aṣḥābihi minhum* ... (p.253).

Another frequently applied method in *ijāzāt* to avoid lengthy presentations of *isnāds* is to refer to the *ijāzāt* of previous scholars where these are fully presented.[36] Al-Samāhījī also uses this method to shorten his descriptions; thus, he refers to the comprehensive *ijāza* of the 'Allāma al-Ḥillī issued to the Banī Zahra,[37] the comprehensive *ijāzāt* of the Shahīd al-Awwal and Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d.1011/1607), the *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* of Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the *Risāla* of Abū Ghālib al-Zurārī (d.368/978).[38] For the same purpose al-Samāhījī refers further to a number of biographical writings for their lists of works and chains of transmitters: the *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* of the 'Allāma al-Ḥillī (p.183), the *Fihrist* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (pp.204, 238, 256), the *Kitāb al-rijāl* of al-Najāshī,

and the *Fihrist* of Muntajab al-Dīn (d.575/1179–80) (pp.237, 256). For the chains of transmitters of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, al-Samāhījī refers to the former's *Biḥār al-anwār* (p.118).

Because of the many digressions, the increasing incompleteness of *isnāds* and the various methods of presentation that break up the basic organizing principle of progression backward in time, the presentation is sometimes difficult to follow. Nonetheless, the entire document is based on a well thought-out organizational plan that is strictly pursued by the author. The numerous cross-references are further evidence of the coherent basic structure of the *ijāza*.[39]

Against the background of the *ijāza* presented here, one should question Robert Gleave's thesis that this kind of *ijāzāt* and their *isnāds* are above all literary artefacts whose historical value for the reconstruction of scholarly networks is negligible.[40] When assessing the value of al-Samāhījī's *ijāza* as a historical source, one should differentiate between, on the one hand, information about his fellow students, teachers and other contemporaries he met personally and, on the other hand, preceding generations. His descriptions of Imāmī scholars from the time of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī to the early Islamic period is based exclusively on the writings of previous authors, particularly the *ijāzāt* and biographical literature. The value of al-Samāhījī's descriptions of scholars of the past, therefore, lies not so much in his facts, but rather in his comprehensive evaluation of individual scholars or works from the perspective of the Akhbāriyya. By contrast, the value of al-Samāhījī's writings about the generations of scholars from Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī up to the time he wrote the *ijāza* is very high as a historical source, even in reference to facts alone. He met personally most scholars of this period, and he spent quite a long time with many of them. Moreover, the precision and the thoroughness with which he presents his material makes it all the more credible. Furthermore, most of the men portrayed come from Baḥrayn, and the Imāmī scholarly tradition from this area is less documented than is the case with other centres of Twelver Shiʿism.[41]

The historical significance of al-Samāhījī's *ijāza* becomes even

more apparent when one compares his information on Baḥrayn's scholars with later biographical literature, especially al-Baḥrānī's *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, written in 1182/1768, 52 years later. Although al-Baḥrānī tends not to cite the *ijāza* of al-Samāhījī as one of his sources, a comparison of the respective entries and their some-times identical word-for-word formulations indicates that the *ijāza* must have been available to al-Baḥrānī. 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī (d.1340/1921–22), who wrote *Anwār al-badrayn fī tarājim 'ulamā' al-Qaṭīf wa'l-Aḥsā' wa'l-Baḥrayn* in the early 20th century, systematically draws on al-Samāhījī's *ijāza* as a source, and he quotes from it the relevant parts of the entries concerned.

Beyond this, the *ijāza* is a rich source of information about al-Samāhījī's own life and thinking. The various bits of testimonies about himself in it, like his autobibliography, cross-references to his other writings, reports on personal meetings and other bio-graphical data, have already been mentioned. Last but not least, the *ijāza* provides ample material about al-Samāhījī's position within the Akhbārīya; this needs to be taken into account along with his other works.

Notes

* My thanks go to Mohammed Ali Amir-Moezzi, Etan Kohlberg and par-ticularly to Elizabeth Pond, for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.

1. See the methodological proposals of Jan J. Witkam, 'The Human Element Between Text and Reader: The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts,' in Yasin Dutton, ed. *The Codiology of Islamic Manuscripts.* Proceedings of the Second Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 De-cember 1993 (London, 1995), p.131; and of R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, 'New Light on the Origin of the Term "Baccalaureate",' *Islamic Quarterly*, 18 (1974), p.7. Specific corpora of only text-bound *ijāzāt* are analysed in Georges Vajda, *Les Certificates de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1956) and in Pierre A. MacKay, 'Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī (M.S. Cairo, Adab 105),' *TAPS*, NS, 61 (1971), pp.1–81. For examples of text-independent *ijāzāt*, see the studies of Robert Gleave, 'The *Ijāza* from Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī (d.1186/1772) to Sayyid Muḥammad

Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d.1212/1797–8),' *Iran: Journal of the British Insti-tute of Persian Studies*, 32 (1994), pp.115–123, and Adam Gacek 'The Diploma of the Egyptian Calligrapher Ḥasan al-Rushdī,' *MME*, 4 (1989), pp.44–55. For further investigations in this field it is helpful to consult indices of *ijāzāt*, for the Imāmiyya set up in Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* (Beirut, 1403–6/1983–86), vol.1, pp.131–266, vol.11, pp.13–20, and also indices of issuers and recipients of *ijāzāt* in catalogues of manuscripts, for example in Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi kitābkhāna-yi ʿumūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿuẓmā Najafī Marʿashī* (Qumm, 1412/1991–92), index to volume 1, pp.319–351; see also Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1887), vol.1, pp.54–95. The many *kutub al-ijāzāt*, compilations of *ijāzāt* copies, should also be consulted; for a survey of such collections in Twelver Shiʿi Islam, see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, pp.123–131. New examples of such *kutub al-ijāzāt* are the compilations of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d.1110/1699), *Ijāzāt al-ḥadīth allatī katabahā ... al-Mawlā Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī al-Iṣfahānī*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qumm, 1410/1989–90) or the compilation edited by Maḥmūd al-Marʿashī containing the *ijāzāt*, which his father Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Marʿashī (1315–1411/1897–1990) received in the course of his life (*Musalsalāt fiʾl-ijāzāt muḥtawiyya ʿalā ijāzāt ʿulamāʾ al-Islām fī ḥaqq wālidī al-ʿAllāma Āyat Allāh al-ʿuẓmā al-Sayyid Abiʾl-Maʿālī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī al-Najafī* 1–2 (Qumm, 1416/1995–96). The *Mustadrak Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad b. Rajab ʿAlī al-Ṭihrānī al-ʿAskarī (d.1371/1952), by contrast, containing among others a supplementary volume to al-Majlisī's *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* (cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.21, p.4, no.3675) seems to be lost. The book was never published. The original copy was known to be in the possession of the author's son, Najm al-Dīn al-ʿAskarī, himself a respected religious leader and scholar who lived in the Kāẓimiyya district of Baghdad. After the latter's death in 1396/1976, his collection of manuscripts was seized by the government of Iraq un-der the law for preservation of national cultural heritage of Iraq. Nothing has been heard about the collection since. (I am indebted to Hossein Modarressi for this information). Attempts to examine this genre more profoundly have been made by J.J. Witkam ('Human Element'), ʿAbd Allāh Fayyāḍ, *al-Ijāzāt al-ʿilmiyya ʿindaʾl-Muslimīn* (Baghdad, 1967), who especially considered Twelver Shiʿi material, and by Qāsim Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī, 'al-Ijāza wa-taṭawwuruhā al-taʾrīkhī,' *ʿĀlam al-kutub*, 2 (1981), pp.278–285. For reports on the courses of studies, see Charles Pellat, 'Fahrasa,' *EI2*, vol.2, pp.743–744; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, 'Kutub barāmij

al-'ulamā' fi'l-Andalus,' *Majallat ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, 1 (1375/
1955), pp.91–120; Jacqueline Sublet, 'Les Maîtres et les études de deux
traditionnistes de l'époque mamelouke. Al-Mashyakha al-Bāsima lil-
Qibābī wa Fāṭima de Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. Étude analytique,' *BEO*, 20
(1967), pp.7–99; Arthur J. Arberry, *A Twelfth-century Reading List: A Chapter
in Arab Bibliography* (London, 1951). For certificates of hearing, see Ṣalāḥ
al-Dīn al-Munajjid, 'Ijāzāt al-samā' fi'l-makhṭūṭāt al-qadīma,' *Majallat
ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, 1 (1375/1955), pp.232–251, and Stefan
Leder, 'Hörerzertifikate als Dokumente für die islamische Lehrkultur
des Mittelalters,' in Raif Georges Khoury, ed. *Urkunden und
Urkundenformulare im Klassischen Altertum und in den orientalischen Kulturen*
(Heidelberg, 1999), pp.147–166.

2. Ed. Mahdī al-'Awāzim al-Qaṭīfī (Qumm, 1419/1998–99). See also
Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī'a*, vol.1, p.205, no.1071.

3. For al-Samāhījī, see Andrew J. Newman, 'The Nature of the
Akhbārī/Uṣūlī Dispute in Late Ṣafawid Iran. Part 1: 'Abdallāh al-
Samāhījī's *Munyat al-Mumārisīn*,' *BSOAS*, 55 (1992), pp.22–51; idem,
'The Nature of the Akhbārī/Uṣūlī Dispute in Late Ṣafawid Iran, Part 2:
The Conflict Reassessed,' *BSOAS*, 55 (1992), pp.250–261; 'Alī b. Ḥasan
al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī, *Anwār al-badrayn fi tarājim 'ulamā' al-Qaṭīf wa'l-Aḥsā'
wa'l-Baḥrayn* (Najaf, 1377/1957; reprinted Qumm, 1407/1986), pp.170–
175 no.77; 'Abdallāh al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī al-Tustarī, *al-Ijāza al-kabīra*, ed.
Muḥammad al-Samāmī al-Ḥā'irī (Qumm, 1409/1988–89), pp.200–210;
Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fi aḥwāl al-'ulamā' wa'l-
sādāt*, vols 1–8 (Qumm, 1392/1972), vol.4, p.247; Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī,
Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Najaf, 1386/
1966), pp.96–103, no.38. For Nāṣir al-Jārūdī, see al-Baḥrānī, *Anwār al-
badrayn*, pp.297–299, no.9; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'a* (Beirut, 1403/
1983), vol.10, p.202.

4. It seems clear that this *ijāza* was issued at least three years before
the one discussed in this article; this conclusion is based on another
ijāza of al-Samāhījī at the end of his *Munyat al-mumārisīn fi ajwibat su'ālāt
al-shaykh Yāsīn* (completed in 1125/1712), issued to Yāsīn b. Ṣalāḥ al-
Dīn al-Bilādī; see Newman, *Nature*, vol.1, p.23; for the *ijāza* to Yāsīn b.
'Alī al-Bilādī, cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol.1, p.205 no.1072.

5. Al-Samāhījī completes the enumeration of works heard with him
as follows (p.51): *wa-ghayrahā min masā'il mutabaddida fi majālis
muta'addida fi sā'āt wa-ayyām wa-shuhūr wa-a'wām fi kathīr min al-'ulūm
wa'l-funūn min al-shurūḥ wa'l-mutūn*.

6. For this type, see al-Tustarī, *al-Ijāza al-kabīra*, pp.47–49. Reciprocal

licenses of transmission were exchanged, for example, between Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d.1104/1693); cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.233 no.1226 b; al-Samāhījī, *Ijāza*, p.104. In the case of Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Marʿashī (d.1411/1990), there were reciprocal licenses between him and ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī (1295–1379/1878–1959), Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (1315–1399/1898–1979) and Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (1293–1389/1876–1970); cf. *Musalsalāt*, vol.1, pp.xxii, xxiv, xxv.

7. See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, ed. Jawād al-ʿAlawī (Tehran, 1376–1405/1957–85), vol.108, pp.86–87, 91ff, 101–106, 110–113, 118–119.

8. al-Tustarī, *al-Ijāza al-kabīra*, pp.5–12 and passim.

9. P.50: *iltamasa minnī ayḍan an ujīzahu fī jamīʿ mā arwīhi wa-an ubīḥahu riwāyat kull mā adrīhi wa-mā jarā bihi qalamī fī'l-taṣnīf wa-mā arwīhi ʿan mashāyikhī wa-rijāl al-ḥadīth mimmā ittaṣalat bihi silsilat al-isnād ilā sādāt al-ʿibād wa-dhakhīrat al-nās fī l-maʿād.*

10. Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī adds to his introductions of different *ijāzāt* that in his time it was no longer important to attest to the authenticity of the contents of transmission; because of the rich documentation the authenticity is beyond question; see al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, p.5; Gleave, *Ijāza*, pp.116–117.

11. P.50: *wa-an adhkura lahu jumla min al-ṭuruq wa'l-kutub allatī aḥāṭa bihā ʿilmī wa-balaghahā fahmī min ṭuruq al-khāṣṣa wa-mā ittafaqat min ṭuruq al-ʿāmma li-takūna ijāza tāmma wa-fāʾida ʿāmma ...*

12. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1386/1966). For this work, cf. Marco Salati, *Luʾluʾat al-baḥrayn fī l-ijāza li-qurratay al-ʿayn di Shaykh Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (1107–1186/1695–1772): per lo studio della shīʿa di Baḥrayn.* In: *Annali Ca' Foscari*, 28 (1989), pp.111–145.

13. See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.18, pp.354–355 no.452.

14. Ibid., vol.3, p.137, no.464. For further examples, cf. *Musalsalāt*, vol.1, pp.x-xi.

15. See, for example, p.53 no.6; p.54 nos 7, 8, 9; pp.54–55 no.13; p.55 no.15; p.56 no.22; p.57 no.30; p.58 nos 33, 35, 36; p.59 nos 39, 41; p.60 nos 42, 44.

16. P.52 no.2; p.53 no.5.

17. P.51. no.1; p.55 no.20; p.56 no.24; p.58 no.31; p.59 nos 37, 38.

18. Such attempts of explanation are not fully satisfying. For example, one of the important writings of al-Samāhījī, *Munyat al-mumārisīn*, completed in 1125/1712, three years before the *ijāza*, is missing in the

autobibliography. Perhaps he did not mention the work because Nāṣir al-Jārūdī is quoted in it as his transmitter.

19. P. 60: *wa-jamīʿ mā jarā bihi qalamī fi'l-uṣūl wa'l-furūʿ fi'l-maʿqūl wa'l-mashrūʿ wa'l-ḥawāshī wa'l-quyūd mimmā kāna aw yakūnu in shāʾa llāh taʿālā wa-min al-inshāʾāt wa'l-nuẓum wa-mā ʿulima annahu min masmūʿātī wa-maqrūʾātī aw mujāzātī.*

20. Printed in al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.107, pp.147–149. See also Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.178 no.911.

21. Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty, 3810:328r-329v; see. S. Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (um 838/1434-35 - nach 906/1501)* (Leiden, 2000), p.270.

22. Pp. 50–57.

23. His autobibliography (pp.446–449) is part of a large autobiographical entry set by al-Baḥrānī at the end of his *ijāza* (pp.442–449).

24. Described by J.J. Witkam, 'Lists of Books in Arabic Manuscripts,' *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 5 (1990–91), pp.126–130.

25. So Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī in his *ijāza* issued in Jumādā II 934/ February-March 1528 to ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī (d.938/1531–32) and to his son Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī (printed in al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol.108, pp.40–49 no.34); further, several *ijāzāt* of Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī, and some *ijāzāt* of al-Majlisī, see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.149 no.712, p.150 no.715, p.151. no.726, p.197 no.1022, 1024.

26. See also Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.197 no.1022.

27. P.75: *wa-lahu muṣannafāt kathīra taqrubu min sittīn muṣannafan au akthar ... fa-lladhī yaḥḍurunī al-āna min asmāʾihā wa-taʿdādihā ...*

28. Pp.17, 113 n.4; cf. also al-Baḥrānī, *Anwār al-badrayn*, p.124.

29. For an analysis of Ibn Abī Jumhūr's chains of transmitters, see Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik*, Supplement 3.

30. Mention is made of the *Kitāb al-taysīr fi'l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ* of Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī al-Qurṭubī b. al-Ṣayrafī al-Umawī al-Munīrī (d.444/1053), the *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* ('al-Shāṭibīya') of Abu'l-Qāsim b. Firruh al-Ruʿaynī al-Shāṭibī (d.590/1194), the *Kitāb al-mūjiz fi'l-qirāʾāt* and the *Kitāb al-riʿāya fī tajwīd al-qirāʾa wa-taḥqīq lafẓ al-tilāwa* of Abu Muḥammad Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib Ḥammūsh al-Qaysī (d.437/1045) as well as his remaining works (*wa-bāqī kutub* Makkī ...); *K. al-Īḍāḥ fi'l-waqf wa'l-ibtidāʾ* of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. al-Anbārī (d.328/940) and his other works; *K. al-Sabʿa fī manāzil al-qurrāʾ* of Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqriʾ (d.324/936).

31. Quoted are *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabīya* of Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d.393/1003 or 398 or 400), *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. al-Sikkīt (d.243/857), *al-Jamhara fiʾl-lugha* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī (d.321/933), *al-Gharībayn gharībay al-Qurʾān waʾl-sunna* of Abū ʿUbayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Fashānī (Bashānī) (d.401/1011) as well as his entire writings (*wa-jamīʿ muṣannafātihi*), *al-Mujmal fiʾl-lugha* of Abuʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyāʾ b. Ḥabīb al-Qazwīnī al-Hamadhānī al-Rāzī (d.395/1005 or 396), *al-Faṣīḥ* of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d.291/904) and *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-l-qabas* (*al-qābūs*) *al-wasīṭ* of Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d.817/1415).

32. Mentioned are *al-Alfīya* of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mālik al-Ṭāʾī al-Jayyānī (d.672/1273), all the writings of ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥājib (d.646/1249), *al-Lumaʿ fī l-naḥw* of Abuʾl-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Jinnī (d.392/1002) and all his remaining writings (*jamīʿ kutub* Ibn Jinnī); as well as all the writings of the following persons: Mawhūb b. al-Khaḍir b. al-Jawālīqī (d.539/1144), Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d.502/1109), Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d.377/987), ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Rabaʿī (d.480/1087), Muḥammad b. al-Sarī Ibn al-Sarrāj (d.316/928), Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d.311/923), Abuʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d.449/1057), Abuʾl-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad (d.285/896 or 286/897), Abū ʿUmar Ṣāliḥ b. Isḥāq al-Jarmī (d.225/839), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Akhfash al-Akbar (d.177/793), Sībawayh (d.presumably 180/796), Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī (d.160/776 or 175/791). I was unable to identify two further grammarians mentioned by al-Samāhījī, al-Thamānīnī and Abuʾl-Ḥasan [ibn] ʿAbd al-Wārith.

33. P.271: *wa-huwa mimmā akhbaranī shaykhī ... Sulaymān [al-Māḥūzī] ... qirāʾatan fī Bandar Kunk fī shahr awāʾil Shaʿbān fiʾl-sana 1109 ʿan ʿiddat min mashāyikhihi bi-anwāʿ ṭuruq al-taḥammul aʿzamuhum Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī ...*; p.272: *wa-rawaytu hādhaʾl-ḥadīth ʿan shaykhī al-ʿAllāma [Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī] samāʿan minhu bi-qirāʾat ...* ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Iṣbaʿī (before 1077/1666–67 - 1127/1715) *bi-l-ṭarīq al-madhkūr...*

34. The most extensive entries are dedicated to Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī (pp.73–80), Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (pp.90–97) and Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d.1091/1680) (pp.121–129).

35. Pp.120 ff. In addition, al-Tustarī has a very detailed entry on al-Samāhījī, whom he never met personally (pp.200 ff.).

36. At times, *ijāzāt* also contain partial or complete reproductions of *ijāzāt* from previous scholars; probably the earliest example is an *ijāza* of Abū Ghālib al-Zurārī (d.368/978), drawn up in 356/967 and brought

up to date in 367/978; cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, pp.143–144; vol.2, p.465 no.1807; Aḥmad Monzawī and ʿAlī Naqī Monzawī, 'Bibliographies and Catalogues. ii. In Iran,' *EIR*, vol.4, p.227 no.2; Etan Kohlberg, 'Al-Uṣūl al-Arbaʿumiʾa,' *JSAI*, 10 (1987), p.135. See also the *ijāza* of Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Qaṭīfī issued to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Turkī (printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.108, pp.89–106 no.44, which contains a complete reproduction of the *ijāza* from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqa, pp.97–101 = *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.236 no.1239). Furthermore, the *ijāza* of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī, issued to the Muḥaqqiq al-Thānī (d.940/1534) (printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.108, pp.20–27 no.30), which contains a complete reproduction of the autobibliographical *ijāza* (pp.21–23) from the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī to Muhannaʾ b. Sinān (= *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.178 no.911), of the *ijāza* (pp.24–26) from the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī to Muhannaʾ b. Sinān dated Dhuʾl-Ḥijja 719/ January-February 1320 (= *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.178 no.910), and of the *ijāza* from Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī (d.841/1437-8) to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥūlānī al-ʿĀmilī, dated Friday, 19 Dhuʾl-Ḥijja 825/4 December 1422 (= *Dharīʿa*, vol.1, p.144 no.678) (p.27).

37. P.186: *wa-lahu* [= Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zahra al-Ḥalabī] *ijāza malīḥa min al-ʿAllāma [al-Ḥillī] taḍammanat al-ahamm min al-ṭuruq ilā aṣḥāb al-taṣānīf wa-qad ajaztu li-mawlānā riwāyatahu ʿannī ʿan mashāyikhī ʿan al-ʿAllāma ʿan jamīʿ mā taḍammanathu min al-ṭuruq kama ajaztu lahu riwāyat ma taqaddama khuṣūṣan mā taḍammanathu ijāzāt al-mashāyikh bi-jamīʿ ṭuruqihim;* see also pp.256–257.

38. Pp.256–257: *wa-ka-dhālika bāqī al-mashāyikh al-madhkūrīn fī ijāzāt aṣḥābinā ka-ijāzat al-shaykh Ḥasan* [printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.109, pp.3–79 no.63] *waʾl-Shahīd al-awwal* [printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.107, pp.186–192 no.21] *wa-ijāzat al-ʿAllāma li-Abiʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abiʾl-Ḥasan b. Abiʾl-Maḥāsin Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣādiqī* [printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.107, pp.60–137, no.6] *wa-Kitāb al-ijāzāt liʾl-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs wa-Risālat Abī Ghālib al-Zurārī* [and not, as the edition has it: al-Razzāzī] *fa-innahā lam taḥḍurnī al-āna wa-mā lam yudhkar fīhā fa-muḥāl ʿalā l-tattabuʿ* ...; cf. also p.265.

39. Pp.105, 109, 186: *al-mutaqaddim dhikruhu;* p.105: *al-madhkūr;* p.99: *al-ātī dhikruhu;* p.193: *wa-qad dhukira;* p.207: *wa-sa-yaʾtī dhikruhu;* pp.217, 220: *wa-qad taqaddama dhikruhu;* p.239: *wa-sa-yaʾtī al-ishāra ilayhā;* p.238: *kama taqaddamat al-ishāra ilayhi;* p.242: *wa-qad taqaddama fīmā maḍā;* p.242: *wa-qad taqaddama taʿrīf* ...

40. Gleave, 'The *Ijāza,'* pp.120–121.

41. A survey of the biographical literature of the Imāmiyya is provided by Angelo Arioli, 'Introduzione alla studio del 'Ilm ar-rijal imamita: le fonti,' in Jacqueline Sublet, ed. *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* (Paris, 1979), pp.51–89. The following works dealing in particular with Baḥrayn supplement these sources: Sulaymān al-Māhūzī, *'Ulamā' al-Baḥrayn* and *Jawāhir al-Baḥrayn fī 'ulamā' al-Baḥrayn* printed in idem, *Fihrist Āl Bābūya wa-'ulamā' al-Baḥrayn*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qumm, 1404/1983–84); Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*; 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī, *Anwār al-badrayn*; Hāshim Muḥammad al-Shakhṣī, *A'lām Hajar min al-māḍīn wa-l-mu'āṣirīn* (Beirut, 1410/1990); 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Muhtadī al-Baḥrānī, *'Ulamā' al-Baḥrayn: Durūs wa-'ibar* (Beirut, 1414/1994). For Imāmī scholarly culture in Baḥrayn, see also Juan R.I. Cole, 'Rival Empires of Trade and Imami Shi'ism in Eastern Arabia,' 1300–1800, *IJMES*, 19 (1987), pp.177–204; Ali Ahmed al-Oraibi, *Shi'i Renaissance: A Case Study of the Theosophical School of Bahrain in the 7th/13th Century* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1992).

Selected Bibliography

'Abbās, Iḥsān. *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*. Beirut, 1956.

al-'Abbāsī, Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh. *Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal.* Cairo, 1305/ 1887.

Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr. Cairo, 1368/ 1949.

Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Zaybaq. Beirut, 1997.

Aghaie, K. 'The Karbala Narrative: Shi'i Political Discourse in Modern Iran in the 1960s and 1970s,' *JIS*, 12 (2001), pp.151–176.

al-Ahwānī, 'Abd al-'Azīz. 'Kutub barāmij al-'ulamā' fi'l-Andalus,' *Majallat ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, 1 (1375/1955), pp.91–120.

al-Amīn, Muḥsin. *A'yān al-Shī'a*. Beirut, 1403/1983.

Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism*, tr. David Streight. Albany, NY, 1994.

Arberry, Arthur J. *A Twelfth-century Reading List: A Chapter in Arab Bibliography*. London, 1951.

—— *The Koran Interpreted.* Oxford, 1964.

Arioli, Angelo. 'Introduzione alla studio del 'Ilm ar-rijal imamita: le fonti' in Jacqueline Sublet, ed., *Cahiers d'onomastique Arabe*. Paris, 1979, pp.51–89.

Arjomand, Saïd Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to*

433

1890. Chicago, 1984.

—— 'Two Decrees of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Concerning Statecraft and the Authority of Shaykh 'Alī al-Karakī,' in S. Amir Arjomand, ed. *Authority and Political Culture in Shī'ism.* Albany, NY, 1988, pp.250–262.

—— 'The Consolation of Theology: The Shi'ite Doctrine of Occultation and the Transition from Chiliasm to Law,' *Journal of Religion*, 76 (1996), pp.548–571.

—— 'Perso-Indian Statecraft, Greek Political Science and the Muslim Idea of Government,' *International Sociology*, 16 (2001), pp.441–480.

—— 'Medieval Persianate Political Ethic,' *Studies on Persianate Societies*, 1 (2003, forthcoming).

Ayoub, M. *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Āshūrā' in Twelver Shī'ism.* The Hague, 1978.

Bacharach, Jere L. 'Laqab for a Future Caliph: The Case of the Abbasid al-Mahdi,' *JAOS*, 113 (1993), pp.271–274

Bagby, P. *Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilizations.* Berkeley, 1963.

al-Baḥrānī, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad. *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn fi'l-ijāzāt wa-tarājim rijāl al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-'Ulūm. Najaf, 1386/1966; Beirut, 1406/1986.

al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1866.

Bal'ami, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad. *Tārīkh-i Bal'ami: takmila va tarjama-yi tārīkh-i Ṭabari*, ed. M.T. Bahār and M.P. Gunābadī. Tehran, 1341 Sh./1962; ed. M. Rawshan. Tehran, 1366 Sh./1987; facsimile ed. M. Mīnuvī. Tehran, 1344 Sh./1966. French tr. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar. Mohammed-ben-Yezid Tabari.* Paris, 1867–74.

Bausani, Alessandro. *Religion in Iran from Zoroaster to Baha'ullah*, tr. J.M. Marchesi. New York, 2000.

Bergé, Marc. *Pour un humanisme vécu: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī.* Damascus, 1979.

—— 'Abū Ḥayyan al-Tawḥīdī,' in Julia Ashtiany et al., ed. *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: 'Abbasid Belles-Lettres.* Cambridge, 1990, pp.112–124.

al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī, 'Alī b. Ḥasan. *Anwār al-badrayn fī tarājim 'ulamā' al-Qaṭīf wa'l-Aḥsā' wa'l-Baḥrayn.* Najaf, 1377/1957; repr. Qumm, 1407/1986.

Bonner, M. 'The Naming of the Frontier: 'awāṣim, thughūr and the Arab Geographers,' *BSOAS*, 57 (1994), pp.17–24.

Bosworth, C. Edmund. 'The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids,' *Oriens*,

15 (1962), pp.210–233; reprinted in his *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia.* London, 1977, article X.

—— *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Aghanistan and Eastern Iran 994:1040.* Edinburgh, 1963.

—— *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffārids (30–250/651–864).* Rome, 1968.

—— *Medieval Arabic Culture and Administration.* London, 1982.

—— *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual.* Edinburgh and New York, 1996.

Bourouiba, Rachid. 'A propos de la date de naissance d'Ibn Tūmart,' *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* (1 January, 1966), pp.19–25.

—— 'Chronologie d'Ibn Tūmart,' *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* (3, July, 1967), pp.39–47.

Brauer, R.W. 'Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 85 (1995), pp.1–73.

Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur.* 2nd ed. Leiden, 1943–49. Supplementbände. Leiden, 1937–1942.

Brodersen, Kai. 'The Presentation of Geographical Knowledge for Travel and Transport in the Roman World: *itineria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta,*' in C. Adams and R. Laurence, ed. *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire.* London, 2001, pp.7–21.

Brunschvig, Robert. 'Sur la Doctrine du Mahdī Ibn Tūmart,' *Arabica,* 2 (1955), pp.137–149.

Busse, Heribert. 'The Revival of Persian Kingship under the Būyids' in D.S. Richards, ed. *Islamic Civilization, 950–1150.* Oxford, 1973, pp.47–69.

Calder, Norman. 'Legitimacy and Accommodation in Safavid Iran: The Juristic Theory of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Sabzavārī (d.1090/1679),' *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies,* 25 (1987), pp.91–105.

Canard, Marius. 'Le Cérémonial Fatimite et le cérémonial Byzantin: Essai de comparaison,' *Byzantion,* 21 (1951), pp.355–420; reprinted in his *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient.* London, 1973, article XIV.

Chejne, Anwar G. *Succession to the Rule in Islam with Special Reference to the Early ʿAbbasid Period.* Lahore, 1960.

Chelkowski, Peter, ed. *Taʿziyeh: Ritual Drama in Iran.* New York, 1979.

Chittick, William C., ed. and tr. 'Two Seventeenth-century Persian Tracts on Kingship and Rulers,' in S.A. Arjomand, ed. *Authority and Political*

Culture in Shiʿism. Albany, NY, 1988, pp.267–304.

Cobban, A.B. *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organiza-tion.* London, 1975.

Cole, Juan R.I. 'Rival Empires of Trade and Imami Shiʿism in Eastern Arabia, 1300–1800,' *IJMES,* 19 (1987), pp.177–204.

—— *Roots of North Indian Shiʿism in Iran and Iraq.* Berkely, 1988.

Combe, Étienne, et al. ed. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe.* Cairo, 1931– .

Cornu, Georgette. *Atlas du monde arabo-islamique a l'époque classique ixᵉ-xᵉ siècles.* Leiden, 1985.

Crone, Patricia. *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity.* Cam-bridge, 1980.

—— and Martin Hinds. *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centu-ries of Islam.* Cambridge, 1986.

—— and W.L. Treadwell. 'A New Text on Ismailism at the Samanid Court,' in C.F. Robinson, ed. *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D.S. Richards.* Leiden, 2003, pp.37–67.

Daftary, Farhad. *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines.* Cambridge, 1990.

——, ed. *Mediaeval Ismaʿili History and Thought.* Cambridge, 1996.

—— *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community.* Edin-burgh, 1998.

Daniel, Elton L. 'Manuscripts and Editions of Balʿami's *Tarjamah-yi Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī,*' *JRAS* (1990), pp.282–321.

Davidovich, E.A. 'Vladeteli Nasrabada (po numizmaticheskim dannym),' *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury,* 61 (1956), pp.107–113.

al-Daylamī, Abu'l-Hasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. *Kitāb ʿaṭf al-alif al-maʾlūf ʿalā'l-lām al-maʿṭūf,* ed. Jean Claude Vadet. Cairo, 1962.

Derenbourg, Hartwig. *ʿOumâra du Yémen, sa vie et son oeuvre.* Paris, 1897–1904.

al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn. *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ.* Beirut, 1981–82.

Dilke, O.A. *Greek and Roman Maps.* London, 1985.

—— 'Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires,' in Harley and Woodward, ed. *The History of Cartography,* vol.1, pp.234–257.

Edson, Evelyn. *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World.* London, 1997.

Enayat, Hamid. *Modern Islamic Political Thought.* London, 1982.

Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater. New York and London, 1982–

The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al. New ed., Leiden and

London, 1960–2002.

Ernst, Carl W. *Rūzbihān Baqlī: Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism.* Richmond, Surrey, 1996.

Fayyāḍ, 'Abdallāh. *al-Ijāzāt al-'ilmiyya 'inda'l-Muslimīn.* Baghdad, 1967.

Fierro, Maribel. 'The Legal Policies of the Almohad Caliphs and Ibn Rushd's *Bidayat al-Mujtahid,*' *JIS,* 10 (1999), pp.226–248.

Fletcher, Madeleine. 'Ibn Tūmart's Teachers: The Relationship with al-Ghazālī,' *al-Qanṭara,* 18 (1997), pp.305–330.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences.* London, 2000.

Fricaud, Emile. 'La notice biographique d'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Qaṭṭān dans *l'Ad-dayl wa-t-Takmila* d'Ibn 'Abd-al-Malik al-Marrākusī,' in María Luisa Ávila and Maribel Fierro, ed. *Biografías Almohades.* Madrid and Granada, 2000, vol.2, pp.223–283.

Fu'ād Sayyid, Ayman, ed. *La Capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque Fatimide al-Qāhira et al-Fusṭāṭ: Essai de reconstitution topographique.* Beirut, 1998.

Gacek, Adam. 'The Diploma of the Egyptian Calligrapher Ḥasan al-Rushdī,' *Manuscripts of the Middle East,* 4 (1989), pp.44–55.

Gardīzī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy. *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. M. Nāzim, Berlin, 1928; ed. 'A. Ḥabībī. Tehran, 1347 Sh./1968.

Gleave, Robert. 'The *Ijāza* from Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī (d.1186/1772) to Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-'Ulūm (d.1212/1797–8),' *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies,* 32 (1994), pp.115–123.

Goldziher, Ignaz. *Le Livre d'Ibn Toumert.* Algiers, 1903.

Griaznevich, P.A. and A.N. Boldyrev, 'O dvukh redaktsiiakh Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī Bal'ami,' *Sovyetskoye Vostokovedeniye,* 3 (1957), pp.46–59.

Griffith, Sidney H. 'The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century,' *Oriens Christianus,* 69 (1985), pp.126–167.

Grunebaum, Gustave E. von. 'The Cultural Function of the Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam,' in G.E. von Grunebaum and R. Caillois, ed. *The Dream and Human Societies.* Berkeley, 1966, pp.3–21.

Ḥabīb, Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-muḥabbar,* ed. Ilse Lichtenstädter. Hyderabad, 1361/1942.

Halm, Heinz. 'Die *Sīrat* Ibn Ḥaušab: Die ismailitische *da'wa* im Jemen und die Fatimiden,' *WO,* 12 (1981), pp.107–135.

—— *Das Reich des Mahdi: Der Aufstieg der Fatimiden.* Munich, 1991; English tr. M. Bonner, *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids.* Leiden, 1996.

—— *Shiism,* tr. J. Watson. Edinburgh, 1991.

—— 'The Isma'ili Oath of Allegiance ('*ahd*) and the "Sessions of Wisdom" (*majālis al-ḥikma*) in Fatimid Times,' in Daftary, ed. *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*, pp.91–115.

—— 'Der Tod Ḥamzas, des Begründers der drusischen Religion,' in U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, ed. *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, II*. Louvain, 1998, pp.105–113.

Hamdani, Abbas. 'An Early Fāṭimid Source on the Time and Authorship of the *Rasā'il Iḫwān al-Ṣafā'*,' *Arabica*, 26 (1979), pp.62–75.

al-Hamdānī, Ḥusayn F. *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa'l-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimiyya fi'l-Yaman*. Cairo, 1955.

Harley, J.B. and David Woodward, ed. *The History of Cartography*. Chicago, 1987–92.

al-Ḥūfī, Aḥmad Muḥammad. *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*. Cairo, [1964].

Huici, Ambrosio. 'La leyenda y la historia en los orígenes del imperio Almohade,' *Al-Andalus*, 14 (1949), pp.339–376.

Hurvitz, Nimrod. *The Formation of Hanbalism: Piety into Power*. Richmond, Surrey, 2002.

al-Ḥusaynī, Aḥmad. *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi kitābkhāna-yi 'umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā Najafī Mar'ashī*. Qumm, 1412/1991–92.

Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār*, ed. I. 'Abbās. Beirut, 1975.

Ibn Abī Zar', Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad. *Roudh el-Kartas, Histoire des souverains du Magreb (Espagne et Maroc) et annales de la ville de Fès*, tr. A. Beaumier. Paris, 1860.

Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn. *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh* , ed. C.J. Tornberg. Leiden, 1851–76; reprinted, Beirut, 1965–66.

Ibn Ḥammād, Muḥammad b. 'Alī. *Histoire des Rois 'Obaïdides (Akhbār mulūk Banī 'Ubayd wa-sīratihum)*, ed. and French tr. M. Vonderheyden. Algiers and Paris, 1927.

Ibn Ḥawqal, Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad. *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1873; ed. J.H. Kramers. Leiden, 1938; French trans., *Configuration de la terre*, tr. J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet. Paris and Beirut, 1964.

Ibn al-Haytham, Abū 'Abdallāh Ja'far. *Kitāb al-munāẓarāt*, ed. and tr. W. Madelung and P.E. Walker as *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shī'i Witness*. London, 2000.

Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa'l-umam*. Hyderabad, 1939.

Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. W. MacGuckin de Slane. Paris,

1927.

—— *al-Muqaddima*, ed. E.M. Quatremère. Beirut, 1992 (facsimile of 1858 ed.); English tr. F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*. Princeton, NJ, 1980.

Ibn Khallikān, Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad. *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās. Beirut, n.d.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd. *Kitāb al-muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Martin J. McDermott and W. Madelung. London, 1991.

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Sawīrūs (Severus). *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church known as the History of the Holy Church (Taʾrīkh baṭārikatiʾl-kanīsa al-Miṣriyya)*, tr. Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs. Burmester. Cairo, 1968.

Ibn Muyassar, Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid. Cairo, 1981.

Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel. Leipzig, 1871–72; ed. and tr. Bayard Dodge as *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-century Survey of Muslim Culture*. New York, 1970.

Ibn al-Qalānisī, Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza. *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashq*, ed. H.F. Amedroz. Leiden, 1908.

Ibn al-Qunfudh, Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad. *al-Fārisiyya fī mabādiʾ al-dawla al-Ḥafṣiyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Nifār and ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Turkī. Tunis, 1968.

Ibn Qutayba, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh. *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr. Cairo, 1373/1954.

—— *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāsha. Cairo, 1992.

Ibn Taghrībirdī, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf. *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*. Cairo, 1348–91/1929–72.

Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad. *al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg. Paris, 1895.

Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī. *Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré. Cairo, 1972.

Ibrāhīm, Zakariyyā. *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: adīb al-falāsifa wa-faylasūf al-udabāʾ*. Cairo, n.d.

Idris, Hady R. *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes, X–XII siècles*. Paris, 1962.

Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan. *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vols 4–6, ed. M. Ghālib. Beirut, 1973–84.

—— *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī as *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ al-Fāṭimiyyīn biʾl-Maghrib: al-qism al-khāṣṣ min Kitāb ʿuyūn al-akhbār*. Beirut, 1985.

al-Idrīsī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad. *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtarāq*

al-āfāq, ed. E Cerulli et al. Naples and Rome, 1970–84.

al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm. *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1870; ed. Muḥammad Jābir 'Abd al-Āl al-Ḥīnī. Cairo, 1961.

Ivanow, Wladimir. *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*. London, etc., 1942.

Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. *Kitāb al-'ālim wa'l-ghulām*, ed. and tr. James W. Morris as *The Master and the Disciple: An Early Islamic Spritual Dialogue*. London, 2001.

Jafri, S. Husain M. *Origins and Early Development of Shī'a Islam*. London, 1979.

al-Jazā'irī al-Tustarī, 'Abdallāh al-Mūsawī. *al-Ijāza al-kabīra*, ed. Muḥammad al-Samāmī al-Ḥā'irī. Qumm, 1409/1988–89.

Karamustafa, Ahmet T. 'Introduction to Islamic Maps,' in Harley and Woodward, ed. *The History of Cartography*, vol.2, Bk.1, pp.3–11.

Karaoui, Said. *Die Rezeption der Bibel in der frühislamischen Literatur am Beispiel der Hauptwerke von Ibn Qutayba (gest. 276/889)*. Heidelberg, 1997.

Kāshifī, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Wā'iẓ. *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'*, ed. Abu'l-Ḥasan Sha'rānī. Tehran, n.d. [1358 Sh./1979?].

Kasravī, Aḥmad. *Shahriyārān-i gumnān*. Tehran, 1335 Sh./1956.

Kennedy, E.S. and M.H. Kennedy. *Geographical Coordinates of Localities from Islamic Sources*. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1987.

Kennedy, Hugh. *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History*. London, 1981.

Khalidi, Tarif. *Islamic Historiography*. Albany, NY, 1975.

Khwānd Mīr, Ghiyāth al-Dīn. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. J. Humā'ī. 3rd ed. Tehran, 1362 Sh./1983.

al-Khwānsārī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-'ulamā' wa'l-sādāt*, ed. M.T. al-Kashfī and A. Ismā'īliyān. Qumm 1390–92/1970–72.

al-Kīlānī, Ibrāhīm, ed. *Thalāth rasā'il li-Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*. Damascus, 1951.

—— *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*. Beirut, 1957.

King, David A. *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca: Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science*. London and Leiden, 1999.

Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā', Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and al-Ḥāfiẓ Shalabī. Cairo, 1938.

Kochnev, B.D. 'Zametki po srednevekovoi numizmatike Sredneĭ Azii: Chasti I (Samanidy, Karakhanidy, Dzhanidy),' *Istoriia material'noĭ kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 14 (1978), pp.121–123.

Kohlberg, Etan. *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library*. Leiden, 1992.

—— 'Al-Uṣūl al-Arbaʿumi'a,' *JSAI*, 10 (1987), pp.128–166.

Kramers, J.H. 'Le Question Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī-Ibn Ḥawḳal et l'Atlas de l'Islam,' *Acta Orientalia*, 10 (1932), pp.9–30.

al-Kulaynī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb. *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī. Tehran, 1377/1957.

Lāhījī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq. *Guhar-i murād*. Tehran, 1377 Sh./1998.

Laoust, Henri. *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*. Paris, 1965.

Lassner, Jacob. *The Shaping of ʿAbbāsid Rule*. Princeton, NJ, 1980.

—— '"Doing" Early Islamic History: Brooklyn Baseball, Arabic Historiography, and Historical Memory,' *JAOS*, 114 (1994), pp.1–10.

Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava. *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism.* Princeton, NJ, 1992.

Lecomte, Gérard. 'Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Qutayba,' *Arabica*, 5 (1958), pp.34–46.

—— *Ibn Qutayba (mort en 276/889): L'homme, son œuvre, ses idées*. Damascus, 1965.

Leder, Stefan. 'Hörerzertifikate als Dokumente für die islamische Lehrkultur des Mittelalters' in Raif Georges Khoury, ed. *Urkunden und Urkundenformulare im Klassischen Altertum und in den orientalischen Kulturen.* Heidelberg, 1999, pp.147–166.

Leff, G. *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History*. New York, 1968.

Le Strange, Guy. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. Cambridge, 1905.

Lévi-Provençal, E. 'Textes arabes relatifs à l'histoire du Maroc. Six fragments inédits d'une Chronique anonyme du début des Almohades, publiés, traduits et annotés,' in *Mélanges René Basset.* Paris, 1923–25, vol.2, pp.335–393.

Lewis, Bernard. 'The Regnal Titles of the First Abbasid Caliphs,' in Tara Chand, ed. *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume*. New Delhi, 1968, pp.13–22; reprinted in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam (7th-16th Centuries)*. London, 1976, article II.

—— *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*. New York, 1974.

—— *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented*. Princeton, NJ, 1975.

—— *The Political Language of Islam*. Chicago, 1988.

Lewis, Suzanne. 'The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora,' *California Studies in the History of Art*, 21 (1987), pp.321–365.

Lowick, Nicholas. 'An Early Tenth Century Hoard from Isfahan,'

Numismatic Chronicle, 17 (1975), pp.110–154.

—— 'Une monnaie 'Alide d'al-Baṣrah datée de 145 H (762-3 après J.-C.),' *Revue Numismatique,* 6 série, 21 (1979), pp.218-224.

MacKay, Pierre A. 'Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī (M.S. Cairo, Adab 105),' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* NS, 61 (1971), pp.1–81.

Madelung, Wilferd. 'Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān,' *JNES,* 26 (1967), pp.17–57; reprinted in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements,* article VII.

—— 'The Assumption of the Title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids and the Reign of the Daylam (*Dawlat al-Daylam*),' *JNES,* 28 (1969), pp.84–108, 168–183; reprinted in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements,* article VIII.

—— 'The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran' in *The Cambridge History of Iran:* Volume 4, *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* ed. R.N. Frye. Cambridge, 1975, pp.198–249.

—— 'Some Notes on Non-Ismāʿīlī Shiism in the Maghrib,' *Studia Islamica,* 44 (1977), pp.87–97; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects,* article XIV.

—— 'A Treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā on the Legality of Working for Government,' *BSOAS,* 43 (1980), pp.18–31; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects,* article IX.

—— 'Shiite Discussions on the Legality of the Kharāj,' in R. Peters, ed. *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants.* Leiden, 1981, pp.193–202; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects,* article XI.

—— 'Authority in Twelver Shiism in the Absence of the Imam,' in *La Notion d'autorité au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident.* Paris, 1982, pp.163–173; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects,* article X.

—— *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam.* London, 1985.

—— 'Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age,' *JSS,* 31 (1986), pp.141–185; reprinted in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements,* article II.

—— *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran.* Albany NY, 1988.

—— *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam.* Hampshire, 1992.

—— 'Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and the Dāʿī Abū ʿAlī,' in W. Madelung et al., ed. *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UEAI.* St. Petersburg, 1997, pp.115–124.

—— 'al-Mahdī,' *EI2,* vol.5, pp.1230–1238.

al-Māhūzī, Sulaymān. *Fihrist Āl Bābūya wa-ʿulamāʾ al-Baḥrayn,* ed. Aḥmad

al-Ḥusaynī. Qumm, 1404/1983–84.

al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Ijāzāt al-ḥadīth allatī katabahā … al-Mawlā Muḥammad Baqir al-Majlisī al-Iṣfahānī (1037h-1110h)*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī. Qumm 1410/1989–90.

—— *Biḥār al-anwār*, ed. Jawād al-ʿAlawī. Tehran, 1376–1405/1957–85.

Makdisi, George. *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West.* Edinburgh, 1981.

—— *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West.* Edinburgh, 1990.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad. *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ bi-akhbār al-aʾimma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad. Cairo, 1967–73.

—— *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ waʾl-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ waʾl-āthār.* Būlāq, 1270/1853–54.

al-Marʿashī, Maḥmūd. *Musalsalāt fīʾl-ijāzāt muḥtawiyya ʿalā ijāzāt ʿulamāʾ al-Islām fī ḥaqq wālidī al-ʿAllāma Āyat Allāh al-ʿuzmā al-Sayyid Abiʾl-Maʿālī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī al-Najafī.* Qumm, 1416/1995–96.

al-Marrākushī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. *al-Muʿjib*, ed. R.P.A. Dozy as *The History of the Almohads.* 2nd ed. Leiden, 1881.

al-Masʿūdī, Abuʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī. *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawāhir*, ed. and French tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1861–77.

—— *Kitāb al-tanbīh waʾl-ishrāb*, ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1894.

Meisami, Julie Scott. *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century.* Edinburgh, 1999.

Meyerhoff, H., ed. *The Philosophy of History in Our Time: An Anthology.* New York, 1959.

Mez, Adam. *Die Renaissance des Islâm.* Heidelberg, 1922.

Miles, George C. *The Numismatic History of Rayy.* New York, 1938.

Mīrkhwānd, Muḥammad b. Khāwandshāh. *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ.* Tehran, 1338 Sh./1960.

Miskawayh, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad. *Tajārib al-umam*, ed. and tr. H.F. Amedroz and D.S. Margoliouth. Oxford, 1920–21.

Modarressi Tabātabāʾi, Hossein. *An Introduction to Shīʿi Law.* London, 1984.

—— *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿite Islam.* Princeton, NJ, 1993.

Monzawī, Aḥmad and ʿAlī Naqī Monzawī. 'Bibliographies and Catalogues. ii. In Iran,' *EIR*, vol.4, p.219–235.

Mousheghian, Khatchatur, et al. *History and Coin Finds in Armenia: Coins from Duin, Capital of Armenia (4–13th c.); Inventory of Byzantine and Sasanian Coins in Armenia (6–7th c.).* Wetteren, 2000.

Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Abū Jaʿfar. *Kitāb al-muḥabbar,* ed. Ilse Lichtenstädter. Hyderabad, 1361/1942.

al-Muhtadī al-Baḥrānī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm. *ʿUlamāʾ al-Baḥrayn: durūs wa-ʿibar.* Beirut, 1414/1994.

al-Munajjid, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. 'Ijāzāt al-samāʿ fiʾl-makhṭūṭāt al-qadīma,' *Majallat maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya,* 1 (1375/1955), pp.232–251.

al-Muqaddasī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1877; partial ed. and tr. G.S.A. Ranking and R.F. Azoo. Calcutta, 1897–1910; French tr., André Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm: La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces.* Damascus, 1963; English tr. Basil A. Collins, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions: A Translation of Ahsan al-Taqasim fī Maʿrifat al-Aqalim.* Reading, 1994.

al-Musabbiḥī, Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh. *Akhbār Miṣr,* ed. A. Fuʾād Sayyid and Th. Bianquis. Cairo, 1978.

Nagel, Tilman. *Die Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte.* Bonn, 1967.

al-Najāshī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *Rijāl al-Najāshī.* Qumm, 1407/1986.

Newman, Andrew J. 'The Nature of the Akhbārī/Uṣūlī Dispute in Late Safawid Iran, Part 1: ʿAbdallāh al-Samāhījī's *Munyat al-Mumārisīn,*' *BSOAS,* 55 (1992), pp.22–51.

—— 'The Nature of the Akhbārī/Uṣūlī Dispute in Late Safawid Iran, Part 2: The Conflict Reassessed,' *BSOAS,* 55 (1992), pp.250–261.

—— *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism.* Richmond, Surrey, 2000.

Niẓām al-Mulk, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. *Siyar al-mulūk (Siyāsatnāma),* ed. H. Darke. 2nd ed. Tehran, 1347 Sh./1968. English tr. H. Darke, *The Book of Government, or Rules for Kings.* London, 1960; 2nd ed. London, 1978.

Noth, Albrecht. *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-critical Study,* tr. Michael Bonner. Princeton, NJ, 1994.

al-Nukhaylī, Darwīsh. *al-Sufun al-Islāmiyya ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam.* Alexandria, 1974.

al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad, al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa. *Kitāb iftitāḥ al-daʿwa,* ed. F. Dachraoui. Tunis, 1975; ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī. Beirut, 1970.

—— *Kitāb al-majālis waʾl-musāyarāt,* ed. al-Ḥabīb al-Faqī et al. Tunis, 1978; 2nd ed. Beirut, 1997.

—— *Daʿāʾim al-Islām,* ed. Asaf A.A. Fyzee. Cairo, 1951–61; English trans.

as *The Pillars of Islam*, tr. A.A.A. Fyzee, completely revised by Ismail
    K. Poonawala. New Delhi, 2002.
—— *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, ed. M. al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī. Qumm, 1409–12/1988–
    92.
al-Nuʿmānī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. *Kitāb al-ghayba*, Persian tr. M.J.
    Ghaffārī. Tehran, 1363 Sh./1985.
al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. *Nihāyat al-arab fī*
    funūn al-adab, vol.24, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī.
    Cairo, 1403/1983.
Omar, Farouk. *ʿAbbāsiyyāt: Studies in the History of the Early ʿAbbāsids*. Bagh-
    dad, 1976.
Poonawala, Ismail K. ʿA Reconsideration of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Madh-*
    hab,ʾ *BSOAS*, 37 (1974), pp.572–579.
—— *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature*. Malibu, CA, 1977.
—— ʿAl-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and Ismaʿili Jurisprudence,ʾ in Daftary, ed. *Me-*
    diaeval Ismaʿili History and Thought, p.117–143.
al-Qāḍī, Wadād. ʿal-Rakāʾiz al-fikriyya fī naẓrat Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī
    ilāʾl- mujtamaʿ, *al-Abḥāth*, 23 (1970), pp.15–32.
—— ed. *al-Baṣāʾir waʾl-dhakhāʾir*. Beirut, 1988.
al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*. Cairo,
    1331–38/1913–20.
Rāġib, Yūsuf. ʿUn épisode obscur d'histoire Fatimide,ʾ *Studia Islamica*,
    48 (1978), pp.125–132.
Rashdall, H. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.M. Powicke
    and A.B. Emden. Oxford, 1936.
Rawshan, Muḥammad, ed. *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Ṭabarī gardānīda mansūb bih*
    Balʿamī. Tehran, 1366 Sh./1987–88.
al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Iʿtiqād firaq al-Muslimīn waʾl-mushrikīn*, ed. Muṣṭafā
    ʿAbd al-Rāziq. Cairo, 1356/1938.
Richter-Bernburg, Lutz. ʿAmīr—Malik—Shāhānshāh: ʿAḍud ad-Daula's
    Titulature Re-examined,ʾ *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian*
    Studies, 18 (1980), pp.83–102.
Richter Sherman, Claire. *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early*
    Modern Europe. Seattle, WA, 2000.
Rosenthal, Franz. *A History of Muslim Historiography*. 2nd rev. ed. Leiden,
    1968.
Sabzawārī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *al-Kifāya fīʾl-aḥkām*, Tehran, 1269/1852–
    53.
—— *Rawḍat al-anwār-i ʿAbbāsī*, ed. E. Ghangīzī-Ardahāʾī. Tehran, 1377
    · Sh./1998.

Sachedina, A.A. *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shiʿism*. Albany, NY, 1981.

—— *The Just Ruler in Shiʿite Islam*. New York, 1988.

al-Sāmarrāʾī, Qāsim Aḥmad. ʿal-Ijāza wa-taṭawwuruhā al-taʾrīkhī,ʾ *ʿĀlam al-kutub*, 2 (1981), pp.278–285.

Schmidtke, Sabine. *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (um 838/1434–35 - nach 906/1501)*. Leiden, 2000.

Sezgin, Fuat. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967– .

al-Shakhsī, Hāshim Muḥammad. *Aʿlām hajar min al-māḍīn wa'l-muʿāṣirīn*. Beirut, 1410/1990.

El-Shamy, Hasan M. *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995.

Shoshan, Boaz. ʿHigh Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam,ʾ *Studia Islamica*, 73 (1991), pp.67–107.

al-Sijistānī, Abū Yaʿqūb. *Kitāb al-iftikhār*, ed. Ismail K. Poonawala. Beirut, 2000.

Smet, Daniel de. ʿLa translation du *raʾs al-Ḥusayn* au Caire Fatimide,ʾ in U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, ed. *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, II*. Louvain, 1998, pp.29–44.

Smoor, Pieter. ʿʿUmāra's Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty,ʾ *AI*, 34 (2000), pp.467–564.

—— ʿʿUmāra's Odes Describing the Imam,ʾ *AI*, 35 (2001), pp.549–626.

Strothmann, Rudolf. *Die Zwölfer-Schīʿa*. Leipzig, 1926.

Sublet, Jacqueline. ʿLes Maîtres et les études de deux traditionnistes de l'époque mamelouke. Al-Mashyakha al-Bāsima lil-Qibābī wa Fāṭima de Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. Étude analytique,ʾ *BEO*, 20 (1967), pp.7–99.

al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. *Akhbār al-Rāḍī bi'llāh wa'l-Muttaqī bi'llāh*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne. Cairo, 1354/1935; French tr. M. Canard. Algiers, 1946–50. 2 vols

—— *Kitāb al-awrāq fī akhbār Āl al-ʿAbbās wa-ashʿārihim*, ed. and Russian tr., V.I. Belyaev and A.B. Khalidov. St. Petersburg, 1998.

Sutūda, Manūchihr. *Az Āstārā tā Astarābād*. Tehran, n.d. [1355 Sh./1976].

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad. *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al. Leiden, 1879–1901; ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1960–69; English trans. by various scholars, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*. Albany, NY, 1985–99.

Ṭabāṭabāʾī, J. *Zavāl-i andīsha-yi siyāsī dar Īrān*. Tehran, 1373 Sh./1994.

al-Tawḥīdī, Abū Ḥayyān. *Akhlāq al-wazīrayn*, ed. Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-

Ṭanjī. Damascus, [1965].

—— *al-Imtāʿ waʾl-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad al-Zayn. Cairo, 1953.

—— *Risālat al-saqīfa*, in Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī, ed. *Thalāth rasāʾil*, pp.5–26.

al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad. *Yatīmat al-dahr.* Cairo, 1934.

al-Thaʿlabī, Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ.* 2nd ed. Cairo, 1356/1937.

Thackston Jr., Wheeler M., tr. *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾī.* Boston, Mass., 1978.

Tibbetts, G.R. 'The Balkhī School of Geographers,' in Harley and Woodward, ed. *The History of Cartography,* vol.2, pp.108–136.

al-Ṭihrānī, Āghā Buzurg. *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa.* Beirut 1403–1406/1983–86.

Treadwell, W. Luke. *Buyid Coinage: A Die Corpus (322–445 AH).* Oxford, 2001.

al-Ṭūsī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. *al-Fihrist,* ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm. Najaf, 1937.

—— *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī,* ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm. Najaf, 1380/1961.

Vajda, Georges. 'Judaeo-Arabica. 1. Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qotayba,' *Revue des Études Juives,* 99 (1935), pp.68–80.

—— *Les Certificates de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.* Paris, 1956.

Wakīʿ, Muḥammad b. Khalaf. *Akhbār al-quḍāt,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī. Cairo, 1369/1950.

Walker, Paul E. *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī.* Cambridge, 1993.

—— *Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī: Intellectual Missionary.* London, 1996.

Witkam, Jan Just. 'Lists of Books in Arabic Manuscripts,' *Manuscripts of the Middle East,* 5 (1990–91), pp.126–130.

—— 'The Human Element Between Text and Reader: The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts,' in Yasin Dutton, ed. *The Codiology of Islamic Manuscripts.* Proceedings of the Second Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 1993. London, 1995, 123–136.

Wright, John Kirtland. *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe.* New York, 1925.

al-Yaʿqūbī, Abuʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad. *Kitāb al-buldān,* ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1892.

—— *Ta'rīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma. Leiden, 1883.

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Shihāb al-Dīn. *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig, 1886–73.

—— *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, tr. Wadie Jwaideh. Leiden, 1987.

Yates, Frances A. *The Art of Memory.* London, 1969.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. 'Routinization of Revolutionary Charisma: Notes on the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī,' *Islamic Studies*, 29 (1990), pp.251–275.