



WILFERD MADELUNG

Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam

Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung

Edited by
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The *ijāza* from 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ
al-Samāhijī to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qatīfī:
A Source for the Twelver Shi'ī 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 *mu'jam*. 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 (*mujaḥḥaz*, plural, *mujaḥḥazūn*) – of an *ijāza* is authorized by the issuer (*mujaḥḥiz*) 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 *mujaḥḥaz* by the *mujaḥḥiz*, for example, this is called *ijāzat al-samā'* or *ijāzat al-qirā'a*, 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 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhijī (1086–1135/1675–1722), a well-known representative of the Akhbāriyya school within Twelver Shi'ism, to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qaṭifī (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-Qaṭif and al-Aḥsā. Both were students of Sulaymān 'Abd Allāh b. al-Baḥrānī al-Māhūzī (1075–1121/1665–1709), with a difference in age of only eight years; at the time of the issue of the *ijāza* al-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī'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-Samāhijī's remark that he himself had previously asked for and received an *ijāza* from Nāṣir al-Jārūdī (p.49).⁴ Al-Samāhijī then explains in detail that al-Jārūdī studied with him after his move from al-Qaṭif to Baḥrayn and names the following works in this connection: three of the four canonical *ḥadīth* works of the Imāmīyya, namely Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī's (d.329/941) *al-Kāfī*, Abū Ja'far al-Tūsī's (d.460/1067) *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and his *Istibṣār*; two of al-Samāhijī's own works, namely *Jawāhir al-Baḥrayn fī aḥkām al-thaqalayn* and *Maṣā'ib al-shuḥadā' 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'ī al-Islām fī masā'il al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām* of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Hillī (d.676/1278), and the two commentaries on this work by Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-'Āmilī (d.1009/1600–01) and al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d.966/1558); and further, two legal works of the 'Allāma al-Hillī (d.726/1325), *Irshād al-ādhhān ilā aḥkām al-īmān* and *Mukhtalaf al-Shī'a fī aḥkām al-sharī'a*, as well as al-Samāhijī'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-Samāhijī continued over several years, and that it also covered writings and disciplines in addition to those mentioned.⁵ The esteem of al-Samāhijī 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 'honorary' *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-Samāhijī 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-Qaṭifī (d. after 945/1539) in his various *ijāzāt*,⁷ or 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī (d.1173/1759–60) in his *ijāza al-kabīra*⁸ – al-Samāhijī deals neither 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī, 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 everything written by al-Samāhijī himself. This would connect the chain of transmission back to the Imams.⁹ Thus, the first function 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-Samāhijī goes on to say that al-Jārūdī asked him to enumerate all the ways of transmission (*ṭuruq*) and writings (*kutub*) known to him.¹¹ This request for documentation of the scholarly tradition 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 Shi'ī examples from the 12th/18th century are the already-mentioned *al-Ijāza al-kabīra* of 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī and *Lu'lu'at 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-Lum'a al-mahdiyya ilā'l-ṭuruq al-'ilmīyya* by Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Kāzimī (1272–1354/1855–1936), technically also an *ijāza* issued for Mahdī b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Isfahānī in 1329/1911,¹³ and Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-'Āmilī al-Kāzimī's *Bughyat al-wu'āt 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-Samāhijī issues the license to transmit. It is introduced with the usual phrase *fa-ajaztu lahu ... an yarwiya 'annī* (p.51). The license begins with a detailed autobiographical 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, language or significance of the respective titles.¹⁵ Sometimes he notes the time needed to write the single works¹⁶ or, in the case of unfinished works, he notes which parts of a work have already been completed.¹⁷ The autobiographical list contains 45 titles of the total 58 works known to have been written by al-Samāhijī. The general phrase at the beginning of the list of works (*fa-ajaztu lahu ... an yarwiya 'annī ...*), as well as the precise information about the individual titles, indicate that al-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī's works occurs because al-Samāhijī wrote some works only after the *ijāza* was issued. In addition, al-Samāhijī may have

left out some titles he deemed less important (p.29).¹⁸ Al-Samāhijī concludes his autobiographical list by pointing out that the authorization to transmit covers all his writings, including future ones.¹⁹

Besides serving other functions, *ijāzāt* always present self-testimonies, insofar as their issuers themselves claim, either implicitly or explicitly, the right to transmit certain subjects of knowledge that they now confer on the *mujīz*. 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 extends 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 autobiographical list of the *mujīz*, usually a complete list of his works finished before the issue of the *ijāza*, but often also including unfinished writings and often providing details about the size, content or other characteristics of the individual titles. Examples of autobiographical lists within *ijāzāt* are the *ijāza* of the 'Allāma al-Ḥillī for Muḥannā' b. Sinān which, apart from the autobiographical list arranged by disciplines, does not contain any other element;²⁰ the *ijāza* of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. after 906/1501), issued on Monday 10 Jumādā I 896/ 21 March 1491, for Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ al-Gharawī;²¹ the *ijāza al-kabīra* of 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī;²² and the *ijāza* of Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī known as *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*;²³ or the autobiographical *ijāza* of the Egyptian ophthalmologist and encyclopedian Ibn al-Afkānī (d.749/1348).²⁴ Frequently, rather than giving an exhaustive autobiographical list in an *ijāza*, a *mujīz* included only a selection of his writings.²⁵

In addition to authorizing transmission of his own works, al-Samāhijī confers on Nāṣir al-Jārūdī the license to transmit everything he himself has heard from or read to his shaykhs (p.60: *wa-jamī' mā samī'tuhu min mashāyikhī wa-qara'tuhu 'alayhim wa-*

ajāzūhu lī). This sets up the framework for the structure of the following portions of the *ijāza*. Al-Samāhijī discusses his different shaykhs, putting in first place his most important teacher Sulaymān al-Māhūzī (pp.60 ff.). From him, al-Samāhijī heard *ḥadīth* for which he received two *ijāzās* from Sulaymān, namely in Shaʿbān 1109/February–March 1698 and in the year 1119/1707–08 (pp.74, 271).²⁶ Al-Samāhijī confers on the *mujāz* the license of transmission for all the writings of al-Māhūzī (pp.73–74: *wa-ajaztu lahu ... jamīʿ mā ṣanʿafahu shaykhī wa-ustādhi ... Sulaymān ... al-Māhūzī*); he then takes the occasion to give a detailed but avowedly incomplete 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 Moreover, al-Samāhijī confers on the *mujāz* the right to transmit everything that Sulaymān al-Māhūzī passed on from his shaykhs (p.80: *wa-mā rawāhu ʿan mashāyikhihi*). Al-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī makes every effort to provide the most precise and complete information possible. At the end of his report on al-Māhūzī'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 aʿzam iʿtimādihi fī l-riwāya ʿalaʿl-ʿAllāma al-Majlisī li-ijāzatihi lahu*), immediately followed by Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Iṣḥāʿī 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-Māhūzī is said to have read to both of them (p.97: *wa-shaykhūhu al-shaykh Sulaymān b. ʿAlī li-qirāʾatihi ʿalayhi waʿl-Sayyid Hāshim*). As for the other shaykhs mentioned – Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Šāliḥ al-Maqābī al-Baḥrānī (d.ca. 1102/1690–91), Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Qadamī al-Baḥrānī, Šāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Baḥrānī al-Karzakānī (d. before 1128/1716) and Muḥammad b. Mājid b. Masʿūd al-Māhūzī (d.ca. 1105/1693–94) – Sulaymān only attended some

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

Thereafter, al-Samāhijī 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-Māhūzī (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-Samāhijī says that he had received a license of transmission from both (pp.99, 101). According to a marginal note which al-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī mentions in the *ijāza* without naming his transmitters (p.113). As for the remaining two shaykhs of al-Samāhijī, 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī also notes that he personally met some of their transmitters. He states that he met, together with his teacher Sulaymān al-Māhūzī, Muḥammad b. Mājid al-Māhūzī in Majid's village, al-Māhūz, 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-Samāhijī 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-Nabātī (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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī traces back the chains of transmissions of his shaykhs; Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Husayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Hārithī al-Āmilī (d.1031/1621), the Shahīd al-Thānī, the Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad b. Makki al-Āmilī (d.786/1384), the 'Allāma al-Hillī and his students, and Abū Ja'far al-Tūsī. Al-Samāhijī also includes more distant chains of transmitters, such as the seven *isnāds* of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (pp.166–175).²⁹

Having reached Abū Ja'far al-Tūsī in his presentation of transmitters, al-Samāhijī 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 *jamī' muṣannafāt wa-marwīyāt al-shaykh .../ muṣannafāt wa-marwīyāt al-Sayyid .../ jamī' 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. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī and Ibn Bābawayh (d.381/991), whose routes of transmission are traced back to the Imam Ja'far 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-Samāhijī 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 'Alī b. al-Husayn Zayn al-Ābidīn (d.94/712 or 95/713) and the epistle (*risāla*) of Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī (d.450/1058) to the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (pp.256–257). He then lists numerous works of mostly Sunni authors from the disciplines of the Qur'an reading (*kutub al-qirā'a wa'l-tajwīd*) (pp.257–260),³⁰ linguistics and lexicography (*kutub al-lughā*) (pp.260–262),³¹ and grammar (*kutub*

al-naḥw wa'l-taṣrīf wa'l-'arūd) (pp.262–266).³² Al-Samāhijī closes this section with two Sunni Qur'anic exegeses, the *Kitāb al-kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl* of Abū l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (d.538/1144), the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar 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-Samāhijī again emphasizes the great importance of constructing a link to the Prophet and the Imams by means of chains of transmission, by quoting four traditions with *isnāds* going back to the Prophet and including most of the Imams, as well as numerous prominent Twelver Shi'ī scholars (p.270). In giving his chain of transmitters for the first of the four traditions, al-Samāhijī also indicates the precise circumstances under which he heard this tradition from his shaykh Sulaymān al-Māhūzī.³³

The *ijāza* ends with typical standard elements for such texts. These are concisely formulated by al-Samāhijī: 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-Samāhijī what is most important in his presentation of the Imāmī scholarly network is the greatest possible documentation. Whenever a scholar is mentioned for the first time, al-Samāhijī 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 relationship with Twelver Shi'ism 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-Samāhijī gives only cursory 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 qāḍīyan*), 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī 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 *ḥadīths* (p.131); at the same time, members of the Uṣūliyya are more or less fairly discussed by al-Samāhijī, 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-Samāhijī labels him as a pure *uṣūlī* (p.183: *kāna uṣūliyan baḥtan wa-mujtahidan sirfan*) 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī's teacher

Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī, is the detailed presentation of seven of al-Samāhijī's fellow students under Sulaymān (pp.60–71). Al-Samāhijī himself studied under only two of them: Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ b. 'Aṣfūr al-Dirāzī al-Baḥrānī (d.1131/1718) with whom he studied grammar, and under Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Nu'aymī 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-Samāhijī 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 'Abd al-Nabī, Sulaymān and Zayn al-Dīn; al-Samāhijī 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 'Abdallāh 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 *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, while he specifies that he does not have the right to transmit from them.

The more al-Samāhijī proceeds backwards, the more the chains of transmission fan out. This can be observed already when al-Samāhijī describes his own teachers and their immediate transmitters. Discussing the teachers of Sulaymān al-Māḥūzī (pp.80–90), al-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī gives not only the first but also the second level of transmitters in two out of four cases (pp.99, 114). For Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Makkī al-Āmilī, 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-Ma'nī, al-Samāhijī 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-Samāhijī 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 *ḥaylūla* ('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-Samāhijī moves chronologically, the more incomplete the chains of transmitters become. Correspondingly, alternative *isnād* elements introduced by *ḥaylūla* 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 kathira 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 wāhid 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-Samāhijī also uses this method to shorten his descriptions; thus, he refers to the comprehensive *ijāza* of the 'Allāma al-Hillī issued to the Banī Zahra,³⁷ the comprehensive *ijāzāt* of the Shahīd al-Awwal and Hasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 1011/1607), the *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* of Ibn Tāwūs, and the *Risāla* of Abū Ghālib al-Zurārī (d. 368/978).³⁸ For the same purpose al-Samāhijī 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-Hillī (p. 183), the *Fihrist* of Abū Ja'far 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-Samāhijī refers to the former's *Bihār 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-Samāhijī'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-Samāhijī'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-Samāhijī'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 Shi'ism.⁴¹

The historical significance of al-Samāhijī'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-Samāhijī as one of his sources, a comparison of the respective entries and their sometimes 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-baḥrayn fī tarājim 'ulamā' al-Qaṭīf wa'l-Aḥsā' wa'l-Baḥrayn* in the early 20th century, systematically draws on al-Samāhijī'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-Samāhijī'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 biographical data, have already been mentioned. Last but not least, the *ijāza* provides ample material about al-Samāhijī'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 particularly 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-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 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-'Ulūm (d.1212/1797–8),' *Iran: Journal of the British Institute 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-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a* (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 nushkahā-yi khaṭṭi-yi kitābkhāna-yi 'umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā Najafī Mar'ashī* (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 Shi'i Islam, see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a*, 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-Isfahānī*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qumm, 1410/1989–90) or the compilation edited by Maḥmūd al-Mar'ashī containing the *ijāzāt*, which his father Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Mar'ashī (1315–1411/1897–1990) received in the course of his life (*Musalsalāt fī'l-ijāzāt muḥtawīyya 'alā ijāzāt 'ulamā' al-Islām fī ḥaqq wālidī al-'Allāma Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā al-Sayyid Abi'l-Ma'ālī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī* 1–2 (Qumm, 1416/1995–96). The *Mustadrak Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad b. Rajab 'Alī al-Ṭihrānī al-'Askarī (d.1371/1952), by contrast, containing among others a supplementary volume to al-Majlisī's *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* (cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a*, 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-'Askarī, himself a respected religious leader and scholar who lived in the Kāzimiyya district of Baghdad. After the latter's death in 1396/1976, his collection of manuscripts was seized by the government of Iraq under 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'), 'Abd Allāh Fayyād, *al-Ijāzāt al-'ilmiyya 'inda'l-Muslīmīn* (Baghdad, 1967), who especially considered Twelver Shi'i material, and by Qāsim Aḥmad al-Sāmarrā'i, 'al-Ijāza wa-taṭawwuruhā al-ta'rikhī,' *Ālam al-kutub*, 2 (1981), pp.278–285. For reports on the courses of studies, see Charles Pellat, 'Fahrasa,' *EL2*, vol.2, pp.743–744; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī, 'Kutub barāmij

al-'ulamā' fi'l-Andalus,' *Majallat ma'had al-makhtūṭāt 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-makhtūṭāt al-qadīma,' *Majallat ma'had al-makhtūṭāt 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. Maḥdī al-'Awāzim al-Qaṭifī (Qumm, 1419/1998–99). See also Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī'a*, vol.1, p.205, no.1071.

3. For al-Samāhijī, see Andrew J. Newman, 'The Nature of the Akhbārī/Uṣūlī Dispute in Late Ṣafawid Iran. Part 1: 'Abdallāh al-Samāhijī's *Munyat al-Mumārīsīn*,' *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-Qaṭif 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-Samāhijī at the end of his *Munyat al-mumārīsīn 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-Ṭīhrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol.1, p.205 no.1072.

5. Al-Samāhijī 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-'Āmilī (d.1104/1693); cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol.1, p.233 no.1226 b; al-Samāhijī, *Ijāza*, p.104. In the case of Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Mar'ashī (d.1411/1990), there were reciprocal licenses between him and 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi'ī (1295–1379/1878–1959), Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-'Ulūm (1315–1399/1898–1979) and Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī (1293–1389/1876–1970); cf. *Musalsalāt*, vol.1, pp.xxii, xxiv, xxv.

7. See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, ed. Jawād al-'Alawī (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 ujzahu fi jamī' mā arwīhi wa-an ubīhahu riwāyat kull mā adrihi wa-mā jarā bihi qalamī fi'l-taṣnīf wa-mā arwīhi 'an mashāyikhī wa-rijāl al-ḥadīth mimma ittasaalat bihi silsilat al-isnād ilā sādāt al-'ibād wa-dhakhīrat al-nās fi l-ma'ād*.

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, *Lu'lu'at 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 'ilmī wa-balaghahā fahmī min ṭuruq al-khāṣṣa wa-mā ittafaqat min ṭuruq al-'amma li-takūna ijāza tāmma wa-fā'ida 'amma ...*

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

13. See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *Dharī'a*, 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-Samāhijī, *Munyat al-mumārīsīn*, 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-jamī' mā jarā bihi qalamī fi'l-uṣūl wa'l-furū' fi'l-ma'qūl wa'l-mashrū' wa'l-hawāshī wa'l-quyūd mim mā kāna aw yakūnu in shā'a llāh ta'ālā wa-min al-inshā'āt wa'l-nuzum wa-mā 'ulima annahu min masmū'ātī wa-maqrū'ātī aw mujāzātī.*

20. Printed in al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 107, pp. 147–149. See also Āghā Buzurg al-Tihirānī, *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, p. 178 no. 911.

21. Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty, 3810:328r-329v; see: S. Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölfterschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (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-Bahrānī 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 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Alī al-Maysī (d. 938/1531–32) and to his son Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Alī al-Maysī (printed in al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 108, pp. 40–49 no. 34); further, several *ijāzāt* of Sulaymān al-Māhūzī, and some *ijāzāt* of al-Majlisī, see Āghā Buzurg al-Tihirānī, *Dharī'a*, 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-Tihirānī, *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, p. 197 no. 1022.

27. P. 75: *wa-lahu muṣannafāt kathīra taqrubu min sittin muṣannafan au akthar ... fa-lladhī yahḍurunī al-āna min asmā'ihā wa-ta' dādhā ...*

28. Pp. 17, 113 n. 4; cf. also al-Bahrānī, *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-qirā'at al-sab'* of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dānī al-Qurṭubī b. al-Sayrafī al-Umawī al-Munīrī (d. 444/1053), the *Hirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī ('al-Shāṭibiya')* of Abū'l-Qāsim b. Firruḥ al-Ru'aynī al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194), the *Kitāb al-mūjiz fi'l-qirā'at* and the *Kitāb al-rī'āya fi tajwīd al-qirā'a wa-tahqīq lafẓ al-tilāwa* of Abū Muḥammad Makki b. Abī Ṭālib Ḥammūsh al-Qaysī (d. 437/1045) as well as his remaining works (*wa-bāqī kutub Makki ...*); K. *al-Idāh fi'l-waqf wa'l-ibtidā'* of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. al-Anbārī (d. 328/940) and his other works; K. *al-Sab'a fi manāzil al-qurrā'* of Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqri' (d. 324/936).

31. Quoted are *Tāj al-lughā wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabiya* of Ismā'il b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. 393/1003 or 398 or 400), *Islāḥ al-mantiq* of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857), *al-Jamhara fi'l-lughā* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdi (d. 321/933), *al-Gharibayn gharibay al-Qur'ān wa'l-sunna* of Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Fashānī (Bashānī) (d. 401/1011) as well as his entire writings (*wa-jamī' muṣannafātihi*), *al-Mujmal fi'l-lughā* of Abū'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyā' b. Ḥabīb al-Qazwīnī al-Hamadhānī al-Rāzī (d. 395/1005 or 396), *al-Faṣīḥ* of Aḥmad b. Yahyā Tha'lab (d. 291/904) and *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-l-qabas (al-qābūs) al-wasīṭ* of Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī (d. 817/1415).

32. Mentioned are *al-Alfiya* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mālik al-Ṭā'i al-Jayyānī (d. 672/1273), all the writings of 'Uthmān b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249), *al-Luma' fi'l-naḥw* of Abū'l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān b. Jinnī (d. 392/1002) and all his remaining writings (*jamī' kutub Ibn Jinnī*); as well as all the writings of the following persons: Mawḥūb b. al-Khaḍīr b. al-Jawālīqī (d. 539/1144), Yahyā b. 'Alī b. al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī (d. 502/1109), Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), 'Isā b. Ibrāhīm al-Raba'i (d. 480/1087), Muḥammad b. al-Sarī Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928), Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923), Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri (d. 449/1057), Abū'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad (d. 285/896 or 286/897), Abū 'Umar Ṣāliḥ b. Ishāq al-Jarmī (d. 225/839), 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Akhfash al-Akbar (d. 177/793), Sībawayh (d. presumably 180/796), Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khalīl al-Farāhidī (d. 160/776 or 175/791). I was unable to identify two further grammarians mentioned by al-Samāhijī, al-Thamānīnī and Abū'l-Ḥasan [ibn] 'Abd al-Wārith.

33. P. 271: *wa-huwa mim mā akhbaranī shaykhī ... Sulaymān [al-Māhūzī] ... qirā'atan fi Bandar Kunk fi shahr awā'il Sha'bān fi'l-sana 1109 'an 'iddat min mashāyikhīhi bi-anwā' turuq al-taḥammul a'zamuhum Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī ...*; p. 272: *wa-rawaytu hādha'l-ḥadīth 'an shaykhī al-'Allāma [Sulaymān al-Māhūzī] samā'an minhu bi-qirā'at ... 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd al-Isba'i (before 1077/1666–67 – 1127/1715) bi'l-tarīq al-madhkūr...*

34. The most extensive entries are dedicated to Sulaymān al-Māhūzī (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-Samāhijī, 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-Tīhrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, pp. 143–144; vol. 2, p. 465 no. 1807; Aḥmad Monzawī and 'Alī Naqī Monzawī, 'Bibliographies and Catalogues. ii. In Iran,' *EIR*, vol. 4, p. 227 no. 2; Etan Kohlberg, 'Al-Uṣūl al-Arba'umi'a,' *JSAL*, 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 = *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, p. 236 no. 1239). Furthermore, the *ijāza* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-'Āmilī, 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 autobiographical *ijāza* (pp. 21–23) from the 'Allāma al-Hillī to Muḥannā' b. Sinān (= *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, p. 178 no. 911), of the *ijāza* (pp. 24–26) from the 'Allāma al-Hillī to Muḥannā' b. Sinān dated Dhu'l-Ḥijja 719/January–February 1320 (= *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, p. 178 no. 910), and of the *ijāza* from Ibn Fahd al-Hillī (d. 841/1437–8) to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Hūlānī al-'Āmilī, dated Friday, 19 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 825/4 December 1422 (= *Dharī'a*, vol. 1, p. 144 no. 678) (p. 27).

37. P. 186: *wa-lahu* [= Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zahra al-Ḥalabī] *ijāza malīha min al-'Allāma [al-Hillī] taḍammanat al-aḥamm min al-ṭuruq ilā aṣḥāb al-taṣānīf wa-qad ajaztu li-mawlānā riwāyatahu 'annī 'an mashāyikhī 'an al-'Allāma 'an jamī' mā taḍammanathu min al-ṭuruq kama ajaztu lahu riwāyat ma taqaddama khusūṣan mā taḍammanathu ijāzāt al-mashāyikh bi-jamī' ṭuruqihim*; see also pp. 256–257.

38. Pp. 256–257: *wa-ka-dhālika bāqī al-mashāyikh al-madhkūrīn fī ijāzāt aṣḥābinā ka-ijāzāt al-shaykh Ḥasan* [printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 109, pp. 3–79 no. 63] *wa'l-Shahīd al-awwal* [printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 107, pp. 186–192 no. 21] *wa-ijāzāt al-'Allāma li-Abi'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Ḥasan b. Abi'l-Mahāsīn Zuhra al-Husaynī al-Ṣādiqī* [printed in *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 107, pp. 60–137, no. 6] *wa-Kitāb al-ijāzāt li'l-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Tāwūs 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 fihā fa-muḥāl 'alā l-tattabū' ...*; cf. also p. 265.

39. Pp. 105, 109, 186: *al-mutaqaddim dhikruhu*; p. 105: *al-madhkūr*; p. 99: *al-āfī dhikruhu*; p. 193: *wa-qad dhukira*; p. 207: *wa-sa-ya'tī dhikruhu*; pp. 217, 220: *wa-qad taqaddama dhikruhu*; p. 239: *wa-sa-ya'tī al-ishāra ilayhā*; p. 238: *kama taqaddamat al-ishāra ilayhī*; p. 242: *wa-qad taqaddama fīmā maḍā*; p. 242: *wa-qad taqaddama ta'rīf...*

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-baḥrayn*; Ḥāshim Muḥammad al-Shakhsī, *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 Imāmi 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).

CULTURE AND MEMORY IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM

Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung



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