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The Disputed Name and Origin of Abū al-Fatḥ al-Karājikī (d. 449/1057)

Ebu'l-Feth el-Kerâcîkî'nin (ö. 449/1057) Kökeni ve Tartışılan İsmi

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Abstract

This study examines the various historical attempts to explain the *nisbah*—the denominal adjectival appellation—al-Karājikī, of Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Karājikī, well-known Twelver Shiite theologian and jurist who studied under al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and died in 449/1057. Several biographical sources explain that al-Karājikī’s *nisbah* means “tent-maker” or “tent-seller,” evidently interpreting *karājik* as a word of non-Arabic origin denoting tents. This view has been generally accepted in studies of Twelver Shiite intellectual history, but a few scholars have noted that al-Karājikī might be connected with a toponym. Abū al-Fatḥ al-Karājikī’s birth date is not known, nor is his native region. His writings and biographical sources demonstrate that he studied in Baghdad and spent most of his life in Syria and Egypt, but he reports in one passage that he was in Mayyāfāriqīn (modern Silvan, in Turkey) in the year 399/1008–9, when he must have been fairly young. This study argues that *al-Karājikī* is a geographical *nisbah* that derives from Karacık, a village in what is now the district of Bismil in the province of Diyarbakır, Turkey. It suggests that al-Karājikī was a native of this village and that he studied in Mayyāfāriqīn in his youth, before traveling to Baghdad to undertake advanced studies in Twelver Shiite law and theology.

Keywords: Anatolia, Mayyāfāriqīn, Marwanids, Abū al-Fatḥ al-Karājikī

Öz

Bu çalışma, Şeyh Müfīd’in (ö. 449/1057) öğrencisi Oniki İmam Şîası’ndan meşhur mütekelim ve fakih Ebu’l-Feth Muhammed b. Ali b. Osman el-Kerâcîkî’nin (ö. 413/1022) “el-Kerâcîkî” nisbesine dair çeşitli açıklama denemelerini incelemektedir. Bazı biyografik kaynaklar, el-Kerâcîkî nisbesinin “çadır yapan” veya “çadır satıcısı” anlamına geldiğine dair bir açıklama yapmakta ve *kerâcîk*’i açıkça çadır anlamına gelen Arapça olmayan bir kelime olarak yorumlamaktadır. Bu görüş, Oniki İmâmiyye Şîası’nın düşünsel tarihine dair çalışmalarda genel olarak kabul görmüşse de bazı araştırmacılar, el-Kerâcîkî’nin bir yer adı ile bağlantılı olabileceğini belirtmiştir. Ebu’l-Feth el-Kerâcîkî’nin doğum tarihi ve memleketi belli değildir. Yazıları ve biyografik kaynaklar onun Bağdat’ta ders gördüğünü ve hayatının çoğunu Suriye ve Mısır’da geçirdiğini göstermektedir, ancak bir pasajda 399/1008–9 yılında muhtemelen oldukça genç yaşta Meyyâfârikîn’de (modern Bismil, Türkiye’de) olduğunu bildirmektedir. Bu çalışma, el-Kerâcîkî’nin Türkiye’nin Diyarbakır ilinin Bismil ilçesine bağlı Karacık köyünden türeyen bir coğrafî nisbe olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Makale, el-Keracikî’nin bu köyün yerlisi olduğunu ve Oniki İmâmiyye Şîası’nın fıkıh ve kelamına dair ileri çalışmalar yapmak üzere Bağdat’a gitmeden önce gençliğinde Meyyâfârikîn’de okuduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anadolu, Meyyâfârikîn, Mervânîler, Ebu’l-Feth el-Kerâcîkî.

Introduction

Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Karājikī, a well-known scholar of the Twelver Shiite tradition, was born in the late tenth century and died in 449/1057. He was a prominent student of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), the leading Twelver Shiite scholar of his era in Buwayhid Baghdad, and he was active in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Al-Karājikī is known to posterity chiefly through his work *Kanz al-fawā’id* (The Treasure of Informative Notes), an extensive anthology that focuses on

theological questions and that includes a number of independent treatises that he wrote over the course of his career. Not surprisingly, most of the standard biographical works in the Twelver Shiite tradition devote entries to him.¹ In addition, numerous Sunni biographical works and several chronicles include entries on this Shiite scholar.² Nevertheless, despite some attention in modern scholarship, including a monograph dedicated to his life and works that appeared in 2013, many aspects of al-Karājīkī's life continue to elude scholars.³ None of the sources reports his date of birth. Though al-Shaykh al-Mufid was his most important teacher, no evidence in the sources indicates when, exactly, al-Karājīkī studied in Baghdad. And, though his death date, place of death, and whereabouts at certain points in the course of his life are known, studies to

¹ Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192), *Ma'ālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran: Maṭba'at Fardīn, 1934), 105–6; Muntajib al-Dīn b. Bābawayh al-Rāzī (d. after 585/1189–90), *Fihrist asmā' ʿulamāʾ al-shīʿah*, ed. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā, 1986), 154; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693), *Amal al-āmil fī dhikr ʿulamāʾ Jabal ʿĀmil*, 2 vols. (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1965–66), 2: 287–88; Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī (d. c. 1130/1718), *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalāʾ*, 6 vols., ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qum: Maṭba'at al-Khayyām, 1980), 5:139–41; Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186/1772), *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Al-Manama, Bahrain: Maktabat al-Fakhrāwī, 2008), 321–23; Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1212/1797), *Rijāl al-Sayyid Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, al-ma'rif bi-l-Fawā'id al-rijāliyyah*, 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm and Ḥusayn Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣādiq, 1984), 3:302–8; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (d. 1312/1895–96), *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-sādāt*, 8 vols., ed. Asad Allāh Ismā'īliyān (Tehran: Maktabat Ismā'īliyān, 1970–72), 6:209–15; Ḥusayn Taqī al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī (d. 1320/1902), *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, 3 vols. (Tehran: s.n., 1900–3), 3:497–501. No notice is devoted to al-Karājīkī in *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿah* of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), *Kitāb al-Rijāl* of Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī (d. after 463/1071), *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* of al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) or *Kitāb al-Rijāl* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (d. after 707/1307–8).

² Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-a'yān*, 53 vols. ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1994), 30: 236–37; idem, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, 4 vols., ed. Abū Ḥājar Muḥammad al-Sa'īd b. Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1985), 2:294–95; idem, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1955), 3:1127; idem, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalāʾ*, 25 vols. ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnāwūt et al. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1996), 18:121–22; Ṣalāh al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafādī (d. 764/1363), *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, 29 vols., ed. Aḥmad al-Arnāwūt and Turkī Muṣṭafā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), 4:96; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367), *Mir'āt al-janān wa-ʿibrat al-yaqẓān fī ma'rifat mā yu'tabar min ḥawāḍith al-zamān*, 4 vols., ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1997), 3:54; Ibn Ḥājar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), *Lisān al-Mizān*, 10 vols., ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh Abū al-Ghuddah (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 2002), 7:374; 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1679), *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsi, 1931), 3:283.

³ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., 3 suppl. (Leiden: Brill, 1932–49), I:434, SI: 602; Muḥsin al-Amīn (d. 1952), *A'yān al-shīʿah*, 10 vols., ed. Ḥasan al-Amīn (Beirut: Dār al-Ta'āraf, 1984), 9:400–1; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām: Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-musta'ribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyin, 2002), 6:276; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Nābis fī al-qarn al-khāmis*, vol. 2 in *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Shīʿah*, 2nd ed., ed. 'Alī Naqī Munzavī (Qum: Mu'assasat Ismā'īliyān, 1990), 177–79; Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 109, 164–66, 197, 209, 210, 212, 225, 226, 269, 275, 302, 314, 317, 318, 337; 'Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Karājīkī li-aḥad mu'āṣirihī," *Turāthunā* 43–44 (1416 AH [1995–96 CE]): 365–404; Ja'far al-Muḥājir, *al-Karājīkī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Uthmān (d. 449 AH/1057 AD): 'Aṣruhu, sīratuhu, ʿālamuhu al-fikrī wa-muṣannafātuhu* (Qum: Mu'assasat Turāth al-Shīʿah, 2013); Devin J. Stewart, "An Eleventh-Century Justification of the Authority of Twelver Shiite Jurists," pp. 468–97 in *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honor of Professor Patricia Crone*, ed. Asad Q. Ahmad et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Hassan Ansari, *L'imamat et l'Occultation selon l'imamisme: Étude bibliographique et histoire des textes* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 109–14; Omid Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam in Early and Pre-Modern Twelver Shīʿi Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 127–28, 131.

date have pieced together only a quite incomplete sketch of his career. This study focuses on one small part of the puzzle, the two related questions of his geographical origin and the meaning of his denominal appellation (*nisbah*) *al-Karājīkī*. Against the common view that *al-Karājīkī* means “tent-maker,” it is argued here that his appellation derives from a placename, *Karājīk*, and that the *Karājīk* in question was a small town in southeastern Anatolia now known as *Karacık*, where *al-Karājīkī* was probably born and raised.

1. *Al-Karājīkī's* Life and Career

The notices devoted to *al-Karājīkī* in the biographical sources are short and to a large degree simply repeat the limited information provided by earlier notices. Fortunately, references in *al-Karājīkī's* writings are more informative and fix his location at certain dates. A note in *al-Karājīkī's* writings places him in *Mayyāfāriqīn* in 399/1008–9. This is the earliest date associated with his life and career that is available. In this note, *al-Karājīkī* reports that he transmitted from his teacher *Ibn Zakkār*, an expert in the Arabic lexicon.⁴ He was thus old enough to be a student at the time, possibly a young man.

A tentative account of *al-Karājīkī's* career from this point on may be constructed as follows. *Al-Karājīkī* studied in Baghdad for a number of years in his youth. While the available sources do not specify any dates, his main teacher in the Islamic sciences was *al-Shaykh al-Mufīd* (d. 413/1022), whom he cites with great frequency in his own writings. He also transmits material from the Twelver *ḥadīth* expert *al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī al-Wāsiṭī* (d. 411/1020), and he considers *al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* (d. 436/1044) one of the main authorities of Twelver tradition. All of these scholars resided in Baghdad, the main center of Twelver Shiite learning during this period. *Hassan Ansari* estimates that *al-Karājīkī* may have spent two periods in Baghdad: ca. 409–10 AH, when he studied with *al-Shaykh al-Mufīd* and *al-Ghaḍāʾirī*, and later, when he studied with *al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, presumably between 412 and 416 AH.⁵ *Jaʿfar al-Muhājir* suggests that *al-Karājīkī's* studies occurred between 399/1008–9, when he was in *Mayyāfāriqīn*, and 407/1016–17, when he was in Cairo, adding, *allāhu aʿlam* “but God knows best.” I agree with *al-Muhājir*; it is more likely that *al-Karājīkī* studied in Baghdad in the years between 399/1008–9 and 407/1016–17, rather than travelling to Egypt and then returning to Baghdad to resume his studies there.

After studying in Baghdad, *al-Karājīkī* traveled to Egypt and Palestine. In 407/1016–17 he was in Egypt, probably to seek a position from officials at the court of the Fatimid Caliph *al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh* (r. 386–411/996–1021).⁶ It is known that he was in *al-Ramlah*, the main city in the district of Palestine during this period, in 410/1019–20, 412/1021–22, and *Shawwāl* 416/November–December 1025.⁷ This is

⁴ *Al-Karājīkī, Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 2 vols., ed. ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1985), 1:333.

⁵ *Ansari, Lʾimamat et lʾOccultation*, 110.

⁶ *Al-Karājīkī, Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:332; 2:147.

⁷ *Al-Karājīkī, Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:385; 2:120, 134; idem, *Kitāb al-Tafḍīl*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith and al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ākhūndī (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1950), 27.

probably because he had been appointed by Fatimid officials to a judicial or other official position there, perhaps as a judge or deputy judge. Al-Ramlah and most of Syria were under Fatimid control during this period, though Fatimids had a number of open conflicts with the Jarrāhids, their vassals in the region.⁸ In 412/1022, Al-Karājīkī evidently took a short time off from his position to perform the pilgrimage to the Hejaz, which was then under Fatimid control as well. In Mecca, he attended the lectures of the Twelver jurist and *ḥadīth* expert Ibn Shādhān al-Qummī (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan, d. after 424/1033).⁹

After spending at least six and perhaps as many as ten or eleven years in al-Ramlah, al-Karājīkī took up residence in Egypt for a number of years. In 418/1027–28 he was in Tyre (Ṣūr), in what is now southern Lebanon, where he wrote *Kitāb al-Uṣūl fī madhhab Āl al-Rasūl*.¹⁰ He records a theological debate in which he participated in Bilbays in the Nile Delta, also in 418/1027–28, perhaps on his way to Cairo.¹¹ Dated notes place him in Cairo in 424/1032–33 and Rabī‘ II 426/February–March 1035.¹² He wrote a number of works in Egypt. He also recorded a debate in which he opposed a Sunni jurist who upheld the legitimacy of *qiyās*, the use of analogy in Islamic legal hermeneutics, at the Dār al-‘Ilm in Cairo, though he does not specify when it occurred.¹³ Since the next piece of information that gives al-Karājīkī’s location places him in Tripoli (Ṭarāblus) in northern Lebanon in 436/1044,¹⁴ he may have remained in Egypt for as many as seventeen years, from 418/1027 until 436/1044. If the three dates given above were not interrupted by major travels, then his residence must have lasted at least eight years, a significant stay. It is not clear how al-Karājīkī made a living during this time, but he presumably held a post of some sort. The fact that he took part in an official debate at the Dār al-‘Ilm suggests that his stature as a scholar was recognized both by officials and by the learned elite in Cairo.

After al-Karājīkī left Egypt, dated notes place him in Tripoli (Ṭarāblus), Sidon (Ṣaydā), and Tyre (Ṣūr), all in modern Lebanon. He was in Tripoli in 436/1044–45 and Sidon in 441/1049–50.¹⁵ He died in Tyre on 8 Rabī‘ II 449/14 June 1057.¹⁶ He may have served as judge in any of these cities.¹⁷ These dates provide a mere outline of his career,

⁸ The Jarrāhids were a tribal dynasty active in Palestine in the latter half of the fourth/tenth century and throughout the fifth/eleventh century. They attempted to take control of the province of Palestine, repeatedly occupying al-Ramlah, rebelling against the governor of Damascus, and alternating alliances with the Fatimids and the Byzantines. See Marius Canard, “Djarrāhids,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 21 June 2021 <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2013>.

⁹ Al-Karājīkī, *Kitāb al-Taḥḍīr*, 15–16.

¹⁰ Al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “Maktabat al-‘Allāmah al-Karājīkī,” 391, where the text has 481 AH in error for 418 AH. See al-Nūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:498.

¹¹ Al-Karājīkī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, 1:308–14.

¹² Al-Karājīkī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, 1:125, 353.

¹³ Al-Karājīkī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, 2:203–10.

¹⁴ Al-Karājīkī, *Kitāb al-Taḥḍīr*, 8.

¹⁵ Al-Karājīkī, *Kitāb al-Taḥḍīr*, 8; Al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “Maktabat al-‘Allāmah al-Karājīkī,” 393.

¹⁶ Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, 5:140.

¹⁷ Ibn Shahrāshūb gives *al-Qāḍī* “the Judge” as one of al-Karājīkī’s titles. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma‘ālim al-ulamā’*, 105.

but many years are unaccounted for, and many questions remain unanswered. A thorough investigation of his published and unpublished works, a task begun by Jaʿfar al-Muhājir and Hassan Ansari, may succeed in filling in some of the gaps in the account just given.

2. The Meaning of *al-Karājīkī* and the Determination of His Origin

Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājīkī's date of birth and geographical origin both remain unknown, as several scholars have observed.¹⁸ In the most thorough study of al-Karājīkī's life and works to date, Jaʿfar al-Muhājir provides an overview of the evidence concerning al-Karājīkī's name, origin, life, and travels.¹⁹ Regarding al-Karājīkī's place of birth, he reports some of the contradictory evidence. In a collective manuscript, al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384) included al-Karājīkī among a list of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's students and described him as originally from Egypt (*min diyār miṣr*).²⁰ ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Karakī (d. 940/1534) mentions al-Karājīkī in an *ijāzah* that he issued to al-Qāḍī Safī al-Dīn ʿĪsā in Isfahan on 9 Ramaḍān 937/26 April 1531. ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah and Jaʿfar al-Muhājir interpret his remarks as indicating that al-Karājīkī was one of “the jurists of Tripoli” (*fuqahāʾ Ṭarāblus*) and that he was a resident of al-Ramlah in Palestine (al-Ramlah al-Bayḍāʾ).²¹ As mentioned above, it is known from other remarks in his writings that al-Karājīkī was in all three locations at different points in his career—Egypt, al-Ramlah, and Tripoli—but there is no indication that he was born and raised in any of those locations. Al-Shahīd al-Awwal and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī are evidently extrapolating from the mentions of Egypt and Tripoli in his works. In al-Muhājir's view, al-Karājīkī was most likely born in Tripoli in the 370s AH.²² While the editor of al-Karājīkī's *Kanz al-fawāʾid* gives his name as al-Karājīkī al-Ṭarābulusī, he does not claim that al-Karājīkī was born there, but just that he was associated mainly with that city.

Related to this issue is the determination of the exact form and meaning of al-Karājīkī's *nisbah*, or adjectival appellation, which has been unclear to his biographers for centuries. Carl Brockelmann, Hossein Modarressi, and Etan Kohlberg give the form al-Karājīkī.²³ Omid Ghaemmaghami gives the form al-Karājīkū.²⁴ Other studies give the

¹⁸ al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-Allāmah al-Karājīkī*, 367; al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 55; Ansari, *L'imamat et l'Occultation*, 109.

¹⁹ al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 29–128.

²⁰ Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIṣfahānī copied al-Shahīd al-Awwal's statement in *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 4:16–17; al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 49.

²¹ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār al-jāmiʿah li-durar akhbār al-aʿimmah al-aṭḥār*, 107 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1992), 105:77; ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah, introduction to *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:11–12; al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 49–50.

²² Al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 52–57.

²³ Brockelmann, *GAL*, I:434, SI:602; Hossein Modarressi *Tabatabaʾi, An Introduction to Shīʿī Law* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 44; Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work*, 109, 164–66, 197, 209, 210, 212, 225, 226, 269, 275, 302, 314, 317, 318, 337.

²⁴ Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam*, 127–28, 131.

form al-Karājīkī.²⁵ Scholarship to date has proposed two main explanations of the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī/al-Karājūkī/al-Karājākī: either that it designates the profession of “tent-maker” or that it derives from a toponym. The preponderance of scholarly opinion favors the former interpretation.

As part of a personal name, the *nisbah* falls into one of four major types. First, it can indicate tribal or clan affiliation, as in *al-Asadī*, *al-Tamīmī*, *al-‘Adawī*, or *al-Hāshimī*, designating adherence to the Banū Asad tribe, the Banū Tamīm tribe, the clan of ‘Adī, or the clan of Hāshim, respectively. Second, it can announce one’s ancestor, as in *al-‘Alawī*, indicating descent from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, or *al-Mūsawī*, indicating descent from Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the Seventh Imam of the Twelver Shiites. Third, it can refer to a toponym, usually a city or town, as in *al-Baghdādī*, *al-Ḥalabī*, *al-Balkhī*, or *al-Rāzī*, referring to Baghdad, Aleppo, Balkh, or Rayy, respectively. This may indicate the origin of one’s ancestors, one’s own origin, or one’s place of former or current residence. And fourth, it can refer to one’s profession. Though many terms for professions used as names take the form *fa‘āl*, such as *al-Qaṭṭān* “the Cotton-dealer,” *al-Bazzāz* “the Silk-merchant,” *al-Ḥaddād* “the Blacksmith,” or *al-Warrāq* “the Book-seller,” a number of common professional appellations take the form of a *nisbah* adjective. Some professional *nisbahs* derive from a singular noun, such as *al-Bāqillānī* “Broad-Bean-Seller,” *al-Māwardī* “Rosewater-Seller,” *al-Saqāṭī* “Junk-Dealer,” while some derive from plural nouns, such as *al-Karābīsī* “Rag-Dealer,” *al-Anmāṭī* “Blanket-Maker,” *al-Maghāzilī*, “Spindle-Maker,” *al-Sakākīnī* “Cutler,” *al-Ḥuṣarī* “Mat-maker,” or *al-Kutubī* “Bookseller.” Some *nisbahs* designating professions show derivations from both singular and plural forms of a word: for example, *al-Bardha‘ī* and *al-Barādhi‘ī* both mean “Maker or Seller of Donkey Saddles,” deriving from the singular *bardha‘ah* or the plural, *barādhi‘*, respectively.

3. The Interpretation of al-Karājīkī as a Professional *Nisbah* Meaning “Tent-Maker”

If one examines the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī and attempts to determine to which of these four categories it might belong, the first and the second can be eliminated immediately; al-Karājīkī cannot be identified with a known tribal name, nor is there any indication that it derives from the given name of a famous ancestor. The remaining two are both possible. The clearest statement connecting al-Karājīkī with a professional *nisbah* is the notice devoted to al-Karājīkī by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) in his biographical dictionary *Lisān al-Mīzān*:

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Karājīkī, with an -a vowel following the K-, a single, un-geminated -r-, an -i vowel following the -j-, then k, as a denominal adjective referring to the manufacture of tents (khiyam), which are karājīk. Ibn Abī Ṭayy went to great lengths in praising him for his glorification of Imami

²⁵ al-Zirikli, *al-A‘lām*, 6:276; Stewart, “An Eleventh-Century Justification of the Authority of Twelver Shiite Jurists”; Ansari, *L’imamat et l’Occultation*, 109–14.

Shiism and mentioned that he had authored many works on that topic. He also mentioned that he had studied with Abū al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī and had met with al-ʿAyn-Zarbī.²⁶ He died on the second of Rabīʿ al-Thānī in the year 449 AH [8 June 1057 CE].²⁷

In this entry Ibn Ḥajar cites the Shiite author Yaḥyā b. Ḥumaydah Ibn Abī Ṭayy (d. 630/1232-33), who wrote *al-Ḥāwī*, a biographical work that is not extant but is cited frequently in *Lisān al-Mizān*.²⁸ Ibn Ḥajar reports that the name al-Karājīkī derives from *karājīk*, which means “tents” (*khiyam*). The name al-Karājīkī thus means al-Khiyamī “the Tent-maker.” Ibn Ḥajar’s remarks indicate that the original entry in Ibn Abī Ṭayy’s work was much longer and more detailed than his own. It is not explicitly stated that his discussion of al-Karājīkī’s name also derives from that work, but it appears that Ibn Abī Ṭayy’s work was his only source for the entry, so the interpretation of al-Karājīkī’s *nisbah* that Ibn Ḥajar cites is likely that of Ibn Abī Ṭayy.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) gives a similar but shorter remark in *Tārīkh al-Islām*, writing, *al-Karājīkī huwa al-Khiyamī*.²⁹ One could also read this *nisbah* as *al-Khaymī*, derived from the singular *khaymah* “tent,” but this is not likely, because Ibn Ḥajar’s statement is clearly intended to set up a parallelism between two plurals, *khiyam* and *karājīk*. The noun *karājīk* would naturally be a plural in Arabic. Another text that supports this interpretation, though it is not as explicit, appears in the chronicle *Mirʿāt al-janān wa-ʿibrat al-yaqẓān* by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367).

In this year there died Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājīkī³⁰ al-Kh-y-mī, the chief scholar of the Shiites and the author of many works. He was a grammarian, an expert in the Arabic lexicon, an astronomer, physician, and theologian, among the leading disciples of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.³¹

This entry gives both *al-Khaymī/al-Khiyamī* and *al-Karājīkī* as Abū al-Faṭḥ’s *nisbahs*.

Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (d. 1313/1895–96) cites al-Yāfiʿī’s text and then interprets al-Karājīkī as a toponymical *nisbah*. He remarks that *al-Khiyam/al-Khaym* or *Dhū al-Khiyam/al-Khaym* or *Dhāt al-Khiyam/al-Khaym* is the name of a place in *al-Diyār al-Miṣriyyah*, “the Egyptian lands,” which he conceived of broadly as including a

²⁶ Abū al-Ṣalāḥ Taqī al-Dīn b. Najm al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī was a well-known Twelver Shiite jurist from Aleppo who died in 447/1055. See Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shiʿah*, 3:634–35. Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-ʿAyn-zarbī was a well-known poet who was born and resided in Damascus and died in 467/1074–74. See Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārikh Ḥalab*, 12 vols., ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 4:1718–21.

²⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 7:374.

²⁸ This work has been partially reconstructed by Rasūl Jaʿfariyān and published as Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ṭāʿī al-Ḥalabī, *al-Ḥāwī fī rijāl al-shiʿah al-imāmiyyah*, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-yi Takhaṣṣuṣi-yi Islām va-Īrān, 2000). The entry on al-Karājīkī is presented on pp. 86–87.

²⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 30: 236–37.

³⁰ The published text reads *al-Karkhī*, but the copy al-Khwānsārī was using evidently had *al-Karājīkī*.

³¹ al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʿāt al-janān*, 3:54.

significant part of Syria, for he assigns al-Ramlah to that region as well.³² Ja‘far al-Muhājir rejects this suggestion as preposterous on the grounds that no such likely place-names exist in Egypt.³³

The evidence of these biographical texts suggests the following. The *nisbah* al-Khaymī or al-Khiyamī was not actually part of al-Karājīkī’s name, and it certainly did not derive from a toponym, as al-Khwānsārī argued. The most likely explanation seems to be that al-Dhahabī, al-Yāfi‘ī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī were drawing on the text of Ibn Abī Ṭayy’s chronicle, in Ibn Ḥajar’s case directly, and in the case of the other two either directly or indirectly. Ibn Ḥajar had included in his notice an explanation of the meaning of the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī, as referring to tents (*khiyam*). The original text in Ibn Abī Ṭayy’s notice on al-Karājīkī must have matched the explanation given in *Lisān al-Mīzān* closely. Al-Dhahabī gave a sort of shorthand version of the explanation, leaving out mention of the noun in question, *karājīk*, but glossing *al-Karājīkī* as *al-Khiyamī*. Al-Yāfi‘ī, however, drew on these or similar statements and interpreted *al-Khiyamī*—or *al-Khaymī*—not as a paraphrase or explanation of the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī but as an actual part of al-Karājīkī’s name, an additional *nisbah*. By this gradual process, the *nisbah* al-al-Khiyamī or al-Khaymī came to be applied to al-Karājīkī, but it had no ultimate basis in the earliest sources; it arose later, merely as an explanation of the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī.

If al-Khiyamī or al-Khaymī was not a *nisbah* of al-Karājīkī, was it nevertheless true that al-Karājīkī meant “the tent-maker”? It is clear that al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, and presumably Ibn Abī Ṭayy believed so. On the face of it, the explanation is possible. The noun *karājīk* has the form of an Arabic plural noun, and in the case of appellations like *al-Karābīsī* “the Rag-Seller,” some *nisbah* adjectives used as professional appellations derive from plural nouns. So, the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī could be equivalent to *al-Khiyamī* or to the cognate *fa‘āl*-form *al-Khayyām*.³⁴ As far as the form is concerned, this explanation is thus possible. It has been repeated many times in later sources, and it appears to be the most widely accepted view in writings on al-Karājīkī. ‘Abd Allāh Ni‘mah concludes that this explanation of al-Karājīkī’s *nisbah* is the most likely, and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī states categorically that this is the correct explanation of the *nisbah*.³⁵ And if it is correct, then it provides no assistance in determining Abū al-Faṭḥ’s origin.

The remaining problem with regard to the interpretation of al-Karājīkī as meaning “tent-maker” is to verify that *karājīk* actually means tents, and this is not easily done. Ja‘far al-Muhājir observes that the associated singular form would likely be *karjak* or *kurjuk* and that the word must be a foreign borrowing. However, he

³² Al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 6:214.

³³ Ja‘far al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 45.

³⁴ The name *al-Khayyām* is of course well known, the best-known bearer being ‘Umar al-Khayyām (d. 526/1131), the mathematician and author of the famous *Quatrains*. The *nisbah* *al-Khiyamī* is also well attested. For example, on the thirteenth-century Egyptian Sufi and poet Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Ibn al-Khiyamī (602–85/1205–86), see Th. Emil Homerin, “Close Encounters of the Sufi Kind: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī, and Two Poems by Ibn al-Khiyamī,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 6.1 (2017): 117–132.

³⁵ ‘Abd Allāh Ni‘mah, Introduction to *al-Karājīkī*, *Kanz al-fawā‘id*, 1:11; al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “Maktabat al-‘Allāmah al-Karājīkī,” 367.

reports, the Arabic dictionaries do not record such a word.³⁶ Edward William Lane's *Arabic Lexicon* does not include it, nor does al-Fayrūzābādī's *Qāmūs*, nor Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-ʿArab*, nor Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. Could it be a borrowing from Persian or Turkish? If the singular was *karjak*, the final syllable *-ak* could represent a Persian diminutive suffix, and the stem could be *karj*, *karch*, *garch*, or so on. If the word was Turkish, *-jik* could represent the diminutive suffix *cık -cik -cük -cük*. However, it has not been possible to identify a Persian or Turkish word having a form close to *karjak* or *kurjuk* and meaning "tent." Even so, al-Muhājir somewhat reluctantly accepts the view that the most likely meaning of al-Karājīkī is still "Tent-Maker."³⁷ However, in my view, the difficulty of finding an attested Arabic word, or a likely Persian or Turkish etymon, meaning "tent" and having a form similar to *karājīk*, *karjak*, or *kurjuk* calls this interpretation into doubt and makes another alternative seem more attractive. There remains the possibility that Ibn Abī Ṭayy, who lived two centuries after al-Karājīkī, was mistaken. As far as is evident from the texts available, he did not cite an earlier authority for his statement, and he may have been speculating himself rather than reporting credible information about al-Karājīkī. In addition, his statement suggests that, already in his day, the *nisbah* was puzzling and required an explanation.

4. The Interpretation of al-Karājīkī as a Geographical *Nisbah*

The other possibility is that al-Karājīkī is a *nisbah* of the geographical type. In a recent study, Ghaemmaghami adopts this view, giving the *nisbah* as al-Karājūkī, citing the famous dictionary *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, in which Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) defines *Karājūk* as "a town from which derives the toponymic name (*nisbah*) of the scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karājūkī, from the Imamis, who has authored writings and died in 449."³⁸ The editors of *Tāj al-ʿArūs* report that the specific voweling *Karājūk* comes from *Muʿjam al-buldān* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229).³⁹ Yāqūt, after precisely designating the vowels of the word as *Karājūk*, with an *u*-vowel in the final syllable, refers to a statement by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166) designating it as a village and describing its location.⁴⁰ Yāqūt was citing the famous work *al-Ansāb* by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166), but inspection of that text reveals that in al-Samʿānī's view, the word was pronounced *Karājāk* and not *Karājūk*. He, too, reports the vowels in detail, explaining that he heard it thus from his teacher Abū al-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl (d. 491/1098). Al-Samʿānī names two historical figures who had the *nisbah*, the brothers Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Karājākī and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Karājākī. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) devotes an entry to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Karājākī in *Tārīkh*

³⁶ Jafar al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 45.

³⁷ Jafar al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 46.

³⁸ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, 40 vols., ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥijāzī (Kuwait: Wizārat al-ʿIlm, 1993), 27:313.

³⁹ al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, 27:313 n. 3.

⁴⁰ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 6 vols., ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1869), 4: 247.

Baghdād, giving his death date as 247/861–62.⁴¹ Al-Sam‘ānī reports that his brother, Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al-Karājīkī, transmitted *ḥadīth* from Shujā‘ b. al-Walīd (b. Qays al-Sukūnī, d. 204–5/819–21) and that Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl al-Maḥāmīlī (d. Rabī‘ II 330/December 941–January 942) transmitted *ḥadīth* from him. Al-Sam‘ānī describes the location of Karājīk briefly: *wa-hiya qaryah ‘alā bāb Wāsiṭ* “It is a village at (facing, opposite?) the Wāsiṭ Gate.” This seems to indicate that it was a village just outside Baghdad, at the beginning of the road to Wāsiṭ, and not a village next to the city gate of Wāsiṭ. Both brothers were active in Baghdad in the third/ninth century.⁴²

Al-Sam‘ānī’s report thus suggests that the form of the *nisbah* could be al-Karājīkī, with an -a- in the penultimate syllable, and that it could refer to a village in the vicinity of Baghdad. Abū al-Faṭḥ could be the descendant of someone whose *nisbah* derived from that village. In my view, this is unlikely. The pattern of al-Karājīkī’s movements does not suggest that he was from Iraq. While he studied in Baghdad, he was in Anatolia in his youth and spent most of his career in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.

I believe that Ibn Abī Ṭayy and Ibn Ḥajar were mistaken and that al-Karājīkī does not mean tent-maker. The *nisbah* indeed refers to a town, but the town in question is not the town to which al-Sam‘ānī referred. The most likely candidate, in my view, is the village of Karacık in Southeastern Anatolia in what is now Turkey. Karacık lies on the upper reaches of the Tigris River, in the district of Bismil in Diyarbakır province. It lies about 60 kilometers east of Āmid (Diyarbakır), about 20 kilometers west of Bismil, about 95 kilometers west of Is‘īrd (Siirt), about 95 kilometers north of Mardin, and about 30 kilometers south of Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan). The *nisbah* derived from the name of this village or town would have been al-Karājīkī.

This suggested origin is corroborated, at least circumstantially, by al-Karājīkī’s report that he transmitted a report from Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Lughawī, known as Ibn Zakkār, in Mayyāfāriqīn in 399/1008.⁴³ What is crucial, for the present discussion, is that Mayyāfāriqīn, now Silvan in modern Turkey, lies just 30 kilometers north-north-west of Karacık. It is likely, in my view, that al-Karājīkī was born and raised in the village of Karacık and then traveled to study in Mayyāfāriqīn, the nearest major town, in his youth. Alternatively, his father or ancestors may have originated in Karacık but resided in Mayyāfāriqīn. These deductions are based on the fact that al-

⁴¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, 17 vols., ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 13:457 (no. 6326).

⁴² See also the entry on ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Yazīd al-Karājīkī in Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, 35 vols., ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah, 1983–92), 21:87–88 (no. 4117). Al-Mizzī’s notice adds the grandfather’s name, Yazīd, gives the alternative *nisbah* al-Karāshakī, and confirms the death date of 247/861–62.

⁴³ The dates of al-Karājīkī’s teacher Ibn Zakkār are not known, but he appears in an entry on Abū al-Naṣr al-Faṭḥ b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘dān al-Fāriqī in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*. There, Abū al-Naṣr recites an anecdote about his teacher Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā Ibn Zakkār al-Fāriqī al-Lughawī in which he had to take care of an issue in one of the villages of Mayyāfāriqīn. Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 80 vols., ed. Umar b. Gharāmah al-‘Umrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2000), 48:221. Hibat Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Khwārizmī reports a *ḥadīth* in which the *isnād* begins, *ḥaddathanā* ‘Alī b. Zakkār al-Fāriqī. al-Khwārizmī, *Kitāb al-Manāqib wa-l-mathālib* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1999), 165.

Karājikī must have been young at the time and the assumption that would not yet have ventured far from his native region.

In combination with knowledge of al-Karājikī's death-date, 449/1057, the fact that al-Karājikī transmitted material from his teacher Ibn Zakkār in 399/1008–9, fifty years before his death, is the main piece of evidence that throws light on his birthdate. ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah writes that one would ordinarily be 25 years of age before reaching the point in one's education at which one would record such material. For this reason, he sets al-Karājikī's birthdate as 374 AH, i.e., 984 CE.⁴⁴ Jaʿfar al-Muhājir sets his birthdate in the 370s AH, i.e., 980–89 CE.⁴⁵ Given that young students often attended rather advanced lessons throughout the pre-modern period, especially in grammar and the Arabic sciences in which Ibn Zakkār was a specialist, I consider it possible for al-Karājikī to have been born at any date between 370/980 and 390/1000, but more likely toward the beginning of that period. Al-Muhājir supposes that al-Karājikī traveled to Mayyāfāriqīn during his years of travel for the sake of learning,⁴⁶ evidently supposing that he traveled north from Syria to Mayyāfāriqīn in order to collect *ḥadīth* reports. In my view, he would have traveled in the opposite direction: first from the village of Karājik to the main city in his region, Mayyāfāriqīn, and then from his outlying region to more central lands, perhaps to Aleppo in Syria or Mosul in northern Iraq first, and then to Baghdad, where the opportunities for studying with accomplished Shiite scholars were greater.

5. Al-Karājikī's Connection with Tripoli

ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, and Jaʿfar Al-Muhājir all argue that al-Karājikī was associated primarily with the city of Tripoli in what is now northern Lebanon. ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah states that this was because of the length of al-Karājikī's residence there and his strong connections with the city's inhabitants. He writes that al-Karājikī adopted Tripoli as the base from which he set out to spread his influence far and wide, and he applies the *nisbah al-Ṭarāblusī* to al-Karājikī in his work.⁴⁷ Jaʿfar al-Muhājir suggests, in addition, that al-Karājikī was likely born in Tripoli. In my view, the claim that al-Karājikī was born in Tripoli is certainly wrong, and even the claim of al-Karājikī's primary association with the city may be overstated.

It is known that al-Karājikī was in Tripoli in 436/1044, as mentioned earlier. In addition, in a catalogue of al-Karājikī's works that was recorded after his death, seven books are identified as having been written in Tripoli.⁴⁸ These works are the following:

⁴⁴ ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah, Introduction to al-Karājikī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:13.

⁴⁵ Al-Muhājir, *al-Karājikī*, 50–52.

⁴⁶ Al-Muhājir, *al-Karājikī*, 51–54.

⁴⁷ ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah, Introduction to al-Karājikī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:5, 9, 11–12.

⁴⁸ The catalogue was certainly written after the death of Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājikī. In the entry on *Kitāb al-Anīs* (no. 50), the author of the catalogue writes, "He died—may God have mercy on him—before attaining his goal with regard to its composition." The author of the catalogue apparently uses the blessing *raḍīya llāhu ʿanhu*, which appears after al-Karājikī's name at the title of the catalogue, for people who have passed away. This is confirmed by the blessings *raḍīya llāhu ʿanhum* "may God be pleased with them" after the names of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, who died in 436/1044, and Abū al-Ṣalāḥ Taqī al-Dīn b. Najm al-Ḥalabī, who died in

1) No. 3: *Kitāb al-Talqīn li-awlād al-mu'minīn* (The Book to be Taught by Rote to the Children of the Believers). This book is reported to be short, comprising two quires (approximately 40 pages).⁴⁹ It is likely a Twelver Shiite creed.

2) No. 4: *Kitāb al-Tahdhīb* (The Book of the Orderly Arrangement). This text is reported to be connected to (muttaṣil bi-) the previous title and to present a basic summary of Islamic law regarding ritual devotions in an arrangement that makes it easy to understand. It comprises 70 folios.⁵⁰ The preceding work is likely a Shiite creed or a beginning work on theology specifically because this book is a beginning text on law, and they are intended to form a pair.

3) No. 5: *Ma'ūnat al-fāriḍ 'alā istikhrāj sihām al-farā'id* (The Book Which Helps the Inheritance Notary Deduce the Fractional Proportions of the Inheritance Shares). It comprises 60 folios.⁵¹

4) No. 10: *Kitāb Nahj al-bayān fī manāsik al-niswān* (The Book of the Path of Clarity, on the Pilgrimage Rites for Women), written for Abū al-Katā'ib Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār. It comprises 50 folios.⁵²

5) No. 14: *Kitāb Rad' al-jāhil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil* (The Book of the Rebuke of the Ignoramus and the Alert of the Neglectful). This work addresses the legal question of the efficacy of wiping one's inner shoes (or socks) in ablutions. In it, al-Karājīkī refutes Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 449/1057), who had critiqued the views of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) on the topic. No length is given.⁵³

6) No. 26: *Kitāb 'Uddat al-baṣīr fī ḥujaj*⁵⁴ *Yawm al-Ghadīr* (The Provisions of the One Who Seeks Insight, on the Proofs of the Incident at al-Ghadīr). He wrote it for Abū al-Katā'ib [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn] 'Ammār. This work aims to prove the legitimacy of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's Imamate on the grounds of the Prophet Muḥammad's famous statement at Ghadīr Khumm. It was 200 folios.⁵⁵

447/1055. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 377, 380, 381, 389. The text appears to have been written by someone from the next generation, that of al-Karājīkī's students, and it may date to the very beginning of the independent state of the Banū Ammār, ca. 462–64/1070–72, during the reign of Amin al-Dawlah Abū al-Ṭālib al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār, but this is not certain. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 381. Al-Nūrī cites the entire text of the catalogue in *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, and describes it as having been written by "one of his contemporaries" (*ba'd mu'āṣirihī*). Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, 497–99.

⁴⁹ al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 378.

⁵⁰ al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 378.

⁵¹ al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 378–79.

⁵² al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 379–80.

⁵³ al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 380.

⁵⁴ The text reads *ḥajj* "pilgrimage," but this must be an error for *ḥujaj* "proofs."

⁵⁵ al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Karājīkī," 383.

7) No. 64 *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaqāt al-wurrāth* (Short Work on the Levels of Heirs). This evidently a work on inheritance law, and it is specified that he wrote it for beginners (*li-l-mubtadiʿīn*). It is a slim (*latīf*) volume.⁵⁶

These are the works that are explicitly designated by the author of the catalogue of al-Karājīkī's works as having been composed in Tripoli. These are cited by ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah and Jaʿfar al-Muhājir as evidence of his long residence there. One may add one more work to this list:

8) No. 15: *al-Bustān fī al-fiqh* (The Orchard, on Law). He wrote this work for al-Qāḍī Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmmār (d. 464/1072). Each chapter of the law is broken up into "branches," so that the whole chapter represents a "tree," and the collection of chapters constitutes the "orchard."⁵⁷

Although there is no explicit statement in this entry in the catalogue that this work was written in Tripoli, it was very likely composed there because it was dedicated to one of the Banū ʿAmmār family, who were important figures in the city and would later become its rulers. Together, these works indeed suggest that al-Karājīkī was a resident of the city for a considerable period. Given the other extant data concerning his life, the maximum span of time for his residence in Tripoli would be from 426/1034–35, the last date which places him in Egypt, to 441/1049–50, when he was in Sidon. That gap of 15 years would constitute a significant period spent in Tripoli, but it could also have been shorter. These writings suggest that al-Karājīkī was working as a judge or deputy judge or otherwise involved in the judiciary and that he was involved in teaching law, including inheritance law in particular.

However, modern scholars have adduced several additional pieces of evidence to stress al-Karājīkī's connection with Tripoli in particular. Both ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah and Jaʿfar al-Muhājir cite as evidence an *ijāzah* that appears in the work *Biḥār al-anwār* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1111/1699). As mentioned above, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Karakī (d. 940/1534) mentions al-Karājīkī in an *ijāzah* that he issued to al-Qāḍī Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿIsā in Isfahan on 9 Ramaḍān 937/26 April 1531. ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah and Jaʿfar al-Muhājir both interpret al-Karakī's remarks as indicating that al-Karājīkī was primarily one of "the jurists of Tripoli" (*fuqahāʾ Ṭarāblus*) and that he was a resident of al-Ramlah (al-Ramlah al-Bayḍāʾ) in Palestine.⁵⁸ In my view, this idea is based on a misinterpretation of the text in question.

wa-min ajillāʾ ʿulamāʾinā wa-fuqahāʾinā wa-ruʾasāʾihim fuqahāʾ
Ḥalab, wa-hum jamʿ kathīr; wa-minhum fuqahāʾ Ṭarābulus; wa-minhum al-

⁵⁶ al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Karājīkī," 392.

⁵⁷ al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Karājīkī," 381.

⁵⁸ al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 105:77; ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah, introduction to *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:11-12; al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 49.

shaykh al-ajall al-saʿīd Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājīkī nazīl al-Ramlah al-Bayḍāʾ; wa-minhum al-shaykh al-imām al-saʿīd jāmiʿ al-maʿqūl wa-l-manqūl Amīn al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī ...

And among our splendid scholars and jurists and among their leaders are the jurists of Aleppo—and they are a large group; and among them are the jurists of Tripoli; and among them are the venerable and fortunate master, Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājīkī, resident of al-Ramlah al-Bayḍāʾ; and among them is the fortunate leading scholar, who combines knowledge of the rational and the transmitted sciences, Amīn al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī. ...⁵⁹

ʿAbd Allāh Nīʿmah and Jaʿfar al-Muhājir interpret the text as referring to al-Karājīkī as one member of the class of Twelver Shiite jurists of Tripoli.⁶⁰ In my view, however, the mentions of al-Karājīkī and Abū al-Faḍl represent separate entries in the list, parallel to those of the jurists of Aleppo and the jurists of Tripoli, rather than subordinate parts attached to those entries. The list thus reads as follows, according to my assessment: 1) jurists of Aleppo; 2) jurists of Tripoli; 3) al-Karājīkī; and 4) al-Ṭabrisī. Al-Karājīkī is not presented as an example of the jurists of Tripoli but as a separate category on his own. This is corroborated by the facts that he is associated with a different city altogether, al-Ramlah in Palestine, and that he is introduced in a manner parallel to that of Abū al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153–54), who, being a native and life-long resident of Persia, cannot possibly be understood to belong to the jurists of Tripoli. In addition to this interpretation, ʿAbd Allāh Nīʿmah states that the association of al-Karājīkī with Tripoli represents the opinion of al-Majlisī himself, which is simply not the case. Al-Karāki’s statement cannot be cited as evidence that al-Karājīkī was viewed by posterity as a jurist from Tripoli.

Jaʿfar al-Muhājir cites an additional piece of evidence, not cited by ʿAbd Allāh Nīʿmah, connecting Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājīkī with Tripoli. An anecdote in *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq* reports that a certain al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Kūjak, known as Abū al-Qāsim al-Karājīkī, dictated a text in Tripoli in 359/969.⁶¹ Al-Muhājir suggests that this man’s name, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, hints that he was a Shiite and that his *nisbah* suggests that he may have been a relative of Abū al-Faṭḥ. And, if that is the case, it may be that the Karājīkīs were natives to Tripoli, and Abū al-Faṭḥ may have been born there.⁶² The problem with this deduction is that it is based on a copyist’s error. The text al-Muhājir cites derives from Ibn ʿAsākir’s *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, and in the original, Ibn ʿAsākir gives his name as al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Kūjak, known as Abū al-Qāsim al-Kūjakī. Al-Muhājir is aware of this, but supposes that the text in *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq* is correct, while that in Ibn ʿAsākir’s *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq* has actually been corrupted.⁶³ In my view, the form al-Kūjakī is correct. The man in question was a Shiite poet and

⁵⁹ al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 105:77.

⁶⁰ ʿAbd Allāh Nīʿmah, Introduction to al-Karājīkī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:11–12; al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 49.

⁶¹ Al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 43–44, 46–47, 50; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq*, 7 vols., ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān (Beirut: Dār al-Masīrah, 1979), 4:346.

⁶² Al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 47.

⁶³ Al-Muhājir, *al-Karājīkī*, 44 n. 1.

bookseller, and a native of Aleppo, not a native of Tripoli. Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) devotes a biographical entry to him in *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, giving his name as Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. ʿĪsā al-Ḥalabī, known as Ibn Kūjak al-ʿAbsī. Ibn Kūjak was a native of Aleppo of Qummī ancestry.⁶⁴ This leaves little doubt that his family was Shiite, but it shows that he was not a native of Tripoli and strongly suggests that he did not have the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī; he would have had the geographical *nisbahs* al-Ḥalabī and al-Qummī, and the tribal *nisbah* al-ʿAbsī instead. This man must have died in the mid-tenth century. He had two sons, both poets and booksellers, who were fairly well known, and who appear in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's *Irshād al-arīb*: ʿAlī and al-Muḥassin. ʿAlī, known as Ibn Kūjak al-Warrāq, wrote a number of literary works, including *Kitāb al-Ṭanbūrīyyīn*, on musicians, and *Kitāb Aʿazz al-maṭālib*, on asceticism. He died after 394/1003-4.⁶⁵ His brother al-Muḥassin was also a known poet and bookseller. He dictated a text in Sidon in 394/1003-4 and died in Shawwāl 416/November-December 1025.⁶⁶ Their descendants, known as Āl Kūjak or Banū Kūjak, continued to live in Aleppo, and a modern website devoted to the traditional neighborhoods of Aleppo states that they are among the families associated with al-Saffāḥīyyah quarter, between the Citadel and al-Jallūm quarter.⁶⁷ All this indicates that al-Karājīkī in this case is simply an error for al-Kūjakī.

Al-Karājīkī obviously resided in Tripoli for a number of years, working in the judiciary and writing a number of legal works during that time. There is no evidence that he was born in that city or even that he was associated with that city more than the other cities where he resided, such as al-Ramlah or that al-Karājīkī was identified by the *nisbah* al-Ṭarābulusī.

Conclusion

Examination of the sources regarding al-Karājīkī's name and origin allows one to make the following observations, which may clear up some of the confusion surrounding them in medieval and modern scholarship. The *nisbah* al-Khiyamī or al-Khaymī that is sometimes applied to al-Karājīkī may be rejected outright. It was never part of his name but came to be applied to him as an explanation of the term al-Karājīkī that probably goes back to the biographical dictionary of the Aleppan Shiite author Ibn Abī Ṭayy, who wrote in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. It was erroneously treated by later authors as an independent name.

Regarding the *nisbah* al-Karāj.kī, while the three versions al-Karājukī, al-Karājakī, and al-Karājīkī all exist, they are not all equally justifiable. The form al-Karājukī derives from Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's *Muʿjam al-buldān*, and is evidently an error, for his source, al-Samʿānī, does not give a *u*-vowel. Karājuk, with *-u-*, is either a simple error on Yāqūt's part, or else represents a correction on his part or an estimated pronunciation of the

⁶⁴ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 6:2674-77; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ: Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 1733.

⁶⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb*, 1733-34, 2278.

⁶⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb*, 2278-79.

⁶⁷ https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/حلب_القديمة, consulted December 30, 2020.

name of the village outside Baghdad to which al-Sam‘ānī refers. Al-Karājīkī, with *-a-*, is the version that al-Sam‘ānī gives, drawing on the testimony of his teacher, who reports that the *nisbah* derives from Karājīk, a village just outside Baghdad, at or near the Wāsiṭ Gate. Al-Karājīkī, with *-i-*, derives from the account of Ibn Ḥajar in *Lisān al-Mīzān*, and in all likelihood from his source, Ibn Abī Ṭayy’s work *al-Ḥāwī*. It is this form that accords with the interpretation of the word *karājīk* as a plural noun, meaning *khiyam* “tents.”

Nevertheless, the interpretation of the *nisbah* al-Karājīkī as meaning “Tent-Maker” is in all likelihood wrong. It probably goes back to Ibn Abī Ṭayy, and it may simply have been the product of his speculation. The fact that it has not proved possible to justify the explanation linguistically, by locating a term for “tents” that resembles *karājīk*, makes it appear unlikely indeed. Rather, al-Karājīkī is probably a toponymical *nisbah* that derives from the name of Karājīk, a village approximately 30 kilometers south of Mayyāfāriqīn. The village, now known as Karacık, lies in the district of Bismil in the province of Diyarbakır in modern Turkey.

It is likely that al-Karājīkī was born in this village or in the town of Mayyāfāriqīn, and that he pursued his early studies there, as suggested by the fact that he transmitted material from the expert in Arabic lexicon Ibn Zakkār there in 399/1008–9. Not long after that time, he left his native region to seek instruction elsewhere, and, perhaps after studying in other centers of Shiite learning in Aleppo or Mosul, ended up studying in Baghdad with al-Shaykh al-Mufid for a number of years, probably before 407/1016–17, when the sources place him in Egypt. During this period, the province of Diyār Bakr, including Mayyāfāriqīn, was under the control of a Kurdish Sunni dynasty known as the Marwanids (373–478/983–1085), and the ruler at the time when al-Karājīkī resided there was Mumahhid al-Dawlah Abū Maṣṣūr Sa‘īd (r. 387–401/997–1010).⁶⁸

Karājīkī’s origin in this region suggests that there was a significant Shiite population in this region of Anatolia in the late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries. This impression is corroborated by the evidence of one of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s *fatwā* texts, *Jawābāt al-Masā’il al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*.⁶⁹ This is a collection of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s legal responsa to questions sent to him from Mayyāfāriqīn and dating to before 417/1029.⁷⁰ The impression given by the responsa is that local Shiites felt that they had insufficient contact with the main centers of Shiite learning. They

⁶⁸ On this dynasty, see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (Columbia University Press, 1996), 89; Stefan Heidemann, “A New Ruler of the Marwanid Emirate in 401/1010 and Further Considerations on the Legitimizing Power of Regicide,” *Aram* 9–10 (1997–98): 599–615; Thomas Ritter, *Die Marwāniden von Diyār Bakr. Eine kurdische Dynastie im islamischen Mittelalter* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2000).

⁶⁹ Muḥsin al-Amīn, for example, does not list Mayyāfāriqīn or other nearby cities in Anatolia as being among “the lands of the Shiites” (*buldān al-shī‘ah*). See Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-shī‘ah*, 1:194–209.

⁷⁰ Devin J. Stewart, “al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044),” pp. 167–210 in Ussama Arabi, David S. Powers, and Susan A. Spector, *Islamic Legal Thought: A Compendium of Muslim Jurists* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). See also Claude Cahen, “Le problème du Shi‘isme dans l’Asie Mineure turque préottomane,” pp. 115–29 in *Le Shi‘isme Imāmīte: Colloque de Strasbourg (6–9 mai 1968)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970). I have not been able to consult the paper of Metin Bozan on this work, titled, “Şerif Murtaza’nın Cevâbâtü’l-Mesâilî’l-Meyâfarkiyât Adlı Risalesi,” *Uluslararası Silvan Sempozyumu*, 2008.

lacked qualified Shiite scholars in the region to guide them and that they considered this a problem. They asked, for instance, whether it was permissible to consult Shiite legal manuals in the absence of a qualified jurist.⁷¹ Shiism may have become more prevalent in the region in the late tenth century, when the Buwayhids conquered the region, held it briefly, and then ceded territory there to the Shiite ‘Uqaylid dynasty.

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⁷¹ Stewart, “al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044),” 180–81, 199.

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