



The Buyid Domination as the Historical Background for the Flourishing of Muslim Scholarship During the 4th/10th Century



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The Buyid period constituted the background for the revival of Muslim scholarship during the 4th/10th centuries. However, the coming of the Buyids did not simply signify the establishment of just another dynasty more. More significantly, their rule had even been referred to (although somewhat misleadingly) as the "Renaissance of Islam". As a matter of fact, Iranian civilization, too, saw a revival under them since they themselves were Iranians and sought deliberately to reconnect to Iran's glorious past after centuries of foreign domination. Moreover, the Buyids, who ruled over what is now Iran and Iraq, had been Twelver Shi'ites, and several aspects of Shi'ite culture and ceremonial can be traced back to their days, e.g. the official celebration of Shi'ite holidays. The paper addresses their rise to power and their coexistence with the 'Abbasid caliphs.

Dr Marcinkowski presents an outline of the major political developments of the Buyid era, as well as their contribution the the world of scholarship as patrons of learning. Dr Marcinkowski has already previously published on several aspects pertaining to the Buyid's role as sponsors of Twelve Shiite scholars, such as Ibn Babawayh al-Shaykh al-Saduq, Al-Shaykh al-Mufid and Shaykh al-Ta'ifah al-Tusi.

Let the one who is seeking to preserve the health of his soul realize that, by so doing, he is indeed preserving noble blessings which are bestowed upon it, great pleasures which are laid in it and splendid garments which are cast on it.

(Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), Tahdhib al-Akhlaq)

The rule of the Buyids¹ marked one of the crucial periods of early Islamic history as it signifies the turning point from predominant Arab rule to the political domination of non-Arabs in the Islamic heartlands. This process can already be traced back to early 'Abbasid times. It was the Buyid domination over the 'Arab Iraq' (*al-'Iraq al-'Arabi*)² and most of Iran (320-447/932-1055, in Fars until 454/1062) which heralded a period of tolerance and scholarly excellence in a variety of fields. Shi'ites, too, came to enjoy a comparatively tolerant atmosphere, which sets that historical period apart from the situation that had been prevailing under previous rulers.

At the beginning of the second half of the 4th/10th century the general political circumstances prevailing in the lands ruled by the 'Abbasid caliphs were not very encouraging: during the previous decades province after province of their once powerful empire had gained the status of factual independence, although some of those provinces might still have acknowledged the caliph in Baghdad as their nominal suzerain. Spain, for example, went under the Umayyads her own way: in the course of time the Spanish Umayyads even assumed the titles of *khalifah*, 'caliph' and *amir al-mu'minin*, 'commander of the faithful'.³ Similar developments occurred in North Africa: in 358/969 the Isma'ili Fatimids had conquered Egypt, established a 'counter-caliphate' in Cairo and threatened Syria. Once they were entrenched firmly in Egypt, they sent propagandists of their beliefs even to the Muslim lands of the East.⁴ The Fatimids constituted thus the most serious danger for Baghdad. Furthermore, several local dynasties sprang up in the East which paid often only lip-service to their allegiance to the central authority in Baghdad: Tahirids, Saffarids and Samanids established, one after the other, their respective power-bases, especially in the vast areas of Khurasan and beyond.⁵ At the same time the pressure on the borders of the Muslim territories was increasing: the Byzantine Emperors made all possible efforts to regain their previously lost provinces in Anatolia, Armenia and Northern Syria.⁶ The Byzantines were even

able to regain control over vast parts of eastern Anatolia under the rulers of their energetic Macedonian Dynasty (867-1056 CE).⁷ The central government in Baghdad seemed to be unable to stop their advance. It had thus become obvious that the 'Abbasids had become unable to exercise control over the remote territories of their empire. Local military leaders had to confront the Byzantines on their own, with the counterproductive result that those leaders themselves became almost independent. In Iraq itself the situation was not much better for the 'Abbasids: since they had surrounded themselves by Turkish slave soldiers whose leaders controlled the political life in the capital, their status was subsequently reduced to that of 'puppets' in the hands of one or the other of the dominating groups.⁸

During the first half of the 4th/10th century, however, the Buyids appeared on the scene. The Buyids, descendants of a certain Buwayh, were an Iranian clan originating from the region of Daylam. Daylam was at that time the inclusive and rather vague term for the northern regions of Iran, especially the present-day provinces of Gilan and the utmost western part of Mazandaran.⁹ A particular region towards the east of Daylam, Tabaristan,¹⁰ had in the past provided the 'Abbasid armies, as well as the guards of the caliphs, with formidable soldiers. The majority of the population of this mountainous area had just recently embraced Islam, mostly following one of the Shi'ite denominations, and there was still existing a considerable number of non-Muslims, usually Zoroastrians, among them. The geographical isolation and inaccessibility of those northern areas of Iran might have been one of the reasons for the comparatively high number of non-Muslims there. This proved advantageous to those who were adhering to various Shi'ite denominations and who took refuge in those easily defendable mountains in order to avoid persecution at the hands of their Sunni opponents.

The Buyids, too, originated from those northern regions. In particular Western scholars have in the past differed on the question of whether they were followers of the Zaydi or Twelver Shi'ite denominations. However, today there

seems to prevail consensus that they were Twelvers, since in legal questions they are said to have followed the *ja'fari* rite, the legal school of the Twelvers, instead one of the Sunnite ones.¹¹ This they would certainly not have done if they would have been Zaydis since the Zaydis used to follow the Sunnite interpretation of Islamic law.

The above mentioned Buwayh, the ancestor of the Buyids, was the father of three sons: 'Ali, al-Hasan and Ahmad, the youngest. Towards the beginning of their careers, the three brothers earned their livelihood as a kind of *condottieri* in the services of numerous central Iranian rulers and became thus known as experienced warriors. The reasons, which had made these three to leave their native regions, accompanied by a large number of relatives and followers from among their countrymen, are not entirely clear.¹² However, 'Ali's takeover of Fars, as well as that of al-Jibal, the mountainous region in north-western Iran,¹³ by al-Hasan, after the defeat of its local rulers, enabled the Buyids to establish their power overthere firmly after 324/935. Soon after this, Ahmad added to this Kirman and Khuzistan, which had previously been under the authority of caliphal envoys. This brought the Buyids in the close neighborhood of the 'Abbasid capital.

In Baghdad itself effective 'Abbasid rule was practically not extant any more: Turkish army commanders and certain factions of the court struggled for the power. But in the year 334/945 Ahmad entered with his troops Baghdad. It appears to be probable that the Buyids were acting on request of one of the political factions in the 'Abbasid capital.¹⁴ In this way it would become apprehensible why they had been able to establish a foothold there in such a short period of time. The caliph granted to the three brothers upon their demand the honourific titles (*alqab*) *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* (to Ahmad, 'Pillar of the Empire'), *Imad al-Dawlah* (to 'Ali, 'Strengtheners of the Empire') and *Rukn al-Dawlah* (to al-Hasan, 'Support of the Empire'), respectively.¹⁵ Ahmad took his residence in Baghdad, whereas the other members of his family received the provinces al-Jibal, Kirman and Fars.

The Buyids did not touch upon the very existence of the caliphate. They were, however, to change its practical function,: they mere 'allowed' the caliphs to place their signature under documents which were prior to that drafted by their Buyid 'protectors'. The political power of the caliph was thus reduced to that of an observer. As Shi'ites, the Buyids, were not conceding to the caliph the right of assuming the effective leadership of the Muslim community, neither in the political nor in the spiritual sense. The special relationship that was to prevail between the Sunnite caliph and his Shi'ite 'protectors', the Buyids, can appropriately be described as a mere *modus vivendi*, a symbiosis, rather than as a liaison of tender affection: the caliph for his part was eager to preserve his remaining last bit of influence whereas the Buyids were in need of the caliphs in order to receive a quasi-legitimation for their political domination over the Sunnite majority.

But there were probably other considerations more that were determining the Buyids to pursue this kind of *realpolitik*, i.e their decision not to abolish the institution of the caliphate altogether, considerations that seem to be particularly momentous in the context of the circumstance of their adhering to the Twelver Shi'ite denomination: about the year 329/939 the Twelfth Imam is said to have left for his Major Occultation (*al-Ghaybat al-Kubra*). The actual assumption of the political power in Iraq by the Buyids was to take place only six years after that event. We may well assume that by that time there did not exist yet any elaborated theory for a Shi'ite government during the time of the Hidden Imam's absence.¹⁶ We should furthermore keep in mind that the already referred to establishment of an Isma'ili state in Egypt during the second half of the 4th/10th century was perceived as a threat by both, the Buyids *and* the caliph.

For the Shi'ite community, in turn, the Buyid domination must have meant a great relieve: the former were now in the position to participate in larger numbers and openly in public affairs. Furthermore, the Buyids, their new 'protectors', introduced several traditionally Shi'ite ceremonies as public holidays, such as the

commemoration of the nomination of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.) by the Prophet (s.a.a.s.) as his successor in the leadership of the Muslim community,¹⁷ or the public mourning of the martyrdom of al-Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.) at the plain of Karbala’ during Muharram, the first month of the Islamic year.¹⁸ We shall return to this point later.

In their attitude towards the non-Shi‘ites, the Buyids pursued a rather pragmatic policy: their actual control of the political power did certainly not result in a persecution of the Sunnite population, the vast majority after all. The Sunnites were thus not hindered to follow their various legal rites. Moreover, as we have already seen, the very existence of the caliphate was not touched by the new rulers, although they 'modified' it somewhat. A policy different from that would also not have been in the Buyid's political interest as the majority of their subjects were Sunnites. Unfortunately, although this should only alluded to here briefly because it was only to affect the post-Buyid, Saljuq period - this tolerant policy was not to bear fruits: toward the end of their rule the mob of Baghdad destroyed at several occasions the living areas of the Shi‘ites in the city's district of Karkh, whereby many people perished and thousands of valuable works burnt to ashes.¹⁹

Although initially of rather humble origins and intellectual background, the Buyids paid subsequently prime attention towards the Twelver Shi‘ite scholars. Their patronage of Ibn Babawayh (between 305 or 307-381/917 or 919-991),²⁰ for instance, will be referred to again below. Alongside with Ibn Babawayh, we notice a galaxy of outstanding Twelver scholars, some of which have been dealt with elsewhere by me in a more detailed fashion than it would be possible here.²¹ It should be noted here only in brief that just before the takeover of the political power by the Buyids the celebrated Abu Ja‘far Muhammad b. Ya‘qub al-Kulayni (d. 329/941) had compiled his *Al-Kafi*, a collection of Traditions which is counted among the 'canonical' Four Books of the Twelvers.²² Although Ibn Babawayh was not one of his direct disciples he seemed to have benefited to a high degree from al-

Kulayni as a transmitter of Traditions. Ibn Babawayh himself was among the teachers of the celebrated Twelver scholar Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Nu‘man, known as al-Shaykh al-Mufid (336-413/948-1022), who is famous for his *usuli*-rationalist approach in legal theory. Interesting in this context is al-Mufid's controversy with his teacher in theological questions and in matters of procedure. Al-Mufid gave Twelver Shi‘ite theological studies a new impetus and direction: he is said to have emphasized the role of discursive theology *before* or better *side-by-side* with that of the science of Traditions.

Although initially of a somewhat lower cultural level, it is remarkable that the Buyids were in the course of time to become patrons of classical Arab-Islamic scholarship and culture.²³ Some distinguished authors of Arabic poetry, among them al-Mutanabbi (303-54/915-55),²⁴ lived at and from their court. Under their patronage worked also the famous anthologist Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (284-356/897-967) as well as Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Sabi‘ (313-84/925-94)²⁵ and the historian and philosopher Ibn al-Miskawayh (320-421/932-1030). Abu ‘Ali Ibn Sina (370-428/980-1037), the great Iranian philosopher and scientist, whom we commemorate today, served most probably as vizier at the court of Shams al-Dawlah (r. 387-412/997-1021 in al-Jibal). The same ruler had also ordered the construction of an observatory at Baghdad.²⁶ The libraries that were donated by the Buyids at Isfahan, Shiraz and Rayy (the last mentioned at that time probably the largest city in Iran) were known for their excellence. Beside all this, they ordered the erection of two hospitals²⁷ in the two first above-mentioned cities. At least from the cultural point of view, the rule of the Buyids may thus be considered as a 'Golden Age'.²⁸ From the perspective of history of civilization, the arrest of the last Buyid in Baghdad, al-Malik al-Rahim (sic!) Khusraw Firuz (r. 440-47/1048-55, in Iraq), in 447/1055 by the Sunnite Saljuq Turks, marked the end of that fascinated period, although the saljuqs, too, were to establish themselves as new 'protectors the

caliphs'.²⁹ The remaining ruling members of the Buyid family in Kirman, Fars/Khuzistan and al-Jibal met a similar fate.³⁰

However, if we consider the Buyids from the political angle, we have to consider the fact that there were already at the early stages some indications for a steady decline of their power. Paradoxically, the signs of this decline were already detectible as early as during the first forty years of their rule,³¹ among them being the periodically recurring clashes and street-fightings between groups of the Shi'ite and Sunnite mob. Those clashes reached usually their climax in the course of the above-mentioned Shi'ite commemoration-ceremonies and left behind each time many people dead or wounded. It is significant for the degree of their weakness that the Buyids were unable to prevent such bloody incidents, which was a further factor for their declining prestige in the eyes of their subjects. Another factor was the circumstance that the Buyids, too, used to surround themselves with Turkish slave soldiers rather than relying on their own Daylamite countrymen. The continuation of this 'Abbasid practice was to contribute further to the final collapse of their rule, as could be observed when the Buyids had to defend themselves first against the invading Turkish Ghaznavids³² and then the Saljuqs. A further circumstance that contributed to the increasing instability of Buyid rule was the prevailing disunity among the members of their own family, especially at times when discontent concerning the questions of seniority, power-sharing and distribution of territory arose.

Serious was also the prevailing economic situation,³³ exemplified by the steady decline of the value of the silver coinage. Moreover, because of their internal political difficulties the Buyids were in most cases unable to control piracy in the Persian Gulf, as well as highway-robbery on the main land-routes: rebels in the southern parts of Iraq threatened at times even Baghdad. Among the disastrous results of this development was that the overseas trade began to shift its route from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, which was at that time under the control of the

Isma‘ili state in Egypt.³⁴ The Buyids were in this way prevented from securing a lasting and stable economic foundation for their rule, which resulted in a chronic lack of money, which led, in turn, to a steady increase of taxes.³⁵

Significant within the context of the formation of present-day Shi‘ite as well as Iranian culture is the Buyids' introduction of certain public holidays or festivals with an explicitly Shi‘ite character, as already mentioned earlier. Among them is the celebration of 'Ghadir al-Khumm'³⁶ on the eighteenth of the lunar month of Dhu'l-Hijjah, which marks in the understanding of the Shi‘ites the commemoration of the Prophet's (s.a.a.s.) nomination of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.) as his successor in the political and spiritual leadership of the Muslims. The second and perhaps even more expressive ceremony introduced by the Buyids is the *public* mourning during the first ten days of the lunar month of Muharram in remembrance of the martyrdom of the Prophet's (s.a.a.s.) grandson al-Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.) at Karbala’ in 61/680. The ceremonies reached their climax on the ninth (*tasu‘a*) and tenth (*‘ashura*) day of that month.³⁷ Although this particularly awful event, which is usually also deplored by Sunnites, had been commemorated in the one or other way during pre-Buyid times, its institutionalization helped to strengthen the solidarity among the members of the Twelver community. Both ceremonies, i.e. the remembrance of 'al-Ghadir' and the Muharram-mourning, constitute nowadays integral parts of Shi‘ite social life.

The Buyid rule was furthermore vital for the later historical development of the Twelver Shi‘ah and the further elaboration of its thought. Although the Buyids observed usually tolerance towards the other Muslim creeds, they became particularly known as patrons of the Twelver scholars. Under their protection flourished high-calibre scholars, among them the traditionist Ibn Babawayh, the compiler of one of the four 'canonical' *hadith*-collections of the Twelvers (*al-Kutub al-Arba‘ah*), and the jurist and theologian Shaykh al-Ta‘ifah al-Tusi (385-460/995-1067), who contributed two more collections of Traditions to those 'Four Books'.

Furthermore, the two brothers Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad b. al-Husayn, known as al-Sharif al-Radi (359-406/970-1015),³⁸ and 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Sharif al-Murtada (355-436/967-1044),³⁹ descendants of the Prophet (s.a.a.s.) and Twelvers, had been acclaimed for their expertise and eloquence in the Arabic language. Al-Sharif al-Radi is in particular well-known for his *Nahj al-Balaghah*, a collection of the sermons and speeches which are usually ascribed to 'Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.), whereas al-Sharif al-Murtada is renowned for his contributions towards the principles of jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*). Both of them were furthermore celebrated poets. They were also politically influential, a fact which was symbolized by the bestowment upon them of a variety of high ranking offices by the Buyid rulers, such as that of the *naqib* of the descendants of 'Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.). Al-Mufid's relations with the Buyid authorities too can be considered as cordial. When in 402/1011-12 the eminent Sunnite and Twelver Shi'ite scholars of that time were asked by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qadir (r. 381-422/991-1031) and the Buyids to sign a document, which was to refute the claim of the Isma'ili rulers of Egypt of being descendants of the Prophet (s.a.a.s.), al-Mufid did not hold back with his cooperation.⁴⁰

The achievements of the Buyids with regard to what is usually termed as a 'revival of national feeling' within the context of Iranian history is usually being underestimated, compared with the role played by the much later Safavids.⁴¹ If we were to continue considering the significance of the Buyid period within the framework of Iranian history and the Iranian nation we could continue by stating that the Buyids - although Muslims - re-established 'traditional' Iranian kingship by consciously referring back to the days of the by-gone pre-Islamic Sasanid period. As a matter of fact, the Buyid ruled over much as the same territories as the Sasanids. Their revival of the ancient pre-Islamic Iranian title *Shahanshah*, 'King of the Kings', seems even to point into the same direction. In addition, the re-application of this title seems also to display certain 'secular' tendencies from their part. During the Buyid period, a certain tendency towards political quietism could

be ascribed to Shi'ite scholars, such as Ibn Babawayh, since the latter's friendship with Rukn al-Dawlah seems to indicate an approval from his part for the Buyids' role as *factual* rulers of the Muslims. The Buyids *administered* the affairs of the state in accordance with the demands of the respective prevailing political situation, without claiming the power in the name of the Hidden Imam (a.f.). At any rate, it is beyond any doubt that the course of Iran's history in general, as well as the development scholarship and learning might have taken another direction without Buyid political support, patronage and encouragement in the background.

Notes

- * Dr Marcinkowski is an award-winning German Iranologist. At the time of writing he held the position of Associate Professor of History at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He would like to dedicate the present contribution to Professor Mehdi Mohaghigh as a token of respect. Transliteration has been omitted in this paper in order to facilitate the editing process.

Among Dr Marcinkowski's recently published books are *Persian Historiography and Geography: Bertold Spuler on Major Works Produced in Iran, the Caucasus, Central Asia, India and Early Ottoman Turkey. With a foreword by Professor Clifford Edmund Bosworth* (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional, 2003), furthermore *Measures and Weights in the Islamic World. An English Translation of Professor Walther Hinz's Handbook "Islamische Maße und Gewichte". With a foreword by Professor Clifford Edmund Bosworth* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2003), and his award-winning *Mirza Rafi'a's Dastur al-Muluk: A Manual of Later Safavid Administration. Annotated English Translation, Comments on the Offices and Services, and Facsimile of the Unique Persian Manuscript* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 2002). His latest book entitled *Religion and Politics in Iraq. Shi'ite Clerics between Quietism and Resistance* (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional, 2003) was in press at the time of writing.

- ¹ A comprehensive introduction to the Buyid period is provided by the insightful book by 'Ali Asghar Faqih, *Al-i Buvayh* (n. pl.: Chapkhanah-yi Diba, 1366 solar/1987).
- ² Mesopotamia, or 'Iraq proper', whereas the connotation *al-'Iraq al-'Ajami*, 'Persian Iraq', was applied to the Western and Central Iranian lands. Refer on this distinction to Wilhelm Barthold [Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd], *A Historical Geography of Iran*, trans. Svat Soucek, ed. with an introduction by Clifford Edmund Bosworth (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 124, and Guy Le Strange, *The Land of the Eastern Caliphate. Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Muslim Conquest to the Time of Timur* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp. 185-86.
- ³ W. M. Watt and Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977, paperback edition, Islamic Surveys 4), p. 46.

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- ⁴ Claude Cahen, *Der Islam I. Vom Ursprung bis zu den Anfängen des Osmanenreiches*. (Fischer Weltgeschichte Band 14) (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei GmbH, 1968), pp. 226-30. The today most comprehensive study on the Isma'ili phenomenon is Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis. Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, first paperback edition). Further comprehensive studies have been provided by Wilferd Madelung, "Isma'iliyyah," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 198-206, and M. Canard, "Fatimids," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 2 (1983), pp. 850-62. For specific issues refer to Wilferd Madelung, "Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten," *Der Islam* 34 (1959), pp. 34-88, W. Ivanow, "Ismailis and Qarmatians," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (1940), pp. 43-85, idem, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1939), pp. 1-35, S. M. Stern, "The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxania," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23 (1960), pp. 56-90, idem, "Heterodox Isma'ilism at the Time of al-Mu'izz," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17 (1955), pp. 10-33, idem, "Isma'ili Propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind," *Islamic Culture* 23 (1949), pp. 298-307.
- ⁵ Refer to Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "The Tahirids and Saffarids," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, ed. R. N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 90-135, and R. N. Frye, "The Samanids," in: *ibid.*, pp. 136-61.
- ⁶ Refer to A. A. Vasilev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, reprint), pp. 300-74.
- ⁷ Refer to A. A. Vasilev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, reprint), pp. 300-74.
- ⁸ Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam. The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), pp. 33-34.
- ⁹ See Heribert Busse, "Iran under the Buyids," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, ed. R. N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 253-262.
- ¹⁰ Barthold, *A Historical Geography of Iran*, pp. 230-35, and Le Strange, *The Land of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 173.
- ¹¹ Faqihī, *Al-i Buvayh*, pp. 479-482, Cahen, *Der Islam I. Vom Ursprung bis zu den Anfängen des Osmanenreiches*, pp. 247-48.

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- ¹² For further information on Daylam and the emergence of Buyid power see Busse, "Iran under the Buyids," pp. 253-262, and Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad (333/946-447/1055)* (Calcutta: Iran Society, 1964), pp. 1-6.
- ¹³ Approximately the area between the cities of Kashan, Isfahan and Qumm. On the term *al-Jibal* see Barthold, *A Historical Geography of Iran*, p. 199, and pp. 207-208, and Le Strange, *The Land of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 185-231.
- ¹⁴ Faqihi, *Al-i Buvayh*, p. 120.
- ¹⁵ For further *alqab* that had bestowed upon them them by the caliphs consult Faqihi, *Al-i Buvayh*, pp. 150-151.
- ¹⁶ The literature in Western languages on the significance of *Imamah* in Twelver Shi'ite thought, especially during the formative period, has increased enormously, in particular in the course of the past two decades, a development which had perhaps been stimulated by the political events in Iran, the main stronghold of the Twelvers today. The following selection, although already extensive, reflects only a fraction of the material but gives nevertheless evidence to the today prevailing and at times sharply differing, views on the subject: Wilferd Madelung, "Authority in Twelver Shiism in the Absence of the Imam", in: *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident. Colloques internationaux de la Napoule 1978*, ed. George Makdisi (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982), pp. 163-73, idem, "Shi'ism: The Imamiyyah and the Zaydiyyah", in: *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY: The Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies no. 4, "Bibliotheca Persica"), pp. 77-92, Etan Kohlberg, "From Imamiyya to Ithna'ashariyya", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976), pp. 521-34, Joseph Eliash, "The Ithna'ashari-Shi'i Juristic Theory of Political and Legal Authority," *Studia Islamica* 29 (1969), pp. 17-30, W. M. Watt, "Sidelights on Early Imamite Doctrine," *Studia Islamica* 31 (1971), pp. 286-98, Norman Calder, "Judicial Authority in Imami Shi'i Jurisprudence," *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 6, no. 2 (1979), pp. 104-108, Ann K. S. Lambton, "The Shi'ah: The Imamiyya", *State and Government in Medieval Islam. An Introduction to the study Of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1985), pp. 219-41, Norman Calder, "Doubt and Prerogative: The Emergence of an Imami Shi'i Theology of *Ijtihad*," *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989), pp. 57-78, Jasim M. Husain, "The Role of the Imamite *Wikala* with Special Reference to the first *Safir*," in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 5, no. 4 (Dec. 1982), pp. 25-52, idem, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imam. A Historical Background* (London: The Muhammadi Trust, 1982), Verena Klemm, "Die vier *sufara'* des Zwölften *Imam*. Zur formativen Periode der Zwölfer-si'a," *Die*

Welt des Orients 15 (1984), pp. 126-43, A. Sachedina, "A Treatise on the Occultation of the Twelfth Imamite Im@m," *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978), pp. 108-24, Said Amir Arjomand. "Imam *Abconditus* and the Beginning of a Theology of Occultation. Imami Shi'ism circa 280-90 A.H./900 A.D.," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1997), pp. 1-12, idem, "The Crisis of the Im@mate and the Institution of Occultation in Twelver Shi'ism: A Sociocultural Perspective," in: *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 4 (Nov. 1996), pp. 491-515, idem, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), especially pp. 1-23, 32-45. See also 'Abbas Iqbal, *Khandan-i Naubakhti* (Tehran: Kitabkhaneh-yi Tahuri, 1357solar/1977, 3rd edition), Hossein Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam. Ab, Ja'far ibn Qiba al-Razi and His Contribution to Imamite Shi'ite Thought* (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 1993), especially pp. 1-105, Sayyid Ahmad Kazemi-Moussavi, *Religious Authority in Sh'ite Islam. From the Office of Mufti to the Institution of Marja'* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1996), especially pp. 107 ff., Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism. The Sources of Esoterism in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), Heinz Halm, *Shiism*, trans. Janet Watson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 29-58, Abdoljavad Falaturi, "Die Zwölfer-Schia aus der Sicht eines Schiiten: Probleme ihrer Untersuchung," in: *Festschrift W. Caskel, zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (5. März 1966) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Ed. Erwin Graf (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 62-95. For the point of view of two eminent 20th-century Twelver Shi'ite theologians on the issue of *Imamah* refer to al-Shaykh Muhammad Rida al-Muzaffar, *The Faith of Shi'a Islam* (Dubai: Ahl al-Bayt Foundation, n. d.), pp. 31-46, and al-'Allamah al-Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Al-i Kashif al-Ghita', *The Origin of Shi'ite Islam and its Principles (asl al-shi'ah wa-usuluha)* (Qumm: Ansariyan Publications, 1402 lunar/1982), pp. 42-45 and 48-55.

¹⁷ See Faqih, *Al-i Buvayh*, p. 469, and Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad (333/946-447/1055)*, p. 205.

¹⁸ Faqih, *Al-i Buvayh*, p. 466, and Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad (333/946-447/1055)*, p. 205. Confer Yitzhak Nakash, "An Attempt to Trace the Origin of the Rituals of 'Ashura'," *Die Welt des Islams* 33, no. 2 (1993), pp. 161-81. On the significance of the aforesaid mourning-ceremonies for the contemporary Twelver Shi'ite community see Eckard Neubauer, "Muharram-Bräuche im heutigen Persien," *Der Islam* 49, no. 2 (1972), pp. 249-72, Werner Ende, "The Flagellations of Muharram and the Shi'ite 'Ulama'," *Der Islam* 55, no. 1 (1978), pp. 19-36, and Peter J. Chelkowski (ed.), *Ta'ziyeh. Ritual and Drama in Iran* (New York: New York University Press and Soroush Press, 1979).

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- ¹⁹ Waheed Akhtar, *The Early Imamiyyah Shi'ite Thinkers* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1988), p. 211, describes such incidents and gives several dates for them, most of them at the end of the Buyid rule.
- ²⁰ See on him M. Ismail Marcinkowski, "Twelver Shi'ite Scholarship and Buyid Domination. A Glance on the Life and Times of Ibn Babawayh al-Shaykh al-Saduq," *Islamic Culture* 76, no. 1 (Jan. 2002), pp. 69-99.
- ²¹ Refer to idem, ""Rapprochement and Fealty during the Buyids and Early Saljuqs: The Life and Times of Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Tusi," *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad, Pakistan), vol. 40, no. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 273-96, and idem, "Selected Aspects of the Life and Work of al-Shaykh al-Mufid (336-413/948-1022)," *Hamdard Islamicus* 23, no. 2 (Apr.-Jun. 2000), pp. 41-54.
- ²² See on him M. Ismail Marcinkowski, "Al-Kulayni and his Early Twelver-Shi'ite *Hadith*-Compendium *Al-Kafi*: Selected Aspects of the Part *Al-Usul min al-Kafi*," *Islamic Culture* 74, no. 1 (Jan. 2000), pp. 89-126.
- ²³ Claude Cahen, "Buwayhids or Buyids," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 1 (1986), p. 1354.
- ²⁴ Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, p. 276.
- ²⁵ [Abu 'l-Hasan] Hilal [b. al-Muhassin b. Ab, Ishaq b. Ibrahim b. Zahrun b. Hayyun] al-Sabi, *Rusum Dar al-Khilafah (The Rules and Regulations of the 'Abbasid Court)*, trans. and intro. Elie A. Salem (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Arabic Series) (Beirut: Lebanese Commission for the Translation of Great Works, 1997), p. 1 n. 5 (translator's intro.).
- ²⁶ On the role of the Buyids as patrons of astronomy refer to Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 7. seri, no. 38), pp. 103-58.
- ²⁷ Persian: *bimaristan*. See Heribert Busse, *Chalif und Großkönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1969, Beiruter Texte und Studien 6), pp. 529-532.
- ²⁸ Refer to Cahen, "Buwayhids or Buyids," p. 1354, for further information.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1356.

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- ³⁰ Cahen, "Buwayhids or Buyids," p. 1356, and Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad (333/946-447/1055)*, p. 115. It should be noted that Buyid rule lasted in Fars under a another member of the family until 454/1062.
- ³¹ After the death of the capable 'Adud al-Dawlah Fana Khusraw in 372/983. For a concised desription of that period refer to Cahen, *Der Islam I. Vom Ursprung bis zu den Anfängen des Osmanenreiches*, pp. 246-52.
- ³² On the rise of the Ghaznavids and specic aspects of their rule to Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids. Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994-1040* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1973, 2d ed.), idem, "The Early Ghaznavids," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, pp. 162-97, idem, "The Development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids," *Iran* 6 (1968), pp. 33-44, idem, "The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids," *Oriens* 15 (1962), pp. 210-33, idem, "The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznavids," *Islamic Studies* 1, no. 3 (1962), pp. 49-82.
- ³³ Faqihī, *Al-i Buvayh*, pp. 389-436.
- ³⁴ Cahen, "Buwayhids or Buyids," p. 1355. Refer on the economic decline also to Busse, *Chalif und Großkönig*, pp. 353-401, and Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad (333/946-447/1055)*, pp. 145-66.
- ³⁵ Cahen, "Buwayhids or Buyids," p. 1355.
- ³⁶ Faqihī, *Al-i Buvayh*, p. 469.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 466.
- ³⁸ Refer to Akhtar, *The Early Imamiyyah Shi'ite Thinkers*, pp. 123-175. Valuable material on him is to be found in Al-Mirza al-Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al- Musawi al-Isfahani al-Khwansari, *Rawdat al-Jannat*, 8 vols. (Tehran, Maktabah Isma'iliyan, 1390 AH lunar), vol. 6, pp. 190-209, al-'Allamah Muhammad Muhsin al-Tihriani Agha Buzurg, *Tabaqat A'lam al-Shi'ah*, 4 vols. (Qumm Mu'assasah-yi Isma'iliyan, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 164-65 and Al-Imam al-Sayyid Abu 'l-Qasim al-Musawi al-Khu'i, *Mu'jam Rijal al-Hadith*, 23 vols. (Qumm: Markaz-i Nashr-i Athar-i Shi'ah, 1410 AH lunar), vol. 16, no. 10589, pp. 19-23.
- ³⁹ Refer to Carl Brockelmann, "Al-Murtada" , *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new editon, vol. 7 (1986), p. 634, Akhtar, *The Early Imamiyyah Shi'ite Thinkers*, pp. 177-204, Faqihī, *Al-i Buvayh*, pp.

324-25, Al-Khwansari, *Rawdat al-Jannat*, vol. 4, pp. 294-314, Agha Buzurg, *Tabaqat A'lam al-Shi'ah*, vol. 2, pp. 120-21, Al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Mahdi al-Tabataba'i Bahr al-'Ulum, *Fawa'id al-Rijaliyyah*, 4 vols. (Tehran. Maktabah al-Sadiq, 1363 AH solar), vol. 3, pp. 87-155, Al-Khu'i, *Mu'jam Rijal al-Hadith*, vol. 11, no. 8063, pp. 370-374.

⁴⁰ Martin J. McDermott, *The Theology of Al-Shaykh Al-Mufid* (d. 413/1022) (Beirut: dar el-Machreq, 1986), pp. 20-21, Akhtar, *The Early Imamiyyah Shi'ite Thinkers*, p. 81.

⁴¹ See M. Ismail Marcinkowski, "The Reputed Issue of the 'Ethnic Origin' of Iran's Safavid Dynasty (907-1145/1501-1722): Reflections on Selected Prevailing Views," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 49, no. 2 (Apr.-Jun. 2001), pp. 5-19, and idem, *Mirza Rafi'a's Dastur al-Muluk: A Manual of Later Safavid Administration* (introduction).
