

Index

- 'Abbasids, 32, 33–37, 55, 56, 57
 Abū 'Īsā b. al-Mutawakkil, 53, 56
 family of, 34, 36, 55, 182
 functionaries of, 35, 58, 59, 155, 172,
 176, 178–93
 Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 182
 Ma'mūn, 33, 34, 36, 36, 43
 Muqtadir, 66, 178, 181, 182, 188, 190
 Mu'taḍid, 66, 117
 Mu'tamid, 53, 55, 56, 58, 64
 Rāḍī, 189, 190, 192, 193
 surveillance by, 43, 56, 65, 67, 78, 122
 Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī, 212, 213
 Abū Bakr, first caliph, 204
 Abū Dulaf "the Madman," 212, 213
 Abū Ja'far Muḥammad, son of 'Alī al-Hādī,
 46–48
 Abū Ṭālib, 208
 agents (*wakil*). *See also* envoys
 appointment of, 38, 39, 83, 97, 98, 107,
 108, 122, 125, 126, 131, 140, 156,
 173, 184, 196, 197, 199, 210
 beginnings of, 31
 distinct from scholars, 17
 hereditary succession, 132
 hidden, 122, 123, 142
 hierarchy of, 8, 14, 86, 154, 164
 meaning and usage of, 12
 Aḥmad b. Hilāl al-Karkhī, 125–28, 157, 174
 Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Qummī, 16, 25, 39, 87,
 89, 90, 99, 101–11, 115–19, 125,
 154, 217
 Ahwāz, 89, 132
 'Alī al-Hādī, 26, 37, 38, 42–47, 100, 104,
 144, 149, 155, 157, 163, 198, 216
 tomb of, 135
 'Alī al-Riḍā, Imam, 32–35, 36, 38, 53, 133,
 152
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Imam, 201, 203, 204
 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Jarrāh, 182, 190
 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Imam, 72
 alms taxes (*zakāt*, *khums*), 3, 18, 31, 32, 35,
 40, 95, 98, 109, 111, 116, 118, 121,
 123, 133, 141, 143, 164–66, 169,
 171, 214, 217
 collection, 47
 political nature of, 32, 50
 dispensation from, 33, 165, 166, 171
 misappropriation of, 37, 100, 143, 162,
 164
 'Alyā'iyya, 158, 196
 'Amrī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān,
 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 20, 22, 27, 81–84, 85,
 87, 88, 104, 107, 108, 116, 118,
 120–71, 172–81, 184, 194, 198, 201,
 203, 206, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214,
 215, 217, 218, 219, 220
 age of, 124
 as scholar, 123
 death of, 87, 175
 denied as imposter, 125
 referred to as "the Shaykh," 99
 'Amrī, 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 15,
 27, 42, 49, 81–84, 86, 87, 92, 95,
 105–8, 109, 110, 117, 120, 124, 125,
 132, 156, 158, 217

- death of, 84, 129, 138
 referred to as “the Shaykh,” 99
- angels, 50, 147, 161, 162, 199
- Ansari, Hassan, 24
- ‘Aqīd the eunuch, 38, 70, 75, 76, 87, 95,
 108, 115, 154, 179, 180, 182, 187,
 206, 217, 219
- Arjomand, Said, 8–9, 39, 122, 137, 138,
 169, 176
- Asadī, Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Ja‘far,
 agent, 89, 94, 99, 139–42, 161–64,
 165, 170
 death date, 141
- Asatryan, Mushegh, 31, 147, 158
- Ash‘arī tribe, 104
- assassination, 48, 51
- authority
 bureaucratic, 17, 46, 123, 160, 218
 charismatic, 28, 45, 46, 73, 148–55, 160,
 207, 217, 220, 221
 mediation of, 26, 44, 78, 146, 158, 170,
 218
 of Gates, 147, 148
 of non-envoy agents, 163
 performance of, 44, 112, 144
 succession to, 172
 epistemic, 17, 40, 111, 210, 214, 215
- ‘Ayniyya, 196
- Ayyūb b. Nūḥ, agent, 49
- bāb*, *bābiyya*. *See* Gate
- badā’*, 47
- Badr the eunuch, 75, 76, 115, 154, 217
- Baghdad, 36, 36, 43, 77, 84, 88, 94, 95, 96,
 98, 99, 100, 112, 113–19, 140, 151,
 153, 154, 173, 176, 178, 179, 181,
 185, 188, 193, 197, 208, 211, 213,
 215, 220, 221, 225
- Balkh, 88
- Bāqitānī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh (?), 151–52, 155,
 158, 159, 176
- barā’*a. *See* excommunication
- Basra, 33, 58, 65, 187, 214
- bāṭin* (esoteric), 201, 205
- bay‘*a (pledge of allegiance), 168
- Bayhom-Daou, Tamima, 50
- bequest. *See* *waṣīyya*
- Bilālī, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Bilāl,
 88, 142–48, 170
- Biṣṭāmīd family, 189, 191, 194, 199–202,
 203, 213
- caliph. *See* ‘Abbasids; Umayyads
- canonization, statements articulating, 23,
 24, 36, 63, 82, 83, 130
- conversion, 121, 131, 132, 136, 137, 138,
 139, 208, 217
- Crone, Patricia, 29
- crucifixion, 205
- cursing (*la‘n*), 45, 49, 143, 144, 157,
 161–63, 174, 184, 188, 189, 196,
 197–200, 202, 204, 213, 219
- curtain (*satr*, *ḥijāb*), 43, 71, 112
- delegationism. *See* *tafwīd*
- Dhukā’ the eunuch, 179, 180, 206
- ḍidd* (the opposite), 196, 204, 204
- Dīnawar, 95, 96, 151
- Donkey faction (*ḥimāriyya*), 48, 210
- Dustūr al-munajjimīn*, 58, 64, 65,
 68
- Elad, Amikam, 31
- elite retainers (*khawāṣṣ*), 43, 104,
 110
- endowments. *See* *waqf*
- envoys (*saḥfīn*)
 canonical sequence of, 4
 canonization of, 4, 11, 27, 87, 116, 207,
 214
 conducting funerary rites for Imam, 55
 end of, 211–14
 four envoy paradigm, 5, 9–12, 20, 21, 82,
 83, 84, 98, 109, 116, 118, 126
- Imam as, 147
- meaning of, 9
- noncanonical, 86, 98, 141. *See also*
 Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Qummi; Abū
 Dulaf “the Madman”; Ḥājiz b. Yazīd
 al-Washshā’
- skepticism about, 7. *See also* Aḥmad
 b. Hilāl al-Karkhī; Bilālī, Abū Ṭāhir
 succession, 172
- theological conception of authority of,
 147
- excommunication (*barā’*a), 19, 48, 144,
 157, 189, 202, 213
- Faḍl b. Shādhān, Imami scholar, 50
- Fāris b. Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī, renegade agent,
 49, 51, 114, 140, 144, 198
- Fāṭima, daughter of Prophet Muḥammad,
 196, 199, 201, 203

244 Index

- Gate (*bāb*), 11, 27, 46, 47, 109, 110, 121, 123, 143, 148–59, 163, 170, 194, 195, 197, 207, 212, 213, 216, 220.
See also authority:charismatic
 during Imamate of Hādī, 45–46
ghuluww. *See* heterodoxy
 Gleave, Robert, 29
- Haider, Najam, 24
 Ḥājiz b. Yazid al-Washshā', agent, 70, 88, 89, 90, 93–100, 105, 115, 116, 118, 125, 132, 140–42, 154, 160
 Ḥajj, 77, 108, 115, 151, 153, 168, 169
 Ḥakīma, sister of Imam Hādī, 67, 71
 Ḥallāj, al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr, 46, 184, 192, 202
 Halm, Heinz, 158
 Ḥāmīd b. al-ʿAbbās, ʿAbbasid vizier, 184, 186
 handwriting, 129, 160, 198, 218
 as proof, 50, 82, 83, 130
 Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, Imam, 1, 7, 42, 45, 46, 47–51, 52, 55, 58, 100, 104, 125, 126, 168, 210, 216, 217, 218
 death of, 2, 53–58
 doubts regarding Imamate of, 49
 infertility of, 50
 tomb of, 135
ḥayra (perplexity), 80, 151
 heterodoxy (*ghuluww*), 13, 45, 49, 50, 114, 147, 148, 149, 151, 155, 156, 159, 170, 196, 200, 202, 213, 215
al-Hidāya al-kubrā. *See* Khaṣībī, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān
 hierocracy, 14–17
 Hijāz, 77, 115
 Ḥimyarī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, 25, 105–8, 127, 168
 Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, 30
 Hodgson, Marshall, 29
 Ḥudayth, mother of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, 27, 57–62, 64–67, 69–74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 84, 138, 156, 157, 164, 171, 177, 217, 219
 Ḥulwān, 108, 109, 116
 Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Imam, 72
 Hussain, Jassim, 99, 177
- Iblīs, 196, 204, 205
 Ibn Abī al-Shawārib, 64, 65
 Ibn Bābūya al-Qummī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, 10, 22
 birth of, 22, 220
 depiction of Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAmrī, 116, 120, 124
Kamāl al-dīn wa-tamām al-niʿma, 10
 synthesizing Occultation accounts, 78, 120
 Ibn Barniyya, Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad, 22, 82, 83, 84, 86
 Ibn al-Furāt, ʿAlī, ʿAbbasid vizier, 181–88, 190, 197
 Ibn al-Furāt, Muḥassin, 185, 186, 187, 190
 Ibn Hammām al-Iskāfī, Abū ʿAlī, 83, 125, 126, 176, 197, 198, 204
 Ibn Ḥasaka, ʿAlī, 13
 Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, 65, 68
 Ibn Khāqān, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, ʿAbbasid vizier, 65
 Ibn Mahziyār, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, agent, 131–39, 164
 Ibn Mattīl, Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad, 173
 Ibn Muqla, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, ʿAbbasid vizier, 185, 189, 190, 191, 193
 Ibn Nuṣayr, 45, 73, 109, 152, 157, 158
 as Gate (*bāb*), 73
 cursed by Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAmrī, 157
 Gatehood of, 156, 158
 Ibn Rustum al-Ṭabarī, the younger, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr, 89, 108, 109, 110, 123, 150, 154, 155, 156, 220
- Imamate
 as materially embedded, 2
 beginnings of, 30
 by acclamation, 35
 father-to-son succession, 28–31
 of a minor, 36, 44
 testing knowledge for, 40, 48, 76, 101, 102, 209–11, 215
- Imami community, 18
 Imams. *See* individual names
 imprisonment, 53, 66, 172, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 196, 197, 198, 200, 202, 205, 206, 215
 inheritance. *See* *mīrāth*
 innovation, discomfort with, 24
 institutionalization, 31, 32, 33, 37, 171, 172
 institutions
 definition of, 19
 dynamics visible even in unreliable reports, 23
 Iqbāl, ʿAbbās, 177

- Ishāq al-Aḥmar, 151, 152, 158
 Ishāqiyya. *See* Ishāq al-Aḥmar
 Ismā'il b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 47
 Ismailism, 114, 121, 194, 218
Itbbāt al-waṣiyya, 49, 195
- Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Imam, 3, 18, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 40, 47, 77, 147
 Ja'far b. 'Alī "the Liar," 1–2, 42, 46–49, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74, 77, 78, 80, 81, 92, 93, 95–96, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 114, 118, 121, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 167, 169, 210, 217, 219
 appeal to caliph, 57
 Jibāl, 48, 118, 140, 164
- Kāfūr the eunuch, 108
 Kashshī, Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Umar, 4, 38, 48, 49, 50, 82, 88, 124, 132, 143
 hadith knowledge as criterion for leadership, 220
 Kaysāniyya, 218
 Khaṣībī, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, 21, 43, 46, 55, 74, 75, 76, 97, 100, 103, 109, 133, 155, 156, 157, 158, 173, 188, 210, 220
khums. *See* alms taxes
Kitāb al-tanbīh, 85, 86. *See* Nawbakhtī, Abū Sahl
kitmān, 92, 122, 200
 Klemm, Verena, 6, 8, 15, 91, 170, 175, 176
 Kufa, 77, 88, 100, 113, 114, 196
 Kulaynī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb
 depiction of Abū Ja'far al-'Amrī, 124, 160
 depiction of 'Uthmān b. Sa'id al-'Amrī, 82
 hadith knowledge as criterion for leadership, 220
 lack of four-envoy paradigm, 82
 mention of rescripts (*tawqī'āt*), 160
- legacy. *See* waṣiyya
 letters, 39, 48, 50, 74, 81, 84, 86, 90, 96, 103, 121, 122, 128, 149, 153, 161–66, 187, 189, 190, 191, 208, 218
 blessings, 22
 rescripts (*tawqī'āt*), 10, 45, 73, 81, 82, 83, 88, 90, 94, 97–99, 109, 111, 116, 118, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135–39, 140–41, 144, 145, 159–69, 171, 175, 197, 198, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 221
 lettrism, 208
- Mahdī, 5, 29, 47, 63, 93, 100, 103, 156
masā'il (responsa), 83, 103, 104, 123, 136, 145, 161, 163, 168, 207, 209, 210, 214
 Massignon, Louis, 183
 Mecca, 168
 Medina, 43, 57, 71, 77, 112, 115
 Merv, 88, 98
 Messiah, Christian, 202
 Mīmiyya, 196
mīrāth (inheritance), 57–62, 65, 74, 105, 107, 164
 Modarressi, Hossein, 8, 23, 40, 49, 65, 68, 91
 Moses, 204
 Mosul, 185, 188, 197
 mother of hidden Imam
 names, 63
 Narjis, 63, 67, 75
 pregnancy of, 27, 58, 59, 60, 61, 70, 75, 78, 79, 80, 97, 122, 143, 177, 217
 Ṣaqīl, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 75, 78
 Mottahedeh, Roy, 19
 Mu'āwiya, 204
mubāhala, 185, 189–90, 196, 204–5
muḥawwida. *See* *tafwīd*
 Mufid, al-Shaykh Muḥammad
 b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mānī al-'Ukbarī, 10, 60, 62, 221
al-Fuṣūl al-'ashara fī al-ghayba, 60–62
 Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 28, 40, 162
 Muḥammad al-Jawād, 36, 36, 42, 44, 61, 100, 104
 daughter of, 112
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, 213, 214
 Muḥammad, Prophet, 204
mukhamissa. *See* pentadism
 Mu'nis the Victor, 182, 187
 Mūsā al-Kāzīm, Imam, 30, 32, 33, 34, 37, 53, 144
- Nafs al-Zakiyya, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, 28
nāhiya, 98, 99, 112, 113, 116, 117, 119, 124, 133, 134, 135, 140, 143, 146, 154, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 169, 171, 178, 179, 197, 207
 meaning of, 90–92
 not used for agents before Occultation era, 92
naqīb (syndic) of the Hāshimites, 100
 Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, 188

246 Index

- naṣṣ*, 30, 35, 82, 120, 122, 126, 130–31, 174, 206, 211, 214
- Nawbakhtī family, 7, 14, 15, 66, 170, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 202
- Nawbakhtī, Abū Sahl, 7, 10, 20, 81, 85, 87, 105, 121, 154, 158, 173, 177, 209, 212
- Kitāb al-tanbih*, 81, 85–87, 121–23, 131, 141, 142, 160, 177, 212
- Nawbakhtī, al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā, 28, 29
- Nawbakhtī, Ibn Rawḥ, 4, 6, 15, 22, 66, 125, 131, 137, 146, 147, 148, 149, 159, 161, 164, 172–211, 214, 215, 219
- as scholar, 208
- death date, 172
- networks, 25
- Nishapur, 77, 90
- Nu'mānī, Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab, 10, 20, 212, 214, 220
- Nuṣayrīs, 73, 100, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 195, 207
- conceptions of authority, 73
- Occultations (*ghayba*), canonization of two, 212
- pentadism (*mukhamissa*), 196, 199, 203–5, 212
- periodization, 3, 5, 7
- of Twelver Occultation, 20
- Pharaoh, 204
- pilgrimage, 3, 74, 75, 134, 169
- prison. *See* imprisonment
- prohibition on naming the hidden Imam, 85, 93, 107, 122, 167
- proof, God's (*hujja*), 45, 106
- Qāḍī, 58, 62, 64, 65
- qā'im* (epithet of Mahdī), 82, 93, 212
- Qajars, 15
- Qarāmiṭa, 164, 183, 187, 188, 193
- Qazwīn, 47
- quietism, 12, 13, 31, 33, 35, 37
- Qumm, 13, 16, 40, 70, 77, 89, 95, 101–5, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 133, 153, 169, 177, 209, 210, 214, 215, 220, 221
- Rayy, 77, 89, 90, 94, 99, 139, 140, 141, 220
- reports (*akhbār*, hadith), 6, 40
- methodology for analyzing, 24
- scholars of, 72, 73
- Sunni, 25
- written versus eyewitness, 71
- rescripts. *See* letters: rescripts
- ritual, 52, 111, 123, 169
- funeral prayer for Imam, 53–57, 95
- funerary, 53, 55, 57, 58, 69, 75, 78, 95
- washing corpse, 53, 55, 108
- Riwāyat majlis Ibn Khāqān*, 62, 64
- sacred economy, 2, 18
- Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī, 29, 51
- ṣadaqa*. *See* alms taxes
- Safavids, 15
- saḥīr*. *See* envoys
- Samarra, 42, 43, 47, 57, 58, 59, 65–67, 75, 76, 77, 87, 88, 89, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101–3, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 115–19, 135, 152–54, 169
- house of Imams in, 1–3, 134
- burial, 69
- Samurī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, 4, 209–14
- Ṣaqīl. *See* mother of hidden Imam
- scholar
- working definition of, 17
- seals (*khawātim*), 2, 179, 180, 218
- Shalmaghānī, 45, 46, 94, 148, 149, 172, 181–209, 212, 213, 215, 220
- as scholar, 209
- Kitāb al-ta'dīb*, 209
- Kitāb al-taklīf*, 209
- Sharī'ī, 45
- Sijpesteijn, Petra, 31
- succession. *See* *naṣṣ*
- Sufyānī, 211
- sun behind clouds as metaphor for hidden Imam, 168
- tafwīd* (delegationism), 123, 142–48, 158, 167, 170, 212, 213, 219
- Takim, Liyakat, 39
- Ṭālibids, 100, 112, 194
- taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation), 93, 121, 178
- tawqī'āt*. *See* letters: rescripts
- thiqa* (Imam's trusted associate), 85, 86, 106, 121, 122, 129, 141, 143, 154, 174, 175

Index

247

- Tūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, 45
 depiction of the envoys, 10–11
 Twelver Imams, list of, 3
- Umayyads, 32
- Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān
 al-‘Amrī, 174–75, 177, 198–202,
 205, 206, 210, 213
- van Ess, Josef, 30
- viziers (*wazīr*), 55, 56, 58, 65, 159, 174, 180,
 181, 182, 184, 186, 189, 190, 191,
 193, 197
- voice, disembodied, 135
- wakīl*. *See* agents
- waqf*, 38, 61, 62, 70, 71, 74, 89, 104, 163,
 164, 171, 178
- Wāqifa, 32, 37, 53, 133, 144, 218
- Wardrop, Shona, 36, 39
- waṣīyya*, 2, 30, 35, 38, 50, 59–62, 70–73, 74,
 79, 103, 120, 130–31, 164, 171, 173,
 174, 194, 195, 206–7, 211, 212
- zakāt*. *See* alms taxes
- Zaynab bt. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 72
- zuhd* (asceticism), 221
- Zurāra b. A‘yan, 40
- Zurārī, Abū Ghālib, 178, 196, 197, 208