

TWELVER-SHĪTE RESOURCES IN EUROPE

The Shī'ite Collection at the Oriental Department of the University of Cologne, the *Fonds* Henry Corbin and the *Fonds* Shaykhī at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE), Paris.
With a Catalogue of the *Fonds* Shaykhī*

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RÉSUMÉ

L'intérêt grandissant que suscite l'islam shī'ite en général et le shī'isme duodécimain ou imamite en particulier ainsi que la difficulté d'accès de plus en plus grande aux bibliothèques dans les centres intellectuels traditionnels du shī'isme (en l'occurrence en Iran et en Irak) sont les principales raisons de ce travail bibliographique à savoir la présentation des principaux fonds imamites de l'Europe: la collection shī'ite du Département Oriental de l'Université de Cologne, le Fonds Henry Corbin et le Fonds Shaykhī de la Section des Sciences Religieuses de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes de Paris. Etant donnée l'importance de la littérature Shaykhī dans l'histoire de la pensée imamite moderne et le fait qu'elle est restée quasiment inexplorée, le catalogue complet du Fonds Shaykhī est également présenté. Enfin, un appendice est consacré au problème de la censure dans certaines éditions récentes, faites en pays shī'ites, des sources anciennes et la nécessité du recours aux vieilles éditions ou aux manuscrits dont un grand nombre se trouve dans les collections européennes mentionnées.

Mots-clés: shī'isme, imamisme, catalogues, Fonds Henry Corbin, Fonds Shaykhī, Fonds de l'Université de Cologne.

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ABSTRACT

The growing interest for shi'ite islam in general and for twelver shi'ism in particular, as well as the growing difficulty of access to libraries in the traditional intellectual centers of shi'ism (namely in Iran and Irak) are the main reasons of the present bibliographical work. The latter consists in the presentation of the main imamite collections in Europe: the shi'ite collection of the Oriental Department of the University of Cologne, as well as the Henry Corbin and Shaykhī collections in the Religious Sciences Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. Considering the importance of the Shaykhī literature in the history of modern imamite thought and keeping in mind that it is almost unexplored, the complete catalogue of the Shaykhī collection is also presented. Lastly, an appendix deals with the problem of censorship of older sources in some recent editions, prepared in two shi'ite countries, and with the necessity of resorting to older editions or to manuscripts which, to a large extent, are preserved in the above-mentioned European collections.

Key-words: shi'ism, imamism, catalogues, Henry Corbin collection, Shaykhī collection, University of Cologne collection.

1.

The study of Twelver Shī'ism in the West has traditionally lagged behind that of mainstream Sunnite Islam. This was mainly due to the paucity of available texts but also to the misapprehension of Shī'ism entertained by Sunnism and adopted by Western scholars¹.

In recent decades considerable progress has been made in the study of Twelver Shī'ism. Within the field of Imāmī theology and philosophy this advance was mainly due to the efforts of Henry Corbin (1903-1978), who was the first to point out the importance of Imāmī contributions to the development of Islamic philosophy when the latter had already ceased to exist in the Sunnite world. Despite the indisputable significance of Corbin's contributions to the study of Imāmism, he considered himself to be a philosopher rather than an Orientalist. His approach to

¹ For an overview of Western studies of the Twelvers from the 12th to the mid 20th centuries, see E. Kohlberg, «Western Studies of Shī'a Islam», M. Kramer (ed.), *Shī'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*, Boulder, London, 1987 (repr. in E. Kohlberg, *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, 1991, part II).

the study of Shī'ism was phenomenological rather than historic². His efforts as well as his approach to the study of Imāmī intellectual history was shared to some extent and continued by Seyyed Hossein Nasr³.

Wilferd Madelung made important contributions to the study of Imāmism in a number of fields. In a paper delivered at the first international colloquium devoted entirely to Twelver Shī'ism which took place in 1968 in Strasbourg he outlined the development of Shī'ite *kalām* pointing out the importance of the Imāmī theologians in adopting and preserving the Mu'tazilite teachings which soon died out in Sunnite Islam⁴. His advance proposed a more historical approach to the study of Imāmī theology and philosophy than was suggested by Corbin and gave rise to a number of detailed studies by some of his students on the significance of Shī'ite theology for the development of Islamic theology⁵.

² After his decease numerous evaluations of his work have been written; among them D. Shayegan, *Henry Corbin. La topographie spirituelle de l'Islam iranien*, Paris, 1990; id., «Corbin, Henry», *Encycl. Iranica*, VI, pp. 268-272; P. Lory, «Henry Corbin: his work and influence», S.H. Nasr and O. Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, London, New York, 1996, II, pp. 1149-1155. The phenomenological method as well as Corbin's interpretation of Shī'ism as the spiritual element of Islam has been often criticised; see for example E. Meyer, «Tendenzen der Schiaforschung: Corbins Auffassung von der Schia», *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975*, ZDMG, Supplementa, III (1), 1977. For a complete bibliography of Corbin's works, see Ch. Jambet, «La Bibliographie de Henry Corbin», Ch. Jambet (ed.), *Henry Corbin*, (Cahiers de l'Herne), Paris, 1981.

³ These efforts resulted in the publication of a two volume overview of the history of Islamic philosophy bearing tribute to this approach; S.H. Nasr and O. Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, London, New York, 1996. Cf. also the review by F. Niewöhner, «Platons muslimische Söhne. Mystik statt Aristotelismus: Eine neue Sicht der islamischen Philosophie», *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18.6.96. For a bibliography of Nasr's works, cf. M. Aminrazavi and Z. Moris (eds.), *The Complete Bibliography of the Works of Seyyed Hossein Nasr. From 1958 Through April 1993*, Kuala Lumpur, 1994.

⁴ W. Madelung, «Imāmism and Mu'tazilite Theology», T. Fahd (ed.), *Le Shī'isme imāmīte*, Paris, 1970. A number of Madelung's most important studies on Twelver Shī'ism have been reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1985 (containing 9 articles on Imāmī Shī'ism). In addition to these, see especially his «'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī», *JNES*, 40, 1981; «New documents concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and 'Alī al-Riḍā», W. al-Qāḍī (ed.), *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Ihsān 'Abbās*, Beirut, 1981; «The Sufyānī between Tradition and History», *Studia Islamica*, 63, 1986. A consulting editor of the *Encycl. Iranica*, he has furthermore contributed extensively on Shī'ism to that encyclopaedia and to the *EP*.

⁵ M.J. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)*, Beirut, 1978. S. Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)*, Berlin, 1991; id., «The

Madelung was furthermore among those who showed that the thesis of some Western scholars, who maintained that according to Imāmī belief all government in the absence of the Imām is inescapably illegitimate, is not supported by the evidence of the writings of the Imāmī jurists during the greater occultation (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) on this issue⁶.

Since the political events of the late 1970s in Iran and Lebanon, further valuable contributions to the study of Imāmism were made by a number of prolific scholars on the religious, political, and social history of Twelver Shī'ism, among them M.A. Amir-Moezzi⁷, S.A. Arjomand⁸, M. Ayoub⁹, N. Calder¹⁰, J. Calmard¹¹, E. Kohlberg¹², H. Modarressi

Influence of Šams al-Dīn Šahrzūrī (7th/13th century) on Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. after 904/1499)», L. Edzard and Ch. Szyska (eds.), *Encounters of Words and Texts: Intercultural Studies in Honor of Stefan Wild on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday. Presented by His Pupils in Bonn*, Hildesheim, 1997. A detailed study of the theology of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī is currently under preparation by Sabine Schmidtke.

⁶ W. Madelung, «A Treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā of the Legality of Working for the Government (*Mas'ala fī l-'amal ma'a l-sulṭān*)», *BSOAS*, 43, 1980 (= *Religious Schools and Sects*, part IX); id., «Authority in Twelver Shiism in the Absence of the Imam», *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident. Colloques internationaux de la Napoule 1978*, Paris, 1982 (= *Religious Schools and Sects*, part X). M.A. Amir-Moezzi has shown that these two notions, the influence of the Mu'tazilites as well as the collaboration with the political establishment, i.e., even exercising political power, characterize only the "theological/juridical/rational" tendency within Imāmism, not, however, Imāmism in general.

⁷ See for example his *Le Guide divin dans le shī'isme originel. Aux sources de l'éso-térisme en Islam*, Paris, Lagrasse, 1992 (= *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism. The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, tr. D. Streight, Albany, 1994), as well as a recently published series entitled «Aspects de l'imāmologie duodécimaine I to III»: «Remarques sur la divinité de l'Imām», *Studia Iranica*, 25 (2), 1996; «Contribution à la typologie des rencontres avec l'imām caché», *JA*, 284, 1996; «L'imām dans le ciel. Ascension et initiation», M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'islam. Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels*, Louvain, Paris, 1996.

⁸ See for example his *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago, London, 1984; «The Crisis of the Imamate and the Institution of Occultation in Twelver Shi'ism: a Sociohistorical Perspective», *IJMES*, 28, 1996; see also his *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, Albany, 1988 (collective work).

⁹ See for example his *Redemptive Suffering in Islām. A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Ashūrā' in Twelver Shi'ism*, The Hague, etc., 1978; «Divine Preordination and Human Hope. A Study of the Concept of *badā'* in Imāmī Shi'ī Tradition», *JAOS*, 106 (4), 1986; «The Speaking Qur'ān and the Silent Qur'ān. A Study of the Principles and Development of Imāmī Tafsi'r», A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988.

¹⁰ See for example his *The Structure of authority in Imami Shi'i jurisprudence*, PhD

(Tabataba'ī)¹³, A.J. Newman¹⁴, A.A. Sachedina¹⁵, to mention only a few¹⁶. This advance in the study of Twelver Shī'ism allowed for the publication of a number of works providing a well founded overview of the

thesis, London 1979; «Zakāt in Imāmī Shī'ī jurisprudence, from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D.», *BSOAS*, 44 (3), 1981; «Khums in Imāmī Shī'ī jurisprudence, from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D.», *BSOAS*, 45 (1), 1982; «Doubt and Prerogative: the Emergence of an Imāmī Shī'ī Theory of *Ijtihād*», *Studia Islamica*, 70, 1989.

¹¹ See for example his «Le chiisme imamite en Iran à l'époque seldjoukide d'après le *Kitāb al-naqḍ*», *Le Monde iranien et l'islam*, 1, 1971; «Les 'olamā', le pouvoir et la société en Iran: le discours ambigu de la hiérocrite», J.P. Digard (ed.), *Le Cuisinier et le Philosophe: Hommage à Maxime Rodinson*, Paris, 1982; «Les universités théologiques du shiisme imāmīte», M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Lieux d'islam. Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, Paris, 1996; see also his *Études safavides*, Paris, Tehran, 1993 (collective work).

¹² See for example his *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, 1991; *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library*, Leiden, 1992; «Authoritative Scriptures in Early Imāmī Shī'ism», E. Patlagean and A. Le Boulleuc (eds.), *Les retours aux Ecritures. Fondamentalismes présents et passés*, Louvain, Paris, 1993; «Taqiyya in Shī'ī Theology and Religion», H.G. Kippenberg and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions*, Leiden, etc., 1995.

¹³ See for example his *An Introduction to Shī'ī Law. A Bibliographical Study*, London, 1984; *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī'ite Islam. Abū Ja'far ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and his Contribution to Imāmīte Shī'ite Thought*, Princeton, 1993; «Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur'an. A Brief Survey», *Studia Islamica*, 77, 1993.

¹⁴ See for example his *The Development and Political Significance of the Rationalist (usulī) and Traditionalist (akhbārī) School in Imāmī Shī'ī History from the Third/Ninth to the Tenth/Sixteenth Century A.D.*, PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986; «The nature of the Akhbārī/uṣūlī dispute in late Safawid Iran. Part 1: 'Abdallāh al-Samāhijī's *Munyat al-mumārīsīn*», *BSOAS*, 55 (1); «The nature of the Akhbārī/uṣūlī dispute in late Safawid Iran. Part 2: The conflict Reassessed», *BSOAS*, 55 (2), 1992; «The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Ṣafawid Iran: Arab Shiite Opposition to 'Alī al-Karakī and Safawid Shiism», *Die Welt des Islams*, 33, 1993.

¹⁵ See for example his «A Treatise on the Occultation of the Twelfth Imāmīte Imam», *Studia Islamica*, 48, 1978; *Islamic Messianism: the Idea of the Mahdī in Twelver Shī'ism*, Albany, 1981; *The just-ruler (al-sulṭān al-'ādil) in Shī'ite Islam*, Albany, 1988.

¹⁶ Among the scholars who also made some valuable contributions to the study of Twelver-Shī'ism are in England: J. Cooper, J. Eliash, J.M. Hussain, S.H.M. Jafry, W.M. Watt. In France: C. Cahen, D. Sourdel, G. Vajda. In Germany: P. Antes, W. Ende, J. van Ess, A. Falaturi, V. Klemm, H. Löschner, E. Meyer. In Israel: S. Pines, U. Rubin as well as E. Kohlberg's pupils such as M. Bar-Asher and A. Gribetz. In Italy: L. Vecchia Vaglieri and his "school", D. Amaldi, A. Arioli, G. Scarcia, A. Scarcia-Amoretti. In the United States: W. Chittick, T.B. Lawson, M. Moosa, R. Mottahedeh, Y. Nakash, W.F. Tucker.

historical, intellectual and spiritual development of this branch of Islam¹⁷.

One of the major obstacles in the study of Shī'ism today is the difficulty in getting hold of the relevant texts. Many of the important writings are available only in manuscripts still awaiting critical edition, whereby the bulk of manuscripts of Imāmī writings is held mostly in the numerous private and public libraries in Iran as well as the Shī'ite centres in Iraq. Although many Imāmī writings on legal and theological matters have been edited in Iran since the 'Islamic' revolution in 1979, these editions usually do not meet the standards of critical editions and often are not altogether reliable. Students are always advised to refer back to the manuscripts or to the lithograph editions of the texts, if available, which were produced towards the end of the 19th century. (See appendix) These old editions constitute nowadays the most important sources for the study of Twelver Shī'ism. However, they are rarely to be found in Western libraries.

Within Western Europe there are three major collections containing important Shī'ite writings which shall be presented in the following pages:

These are the Shī'ite collection at the Oriental department of the University of Cologne, the *Fonds Henry Corbin*, and the *Fonds Shaykhī* at the library of the *Section des sciences religieuses* of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE)* in Paris.

2.

The idea of establishing a collection of Twelver Shī'ite books in Cologne originated with Abdoljavad Falaturi (1926-1996), himself a

¹⁷ See for example H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Munich, etc., 1982; id., *Die Schia*, Darmstadt, 1988; id., *Der schiitische Islam. Von der Religion zur Revolution*, München, 1994. M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam. The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism*, New Haven, London, 1985. On mysticism, see R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden, 1981. For the modern period, see Y. Richard, *Le Shi'isme en Iran. Imam et révolution*, Paris, 1980 (= *Der verborgene Imam. Die Geschichte der Schia in Iran*, Berlin, 1989); id., *L'islam chi'ite. Croyances et idéologies*, Paris, 1991.

Shī'ite of Iranian origin¹⁸, who donated a number of his private books to the library in the early sixties. These constituted the cornerstone of what would become the most important collection of Shī'ite materials in the West. He convinced Erwin Gräf, the director of the Oriental Department at the University of Cologne at the time, of the need for Western scholars to have access to Shī'ite writings and could win him over for the idea of establishing a Shī'ite collection. Between 1965 and 1969 Falaturi undertook several journeys to Iran, where he purchased about 4.000 volumes from private collections and from specialist bookshops mainly in Mashhad, Isfahan and Tehran. As the University library at Cologne helped finance these acquisitions, there are, strictly speaking, two collections, the Shī'ite collection of the Oriental Department and the collection of the University library. However, in practice both collections are held together at the Oriental Department. Falaturi was also responsible for the steady growth of the library in the 1970s and 1980s¹⁹.

The objectives in establishing such a library were the following: On the one hand, materials on Shī'ite Islam, most of which were hitherto either unknown or impossible to find in the West, should be made easily accessible to Western orientalists. On the other, Falaturi sought to provide through this library a scientific forum for the continuation of inner-Islamic efforts to oppose prejudice and eliminate emotional quarrels between the various branches of Islam and thus to enhance the dialogue between spiritual leaders of Sunna and Shī'a which was at its height in the 1960s²⁰.

Since a first report on the library was given in 1968 on the occasion of the 17th German Congress of Orientalists in Würzburg (21-27 July

¹⁸ On him, see N. Kermani, «Das Antlitz Gottes ist überall. Den Koransuren treu: Zum Tod des iranischen Gelehrten Abdoljavad Falaturi», *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.1.1996.

¹⁹ On the history of the collection, see A. Falaturi, «Programmmentwurf für die Schia-Forschung mit einem Bericht über die Kölner Schia-Bibliothek», *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975*, *ZDMG*, Supplementa, III (1), 1977. K.A. Arjomand, «Die Schia-Bibliothek des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität zu Köln», *ZDMG*, 146, 1996.

²⁰ Cf. A. Falaturi, «Die Schia-Bibliothek in Köln», *Spektrum Iran*, 9 (1), 1996. On the relations between the Azhar-University and the Shī'ite clergy and the various attempts to find a mutual approach (*taqrīb*) between the Sunnite and the Shī'ite branches within Islam during the 20th century, see R. Brunner, *Annäherung und Distanz. Schia, Azhar und die islamische Ökumene im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1996.

1968)²¹ the number of scholars consulting the library has grown steadily.

Given the large number of books, most of which are old lithograph editions published towards the end of the 19th century, the preparation of a catalogue of the collection was no easy task. In 1969 Friedrich Kaltz began to catalogue the material. From 1979 onwards, his work was continued first by Wolf-Dieter Lemke and since the late 1980s by Kamran Amir Arjomand. In 1988 the most important works of the collection were presented in a one-volume catalogue²². Although this provided some orientation to those interested in the collection, the bulk of the materials was yet not included. In 1996 a second edition of this catalogue, comprising six volumes, replaced the former catalogue²³. The new edition lists all books of the collection which are either written by Imāmīs or are of direct relevance to the study of Imāmism²⁴.

The collection consists today of about 10.000 volumes which cover basically all areas of significance, such as *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, *kalām*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, philosophy, mysticism, ethics, biography and polemics. It also contains Shaykhī (as well as Bahā'ī) writings. There are a significant number of rarities among the books such as *fatwa* collections as well as some facsimile editions of manuscripts from Iranian libraries²⁵.

The library attempts to purchase regularly newly published books in order to cover also more recent developments in Shī'ite Islam as well as Iranian culture. However, funding is an ever-present problem.

²¹ A. Falaturi, «Die Bedeutung der Schia-Forschung für die islamischen Wissenschaften samt einem Bericht über die Schia-Forschung in Köln», *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1968*, ZDMG, Supplementa I (2), 1969.

²² *Katalog der Bibliothek der schiitischen Schrifttums im Orientalischen Seminar der Universität zu Köln*, ed. A. Falaturi, München, 1988.

²³ *Catalogue of the Shi'ite Collection in the Oriental Department of the University of Cologne*, compiled by K.A. Arjomand, ed. A. Falaturi, München, etc., 1996.

²⁴ Several hundred volumes with no relevance for the study of Twelver Shī'ism are not included in the catalogue.

²⁵ See also A. Falaturi, «Die Schia-Bibliothek», pp. 56-57; K.A. Arjomand, «Die Schia-Bibliothek», p. 173.

3.

A second collection of Shī'ite materials is to be found in the *Fonds* Henry Corbin, which contains the entire private collection of Persian and Arabic books of the late Henry Corbin. After the death of Corbin in 1978 this collection was transferred to the library of the *Section des sciences religieuses* of the EPHE²⁶ where Corbin taught between 1954 and 1977.

This collection consists mostly of lithograph editions of important texts which Corbin — himself a bibliophile who had started his career in the late 1930s as a librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale — began to purchase during his stay in Turkey from October 1939 to September 1945. Most of the books of Iranian provenience which he bought during that time, such as numerous works by Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā), he acquired with the help of the cultural counsellor of the Iranian embassy in Turkey. It was especially during his stay in Tehran from 1945 until 1954, when he served as head of the Department of Iranology of the French Institute, that he purchased the bulk of the books. In 1954, when he returned to Paris to succeed Louis Massignon at the *Section des sciences religieuses* of the EPHE, he took his entire library to Paris. It was then that he announced in a letter to the French Foreign Ministry that his Arabic and Persian books would be donated to the library of the *Section des sciences religieuses* of the EPHE after his death²⁷. His academic life being equally split between Paris and Tehran between 1954 and 1977, when he retired from the EPHE, his library constantly grew over the years through further purchases in Iran as well

²⁶ Cf. R. Gost. *Directory of Near and Middle East and North Africa Research Institutions in Western Europe (except Federal Republic of Germany). Institutions in Research and Teaching, Libraries, Documentation Centres and Museums*, ed. Sociology of Development Research Centre, University of Bielefeld and German Overseas Institute, Overseas Documentation, Hamburg. Bielefeld, Hamburg, 1983, p. 41.

²⁷ The authors owe this information to Madame Corbin and have not the letter themselves. For Corbin's stays in Turkey and Iran, cf. H. Corbin, «Post-Scriptum biographique à un Entretien philosophique», Ch. Jambet (ed.), *Henry Corbin*, Paris, 1981, pp. 46-50 and H. Corbin, «De la Bibliothèque Nationale à la Bibliothèque Iranienne», *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain*, Paris, 1968, II, pp. 310 ff. See also Ch. Jambet, «Repères biographiques», Ch. Jambet (ed.), *Henry Corbin*, Paris, 1981, pp. 15-20 for a detailed biography of Corbin.

as through the many books given to him by Iranian friends. As a member of the Iranian Academy of Philosophy founded by S.H.Nasr, he continued to travel regularly to Iran even after his retirement until his death in 1978.

The *Fonds* Henry Corbin, which consists of about 1.000 volumes, reflects Corbin's fields of interest as a scholar. The bulk of the collection consists of important Imāmī books, most of which deal with theological issues, significant Šūfī works (especially by Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAṭṭār, Rūmī and his school and others) and philosophical works (covering the school of Ibn Sīnā, Suhrawardī and later Imāmī philosophers of the Safawid period). In the fields of theology and philosophy, the collection even contains quite a number of writings not to be found in Cologne. Besides this, the collection also includes numerous works in the fields of Ismāʿīlism²⁸, *tafsīr*, Sunnite *kalām*, and biographical works, as well as diverse works on ancient Iran and Persian literature.

After Henry Corbin died in 1978, when the books were still with Madame Corbin, a first inventory was prepared by Daniel Gimaret and Paul Nwyia. After the material was transferred to the library of the *Section des sciences religieuses*, Martine Gillet started to prepare a proper catalogue of the books alphabetically arranged according to names of the authors and containing numerous crossreferences, together with a topical index. From 1987 onwards, this task was continued and completed by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi. Unfortunately, the catalogue of the *Fonds* has not yet been published because of lack of funding.

As for the manuscripts which were in the possession of Henry Corbin — both originals and photocopies — they were given to the Bibliothèque Nationale, either by Corbin himself during his lifetime or by his wife after his passing²⁹.

²⁸ Microfiche copies of all his Ismāʿīlī works which were produced after Corbin's death in 1978 are held at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. Corbin acquired a large number of his Ismāʿīlī books through Wladimir Ivanow (1886-1970) with whom he conducted a fruitful correspondence between 1945 and 1966. It was also through Ivanow that Corbin acquired copies of numerous Ismāʿīlī manuscripts which Ivanow either had photocopied or had copied by copyists. The authors are indebted to Madame Corbin who generously allowed them to read this correspondence.

²⁹ Those given to the Bibliothèque Nationale by Madame Corbin are mss Persan 2160 to 2168 as well as Arabe 7175 to 7205.

4.

Corbin was virtually the first western scholar to investigate the Shaykhiyya movement³⁰. During his stay in Iran he established friendly contacts with adherents of this movement and gained access to their library in Kirmān, the centre of this movement in Southern Iran, which contains mostly autograph manuscripts of the writings of the Shaykhī shaykhs³¹. It was mainly due to his encouragement that the Shaykhīs started in the early 1970s to produce facsimile editions of most of their manuscripts preserved in their library at Kirmān³². These consist of writ-

³⁰ H. Corbin, «L'École shaykhié en théologie shī'ite», *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences religieuses, Annuaire 1960-1961*. This article, containing a sketch of the life of the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī and the succeeding Shaykhī leaders up to Abū l-Qāsim Ibrāhīmī together with a brief discussion of Shaykhī doctrines, was reprinted together with a Persian translation (*Maktab-i shaykhī az ḥikmat-i ilāhī-i shī'ī*) in Tehran 1346/1967. It was also included in H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris, 1972, IV, pp. 205-300. The following references refer to the 1967 edition.

An earlier account on the Shaykhī movement was given by A.L.M. Nicolas (*Essai sur Le Cheikhisme. Vol. I: Cheikh Aḥmed Lahçahi; vol. II: Séyyed Kazem Reçti; vol. III: La doctrine; vol. IV: La Science de Dieu*, Paris, 1910-14).

Among the more recent scholarship on the Shaykhiyya, the following studies should be mentioned: D.M. MacEoin, *From Shaykhism to Babism. A Study in Charismatic Renewal in Shī'ī Islam*. PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1979; id., «Aḥsā'ī, Shaikh Aḥmad b. Zayn-al-Dīn», *Encycl. Iranica*, I, pp. 674-679; J.R.I. Cole, «The World as Text: Cosmologies of Shaykh Ahmad al-Aḥsā'ī», *Studia Islamica*, 80, 1994; V. Rafati, *The Development of Shaykhī Thought in Shī'ī Islam*. PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979; A. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal. The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844-1850*, London, 1989, pp. 48 ff. See also J.R.I. Cole, «Rival Empires of Trade and Imami Shī'ism in Eastern Arabia, 1300-1800», *IJMES* 19, 1987, p. 196, n. 70.

³¹ An overview of the writings of the Shaykhī shaykhs is given in the *Fihrist-i kutub-i mashāyikh-i 'izām* by Abū l-Qāsim Ibrāhīmī Kirmānī which he compiled at the written request of Sh. Yektāyī, librarian at the Āstān-e Quds-e Riḍawī at Mashhad and which was first published in Kirmān 1957. See H. Corbin, «L'École shaykhié», pp. 8, 23-24, 28, 33, 36-37, 39, 43; A. Monzawī and 'A.N. Monzawī, «Bibliographies and Catalogues. ii. In Iran», *Encycl. Iranica*, IV, p. 230 (Nr. 26). For the second edition of the work, published in 1977, see *Abstracta Iranica*, 2, 1979, p. 65 (Y. Richard). On Corbin's friendly relationships with the Shaykhīs, see for example H. Corbin, *En islam iranien*, IV, p. 205, n. 1.

³² See also H. Corbin, «Post-Scriptum», p. 52, where he mentions that he encouraged the Shaykhis to produce an anthology of the most important writings of their shaykhs, comparable to the *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens depuis le XVIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, a project which H. Corbin and J. Ashtiyānī in 1964 decided to edit together (cf. H.

ings of the Shaykhī shaykhs Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn al-Aḥsāʿī (1166/1753-1241/1826)³³, Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī (1212/1798-1259/1843), Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1225/1809-1288/1870), his son and successor Muḥammad Khān Kirmānī (1263/1846-1324/1906), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khān Kirmānī (1276/1859-1360/1942), the brother and successor of Muḥammad Khān Kirmānī, Abū l-Qāsim Khān Ibrāhīmī (1314/1896-1389/1969), son and successor of Zayn l-ʿĀbidīn, and ʿAbd al-Riḍā Khān Ibrāhīmī who was killed during the disturbances following the Iranian revolution on 26 December 1979³⁴.

Given Corbin's interest in this school, the *Fonds Henry Corbin* also contains a considerable number of published Shaykhī works³⁵. Moreover, when the Shaykhis started to produce facsimile editions of their manuscripts in the 1970s, they used to send a copy of each work to Corbin³⁶. They also sent their books to other Western libraries, among

Corbin, *La Philosophie iranienne islamique aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1981, p. 9 ff) and which was published in four volumes between 1971 and 1978. The result of Corbin's encouragement seem to have been the facsimile editions which the Shaykhis started to publish in 1391/1971. Note also the following passage (H. Corbin, «L'École shaykhie», p. 43) which nicely demonstrates Corbin's concern for the Shaykhī writings: «Du rapide aperçu par lequel on a essayé d'indiquer ici à très grands traits l'histoire de l'école shaykhie et de sa productivité, il résulte que nous sommes en présence d'une doctrine et d'une forme d'expérience religieuse caractéristiques de la conscience shī'ite à notre époque, et que nous sommes aussi en présence de toute une bibliothèque restée inconnue jusqu'ici de l'Occident. Si nous récapitulons les données analysées ci-dessus, l'ensemble donne un millier de titres d'ouvrages (plus en réalité, si l'on tient compte de la composition des *majmū'a*), tant en arabe qu'en persan. De cet ensemble, un peu plus d'un quart, pas davantage, a été publié. Pour plusieurs raisons, la publication n'en peut être réalisée que petit à petit. Cela pose la grave question de la conservation de ces documents d'un intérêt inappréciable. Je puis assurer qu'en accord avec le shaykh Sarkār Aghā [= Shaykh Abū l-Qāsim Khān Ibrāhīmī], nous nous en préoccupons».

³³ On the works of Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʿī, see the detailed study by M. Momen, *The Works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i. A Bibliography*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1991, containing brief descriptions of his works and providing detailed manuscript locations of the writings of the shaykh in Western and Iranian libraries.

³⁴ Cf. E. Franz, *Minderheiten im Iran. Dokumentation zur Ethnographie und Politik* (Aktueller Informationsdienst Moderner Orient. Sondernummer 8), Hamburg, 1981, p. 192.

³⁵ Nearly all the works Corbin refers to in his «L'École shaykhie» are included in the *Fonds Henry Corbin*.

³⁶ Many of these works contain dedications to Corbin. These are indicated in Amir-Moezzi's handlist of the *Fonds Shaykhī* at the *Section des sciences religieuses*.

them — following an agreement on this between Falaturi and the Shaykhī shaykh ʿAbd al-Riḍā Ibrāhīmī Kirmānī — the Shī'ite collection at Cologne, where in 1981 the last Shaykhī books were received. The same set of photocopied manuscripts was also sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Fonds des manuscrits orientaux*)³⁷ as well as to the University of Chicago, where they are at the Middle East Documentation Center³⁸. Major collections of Shaykhī writings are furthermore to be found at the library of the Institute of Iranian Studies, Paris, at the University of California library, Los Angeles (UCLA)³⁹ and at Cambridge University library⁴⁰. The principal motive for sending copies of their writings to various scholars and libraries in the West was to avoid the possibility of having their entire library destroyed when the Shaykhīs, who had from the beginning of their movement at various times suffered persecutions, sensed troubles ahead which eventually culminated in the Iranian revolution in 1979⁴¹.

The facsimile editions which were sent to Corbin during the 1970s constitute the *Fonds Shaykhī* which is together with the *Fonds Henry Corbin* located at the library of the *Section des sciences religieuses*. This collection consists of about 150 volumes of facsimile editions of Shaykhī manuscripts held at their library in Kirmān and produced between 1391/1971 and 1400/1979.

³⁷ See also M. Momen, *The Works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i*, p. 10.

³⁸ A complete list of the Chicago collection is available on the Internet (http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/LibInfo/SourcesBySubject/MiddleEast/Persian_Other.html). Moreover, the University of Michigan Harlan Hatcher Library has a microfilm set which is an exact duplicate of the Chicago collection.

³⁹ Cf. M. Momen, *The Works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Cf. V. Rafati, *Development*, p. 221. The University library at Tübingen also has a small collection of about 35 published Shaykhī books, including works by Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, Sayyid Kāẓim Rashṭī and Muḥammad Karīm Khān, most of which were purchased in 1980. Numerous Shaykhī manuscripts are scattered throughout many libraries in the East as well as in the West; see also M. Momen, *The works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa'i*, pp. 9-12.

⁴¹ During the lifetime of the shaykh Sayyid Kāẓim Rashṭī (d. 1259/1843) the library of the Shaykhīs, which was at the time in Karbalā, twice suffered deprecation and the loss of valuable writings both by the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī and the Sayyid Kāẓim Rashṭī; see H. Corbin, «L'École shaykhié», p. 28. The Shaykhīs were thus very aware of the vulnerability of libraries containing unique copies of important writings.

Given the richness of the Shaykhī literature both in quality and quantity, the majority of which still await exploration by scholars, the authors considered it to be useful to include a complete list of the Shaykhī works held at the library of the *Section des sciences religieuses* of the EPHE. Following, therefore, is a list of the entire *Fonds* Shaykhī, including the Shaykhī works which are part of the *Fonds* Henry Corbin as well as the manuscripts of Shaykhī writings which were given to the Bibliothèque Nationale after Corbin's death. The list is based on the above mentioned catalogue of the *Fonds* Henry Corbin, as well as on a handlist of the *Fonds* Shaykhī prepared by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi. The following information will be included:

Author, title (including titles of single works in case of collections), place and date of publication, number of pages, signature (HC= *Fonds* Henry Corbin; SHA= *Fonds* Shaykhī; BN = Bibliothèque Nationale). For the facsimile editions, the signature of the respective manuscript at the Kirmān Shaykhī library will also be given (ms +). Those works which are likewise held in the Shī'ite collection at the Oriental Department in Cologne are marked with an asterisk (*) after the title. The listed works are arranged according to the authors in chronological order, including only the works composed by the Shaykhī shaykhs⁴². The titles of the writings of each author are arranged according to the Arabic alphabet. The collections of epistles and other writings among the facsimile editions are listed at the end of each section. These are arranged according to their signature in ascending order.

A comparison of the two collections in Paris and Cologne shows that they are almost identical insofar as the facsimile editions of Shaykhī writings are concerned. Whereas both collections are equally strong with regard to the published writings of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, the *Fonds* Henry Corbin contains some of his works among the facsimile editions not to be found in Cologne, while the collection in Cologne has more published works of later Shaykhī shaykhs.

⁴² That is, to the exclusion of works written by adherents of the Shaykhī movement either commenting on works of the shaykhs or being independent works; see also H. Corbin, «L'École shaykhié», p. 43, n. 1.

Catalogue of the *Fonds Shaykhī* at the *Section des Sciences Religieuses*
of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (EPHE)

- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Risāla fī Ajwiba masā'il al-Sayyid 'Abbās al-Lāhijī**. In: Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il), p. 540-63. [Kirmān] (ms j 17), 1400q/ [1979]. [SHA III 17].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Ta'liqa laṭīfa 'alā l-risāla al-'arshiyya li-Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā)*. Tabriz, 1278q/ [1861]. 347 p. [4⁰ HC VI 4].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Tafsīr sūrat al-tawhīd**. In: Majma' al-tafāsīr, p. 1-16. Kirmān, 1379-1381q/ [1959-61]. [8⁰ HC I 16].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Jawāmi' al-kilam*. 2 vols. Tabriz, 1273-1276q/ [1856-59]. 155, 266, 150 p. [4⁰ HC VI 3 (1-2)].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Dīwān (marāthī)**. [Kirmān] (ms a 4), 1400q/ [1979]. 113 p. [SHA I 4].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Sharḥ al-aḥwāl**. In: Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il), p. 437-44. [Kirmān] (ms j 45), 1395q/ [1974]. [SHA III 45].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra**. Tabriz, 1276q/ [1859]. 458 p. [4⁰ HC VI 1].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra**. 4 vols. [Kirmān] (ms a 13, 14, 15, 16), 1397q/ [1976]. 348, 405, 317 p. [SHA I 13, 14, 15, 16].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Sharḥ al-fawā'id**. [Tabriz], 1274q/ [1857]. 390 p. [4⁰ HC VI 11].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Kashkūl**. 2 vols. [Kirmān] (ms a 9, 10), 1398q/ [1977]. 518, 688 p. [SHA I 9, 10].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Risālat Mukhtaṣar al-risāla al-ḥaydariyya fī fiqh al-ṣalāt al-yawmiyya**. [Kirmān] (ms a 2), 1400q/ [1979]. 537 p. [SHA I 2].
- AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ'Ī. *Collection*. (Sharḥ al-fawā'id, f.2v-121v/ Fawā'id, f. 122r-130r/ Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ: Sharḥ al-risāla al-'ilmiyya, f. 131v-172r/ Risāla wajīza fī ṣifat ta'alluq 'ilm Allāh bi-l-ma'lūmāt, f. 172r-172v/ Risāla fī sharḥ al-ḥadīth, f.172r-175v/ al-Risāla al-rashīdiyya [= Ajwiba as'ila Mullā Rashīd], f.175v-177r/ Risāla fī uṣūl al-dīn, f. 177v-189v/ Risāla fī amr al-ma'ād, f. 189v-192v/

Ajwiba as`ila Mullā Muḥammad Maḥdī ibn Shafī^c al-Astarābādī, f. 192v-211r/ Ajwiba as`ila `alā ḥāl ishtighāl al-ḥāl bi-ḥawādith al-dunyā wa-bi-l-amrāḍ al-mānī^a min al-tawajjuh, f.211v-215r/ Ajwiba as`ila Abī l-Qāsim ibn al-Murād al-Sayyid `Abbās ibn Ma`šūm al-Lāhijānī, f. 215r-226v/ Ajwiba as`ila Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Kirmānī, f. 226v-232v). 233f. [BN Arabe 7186].

AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ`Ī. **Collection (Rasā`il)**. (Risāla fī jawāb Shaykh `Alī ibn Ṣālih, p. 2-1/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Ja`far Nawwāb, p. 16-29/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Muḥammad `Alī ibn al-Sayyid Muḥammad, p. 30-54/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mullā Kāzim, p. 54-58/ al-Risāla al-Khiṭābiyya fī jawāb ba`ḍ al-ikhwān, p. 59-64/ Risāla fī taḥqīq ta`allum al-kuffār wa-khulūdihim fī l-nār, p. 65-83/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Abī l-Ḥasan al-Jīlānī, p. 84-95/ al-Risāla al-Khāqāniyya fī jawāb Faṭḥ `Alī Shāh, p. 96-121/ Risāla fī jawāb `an ma`nā `innā li-llāh wa-innā ilayhi rāji`ūn`, p. 122-28/ Risāla fī jawāb ba`ḍ al-sāda, p. 129-43/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Muḥammad, p. 144-70/ al-Fawā`id, p. 171-216/ Risāla fī l-wujūdāt al-thalātha, p. 217-20/ Risāla fī ba`ḍ al-masā`il al-ḥikmiyya min Iṣfahān, p. 221-31/ Ajwiba masā`il atat min Iṣfahān, p. 232-52/ Risāla fī jawāb ba`ḍ al-ikhwān, p. 253-70/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Abī l-Ḥasan al-Jīlānī, p. 271-77/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid al-Sharīf, p. 278-83). [Kirmān] (ms a 3), 1398q/ [1977]. 283 p. [SHA I 3].

AḤMAD AL-AḤSĀ`Ī. **Collection (Rasā`il)***. (Risāla fī jawāb al-Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Mīrza, p. 1-23/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Āqā Ja`far al-Hamadānī, p. 25-32/ Ijāza Mullā `Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad `Alī al-Tabrīzī, p. 95-102/ Risāla fī jawāb man sa`ala `an `alāmat al-faqīh al-kāmil wa-masā`il ukhrā, p. 1-19/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Ramaḍān ibn Ibrāhīm, 20-37/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ākhūnd al-Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Anārī al-Kirmānī, 38-44/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ākhūnd al-Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir, p. 45-83/ Risāla, 12 p./ Ijāzatayn, 17 p.). [Kirmān] (ms a 5, 6, 7), 1400, 1390, 1399q/ [1979, 1970, 1978]. 102, 83, 12, 17 p. [SHA I 5, 6, 7].

SAYYID KĀZIM RASHTĪ. **Ijāzatayn min al-Sayyid Kāzim al-Rashtī li-Muḥammad Karīm Khān al-Kirmānī***. In: Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā`il). [Kirmān] (ms j 30), [around 1398q/ 1978]. [SHA III 30].

- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Risāla fī l-tasdīd wa-l-zāhir***. In: Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il)*. p. 355-427 [Kirmān] (ms j 2), 1400q/ [1979]. [SHA III 2].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. Risāla fī **Jawāb ba'ḍ al-mūrīdīn***. In: Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il). [Kirmān] (ms j 17), 1400q/ [1979]. p. 582-91. [SHA III 17].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Dalīl al-mutaḥayyirīn***. In: Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il), p. 1-94. [Kirmān] (ms j 14), 1397q/ [1976]. [SHA III 14].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Rasā'il wa-masā'il**. n.p., 1276q/ [1859]. 475 p. [4^o HC VI 8].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Sharḥ āyat al-kursī**. (Together with: Sharḥ ḥadīth 'Imrān al-Ṣābī; Lawāmi' al-ḥusayniyya). n.p., 1271q/ [1854]. p. 1-117. [4^o HC VI 9].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Sharḥ ḥadīth 'Imrān al-Ṣābī**. (Together with: Sharḥ āyat al-kursī; Lawāmi' al-ḥusayniyya). n.p., 1271q/ [1854]. p. 118-213. [4^o HC VI 9].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Sharḥ al-khuṭbat al-taṭanjīyya**. n.p., 1371q/ [1951]. 353 p. [4^o HC VI 5].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. Kitāb **Sharḥ qaṣīda [= Sharḥ Lāmīyat 'Abd al-Bāqī al-'Umārī]***. n.p., 1269q/ [1852]. [4^o HC VI 2].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. Risālat **Kashf al-ḥaqq***. In: Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il), p. 564-81. [Kirmān] (ms j 17), 1400q/ [1979]. [SHA III 17].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Lawāmi' al-ḥusayniyya**. (Together with: Sharḥ ḥadīth 'Imrān al-Ṣābī; Sharḥ āyat al-kursī). n.p., 1271 q/ [1854]. p. 215-324. [4^o HC VI 9].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Majmū'at al-rasā'il**. n.p., 1377q/ [1957]. 365 p. [4^o HC VI 7].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Majmū'at al-masā'il**. Tabriz, 1276q/ [1859]. 477 p. [4^o HC VI 6].
- SAYYID KĀZİM RASHTĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)***. (Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Qaṭīfī [fī 'ilm al-ḥurūf] (incomplete), p. 1-63/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'ḍ al-ajillā', p. 1-47/ Risāla fī jawāb sā'il 'an thalāth as'ila, p. 48-59/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā 'Alī al-Ashraf, p. 61-103/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Shafī' al-Māzandarānī, p. 104-

- 33/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Qaṭifī, p. 135-203/ Ijāzat al-Āqā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Kirmānī, p. 2-10/ Waṣiyya li-l-Āqā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Kirmānī, p. 11-21). [Kirmān] (ms b 2, 3, 4), 1400q/ [1979]. [SHA II 2, 3, 4].
- SAYYID KĀZIM RASHTĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)***. (Risāla dar jawāb-i ba'd-i ajillā' az aḥkām-i walad-i al-zinā' wa-ghayr-i ān, p. 1-74/ Risāla dar jawāb-i ba'd-i ahl-i Iṣfahān dar ḥaqīqat-i akhbāriyya wa-uṣūliyya wa-masā'il-i dīgar, p. 76-142/ Risāla dar jawāb-i masā'il az ba'd-i shubuhāt-i šūfiyya wa-ghayr-i ānhā, p. 143-272/ Sharḥ-i awā'il-i kitāb-i Sharḥ al-ziyāra, p. 273-334/ Maqāmāt al-'arīfīn, p. 335-420). [Kirmān] (ms b 5), 1398q/ [1977]. 420 p. [SHA II 5].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Kitāb-i **Irshād al-'awāmm***. Vol 1 and 2 in 1. Kirmān, 1354q/ [1935] Vol. 3 and 4 in 1. Kirmān, 1354-55q/ [1935-36]. 311, 382 p. [4⁰ HC VI 13 (1-2) (3-4)].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Kitāb-i **Irshād al-'awāmm***. 4 vols. [Kirmān] (ms j 21, 22, 23, 24), 1391q/ [1971]. 731, 694, 758, 903 p. [SHA III 60, 61, 62, 63].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Risāla dar **Bayān-i aḥwāl-i tā'ifa ḍalla muḍilla**. (together with Muḥammad Khān Kirmānī: Rujūm al-shayāṭīn.) n.p., n.d. [8⁰ HC VI 7].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Kitāb **al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-naḥw***. [Kirmān] (ms j 50), 1400q/ [1979]. 475 p. [SHA III 50].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥujurāt***. Kirmān, 1371q/ [1951]. 158 p. [8⁰ HC I 9].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥujurāt***. In: Majma' al-tafāsīr. Kirmān 1379-1381q/ [1959-61]. 167 p. [8⁰ HC I 16].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Kitāb **al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-sharā'ī***. Kirmān, 1367q/ [1947]. 559 p. [8⁰ HC VI 28].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Risāla-i ma'rūf ba-**Āhār faṣṭ***. Tehran, 1324š/ 1364q/ [1945]. 32 p. [12⁰ HC VI 6/ 12⁰ HC VI 8].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Durūs li-mawlānā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Karīm Khān***. In: Muḥammad Khān Kirmānī: Collection (Rasā'il). [Kirmān] (ms d 6), 1396q/ [1976]. [SHA IV 6].

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- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʾil)***. (Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mīrzā Jawād al-Shīrāzī, p. 2-47/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm Kūhbanānī, p. 48-72/ Risāla fī jawāb baʿd al-ikhwān fī sharḥ ḥadīth Sabʿa aḥurf, p. 73-82/ Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥajj wa-manāsikihi, p. 83-95/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Maḥmūd al-Kalbāsī, p. 96-140/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Nahbandānī, p. 141-91/ Risāla fī jawāb baʿd al-ajilla fī l-waqf, p. 192-97/ Risāla fī ṭahārat al-zabīb, p. 198-212/ Risāla fī wajh thuyūbat al-

zawja al-ūlā li-l-nabī, p. 213-27/ Risāla fī sharḥ du'ā' al-tawassul, p. 228-49/ Risāla fī jawāb Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā, p. 250-65/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Zayn al-Ābidīn al-Shīrāzī, p. 266-331/ Risāla fī jawāb Āqā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī, p. 332-80/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Hidāyat Allāh, p. 381-90/ Risāla fī tahārat al-mā' al-qalīl, p. 391-416). [Kirmān] (ms j 11), 1395q/ [1975]. 416 p. [SHA III 11].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī ṣalāt al-jum'a, p. 2-11/ al-'Awā'id, p. 12-250/ Risāla fī jawāb 'Abbās Mīrzā, p. 251-307/ al-Mahdawiyya, p. 308-61/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj 'Abbās al-Bihbahānī, p. 362-78/ Risāla fī l-uṣūl, p. 379-408/ al-Qarabāghiyya fī l-'ilm, p. 411-57/ al-Lawḥ l-maḥfūz, p. 459-532/ Risāla fī l-istiḥāḍa, p. 533-43). [Kirmān] (ms j 12), 1396q/ [1976]. 543 p. [SHA III 12].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ al-akhbār, p. 2-54/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh 'Abd al-'Alī al-Ṭabasī, p. 56-118/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Muḥammad Jawād al-Qazwīnī, p. 120-214/ Risāla tūr-i shihāb, p. 216-302/ Risāla fī 'adad shahr Ramaḍān, p. 304-22/ Risāla ukhrā fī 'adad shahr Ramaḍān, p. 324-410/ Risālat al-fawā'id al-sab', p. 412-61/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Nā'īnī, p. 462-540/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Muḥammad Jawād al-Qazwīnī, p. 542-679/ Risāla fī l-Musīqī, p. 680-705/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ja'far, p. 706-816). [Kirmān] (ms j 13), 1396q/ [1976]. 816 p. [SHA III 13].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Kāzīm al-Rashtī: Dalīl al-mutaḥayyirīn, p. 1-94/ Nāṣiriyya, p. 95-192/ Mughmira, p. 193-232/ Ajzā'ī dar ṭūl wa-'arḍ-i bilād, p. 233-90/ al-Īqān fī i'jāz al-Qur'ān, p. 291-468). [Kirmān] (ms j 14), 1397q/ [1976]. 468 p. [SHA III 14].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla-i Sulṭāniyya dar jawāb-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh-i Qājār, p. 2-301/ Risāla fī jawāb Āqā Sayyid Jawād Karbalā'ī, p. 306-416/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā 'Alī Naqī Hindī, p. 418-70/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mullā Mahdī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭabaristānī, p. 472-94/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Muḥammad al-Najafābādī al-Iṣfahānī, p. 496-516/ Risāla fī sharḥ du'ā' al-saḥar, p. 518-763/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Muḥammad

Ja'far al-Kāzīrūnī al-Shīrāzī, p. 764-77/ Risāla fī l-taqīyya, p. 778-96/ Risāla fī sharḥ khabar fī 'arḍ al-akhbār, p. 798-804/ Bayān al-ṣawāb, p. 805-42). [Kirmān] (ms j 15), 1396q/ [1976]. 842 p. [SHA III 15].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī, p. 2-73/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'd al-ikhwān, p. 74-90/ Risālat Izhāq al-bāṭil, p. 92-247/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'd al-ṭalaba, p. 249-71/ Risālat 'uyūn al-tajārib, p. 273-305/ Risālat ['irfān al-ṣawāb] fī al-istikhāra, p. 307-54/ Risāla fī jawāb Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, p. 356-58/ Fā'ida fī taḥaddī al-nabī fī amr al-Qur'ān, p. 359-67/ Muḥmal mimma yata'allaqu bi-ya'jūj wa ma'jūj (incomplete), p. 368-69). [Kirmān] (ms j 16), 1394q/ [1974]. 369 p. [SHA III 16].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Iṣfahānī, p. 1-11/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shāhzāda Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā, p. 12-30/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mullā Mahdī al-Khurāsānī, p. 31-100/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Abī l-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, p. 101-14/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Āghā Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī, p. 115-27/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mullā 'Alī Akbar al-Lārī, p. 128-68/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shāhzāda Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā dar ṭayy al-arḍ, p. 169-83/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shāhzāda Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā, p. 185-246/ Risālat al-Shihāb al-thāqib, p. 247-383/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shāhzāda Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā, p. 384-531/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'd al-ikhwān fī kitābat bi-sm Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm, p. 532-39/ Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī: Risāla fī masā'il al-Sayyid 'Abbās al-Lāhījī, p. 540-63/ Kāzīm al-Rashtī: Risāla kashf al-ḥaqq, p. 564-81/ Kāzīm al-Rashtī: Risāla fī jawāb ba'd al-mūridīn (incomplete), p. 582-91). [Kirmān] (ms j 17), 1400q/ [1979]. 591 p. [SHA III 17].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī ḥuṣūl al-'ilm, p. 2-28/ Risāla fī l-riḍā', p. 30-41/ al-Fawā'id fī l-uṣūl, p. 42-180). [Kirmān] (ms j 18), 1398q/ [1977]. 180 p. [SHA III 18].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī l-radd 'alā ba'd al-mu'ānidīn min ahl Iṣfahān [= Jawāb-i su'ālāt wa-i'tirādāt-i Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Iṣfahānī], p. 2-123/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Hidāyat Allāh al-Riḍawī, p. 124-46/ Risāla iṣlāḥ al-arwāḥ, p. 147-72/ Risāla iṣlāḥ al-nufūs, p. 173-203/ Risāla iṣlāḥ al-

ajsād, p. 204-27/ Risāla al-tawfīq, p. 228-42/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Raʿīs, p. 243-72/ Risāla al-sirāj al-munīr [al-Shams al-munīra], p. 273-348/ Anwār al-durar, p. 349-84/ Risāla fī jawāb baʿḍ al-ikhwān min ahl Iṣfahān, p. 385-92/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Kirmānī, p. 393-406). [Kirmān] (ms j 20), 1400q/ [1979]. 406 p. [SHA III 20].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)**. (al-Tijāra/ al-Dayn/ al-Ruhn/ al-Shufʿa/ al-Shirka/ al-Muḍāraka/ al-Muzāraʿa/ al-Ijāra/ al-Jiʿāla/ al-Sabqa wa-l-rimāya/ al-Ṣulḥ/ al-Nikāḥ/ al-Istīlād/ al-Firāq wa-l-talāq/ al-Khalʿ wa-l-mubārāt/ al-Zihār/ al-Makhādīm/ al-ʿIṣāba wa-l-dhibāḥa/ al-Iṣṭiyād/ al-Nadhr/ al-Aymān). Kirmān (ms j 35), 1397q/ [1976]. 135 p. [SHA III 20A].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)***. (Risāla fī sharḥ duʿāʾ jalīl marwī ʿan al-Ṣādiq, p. 2-19/ [al-Shajara al-tūriyya] Warīqāt fī l-falsafa fī ʿamal al-shiʿr, p. 20-40/ Warīqāt fī l-ʿarūḍ, p. 40-45/ al-Mulakhkhaṣ ighāth al-laḥfān, p. 47-52/ Risālat al-istīfāʿ fī sharḥ al-muqaddima al-khāmisa min Kitāb al-milal wa-l-nihāl, p. 54-80/ Risāla fī jawāb baʿḍ al-ikhwān, p. 82-101/ Fāʿida fī burhān taʿmīr al-murabbaʿ, p. 102-3/ al-Wāridāt, p. 126-37/ Risāla fī maʿrifat tawlīd ashkāl al-raml, p. 138-42/ Sharḥ al-lawāmiʿ, p. 145-217/ Sharḥ khuṭba li-Amīr al-muʿminīn, p. 219-329). [Kirmān] (ms j 25), 1400q/ [1979]. 329 p. [SHA III 25].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)***. (Risāla ḥaqāʿiq al-ṭibb, p. 2-320/ Risāla al-qawāʿid fī l-uṣūl, p. 324-630/ Risāla fī rafʿ baʿḍ al-shubuhāt, p. 632-60/ Risāla fī jawāb Āqā Sayyid Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, p. 662-67). [Kirmān] (ms j 26), 1400q/ [1979]. 667 p. [SHA III 26].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)***. (Faṣl al-khiṭāb [al-ṣughrā], p. 1-152/ Fāʿida [dar ʿadam-i ḥujjiyat-i ʿuqūl-i mukhtalifa], p. 153-55/ Fāʿida fī taṣḥīḥ al-akhbār al-marwiya ʿan ṭuruq al-thiqāt, p. 156-57/ Fāʿida [dar ʿin-kih luṭf az jānib-i āl-i Muḥammad ast], p. 158/ Fāʿida fī l-amr wa-l-nahy, p. 159-60/ Jawāmiʿ al-kilam, p. 161-62/ Fāʿida [dar ʿin-kih ʿilm-i Qurʾān dar nazd-i āl-i Muḥammad ast], p. 163/ Fāʿida [dar ḥudūd-i ṣanʿ-ī ʿabd dar aʿmāl-i tashrīḥ], p. 165). [Kirmān] (ms j 27), 1397q/ [1976]. 165 p. [SHA III 27].

- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Abwāb al-jinān [fī ḥuqūq al-ikhwān], p. 2-126/ Risāla fī jawāb Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Shukr al-Najāfī, p. 128-270/ Risāla fī mas'ala fī l-nadhr, p. 272-74/ Ilzām al-nawāṣib, p. 276-426). Kirmān (ms j 28), 1396q/ [1976]. 426 p. [SHA III 28].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Ijāzatayn min al-Sayyid Kāzim al-Rashtī li-Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Raḥīm al-Hamadānī, p. 2-32/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Khusraw Khān, p. 34-109/ Diyā' al-baṣā'ir fī 'ilm al-marāyā wa-l-manāẓir, p. 110-332/ Risāla ukhrā fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Raḥīm al-Hamadānī, p. 334-52/ Risāla-i Sī faṣl dar jawāb-i Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir, p. 354-439/ Risāla fī l-khums, p. 440-69/ al-Fuṣūl fī l-ḥikma, p. 470-533). [Kirmān] (ms j 30), [around 1398q/ 1978]. 11, 533 p. [SHA III 30].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection*.** (Warīqāt fī l-yaqīn (incomplete), p. 2-7/ Risāla fī 'ilm al-ḥarakāt (incomplete), p. 8-16/ Bayān-i dūrbīn [= Risāla fī 'ajā'ib al-minzār] (incomplete), p. 18-30/ Mukhtaṣar sharḥ al-natā'ij [= al-Miftāḥ] (incomplete), p. 32-35, 59-74/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Yaghma, p. 36-52/ Ijāza Mullā 'Abd al-Salām al-Salmāsī, p. 54-57/ Mukhtaṣar sharḥ al-natā'ij aw ba'd mabāhith, p. 58-75/ al-Ḥujja al-qāṭi'a, p. 76-257/ Tarīq al-najāt, vol. 4, p. 258-372). [Kirmān] (ms j 46), 1398q/ [1977]. 372 p. [SHA III 33A].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risālat al-jāmi' li-aḥkām al-sharā'i', p. 2-339/ Risāla fī ḥaml a'māl al-muslimīn 'alā al-ṣiḥḥa, p. 341-51). [Kirmān] (ms j 34), 1400q/ [1979]. 351 p. [SHA III 34].
- MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection. (Rasā'il)*.** (Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī: Risāla, p. 2-8/ Waṣiyya ilā l-Mullā 'Alī al-Tabrīzī, p. 12-17/ Risālat al-Durra al-yafīma, p. 18-32/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Ja'far al-Gharajadāghī, p. 34-63/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Āghā Kalb 'Alī, p. 64-78/ Risāla niẓām al-bashar fī l-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar, p. 80-169/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mullā Ḥasan al-Marāghī, p. 170-212/ Risālat al-'awā'id, p. 214-93/ Risālat fī jawāb al-Shaykh 'Abd 'Alī al-Baḥrānī, p. 294-331/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Shīrāzī, p. 332-

44/ Risāla fārisiyya fī jawāb ba'ḍ al-ikhwān, p. 346-60/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Kirmānī, p. 362-75/ Risāla fī ba'ḍ al-masā'il al-fiqhiyya, p. 376-83/ Risālat kashf al-murād fī 'ilm al-ma'ād, p. 384-608). [Kirmān] (ms j 36), 1395q/ [1975]. 608 p. [SHA III 36].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Sharḥ hadīth al-nūrāniyya, p. 1-197/ Risāla fī jawāb Sipahsālār [Rukn-i rābi'], p. 198-214/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Dawwānī, p. 215-78/ Risālat al-Bayyina, p. 279-357/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Kāzirūnī, p. 359-74/ Risāla fī jawāb Muḥammad Bāqir al-Hindī, p. 375-85/ Fā'ida fī l-nafs al-bāqiya, p. 387-96/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir, p. 397-407/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'ḍ al-ikhwān min al-Aḥsā', p. 409-17/ Risāla fī jawāb 'Abd al-'Alī Khān, p. 419-33/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Ḥusayn 'Alī Tūysirkānī, p. 435-517/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Mazīdī, p. 519-41/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Jamāl al-Bābī, p. 543-91/ Risālat al-Hamadāniyya [= Risāla-i Hamadāniyya], p. 593-606/ Waṣiyyat al-wālī, p. 607-21/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Aḥmad al-Tabrīzī, p. 623-45/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, p. 647-91/ Risāla fī jawāb Āqā Sayyid Ḥasan, p. 693-98/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'ḍ ahl Hamadān, p. 699-715/ Risāla fī jawāb Imām Jum'a Hamadān, p. 717-30/ Risāla fī jawāb Sardār-i Kull, p. 731-52/ Risāla fī jawāb Shāh fī radd al-Bābiyya, p. 753-98/ Risāla fī jawāb Sipahdār, p. 799-807/ Urjūza, p. 809-41). [Kirmān] (ms j 40), 1394q/ [1974]. 841 p. [SHA III 40].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī 'ilm al-bināya, p. 1-6/ Waṣiyya li-l-Sayyid Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Shīrāzī, p. 2-16/ Risāla fī l-jawāb 'an su'ālayn min Ṭihrān, p. 18-23/ Risālat 'ilm al-yaqīn fī l-tasdīd, p. 24-309). [Kirmān] (ms j 42, 47), 1400q/ [1979]. 6, 309 p. [SHA III 42].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla-i ma'rūf bi-Čahār faṣl/ Kitāb Mullā Muḥammad Ismā'il/ Majmū'a min al-aḥādīth wa-l-ḥikāyāt). [Kirmān] (ms j 43, 44), 1398q/ [1977]. 43, 99, 1 p. [SHA III 43, 44].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla li-duktūr Pūlāk al-Namsawī [= Dr. Jacob Eduard Polak, the Austrian physician of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh], p. 1-101/ Risāla li-l-muṣannif fī

jawāb Āqā Sayyid Ḥasan, p. 103-38/ Risāla li-l-muṣannif fī l-ṣarf, p. 139-84/ Risāla li-l-muṣannif fī jawāb Mīrzā Kāzim, p. 185-207/ Risāla li-l-muṣannif fī sharḥ ḥadīth al-faḍīla, p. 209-435/ Risāla li-l-Shaykh al-Awḥad [= Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʿī] fī sharḥ aḥwālīhi, p. 437-44/ Risāla li-l-muṣannif fī tafsīr sūrat al-Ḥujurāt, p. 445-575). [Kirmān] (ms j 45), 1395q/ [1975]. 575 p. [SHA III 45].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)*.** (Warīqāt fī ādāb al-akl wa-l-shurb, p. 1-8/ Majmūʿa mukhtaṣara fī adāb ziyārat al-maʿšūmīn, p. 9-56/ Risāla fī wiqāyat al-musāfir, p. 57-130/ Risāla fī taʿqībāt al-ṣalawāt al-yawmiyya, p. 131-44/ ʿAzāʿim li-dafʿ al-arwāḥ al-khabītha, p. 145-79/ Warīqāt fī l-raml, p. 181-83/ Baʿḍ adʿiya ziyārat al-maʿšūmīn, p. 185-204/ Warīqāt fī baʿḍ al-jadāwil wa-l-ḥurūf wa-maṭālib ukhrā mukhtalifa, p. 205-9). [Kirmān] (ms j 54), 1400q/ [1979]. 209 p. [SHA III 54].

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Majmaʿ al-daʿawāt)*.** (Duʿāʿ sahm al-layl marwī ʿan al-Mahdī, p. 4-6/ Munājāt mawlānā ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib marwiya ʿan al-ʿAskarī, p. 7-37/ Munājāt kham-sata ʿashara, p. 37-73/ Duʿāʿ ṣanamay Quraysh, p. 73-76/ Duʿāʿ qāmūs al-qudra, p. 77-78/ Adʿiya yutawassalu bihā ilā al-maʿšūmīn, p. 78-83/ Duʿāʿ al-iʿtiqād al-marwī ʿan al-Riḍā, p. 84-92/ Adʿiya al-wasāʿil ilā l-masāʿil al-marwiya ʿan al-Jawād, p. 92-103/ Adʿiya li-l-maʿšūmīn, p. 103-22/ Duʿāʿ li-Ibn ʿArabī, p. 123-24/ Duʿāʿ li-ṭalab al-ḥājāt, p. 125-30/ Ziyāra li-Ṣāhib al-zamān, p. 130-33/ Fawāʿid mutafarriqa naqalahā al-muṣannif min al-Shaykh al-Awḥad [= Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʿī], p. 133-59/ Duʿāʿ awwaluhu Allāhumma bi-dhikrika ʿstaftaḥa maqālī, p. 160-210/ al-Ḥirz al-yamānī [al-mashhūr bi-l-duʿāʿ al-sayfī] li-ʿAlī, p. 210-38/ Adʿiya wa-adhkār mutafarriqa wa-warīqāt ʿalā ṭarīqat al-kashkūl, p. 240-64). [Kirmān] (ms j 55), 1400q/ [1979]. 264 p. [SHA III 55].

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Risāla-i unmūdhaj al-ḥisāb, p. 345-441/ Risāla Burhān qāṭi' fī l-tas-dīd, p. 442-512/ Tafsīr sūrat al-ʿankabūt, p. 513-729). [Kirmān] (ms d 2), 1395q/ [1975]. 729 p. [SHA IV 2].

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MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)*.** (Ijāzat Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Kirmānī Āl al-Baḥrānī li-l-muṣannif/ Ijāzat Muḥammad Riḍā ibn Faṭḥ Allāh al-Yazdī li-l-muṣannif/ Warīqāt fī l-faḍāʿil [al-qamar al-munīr], p. 9-60/ Risāla mukhtaṣara fī l-tawajjuh, p. 61-67/ ʿAyn al-yaqīn, p. 68-220/ Risāla dar sharḥ-i ʿlā ḥawl wa-lā quwwa illā bi-llāhʾ, p. 221-68/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mīr Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Rafsanjānī, p. 269-88/ Risāla fī ʿilm al-qiyāfa, p. 289-376/ Risāla fī munjazāt al-murīd, p. 377-42/ Risāla fī jawāb Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Būshihrī, p. 430-41/ Risāla dar jawāb-i ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Khān Adīb al-Mulk, p. 442-80/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā ʿAlī al-Uskūʿī, p. 481-700). [Kirmān] (ms d 5), 1396q/ [1976]. 701 p. [SHA IV 5].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)*.** (Muḥammad Karīm Khān: Durūs, p.1-152/ Warīqāt fī sharḥ Lubb al-lubāb, p. 255-329/ Risāla fī l-khums, p. 330-92/ Risāla fī kayfiyya tawallud al-mawālīd, p. 394-416/ Ijāzat Āqā Shaykh ʿAlī [Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kirmānī] li-l-muṣannif, p. 418-21). [Kirmān] (ms d 6), 1396q/ [1976]. 421 p. [SHA IV 6].

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fā'iliyyat al-fā'il, p. 706-10). [Kirmān] (ms d 13), 1398q/ [1977]. 739 p. [SHA IV 13].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla-i Nāshiriyya, p. 1-110/ Risāla dar jawāb-i irādāt-i ba'ḍ ahl-i Tabrīz, p. 111-16/ Risāla dar jawāb-i su'ālāt-i mubhama-i Sayyid Bāqir, p. 117-45/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Salmāsī, p. 146-63/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bunābī, p. 164-202/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Amīr Aṣḷān Khān, p. 203-40/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Baṣrī, p. 241-59/ Risāla dar jawāb-i yakī az 'ulamā-i Marāgha, p. 260-328/ Risāla dar jawāb-i yakī az rufaqa-i Nā'in, p. 329-99/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mīrzā 'Abd al-'Alī Hindī, p. 400-10/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Shaykh 'Alī Akbar Malāyirī, p. 411-24/ Risāla dar jawāb-i yakī az dūstān, p. 425-67/ Muḥammad Karīm al-Kirmānī: Risāla dar jawāb-i shakhṣī bā dū su'āl, p. 468-91/ Waṣiyyat-i Shaykh Abū l-Qāsim Malāyirī, p. 492-97). [Kirmān] (ms d 14), 1398q/ [1977]. 497 p. [SHA IV 14].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā 'Alī al-Ṭālaqānī, p. 1-40/ Manāsik-i ḥajj, p. 41-111/ Taqwīm al-'iwaj, p. 112-356/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Ḥājj Muḥammad Riḍā Rāshṭī, p. 357-480/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'ḍ al-ikhwān, p. 381-408/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Rāshṭī, p. 408-26/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj 'Alī Muḥammad al-Narāqī, p. 427-59/ Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Tarjuma-i kitāb al-Makāsib-i Jāmi', p. 451-524/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Jalīl, p. 525-54/ Manāsik al-ḥajj, p. 555-626/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar al-Qarābāghī, p. 627-73). [Kirmān] (ms d 15), 1397q/ [1976]. 673 p. [SHA IV 15].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Fā'ida fī l-tawḥīd, p. 1-7/ Sharḥ sūrat al-qadr, p. 8-13/ al-Kāzirūniyya, p. 14-45/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Hamadānī, p. 45-60/ Fā'ida fī ta'yīn al-wāḍi' al-asmā', p. 61-76/ Fā'ida fī ta'yīn al-hilāl, p. 76-90/ al-Qarābāghiyya, p. 92-97/ Risāla fī jawāb 'Abbās Mīrzā fī al-raja'a, p. 98-285/ al-Dawwāniyya fī jawāb al-Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī al-Dawwānī, p. 285-304/ Risāla-i Bihbahāniyya, p. 306-82/ Fā'ida fī baqa' al-ashbah, p. 384-94/ Fā'ida fī ma'rifat al-nafs al-bāqiya, p. 395-405). [Kirmān] (ms d 16), 1397q/ [1976]. 405 p. [SHA IV 16].

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- MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il)*.** (Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, p. 1-128/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Nāẓim al-sharī'a, p. 129-80/ Risāla dar jawāb-i sā'ilī, p. 181-95/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā 'Abd Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, p. 196-237/ Risāla dar jawāb-i ba'd-i ahl-i Būshihir, p. 239-59/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Abarqu'i, p. 260-308/ Risāla dar jawāb-i su'ālāt-i Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Khabīr al-Mulk, p. 310-446/ Fā'ida fī bayān al-badan al-'araḍī wa-l-mithālī, p. 447-50/ Fā'ida fī bayān al-ḥaqīqa, p. 450-53/ Fā'ida fī bayān darajāt al-nufūs fī l-tūl, p. 454-55/ Risāla fī akhbār al-rizq, p. 456-85/ Risālat hidāyat al-mustarshid, p. 486-730). [Kirmān] (ms d 18), 1398q/ [1977]. 730 p. [SHA IV 18].
- MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā'il).** ('Ilal al-aḥkām, p. 2-434/ Risāla fī jawāb Mīrzā Bahā'i al-Lāhijī, p. 436-99/ Risāla fī faḍl al-sādāt, p. 500-3/ Risāla fī jawāb ba'd al-ajillā', p. 504-603/ Risāla fī tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā 'innā 'araḍnā al-amāna', p. 605-21/ Fā'ida fī l-'ilm wa-l-shakk wa-l-ẓann wa-l-wahm, p. 622-35/ Fā'ida fī l-'ulūm al-thalātha, 637-53/ Risālat al-durar fī l-jafr, p. 654-68/ Sharḥ al-qaṣīda 'al-sā'a', p. 670-86). [Kirmān] (ms d 19), 1397q/ [1976]. 696 p. [SHA IV 19, 20].
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- ZAYN AL-^ʿĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. *Risāla fī al-Adilla al-^ʿaqliyya**. [Kirmān] (ms h 19), 1399q/ [1978]. 27 p. [SHA V 19].
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- ZAYN AL-^ʿĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. *Kitāb al-Tijāra**. 2 vols. [Kirmān] (ms h 15, 16), 1398q/ [1977]. 536, 482 p. [SHA V 15, 16].
- ZAYN AL-^ʿĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. *Tafsīr sūrat al-jumʿa**. In: *Majmaʿ al-tafāsīr*. Kirmān, 1379-1381q/ [1959-61]. 182 p. [8^o HC I 16].
- ZAYN AL-^ʿĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. *Tafsīr sūrat al-munāfiqīn**. In: *Majmaʿ al-tafāsīr*. Kirmān, 1379-1381q/ [1959-61]. 125 p. [8^o HC I 16].
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- ZAYN AL-^ʿĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. *Rasāʿil thalātha**. (Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ/ Tamyīz al-awṣiyāʾ/ *Risāla-i suʿālāt-i Akbarī*). Kirmān, 1384-1385q/ [1964-65]. 130, 243 p. [8^o HC VI 15].
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- ZAYN AL-^ʿĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. *Kitāb-i Ṣawāʿiq al-burhān [dar radd-i Dalāʿil al-ʿirfān]**. [Kirmān] (ms h 14), 1398q/ [1977]. 872 p. [SHA V 14].
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- ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. Kitāb **Nūr al-‘uyūn***. [Kirmān] (ms h 21), 1400q/ [1979]. [SHA V 21].
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- ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā’il)***. (Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Baḥrānī, p. 2-65/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Dawwānī, p. 66-91/ Tazyīl dar radd-i īrādāt-i Hāshim Shāmī bar Qur’ān, p. 92-214/ Risāla fī l-‘ilm wa-l-‘adl, p. 216-328/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Qarābāghī, 333-38/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Hamadānī, 340-89/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājji ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Narāqī, p. 390-433/ Tafsīr sūrat al-Jum‘a, p. 434-592/ Tafsīr sūrat al-Munāfiqīn, p. 594-703/ Maqāla dar jawāb-i rūznāma-i Ḥabl-i matīn, p. 704-9). [Kirmān] (ms h 3), 1399q/ [1978]. 709 p. [SHA V 3].

- ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā’il)*.** (Risāla dar jawāb-i Mīrzā ‘Alī Muḥammad Khān, p. 2-10/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mīrzā Riḍā Uskūṭī, p. 12-120/ Risāla-i Haftād mas’ala dar jawāb-i Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Thiḡat al-‘ulamā’ Salmāsī, p. 122-396/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Ḥājj ‘Alī Muḥammad Narāqī, p. 398-442/ Risāla-i Ṣā’iqa dar jawāb-i Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān Mukhābir al-Mulk, p. 444-533/ Risāla dar jawāb-i yakī az ikhwān-i Čatrūd dar nikāḡ, p. 534-36/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Muḥammad Ḥasan Wakīl al-Ra’āyā, p. 538-73). [Kirmān] (ms h 4), 1399q/ [1978]. 573 p. [SHA V 4].
- ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā’il)*.** (Risāla dar jawāb-i Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Baṣrī, p. 2-112/ Risāla-i Shāhid-i ṣidq, p. 114-32/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Shaykh Ḥasan Sardrūdī, p. 134-48/ Risāla-i dīgar dar jawāb-i Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Baṣrī, p. 150-61/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Muḥammad Taqī Khān Fārsanjī, p. 162-207/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mīrzā ‘Alī Riḍā Khān Wakīl al-Dawla, p. 208-36/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Karbalā’ī Muḥammad Riḍā Khayyāt-i Gulpāygānī, p. 237-76/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yazdī, p. 278-373/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Shaykh Muḥammad Bihbahānī, p. 374-84/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqā Aḡmad Mishkāt, p. 386-419/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqa-i Muḥammad Bāqir Rafsanjānī, p. 420-23/ Risāla-i ṣirāt al-mun’amīn dar jawāb-i Iftikhār al-Mulk Afshār, p. 424-654/ Risāla-i Rushdiyya dar jawāb-i Sayyid Ḥasan Najīb al-Ashrāfī, p. 656-80/ Risāla-i dīgar dar jawāb-i Āqā Aḡmad Mishkāt, p. 682-709/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Shaykh ‘Alī ibn Shaykh Ḥasan, p. 710-56/ Risāla-i dīgar dar jawāb-i Shaykh Ḥasan Sardrūdī, p. 758-64/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Sayyid ‘Alī Khurāsānī, p. 766-77) [Kirmān] (ms h 5), 1398q/ [1977]. 777 p. [SHA V 5].
- ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā’il)*.** (Risāla fī ‘ilm Allāh bi-l-ma’lūmāt, 20 p. / Risāla fī ba’ḡ al-maṡālib al-ḡikmiyya, 28 p./ Risāla dar jawāb-i sā’ilī dar sharḡ-i ba’ḡ-i maṡālib-i ḡhaybat wa-ḡuhūr, 6 p./ Risāla fī jawāb al-Ḥājj Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Yazdī, p. 2-77/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Ḥājj al-Riḡawī, p. 78-98/ Risāla fī jawāb ba’ḡ al-ikhwān min ahl Salmās, p. 100-38/ Risāla fī jawāb Muḥammad Qulī-Khān Sipih, p. 140-229/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, p. 230-56/ Risāla fī jawāb Mullā Faraj-Allāh al-Mamaqānī, p. 258-78/ Risāla fī l-diyāt, p. 280-446/

Maqāla-i mukhtaṣar dar jawāb-i jarīda-i Ḥabl-i mafīn). [Kirmān] (ms h 6), 1399q/ [1978]. 2, 20, 28, 6, 447 p. [SHA V 6].

ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā’il)***. (Risāla dar radd-i qawl-i shakḥ-i kih dar fatwā qirā’at-i kamā unzila rā ikhtiyār karda būd/ Su’ālāt-i Akbarī (1), p. 2-117/ Su’ālāt-i Akbarī (2), p. 118-67/ Sharḥ du‘ā’ al-Ḥujub fī jawāb Sayf al-‘ulamā’, p. 118-441). [Kirmān] (ms h 7), 1398q/ [1977]. 10, 441 p. [SHA V 7].

ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ. **Collection (Rasā’il)***. (Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Makhāzī aqwāl al-ṣūfiyya, 15 p./ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh ‘Alī ibn ‘Alī Riḍā al-Khū’ī, p. 2-17/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Salmāsī, p. 18-50/ Risāla fī jawāb Muḥammad Qulī Khān Sipīhr, p. 52-66/ Shubuhāt al-naṣrāniyya, p. 68-105/ Risāla dar iḥdār-i arwāḥ, p. 105-11/ Risāla-i Zaynabiyya [dar sharḥ-i maqām-i Ḥaḍrat-i Zaynab] dar jawāb-i Nawwāb Wakīl Riḍawī, p. 112-61/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mullā Muḥammad Taqī, p. 162-83/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Mahrīzī, p. 184-231/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Muḥammad Ismā’īl al-Salmāsī, p. 232-315/ Risāla dar jawāb-i ba‘ḍ-i ikhwān-i Iṣfahān, p. 316-40/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mīrzā Muḥammad Riḍā Uskū’ī, p. 342-93/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Āqā Sayyid Ibrāhīm, p. 394-443/ Risāla ukhrā fī jawāb al-Mīrzā Muḥammad Ismā’īl al-Salmāsī, p. 444-597/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Uskū’ī, p. 598-640/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bihbahānī, p. 642-73/ Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī: Tarjuma-i Manāsik al-ḥajj [tr. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Khān Kirmānī], p. 674-704/ Risāla-i Rushdiyya dar jawāb-i Mīrzā Muḥammad-i Ṭabīb, p. 706-69/ Risāla fī jawāb al-Shaykh Ḥasan al-Sardrūdī, p. 770-817). [Kirmān] (ms h 8), 1398q/ [1977]. [SHA V 8].

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hānī, p. 22-64/ Risāla-i Manāqib-i Ḥusayniyya dar jawāb-i Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥusayn Maḥallātī, p. 66-175/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqā Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir Yazdī, p. 178-238/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Ḥājjī ʿAlī Muḥammad Narāqī, p. 242-341/ Risāla dar jawāb-i irādāt-i Āqā Sayyid ʿAlī, p. 346-60/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqā Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Čatrūdī, p. 362-93/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqā Mīrzā Muḥammad Muʿīn al-Islām Bihbahānī, p. 394-472/ Risāla-i dīgar dar jawāb-i Āqā Mīrzā Muḥammad Muʿīn al-Islām Bihbahānī, p. 473-91/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqā Shaykh Yūsuf Bašrī, p. 492-527/ Risāla dar jawāb-i Āqā Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bašrī, p. 528-90/ Risāla-i dīgar-i dar jawāb-i Āqā Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bašrī, p. 592-615). [Kirmān] (ms h 10), 1398q/ [1977]. 615 p. [SHA V 10].

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⁷ABD AL-RIDĀ KHĀN IBRĀHĪMĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)***. (Risāla-i mā warāʿ-i tabīʿat, p. 1-181/ Risālat al-taqlīd, p. 182-261/ Risāla dar ʿilm-i dharr, p. 262-351/ Risāla dar taqiyya wa-baʿḏī masāʿil-i dīgar, p. 352-99/ Risāla dar jawāb-i murāsila-i Āqā-i Shukr Allāh Pūr, 400-3). [Kirmān] (ms z 5), 1400q/ [1979]. 403 p. [SHA VII 5].

⁸ABD AL-RIDĀ KHĀN IBRĀHĪMĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)***. (Jawāb-i muhandis Mūsā Jam, p. 2-45/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Amīnī, p. 46-61/ Jawāb-i Khānum-i Kazzāzī, p. 62-83/ Jawāb-i Khānum-i Kazzāzī, p. 84-95/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Zamānī, p. 96-107/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Rīsmān-Furūsh, p. 108-95/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Sāʿilī, p. 196-211/ Risāla-i sī masʿala, p. 212-364/ Risāla-i barāʿat al-abrār, p. 365-533/ Risāla-i faṭimiyya, p. 534-605/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Īlkhānī, p. 606-17/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Ḥājj Muḥammad Bashīr Anṣārī, p. 618-29/ Muqaddima-i kitāb-i Tarīq-i al-najāt, p. 630-34/ Fihrist-i baʿḏ-i maṭālib-i mundaraj dar Kitāb-i mubārak-i Sharḥ al-ziyāra, p. 635-46/ Muqaddima-i Kitāb-i mubārak-i Sharḥ al-ziyāra, p. 647-54). [Kirmān] (ms z 6), 1400q/ [1979]. 654 p. [SHA VII 6].

⁹ABD AL-RIDĀ KHĀN IBRĀHĪMĪ. **Collection (Rasāʿil)***. (Jawāb-i Āqā-i Shafīʿī Pūr, p. 1-8/ Yā ʿAlī madad, p. 9-48/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Kihzādī, p. 49-58/ Čihil masʿala, p. 59-290/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i Fakhr Burqaʿī, p. 291-338/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i muhandis Īrāndūst, p. 339-62/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i muhandis Šādiq, p. 363-94/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i muhandis Sayf, p. 395-414/ Muqaddima-i “Faṣl al-khitāb”, p. 415-29/ Jawāb-i Khānum-i Kazzāzī, p. 430-33/ Jawāb-i Āqā-i ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Dar-

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ḥirz-i mubārak-i Ḥaḍrat-i Ṣādiq, p. 157-74/ Tarjuma-i du‘ā‘-i mubārak-i Ḥujub, p. 175-80/ Tarjuma-i du‘ā‘-i mubārak-i asmā‘ Allāh, p. 181-87/ Tarjuma-i faqarātī az du‘ā‘-i dīgar, p. 188). [Kirmān] (ms z 20), 1400q/ [1979]. 188 p. [SHA VII 20].

Appendix

Self-censorship is not a recent phenomenon in Imāmism. Some decades after the Occultation of the Twelfth Imām, in the second half of the fourth/tenth century, the “rationalist” tradition began to take the upper hand in the Imāmī religious field, and the original nonrationalist tradition was increasingly marginalized¹. Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991), the last major representative of the original tradition, seems to have felt obliged to suppress those traditions which shed doubt on the integrity of the ‘Uthmānic recension of the Qur’ān and instead adopted an ‘orthodox’ attitude². He was, moreover, criticized on other issues by his famous student, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), the true founder of the “theological/juridical/rational tradition”, who reproached him for not having displayed logical lucidity when accepting the authenticity of numerous “nonrational” traditions³. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) even went so far as to demand that entire portions of early compilations should be suppressed, especially those by al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941); these were absurd, in his opinion, when viewed from the standpoint of reason⁴. The “theological/juridical/rational” tendency, which from the sixth/twelfth century onwards was named ‘uṣūliyya’ and in modern times the ‘school of the *mujtahids*’, has remained predominant until

¹ On the two traditions, the “esoteric nonrational tradition” and the “theological/juridical/rationalist tradition”, cf. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 15-48 (= *The Divine Guide*, pp. 6-19).

² On the attitude of early Imāmism towards the ‘Uthmānic recension of the Qur’ān, see E. Kohlberg, «Some Notes on the Imāmī Attitude to the Qur’ān», S.M. Stern et al. (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition. Essays Presented by his Friends and Pupils to Richard Walzer on his Seventieth Birthday*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 209-224; M. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 200-227 (= *The Divine Guide*, pp. 79-91); M.M. Bar-Asher, «Variant Readings and Additions of the Imāmī-Šī‘a to the Qur’ān», *Israel Oriental Studies*, 13, 1993, pp. 39-74.

³ See for example al-Mufīd, *Kitāb sharḥ ‘aqā’id al-Ṣadūq aw-Taṣḥīḥ al-i’tiqād*, ed. ‘A. Wajdī, Tabriz, 1371/1951, 2nd ed.; id., «al-Masā’il al-Sarawiyya», *al-Thaqalān al-kitāb wa-l-‘itra*, Najaf, n.d., pp. 55 ff; see also M. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*, index, s.v. Ibn Bābawayh; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, «Remarques sur les critères d’authenticité du hadīth et l’autorité du juriste dans le shī‘isme imāmīte», *Studia Islamica*, 86, 1997.

⁴ See for example, W. Madelung, «al-Kulaynī», EI²; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, art.cit.

the present time. Following the constitution of the rule of the *mujtahids* and their increasing assumption of power in the social, economic and political fields, the tendency to censor the early sources again grew. Two principal preoccupations appear to account for this attitude: first, the search for 'Islamic unity'; thus, the attempt to approach the Sunnite positions or, at least, not to offend Sunnite sentiments. Second, the desire to silence the theosophic esoteric, even magical, aspects of Imāmism. In the following, three examples of modern censorship will be presented: the edition of the *Tafsīr* by 'Ālī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. around 307/919), prepared between 1386-87/1966-67 by a *mujtahid* al-Sayyid Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī, has been censored. In it, those passages which were hostile towards the first three caliphs, 'A'isha and other adversaries of the Shī'ites as, for example, certain personalities among the Umayyads and the Abbasides have been suppressed (for example, those passages corresponding to the commentaries on verses 14:22, 24:11, 66:2, 66:10, etc.). It is only by comparison with manuscripts of the text or with the old lithograph editions of it (for example Iran, 1313/1895 or another edition n.p. [presumably Iran], 1315/1897 together with the *Tafsīr* attributed to the Imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī on the margin) that the censorship can be discovered⁵.

Since the victory of the 'Islamic revolution' in Iran, censorship seems to have become even more widespread. From the latest edition of the famous *Bihār al-anwār* by Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1699), prepared in Qumm-Tehran in the 1980s, several tens of traditions hostile towards the first three caliphs have been suppressed — traditions which are included in volumes vii, viii and ix of the old edition comprising 35 volumes (Iran, n.d.). Even in the index to the *Bihār* which was published recently (Qumm, 1991-1993, 30 vol.) there is no trace left of these traditions⁶.

⁵ At some rare instances the editor indicates in a certain manner that part of the text has been suppressed (for example by inserting ellipsis points where portions of the text have been omitted — see the edition of Najaf, II, p. 377 — or by remarking that «the tradition continues» (*li-l-riwāya tatimma*), see ib., II, p. 376, n. 2). For further details on the censorship of al-Qummī's work, see M.M. Bar-Asher, *Studies in Early Imāmī-Shī'ī Qur'ān Exegesis (3rd-4th/ 9th-10th Centuries)*, PhD thesis (Hebrew), Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991, chp.1, part 4. (An English translation is currently under preparation at the Oxford University Press). On the Imāmī attitude towards the *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* («insulting the companions of the Prophet»), see E. Kohlberg, *The Attitude of the Imāmī Shī'īs to the Companions of the Prophet*, PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1971; id., «Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *Ṣaḥāba*», *JSAI*, 5, 1984, pp.143-175 (= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, part IX). A. Arazī, «*Ilqām al-ḥajār li man zakkā sābb Abī Bakr wa-Umar* d'al-Suyūfī (849-911/1445-1505) ou Le Témoignage de L'Insulteur des Compagnons», *JSAI*, 10, 1987, pp. 211-287. J. Calmard, «Les rituels shiites et le pouvoir. L'imposition du shiisme safavide: eulogies et malédictions canoniques», id. (ed.), *Etudes Safavides*, Paris, Tehran, 1993, pp. 109-150.

⁶ On this work see now K.H. Pampus, *Die theologische Enzyklopädie Bihār al-Anwār des Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḡlisī*, Ph.D. dissertation, Bonn, 1970.

Finally, in the latest edition of the *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, a theosophic work by Jaʿfar Kashfī (d. 1267/1850-51), which was published in Tehran in the 1980s (n.d., the editor not being mentioned), half the text of the work has been excluded from the edition without any explanation being offered⁷. In order to have a complete text of the work, the reader needs to refer back to two old lithograph editions: one which was published in two volumes, n.p. [Iran], n.d., and another, containing many errors, which was published in one volume in Iran in 1276/1859-60.

Fortunately, there is no reason to generalise these observations. Other works which also contain numerous data on the *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* as on doctrines of highly esoteric character have been published in Iran in recent years without undergoing any censorship⁸. However, the three examples cited above are sufficient to warn scholars to be cautious. The old lithograph editions, as well as the manuscripts of a certain category of Imāmī sources, namely those belonging or referring to the early “esoteric nonrationalist tradition,” are still extremely useful. In some cases they turn out to be even indispensable.

⁷ On this work by Kashfī, see H. Corbin, «Cosmogonie et herméneutique dans l’œuvre de Sayyid Jaʿfar Kashfī», *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire 1970-1971, Itinéraire d’un enseignement* (collection of resumes of courses given by H. Corbin at the EPHE), Paris, Tehran, 1993, pp. 125-129; id., *Face de Dieu, Face de l’Homme*, Paris, 1983, pp. 345-358; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, «Aspects de l’imāmologie duodécimaine I: remarques sur la divinité de l’Imām», *Studia Iranica*, 25 (2), 1996, pp. 209 ff.

⁸ Just to mention one example, the *Baṣāʾir al-darajāt* by al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, an extensive work totally devoted to early Imāmī esotericism, was published in full at Tehran in 1362 solar/1983 (facsimile edition of the edition by Kūchebāghī, 1380/1960, 2nd. ed.). On this work and its author, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, «Al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (m. 290/902-3) et son *Kitāb Baṣāʾir al-darajāt*», *JA*, 280 (3-4), 1992, pp. 221-250.