BRILL

SHII STUDIES REVIEW 3 (2019) 183-210

Shii Studies Review

brill.com/ssr

Directions in Jewish-Shīʿī Studies

Ehud Krinis
Frankel Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Michigan
ksehud@gmail.com

Abstract

So far Jewish-Shīʿī Studies have failed to receive clear and wide recognition from the community of scholars of both Jewish and Shīʿī Studies. In an effort to substantiate the case for clearer and wider scholarly recognition of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies, the present article provides a survey of the state of art of these studies, especially regarding the period of the 1st /7th-7th/13th centuries. While the survey testifies to the diversity and the manifold directions included in this field of studies, the article also addresses the question of what can be considered the unique features in Jewish-Shīʿī affinities.

Keywords

Judaism – shiism – Ismāʿīlīs – al-Andalus – messianism – *Kalām* – neoplatonism – mysticism – Yemen – *Isrāʾīliyyāt*

Introduction

The subject of this article—"Jewish–Shīʿī Studies"—is elusive and hard to define. When it comes to an interdisciplinary topic such as this, one that seeks to find meeting points between two separate religious traditions, namely Judaism and Shīʿism, even the basic justification of such an endeavour can be called into question. My topic encompasses a broad array of subjects, unlimited to either a homogeneous school or a specific period. In accord with the special place reserved in both the Jewish and the Shīʿī (especially the Ismāʿīlī) traditions to the number seven, I will review in what follows seven research directions related to seven 'founding fathers' of the field of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies. This review is by no means comprehensive, nor is it intended to be. The emphasis here is on the study of literary works from the Middle Ages, an era corresponding more or

 | DOI:10.1163/24682470-12340042

less to the formative and classical periods in Islamic history (1st/7th-7th/13th centuries). My aim here is to present some research directions that were first spelled out in some detail in pioneering studies from previous generations. I will then note other, later, studies which add to our knowledge in each of these directions. In the last part of the article I will present my own conclusions and observations regarding the current state of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies.

The Evidence of al-Andalus

Ignác (Yitzhak Yehudah) Goldziher (1850-1921), who is considered by many the father of modern western Islamic studies,[1] made landmark contributions in many fields of the study of Islam, including the study of Shīʿism.[2] One of Goldziher's lesser-known pioneering contributions is his notes on Shīʿī segments in the writings of Jewish writers from al-Andalus in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, among them Judah Halevi (d. 535/1141), Baḥya ibn Paqūda (fl. second half of the 5th/11th century) and the anonymous writer of *Kitāb Maʿānī al-nafs* ("*Treatise On the Essence of the Soul*").[3] Al-Andalus never came under Shīʿī rule and no Shīʿī community of any significance ever lived there. So, the meagre attention al-Andalus has received so far from the scholars of Shīʿism is not surprising. However, follow-up studies in the direction delineated by Goldziher are gradually changing this situation. Published in 1980, Shlomo Pines's study on Shīʿī terms and conceptions in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* was a landmark contribution which considerably broadened our understanding of the special nature of Judah Halevi's encounter with Shīʿism.[4] In my own study, *God's Chosen People: Judah Halevi's 'Kuzari' and the Shīʿī Imām Doctrine*, I have argued that in Judah Halevi's famous work we find the wide-ranging encounter of a Jewish Andalusian thinker with the main body of Shīʿī theology—the Imām doctrine.[5] The Shīʿī Imām doctrine points to the ways in which the

1 See in this context Conrad, "Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan."

2 On Goldziher's contribution to the study of Shīʿism, see Kohlberg, "Western Studies of Shīʿa Islam," pp. 38-40.

3 Goldziher, "Mélanges Judéo-Arabes XXI," especially pp. 34, 41; idem, "Al-Hidāja ʾilā Farāʾid al-Qulūb," p. 531; *Kitāb Maʿāni al-Nafs—Buch vom Wesen der Seele*, pp. 34*-35*, 38*. A point of similarity between Judah Halevi and the Ismāʿīlī treatment of Adam was already briefly noted in Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre*, p. 177, n. 136.

4 Pines, "Shīʿite Terms."

5 Krinis, *God's Chosen People*. For a comparative discussion of the art of dialogue in Judah Halevi's 'Kuzari' and early Shīʿī-Ismāʿīlī works see Hughes, *The Art of Dialogue in Jewish Philosophy*, pp. 32-49.

status of the Shīʿī imams as God's chosen ones in the Islamic era is backed by a continuous and unbroken chain of God's chosen people from the dawn of history. This meta-historical Shīʿī model, known by the term 'legacy' (*waṣiyya*), was creatively used by Judah Halevi to redefine the status of Israel as God's chosen people as a primordial quality, and thus non-transferrable to other religious groups who claim this status, such as the Christians and the Muslims.

Another example of a Jewish adaptation of this Shīʿī meta-historical model can be found in *Megillat ha-Megalleh* (*The Scroll of the Revealer*), a work written by Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (or Bar Ḥayya, d. c. 530/1136). Bar Ḥiyya, Judah Halevi's contemporary, lived in the northern, Christian, part of the Iberian Peninsula. Judah Halevi and Abraham Bar Ḥiyya utilized different aspects of the Shīʿī 'legacy' (*waṣiyya*) model. In the *Kuzari*, the emphasis is on the physical traits of the chosen ones who succeeded each other in a genealogical chain, from Adam to Israel.[6] In *Megillat ha-Megalleh* the emphasis is on a spiritual trait—the "pure soul" (Heb. *ha-neshamah ha-ṭehorah*) that was inherited by the same chain of chosen individuals until it reached the people of Israel.[7]

Other aspects of Goldziher's legacy, highlighting additional channels for the study of Shīʿī elements in the works of Judeo-Arabic writers during the heyday of Jewish-Andalusian culture (5th/11-6th/12th centuries), still await further investigation.[8]

Messianism

Israel Friedlander (1876-1920) may be a far less renowned scholar than Goldziher, whose life came to a tragic end in 1920, when he was only 43 years old.[9] Yet, Friedlander's scholarly achievements during his short academic career make him the father of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies, and along with Goldziher and a few other scholars, one of the founders of the academic study of Shīʿism in general.[10]

In a series of articles published between the years 1910-12 and titled "Jewish-Arabic Studies: Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism," Friedlander

6 See in this context Pines, "Note sur la Doctrine de la Prophétie."

7 See Krinis, "Abraham Bar Ḥiyya on 'the Pure Soul'," pp. 306-8; Vajda, 'Idées théologiques," p. 208.

8 See in this context Krinis, "A Shīʿī Passage in *Duties of the Heart*."

9 On Friedlander's life and scholarly achievements, see Shargel, *Practical Dreamer*.

10 For his most important contributions to Shīʿī studies, see Friedlander, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites," idem, "'Abdallāh ibn Sabā."

argued convincingly that the Jewish messianic movements from the nascent period of Islam, most notably the ʿĪsāwiyya, can be most effectively understood in relation to contemporary early Shīʿī movements and their doctrines. Friedlander further claimed that the same Shīʿī features are still discernible in much later movements, including the Bābī and Bahāʾī movements of the 13th/19th and 14th/20th centuries. According to Friedlander, these features are also useful in understanding Jewish messianic movements of the modern era, such as Sabbateanism in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries and the Jewish-Yemenite messianic movement in the 13th/19th century.[11]

After Friedlander, no comprehensive study in this direction was attempted by scholars until the last decade of the 20th century. Steven Wasserstrom's book *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*, published in 1995, was the most ambitious and wide-ranging work in Jewish-Shīʿī Studies since Friedlander's above-mentioned series of articles.[12] Concentrating on the early Islamic period, Wasserstrom claimed that the early movements discussed by Friedlander belonged to the same "sectarian milieu" (an expression coined by John Wansbrough).[13] In this shared milieu, the eschatological expectations of Jews and Shīʿīs were nourished by similar apocalyptic and messianic expectations and motifs.

The full historical spectrum encompassed by Friedlander's work still awaits further scholarly reassessment. Certainly, more comparative study in this direction is needed, as the messianic element is one in which Judaism and Shīʿīsm seem to be the closest. In this respect, an examination of the impact of the prolonged experience of exile of the people of Israel in the Jewish case, and the prolonged experience of the occultation of the Imām-messiah in the Shīʿī case, can prove fruitful. I tried to substantiate this claim in an article in which I compared Judah Halevi's attitude towards the exile (*Galut*) of the people of Israel with the attitude towards the occultation (*ghayba*) of the Imām in the works of two notable Shīʿī-Imāmī writers—Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī (d. c. 360/971) and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Babawayh[i] (d. 381/991).[14]

11 Friedlander, "Jewish-Arabic Studies." See also Erder, "The Doctrine of Abū ʿIsā al-Iṣfahānī," pp. 164-65, 168-69.

12 Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*.

13 Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu*.

14 Krinis, "*Galut* and *Ghayba*."

Jewish Manuscripts of Works of Shīʿī Provenance in the Firkovich Collections

Andrei Iakovlevič Borisov (1903-42), who died as a victim of the Second World War, reached some remarkable achievements during his short academic career. Borisov's important studies were based on discoveries he made in the Arabic and the Judeo-Arabic sections of the Jewish manuscripts of the Firkovich Collections in the Russian National Library in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg).[15] An early article by Borisov is dedicated to his most important discovery from the Firkovich Collections—lengthy fragments in Judeo-Arabic of a long version of a pseudo-Aristotelian work known as the *Theology of Aristotle*.[16] Until the publication of this article, the long version was known only in its Latin translation from the Arabic, made in the 10th/16th century. Borisov also made this discovery the subject of his dissertation, left unfinished at the time of his death and first published in 2002.[17]

From the perspective of Jewish-Shīʿī studies, the significance of the long version of the *Theology of Aristotle* lies in the doctrine of the cosmological *amr/kalima* (command/word) as a manifestation of God's will. This doctrine appears in the long version, whereas it is absent from the better-known short version. In another study, Borisov pointed out the relevance of this doctrine in the context of medieval Judeo-Arabic thought, especially that of Solomon Ibn Gabirol (d. c. 450/1058).[18] Following Goldziher, Borisov was generally aware of the relevance of the cosmological *amr/kalima* doctrine to Ismāʿīlī-Shīʿī thought also.[19] Yet, it was left to other scholars to investigate the historical implications of this doctrine further, which seems to have received its early formulation in the long version of the *Theology of Aristotle*. Thus, Shlomo Pines examined the central place reserved for this doctrine in the Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonist cosmological framework of the 10th-11th centuries.[20] The strong affinity between the articulation of the *amr/kalima* doctrine in the long version of the *Theology of*

15 On Borisov and his scholarly legacy, see Treiger, "Borisov." On the Firkovich Collections and their structure see Sklare, "A Guide," pp. 895, 905-9. See also Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts," p. 378, n. 6.

16 Borisov, "The Arabic Original." The main body of this work consists of translations and paraphrases of sections from Plotinus' *Enneads*, books 4-6.

17 Borisov, "Problems," pp. 14-116. See Treiger, "Borisov," pp. 161-76. For a more up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the different manuscripts of the Judeo-Arabic rendition of the long version of the *Theology of Aristotle*, see Fenton, "The Arabic and Hebrew Versions."

18 Borisov, "On the Point of Departure."

19 Treiger, "Borisov," pp. 168, 185-86, n. 96.

20 Pines, "La longue récension." See also the extended discussion in Ebstein, "The Word of God."

Aristotle and in Ismāʿīlī sources led Pines to assume that the dissemination of this doctrine to Jewish works occurred via the mediation of Ismāʿīlī channels.[21]

The possible ties between the Ismāʿīlī and the Jewish elucidations of the *amr/kalima* doctrine received further reinforcement from another much later discovery in the Firkovich Collections—Paul Fenton's identification of fragments in Judeo-Arabic of an Ismāʿīlī work titled *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa* (*The Comprehensive Epistle*).[22] This work presents itself as a complementary and advanced addition to the famous corpus of epistles of the Brethren of Purity (*Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*).[23] The Judeo-Arabic manuscript of *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa* serves as direct evidence for the exposure of Jewish readers to one of the most developed and Shīʿī-inclined versions of the *amr/kalima* doctrine. In this version, the cosmological aspect of the doctrine is supplemented with a meta-historical aspect related to the 'speaker prophets' (*nuṭaqāʾ*, *ruʾasāʾ*) who inaugurate the historical cycles. In this manner, *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa* grounds the Ismāʿīlī conception of the meta-historical status of God's chosen ones in the highest stratum of the cosmological order.[24] A creative and wide-ranging adaptation of this Ismāʿīlī version of the *amr/kalima* doctrine can be found in the aforementioned *Kuzari* by Judah Halevi.[25]

As to Borisov's other discoveries in the Firkovich Collections, in 1935 he published two articles containing a survey of fragments of Muʿtazilī *kalām* treaties copied by Jewish-Karaite scribes.[26] Borisov's findings included a Muʿtazilī manual by the prominent Shīʿī-Imāmī leader and writer ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, better known as al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044). Al-Murtaḍā's Muʿtazilī manual—*Kitāb Dhakhīrat al-ʿālim wa-baṣīrat al-mutaʿallim* ("*The Treasure of the Scholar and the Illumination of the Student*")—deviates to a considerable extent from the manuals written by non-Shīʿī Muʿtazilī writers in the section devoted to the doctrine of leadership (*imāma*).[27] Thus, al-Murtaḍā's

21 Pines, "La longue récension," p. 20.

22 Fenton, *A Tentative Hand List*, p. 61.

23 The Firkovich Collections also include fragments in Judeo-Arabic of the concluding 52nd epistle of *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* (more precisely, the separate longer version of this epistle, which is now identified by Godefroid De Callataÿ and Bruno Halflants as epistle 52b). For a detailed description of the fragments of *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa* and epistle 52b (*al-Risāla fī māhiyyat al-siḥr*) in the Firkovich Collections, see Krinis, "*Al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa*," pp. 325-26.

24 Krinis, "*Al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa*," pp. 319-23.

25 Pines, "Shīʿite Terms," pp. 174-78, 226; Krinis, *God's Chosen People*, pp. 199-203, 210-11.

26 Borisov, "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts;" idem, "On the Muʿtazilī Manuscripts." See Treiger, "Borisov," pp. 186-89.

27 Schmidtke, "Jewish Reception," p. 54.

work offered its Jewish readers an exposition of the Shīʿī imām doctrine in one of its most rationalistic versions.[28]

During the Soviet era, access to the Firkovich Collections in Leningrad was very limited. It is thus no wonder that some 70 years passed before a more comprehensive survey of the Muʿtazilī manuscripts in these collections was carried out by Sabine Schmidtke.[29] Working on the Muʿtazilī material in the Firkovich Collections, Gregor Schwarb was able to identify and discuss the findings of fragments in Judeo-Arabic of two additional works related to al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.[30] Scholars, among them Schmidtke, Schwarb and Wilferd Madelung, have discussed the historical circumstances that enabled the Jewish-Karaite reception of al-Murtaḍā's works—the social relationships as well as the ideological proximity (when it comes to the adaptation of Muʿtazilī theology) between some 5th/11th century Karaite and Imāmī communities. Especially active in this context was the city of Ramla, where both communities existed. Ramla was also where one of al-Murtaḍā's prominent disciples, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karājikī (d. 449/1057), lived for a time.[31]

On the theological level, Madelung tried to assess the impact of Imāmī-Muʿtazilī thought on Karaite-Muʿtazilī thought. Focusing on the fragments from the Firkovich Collections of the Judeo-Arabic manuscript of *Kitāb al-Niʿma* (*The Book of Grace*) by the Karaite writer Levi ben Yefet (fl. end of the 4th/10th-beginning of the 5th/11th centuries),[32] Madelung suggested that the last part of Levi ben Yefet's work was constructed as a Jewish response to Shīʿī teachings concerning the issue of leadership (*imāma*). Unlike the general Muʿtazilī attitude, which rejected the role of heredity in the case of leadership, in Levi Ben Yefet's teachings leadership belongs to hereditary kings descended from the prophet-king David. Thus, his attitude corresponded to the Shīʿī concept of leadership as inherited by linear descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭima and her husband ʿAlī.[33]

To summarize, the research done on manuscripts from the Firkovich Collections is indispensable for the field of Jewish-Shīʿī studies. From the

28 For al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's imām doctrine, see Abdulsater, *Shiʿi Doctrine*, pp. 151-81.

29 Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts," pp. 377-462 (esp. 422-28).

30 Schwarb, " A Newly Discovered Fragment," idem, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*," pp. 77*-80* (see p. 80* for the findings of a one-leaf fragment from the Cairo Genizah containing a section of al-Murtaḍā's *Inqādh al-bashar min al-jabr wa'l-qadar* in a paraphrased version by Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī [d. 459-60/1066-7]).

31 Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*," pp. 80*-81*; Schmidtke, "Jewish Reception," pp. 56-57; Madelung, "Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-Niʿma*," p. 16.

32 A selection of those fragments was published in Sklare, "Levi ben Yefet," pp. 157-216.

33 Madelung, "Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-Niʿma*," pp. 14-15. See in this context Franklin, *This Noble House*, pp. 60-64.

perspective of Jewish readers' exposure to both Ismāʿīlī-Shīʿī and Imāmī-Shīʿī works, this research provides those studies with a solid philological base.

Shīʿism and Jewish Mysticism

Another great scholar whose life ended in tragic circumstances during the Second World War was Paul (Eliezer) Kraus (1904-44). Active during the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, Kraus made many innovative contributions to the study of Islam in general and of Shīʿism in particular.[34] In an article published in 1931, Kraus was the first to deal at length with the interesting phenomenon of the quite exceptional familiarity (in Muslim terms) of Ismāʿīlī writers with Jewish sources, especially the Bible. Concentrating on quotations from Hebrew and Syriac in the works of the Ismāʿīlī missionary (*dāʿī*) Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020-1), Kraus made, among other things, some pioneering remarks concerning the Ismāʿīlī esoteric interpretation (*taʾwīl*) attached by al-Kirmānī to one of these quotations. As part of this esoteric interpretation, al-Kirmānī substantiates his Ismāʿīlī cosmological structure with a quotation from a Hebrew midrash (a Jewish homily). Kraus finds here a possible relation to the Jewish Kabbalistic tradition.[35] It took about 50 years for Kraus's initial remarks in this direction to be supplemented and improved upon. Shlomo Pines, later followed by Moshe Idel, stressed the importance of al-Kirmānī's aforementioned esoteric interpretation. According to these two scholars, it sheds light, hidden in Ismāʿīlī work, on an early stage in the evolution of the central Jewish-Kabbalistic doctrine of the *Sefiroth*, before the consolidation of the Kabbalah among Jewish circles in Provence and Christian Spain during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries.[36]

Paul Kraus was also an early proponent of the hypothesis regarding the Shīʿī-related origins of *Sefer Yeṣirah* ("*Book of Creation/Formation*").[37] This short treatise, which is considered one of the most enigmatic works in Jewish literature, had a tremendous impact on the shaping of the Jewish mystical tradition. Kraus presented this hypothesis in his monumental unfinished work on

34 See Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist," pp. 181-223.

35 Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate," pp. 259-62. See also De Smet and Van Reeth, "Les citations bibliques."

36 Pines, "Shīʿite Terms and Conceptions," pp. 243-44; Idel, "The Sefirot above the Sefirot," pp. 268-77. See also the discussion in De Smet, *La quiétude de l'intellect*, pp. 304-7.

37 This hypothesis was first suggested by Louis Massignon, but it was Kraus who developed it in detail. See Fenton, "Georges Vajda's Contribution," pp. 312-14.

the Alchemical corpus attributed to Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān.[38] According to Krauss, the resemblance between *Sefer Yeṣirah*'s conception of the Hebrew "Mother-letters" *alef*, *mem* and *shin*, and the early-Shīʿī triad of the Arabic letters *ʿayn*, *mīm* and *sīin* betray a common background. Kraus's hypothesis was revisited and revived some 50-60 years later by Steven Wasserstrom, who claimed that *Sefer Yeṣirah* stems from the above-mentioned "sectarian milieu" that was dominated by the early Shīʿis in the 2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries.[39]

Wasserstrom furthermore revisited studies by Georges Vajda, Heinz Halm and Daniel De Smet. These scholars dealt with phenomena that were considered by Wasserstrom to be signs of the direct or indirect reception of *Sefer Yeṣirah* in early Ismāʿīlī literature. Writers such as Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. c. 346/957), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (322/933-4) and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī developed a specific esoteric 'science of letters' (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*).[40] Wasserstrom linked these Ismāʿīlī writers to contemporary North-African Jewish authors such as Saʿadya Gaon al-Fayyūmī (d. 331/942), Isaac Israeli (d. c. 343/955) and Dunash ibn Tamīm (fl. in the first half of the 4th/10th century), who produced the first known philosophical commentaries on *Sefer Yeṣirah*.[41]

Turning again to the main body of Jewish mysticism—Kabbalah, the potential for a comparative study of Shīʿī (and mainly Ismāʿīlī) literature and Kabbalistic writings was acknowledged decades ago by Kabbalah scholars such as Gershom Scholem, Yehuda Liebes, Moshe Idel, Haviva Pedaya and Martelle Gavarin.[42] Theosophical speculation, that blends together cosmological and eschatological ideas, as well as spiritual, apocalyptic and messianic tendencies, constitutes a central feature shared by both bodies of literature. A recent major development in this context was the publication of a trove of

38 Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān*, vol. 2, pp. 266-69. The third volume of this work, dedicated to the (mainly Shīʿī) religious positions of the Jābirian corpus, was left unfinished at the time of the author's tragic death.

39 Wasserstrom, "Sefer Yeṣira"; idem, "Further Thoughts." There is disagreement among scholars concerning the time and the historical circumstances from which *Sefer Yeṣirah* emerged. Opinions in this regard differ greatly, and while the Kraus hypothesis was endorsed by Henry Corbin, Nehemya Allony, Steven Wasserstrom and Y. Tzvi Langermann, it was rejected by Gershom Scholem, Shlomo Pines, Yehuda Liebes, and Meir Bar-Ilan, among others. See the recent discussion in Weiss, *Sefer Yeṣirah* (esp. pp. 1, 111-15).

40 Vajda, "Les lettres"; Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre*, pp. 39, 48-50, 52, 57, 64-65; De Smet, *La quiétude de l'intellect*, pp. 302-4.

41 Wasserstrom, "Further Thoughts," pp. 205-9. See also Stroumsa, "'Wondrous Paths'"; idem, "Ibn Masarra and the Beginnings of Mystical Thought in al-Andalus."

42 Scholem, *The Kabbalah in Gerona*, pp. 220-22; Liebes, "Shlomo Pines and Kabbalah Research," pp. 21-22; Idel, "Jewish Mysticism and Islamic Mysticism," p. 29; Gavarin, "The Conception of Time," p. 318, Pedaya, *Nahmanides*, pp. 21-23, 39-40.

Shīʿī theosophical literature in the series of *Silsilat al-turath al-ʿAlawī*—an exposé of many works, partly unknown ones, from Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawī manuscript collections.[43] It remains to be seen whether the publication and the study of this kind of early Shīʿī literature will increase our ability to identify affinities and points of contact between Shīʿī and Jewish theosophies.

The emergence of the Kabbalah corresponds both in time and in place to the transition that occurred in the 6th/12th-7th/13th centuries in the Iberian peninsula, from the period of Muslim dominance to that of Christian ascendance. Within the framework of exploring the possible contribution of Shīʿī theosophical thought to the emergence of the Kabbalah, two directions of inquiry seem to be most relevant. The first concerns the possibility of the Iberian Kabbalists' direct exposure to Shīʿī-oriented sources. Several scholars have already contributed to this direction: Amos Goldreich discussed similarities in theosophical terminology and ideas between 6th/12th-century Ṭayyibī-Ismāʿīlī works, and the writings produced by one of the early Kabbalist circles—the *ʿIyyun* (contemplation) circle.[44] Michael Ebstein and Tzahi Weiss dealt with parallels between the above-mentioned Ṭayyibī-Ismāʿīlī group and 7th/13th-century Castilian Kabbalist writers, regarding the myth of a primordial crisis in the spiritual realm that led to "the emanation on the left"—the source of evil in creation.[45] Sara Ora Heller-Wilensky traced the origin of the term "the first created being" as it appears in the mystical-philosophical legacy of the Jewish thinker Isaac ibn Latif (d. c. 1280), in early Neoplatonist Ismāʿīlī literature.[46] In this context, it seems that the works by the 4th/10th-century Ismāʿīlī-oriented circle of the Brethren of Purity (*Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*),[47] widely disseminated among Jewish readers, deserve special attention. In a recent study I have compared the theosophical doctrine of cyclical time to be found in the writings

43 See Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shiʿi Islam*, pp. 5-7; Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawīs*, pp. 2-3.

44 Goldreich, "'Iyyun Circle," pp. 149-56.

45 Ebstein and Weiss, "A Drama in Heaven."

46 Heller-Wilensky, "The First Created Being."

47 The Ismāʿīlī-oriented identity of *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* was firmly established in many studies by Samuel Miklos Stern, Yves Marquet, Abbas Hamdani and other scholars. The strong bond of the *Ikhwān* to the Ismāʿīlī worldview is attested by the ways the writers espouse to specific Ismāʿīlī meanings of a variety of terms and conceptions throughout their epistles. Thus, the attempts of a few scholars to dismiss the Ismāʿīlī orientation of the *Ikhwān* on the basis of the discrepancy between Ismāʿīlīs and the *Ikhwān* on the issue of the Imamate, should be judged as narrow and missing the mark. By the time the work of the *Ikhwān* took shape (the first half of the 10th century), the Ismāʿīlīs were (already) divided precisely on the issue of the Imamate. See in this context Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, pp. 95-104; Saif, "*Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*'s Religious Reform."

of the Brethren of Purity with the doctrine of the Sabbatical cycles (*Torat ha-Shemiṭot*) in Kabbalist works from the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. The results of this study show that both doctrines shared, in addition to the cyclical time units of one thousand-, seven thousand- and fifty thousand-year periods, other theosophical features as well.[48]

The second direction of inquiry into the possible contributions of Shīʿī theosophical thought to the emergence of the Kabbalah pertains to the possibility of the infiltration of Shīʿī theosophical elements into Kabbalistic writings as a result of exposure to the works of non-Shīʿī Muslim theosophists. Indeed, the 6th/12th-7th/13th centuries were when Muslim theosophical thought in al-Andalus bloomed. This flowering is evident in the writings of prominent Andalusian figures such as Ibn Barrajān (d. 536/1141), Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). Recent studies by Michael Ebstein and Yousef Alexander Casewit have clarified the considerable impact of the Ismāʿīlī legacy on the thought of these Andalusian writers.[49] The Muslim-Andalusian theosophical thought of the 6th/12th-7th/13th centuries serves as an interesting, yet still unexplored, setting for the emergence of the Jewish Kabbalah. It remains to be seen whether future explorations in this direction will further contribute to our understanding of the Shīʿī background of the Kabbalah.

Ismāʿīlī Propaganda among the Jews during the Fāṭimid Era

Samuel Miklos Stern (1920-69) was another short-lived polymath of Islamic and Jewish studies.[50] It is assumed that Stern's interest in the study of Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism, which later became one of his main fields of interest,[51] was kindled upon meeting Paul Kraus in Cairo during the Second World War.[52] In a posthumous article,[53] Stern adduced complementary evidence in support of Kraus's study of the Ismāʿīlī propaganda efforts directed towards the Jewish and Christian subjects of the Fāṭimid regime. In Kraus's study, already referred to above, the focus was on the evidence he found in the writings of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, a prominent representative of the Ismāʿīlī mission (*daʿwa*) during

48 Krinis, "Cyclical Time."

49 Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus*; idem, "Was Ibn Qasī Ṣūfī?"; Casewit, *The Mystics of al-Andalus*.

50 See Walzer, "Samuel M. Stern;" Sela, "The Interaction."

51 On Stern's contribution to Ismaʿili studies see Bryer, "Preface," pp. ix-xxii. See also Daftary, "Stern, Samuel Miklos."

52 Walzer, "Samuel M. Stern," p. 9.

53 Stern, "Fāṭimid Propaganda."

the height of the Fāṭimid era. What distinguishes al-Kirmānī's quotations brought by Kraus from the many other examples of Ismāʿīlī esoteric interpretation (*taʾwīl*) based on Biblical verses and narratives, is the use of transliterations from Hebrew and Syriac. This uncommon feature suggests that this special kind of Ismāʿīlī interpretation might have been directed also to non-Muslim audiences, i.e. Jews and Christians.[54] The material brought by Kraus shows that Ismāʿīlī propaganda efforts, as represented in al-Kirmānī's writings, reflect two directions, which are, from the Ismāʿīlī point of view, complementary. The first is typical of Muslim polemical and propagandist discourse in general: the Muslim speaker adduces evidence for Muḥammad's divine mission from the holy scriptures of the Jews and the Christians. The second direction deviates from the general Muslim discourse: the speaker adduces, from the same sources, evidence for the messianic status of the "master of the age" (*ṣāḥib al-waqt*), i.e. the Ismāʿīlī *imam* who was in that period identical with the current Fāṭimid ruler (al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh in al-Kirmānī's case).[55] In this context, Stern's novel contribution lies in the relevant evidence that he found in the writings of the Karaite Bible commentator Yefet ben ʿAlī (Heb. ʿEli, the father of the above-mentioned Levi ben Yefet).[56] Yefet's commentary on Daniel attests to the same specific Ismāʿīlī-Fāṭimid propagandist discourse found in the writings of his younger contemporary al-Kirmānī.[57]

In the same article, Stern brings historical evidence for the forced participation of Jews in the public platform for Fāṭimid propaganda—the propaganda gatherings (*majālis al-naẓar*). Stern then continues to another passage from Yefet ben ʿAlī's commentary on Daniel, testifying to Yefet's aversion to this kind of forced meeting.[58] Yet, in spite of his aversion, Yefet ben ʿAlī's exposure to Fāṭimid propaganda seems to have made an impact on his views. Thus, traces of the Ismāʿīlī version of the fundamental Shīʿī concept of God's Proof (*ḥujjat Allāh*)—which emphasizes the continuous and ever-present role of *daʿwa*—from the earliest periods of history onward, can be found in Yefet ben ʿAlī's commentaries on the books of Proverbs and Job.[59] As argued by Alfred Ivry,

54 Mark R. Cohen and Sasson Somekh located additional evidence for Ismāʿīlī polemic efforts directed also to Jews in the Genizah. See Cohen and Somekh, "In the Court of Yaʿqūb ibn Killis." David Hollenberg, in his criticism of Stern's article, fails to take into account both the special nature of al-Kirmānī's use of transliterations and the evidence brought by Cohen and Somekh. See Hollenberg, "Disrobing Judges," pp. 132-34.

55 Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate," 245ff. See also Stern, "Fāṭimid Propaganda," p. 93.

56 On Yefet ben ʿAlī's achievements as a Bible commentator, see Polliack, "Major Trends," pp. 389-91.

57 Stern, "Fāṭimid Propaganda," pp. 90-92.

58 Ibid., pp. 94-95.

59 See Erder, "The Karaites' Sadducee Dilemma," p. 201, n. 36.

traces of and responses to the Ismāʿīlī propagandist conceptions are perhaps also present in the works of Maimonides (d. 601/1204), the foremost representative of Rabbinic medieval Judaism, who immigrated to Egypt during the final years of Fāṭimid rule over this country.[60]

In the last generation Karaite studies have emerged as one of the most vibrant and dynamic fields of study of medieval Judeo-Arabic culture. One of the by-products of this dynamism is scholars' growing awareness of possible connections and affinities between Karaism and Shīʿīsm. The publication of some of the fruits of this awareness is expected in the near future.[61]

"Jewish Ismāʿīlism" in Yemen

Shlomo Pines (1908-90) made several quintessential contributions in the field of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies.[62] One of these contributions is an article published in 1947 and dealing with *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* ("*The Garden of Intellects*"), a work from the middle of the 6th/12th century by the Jewish-Yemenite scholar Nethanael ibn al-Fayyūmī.[63] In this article Pines demonstrated that Ismāʿīlī theology shaped Nethanael's thought in the same way that Islamic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy (*falsafa*) shaped the thought of other Jewish authors.

Pines's conclusions regarding the Ismāʿīlī background of Nethanael ibn al-Fayyūmī's work were revisited and reassessed by Ronald Kiener, in an article published in 1984.[64] Meanwhile, Georges Vajda, Franz Rosenthal and David Blumenthal further enriched our knowledge concerning the exposure of Jewish-Yemenite scholars to specific Ismāʿīlī notions in the period between the

60 Ivry, "Ismāʾīlī Theology and Maimonides' Philosophy," pp. 277, n. 22-23; 291-92.

61 Leon Nemoy presented a hypothesis, later adopted and elaborated by Moshe Gil, that the name 'Karaites' (*qara*, pl. *qaraʾim*) is the Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic 'caller' (*dāʿī*, pl. *duʿāt*), in the specific meaning of the term exemplified most famously in the missionary propagandist order of the contemporary 3rd/9th-century Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. See Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology*, p. xvii; Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, p. 786; idem, "The Origins of the Karaites," pp. 109, 111. The recent and growing interest in the possible Shīʿī context of the development of the Karaite movement is also reflected in the fact that presentations on this subject by Daniel Frank and Michael Pregill have been included in a recent conference of the American Association for Jewish Studies (December 2017). Yoram Erder is about to publish an article titled "Karaite Mourners of Zion in the Gaonic Period and the Shiʿa."

62 On Pines's scholarly legacy in general see Stroumsa, "Shlomo Pines," pp. 205-11.

63 Pines, "Nathanael ben al-Fayyumi."

64 Kiener, "Jewish Ismāʾilism."

6th/12th and the 9th/15th centuries.[65] Taken together, the above-mentioned scholars' contributions, as well as later contributions by Y. Tzvi Langermann,[66] enable us to conclude that for Jewish-Yemenite scholars, Ismāʿīlī theology was considered not sectarian propaganda, but as one legitimate school among the many general theological and philosophical trends of their day. We further see that Jewish scholars were attracted to the cosmological-philosophical aspects of Ismāʿīlism. At the same time, they chose to ignore the theosophical-gnostic speculations that went hand in hand with cosmological-philosophical speculations in the literature of the Ṭayyibī-Ismāʿīlīs in Yemen in the same period. This selective attitude lies at the heart of the so-called "Jewish Ismāʿīlism"—a uncommitted affinity of Jewish thinkers to certain Ismāʿīlī conceptions.

The Question of the "Shīʿī *Isrā'īliyyāt*"

Georges (Yehudah Aryeh) Vajda (1908-81) was another outstanding (as well as prolific) scholar who, like Pines, contributed in different ways to Jewish-Shīʿī Studies.[67] In the last of his contributions, published in 1981, Vajda tackled the role of Biblical and post-Biblical Jewish traditions (*Isrā'īliyyāt*) in Shīʿī literature.[68] Shedding light on the Jewish origins of several Shīʿī traditions taken from al-Kulaynī's *Uṣūl al-kāfī* ("*The Principles of Religion* [*forming part of the Book of*] *Sufficiency*"), Vajda found only one example of specific Shīʿī employment of the *isrā'īliyyat* segment of a tradition which distinguishes it from its parallels in Sunnī literature.[69] The inquiry into whether the use of *isrā'īliyyāt* material in Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature received unique Shīʿī expressions is an important direction of inquiry in the context of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies.[70]

A breakthrough in this direction was made in 1995 by David Halperin, an expert in the field of ancient Jewish mysticism.[71] Halperin based his study on a 13th/19th-century English translation of the second volume of an 11th/17th-century Persian compilation—Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Majlisī's *Ḥayāt al-qulūb*

65 Vajda, "Un opuscule Ismaélien;" F. Rosenthal, "From the 'Unorthodox' Judaism;" Blumenthal, "An Example of Ismaili influence."

66 Y.T. Langermann, "Cultural Contacts," pp. 282-83; idem, *Yemenite Midrash*, pp. xxvi-xxvii; idem, "A Marginalium."

67 On Vajda in general see Touati and Rothschild, "Vajda, Georges."

68 Vajda, "De quelques emprunts."

69 Ibid. p. 47, 70. See the discussion in Bar-Asher, "La place du judaïsme," p. 77.

70 See Rubin, *Between Bible and Qurā'n*, General Index s.v. Shīʿa, Shīʿī.

71 Halperin, "Hekhalot and Miʿrāj". See the preliminary remarks in this direction in Goldziher, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente," pp. 326-28.

("*Life of the Hearts*"). Working with this translated material, Halperin was nevertheless able to demonstrate that significant motifs of the traditional Shīʿī accounts of Muḥammad's heavenly journey (*miʿrāj*), motifs that are absent from Sunnī accounts, were appropriated by the Shīʿī traditionalists from accounts of heavenly journeys in Jewish mystical lore. Commenting on his findings, Halperin was impressed by the Shīʿī thinkers' "profound understanding of and sympathy for some of the teachings of the [Jewish] *midrashim* and the *Hekhalot*" [i. e. the Jewish genre dedicated to the heavenly journeys—E.K.].

Halperin's study has its shortcomings. His dependence on the English translation of al-Majlisī prevented him from tracing the original sources of the Shīʿī material under discussion. This material actually stems from Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature of the 2nd/8th-4th/10th centuries, the central and earliest stratum of Shīʿī traditional literature.[72] Yet, the significance of Haleprin's findings cannot be overestimated. They provide us with crucial evidence for the Jewish contribution to the formation of the early Shīʿī worldview. The ascension (*miʿrāj*) descriptions in early Shīʿī traditions pertain to one of the innermost and central teachings of the Shīʿī Imām doctrine: the relations between the celestial dimension of the Imāms and their historical-physical manifestation. Thus, the possibility, touched upon by Halperin, that early Jewish mysticism played a significant role in the development of this fundamental Shīʿī teaching, is illuminating. It can open new channels for understanding the affinities between Judaism and Shīʿism and the role played by ancient Jewish mystical traditions in the shaping of the early Shīʿī worldview. Unfortunately, it is symptomatic of the state of Jewish-Shīʿī studies that in the more than two decades that have passed since the publication of Halperin's study, no further attempt has been taken in this direction.

Conclusions

The present article has sought to demonstrate that the field of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies is not a recent endeavour. It is firmly rooted in the studies of scholars from previous generations and goes back at least to the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the general awareness of scholars in both Jewish and Shīʿī Studies of mutual relations between the two traditions is still lacking. A clear testimony that Jewish-Shīʿī Studies are not fully acknowledged by the scholarly world can be found in the fact that they scarcely appear in the thriving academic genre of reference works, especially in comparison to

72 See Krinis, *God's Chosen People*, pp. 296-97.

Jewish-Ṣūfī studies. Whereas Jewish-Ṣūfī studies found their way into reference compilations already a few decades ago,[73] entries on Jewish-Shīʿī relations have appeared only in such books that were published in recent years. Thus, three relevant entries written by Vera Basch Moreen, Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi and Daniel De Smet were included in two recent publications.[74] Turning to the prosperous industry of academic conferences and workshops, to the best of my knowledge, the first ever (and so far the only) workshop dedicated to Jewish-Shīʿī Studies was held at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum in December 2013.[75]

Thus, it is evident that in terms of attention and recognition from the academic community, Jewish-Shīʿī Studies still lag far behind other comparative Jewish-Muslim studies such as the above-mentioned Jewish-Ṣūfī studies and the more established fields of Jewish-Muslim *Kalām* studies and Jewish-Muslim *falsafa* studies. This phenomenon can be seen as a by-product of the great delay in the study of Shīʿism in the western academic world, the meagre attention dedicated to Shīʿī studies in western universities and the paucity of Shīʿī literature in their libraries and archives until a few decades ago.[76] In these circumstances, only a few brilliant and remarkable scholars could make valuable contributions to this field in previous generations. These pioneering scholars (all Jews except Borisov) had considerable knowledge of Jewish and Judeo-Arabic literature and, at the same time, were among the few that showed a genuine interest in remote and uncultivated areas of the study of Islam such as the field of Shīʿism.

In the last 40 years, the Iranian revolution, on the political level, and the internet revolution, on the technological level, have dramatically improved the accessibility of Shīʿī sources worldwide. Subsequently, the study of the relations between Judaism and Shīʿism is now wide open to contributions by the rank-and-file members of the scholarly community. It seems that the field of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies is currently undergoing a transitional stage. On the one hand, because of the reasons specified above, it is no longer in its initial stage. On the other hand, it is still an underdeveloped and marginal academic field

73 See, for example, Fenton, "Judaism and Sufism," pp. 1333-55; idem, "Judaism and Sufism," pp. 201-17; Hughes, "Mysticism: The Quest for Transcendence," pp. 219-34.

74 Moreen, "Shiʿa and the Jews," pp. 355-59; Amir-Moezzi, "Shiʿism and Judaism," pp. 816-23; De Smet, "Ismaʿilism and Medieval Jewish," pp. 824-27.

75 This one-day workshop was initiated by Paul B. Fenton and hosted by the Käte Hamburger Kolleg.

76 See in this context Kohlberg, "Western Studies of Shīʿa Islam," pp. 31-44; Amir-Moezzi and Schmidtke, "Twelver Shīʿite Resources in Europe;" Daftary and Miskinzoda, "Preface," pp. xv-xvii.

of interest. At this point, it might be worthwhile to try and bring some coherence to this diversified field of study which so far seems to lack any common ground. In order to do so, I would like to offer a distinction between core issues that attest to the existence of unique features of Jewish-Shīʿī encounters, and non-unique and peripheral issues in the study of Jewish-Shīʿī relations. Thus, for example, in the context of inter-religious polemics, the claim that posits the descendants of ʿAlī, and the legitimate leadership of the current Imām among them, vis-à-vis the descendants of David, and the leadership of the Jewish Exilarch among them, is unique to Jewish-Shīʿī polemics.[77] However, debates around questions such as the falsification (*taḥrīf*) and abrogation (*naskh*) of the Mosaic Torah, the divinity and imitability of the Qurʾān, the status of Muḥammad's mission and the signs of his prophecy, belong to the general Jewish-Islamic polemical discourse. So far, the study of Jewish-Muslim polemics has been dominated by a rather reductionist approach, one that curtails the discussion to the above-mentioned questions as well as to some other ones typical of the Sunnī polemical discourse. When it comes to the study of Jewish-Shīʿī polemics, scholars should be more aware of the distinction between the two aforementioned polemical currents and should seek to uncover claims that pertain to the (much less known and discussed) Jewish-Shīʿī polemical discourse.[78] The same holds true for the closely-related issue of the "Shīʿī *Isrāʾīliyyāt*." David Hollenberg's *Beyond the Qurʾan: Early Ismāʿilī Taʾwīl and the Secrets of the Prophets*, published recently, has profound implications for the study of both "Shīʿī *Isrāʾīliyyāt*" and Jewish-Shīʿī polemical discourse. Hollenberg demonstrated in detail that the early Shīʿī treatment in general, and the Ismāʿilī treatment in particular, of both issues took its own course, one that differed considerably from the mainstream Sunnī one.[79]

Regarding intellectual tendencies shared by both Jewish and Shīʿī authors, such as Muʿtazilī *kalām* and Islamicate Neoplatonism, here again, scholars' primary task in the context of Jewish-Shīʿī Studies should be to try and explore

77 This claim is first attested in a polemic piece in the writings of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860), where he attacks the Jewish institution of the Exilarch using typically Shīʿī terms and concepts. See Pines, "Une notice sur les Rech Galuta." An English translation of this piece can be found in Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 176-79. See also Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, pp. 101, 104, 108-16; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 90.

78 See for example the discussion in Krinis, *God's Chosen People*, pp. 75-79.

79 Hollenberg, *Beyond the Qurʾan*, pp. 100-25. See also Hollenberg, "Disrobing Judges," pp. 127-45. On the other hand, the general picture that has emerged so far from the study of much later (11th/17th-13th/19th centuries) Imāmī-Shīʿī literature, points to a proximity and dependence of Shīʿī anti-Jewish polemic works on the mainstream Muslim polemic discourse. See Moreen, "A Shīʿī-Jewish Debate"; idem, "Risāla-yi Ṣawāʿiq al-Yahūd"; Tsadik, "Religious Disputations"; Halft, "Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī."

what made the Jewish and Shīʿī discourses distinctive from the hegemonic one. We have seen above that, regarding the Muʿtazilī discourse, Wilferd Madelung has recently located such shared distinctiveness in the issue of leadership. As to the Neoplatonist tendency, I argued recently that the great interest in the overlaps between Jewish and Shīʿī formulations lies not in its strictly philosophical implications, but in its theosophical undertones. In some Ismāʿilī, as well as Jewish Kabbalistic, works we can locate a kind of subversive attitude, one that interweaves conceptions and elements typical of the Neoplatonist vocabulary with apocalyptical and messianic conceptions and aspirations.[80] It is in this shared subversive attitude that some Jewish and Shīʿī Neoplatonist elucidations are to be distinguished from the hegemonic Neoplatonist discourse in Islamicate culture.

One of the hallmarks of the historical consciousness of the hegemonic Sunnī camp in Islam is the way Islam is perceived by the adherents of this camp as a victorious, triumphant religion. According to this prevailing attitude, God's intent in history, His favouring of the young emerging religion and His preference of the Muslim community over the other and older religious communities, has been manifestly realized in history with the successes of early Muslims: their great victories over their enemies from within and without and the rapid spread of the authority of their religion. Furthermore, according to the Sunnīs, the first generation of Islam—the prophet of Islam and his immediate companions and successors (*ṣaḥāba*, *aṣḥāb*), with their superior qualities (*faḍā'il*) embodied the perfect religious community in history.[81] In this generational group, there was no gap between the ideal and its realization. Thus, it serves as a role model and a source of guidance to the following generations of Muslims.[82]

For most of the early Shīʿīs, among them the adherents of the Imāmī and Ismāʿilī branches, this kind of prevailing Muslim historical consciousness constituted an anathema. The dominant early Shīʿī worldview was based on the tension between the hidden and internal (*bāṭin*) and the manifest and external

80 Krinis, "The Philosophical and Theosophical Interpretations," pp. 402-8; idem, "Cyclical Time," pp. 73-88.

81 The representative tradition in this context is "The most excellent people are my generation, then those following them, then those [who follow those] following them" (*khayr al-nās qarnī thumma lladhīna yalūnahum thumma lladhīna yalūnahum*). See the discussion in Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī-Shīʿī Views on the *Ṣaḥaba*," p. 149.

82 The representative tradition in this context is "My companions are like lodestars, by imitating them you will find the right path" (*aṣḥābī ka'l-nujūm bi-ayyihim iqtadaytum ihtadaytum*). See the discussion in Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī-Shīʿī Views on the *Ṣaḥaba*," pp. 158-60. On the central role of the conception of the *Ṣaḥaba* in the articulation of Sunnī Islam see: Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, pp. 18-20, 221-85.

(*ẓāhir*), where the hidden prevails over the manifest. This holds true for the historical arena, as well.[83] For early Shīʿīs, the grand successes of the Muslims in the belligerent realms of battle and conquests, and the accumulation of worldly power, wealth and authority, were but a mere façade covering their inherent treason. Their treason was their failure to acknowledge the status of ʿAlī and his family as the sole legitimate successors of Muḥammad in the leadership of the Islamic community. According to the Shīʿī view, Muḥammad's companions played a major role in this treason,[84] so their generation stood out as the embodiment of the striking discrepancy between the ideal and its realization in Islamic history. Only the Shīʿīs themselves, who constitute a small minority among the first generation of Muslims and the following ones, adhered to the authentic message of Islam, consequently becoming despised and persecuted by the majority of the Muslims. Furthermore, the Shīʿīs projected this imbalance of power onto history's earlier ages. Throughout history, the groups favoured by God, those who conveyed His authentic message, found themselves in the position of a persecuted small minority while the prevailing hegemonic force was in the hand of their oppressors, the collective embodiment of the wrongdoers.[85] The Shīʿī writers identified these persecuted minority groups of past ages, such as the descendants of Seth (oppressed by the descendants of Cain) and the people of Israel (oppressed by Pharaoh and the Egyptians) as predecessors of the oppressed Shīʿīs in the Islamic age.[86]

Thus, the Shīʿī interpretation of history made itself distinct by underscoring the striking discrepancy between history's inner dimension, where the intact status of "the chosen" belongs to the powerless groups, and its outer dimension, where these groups are oppressed by those who rely on their worldly gains and successes. It seems to me that this specific interpretation of history is highly important in the context of the affinities between early Shīʿī thought and some trends in Jewish medieval thought. The Jews of that age also found themselves in a prolonged position of inferiority, while holding fast to their historical self-consciousness as God's chosen people. There is a similarity in the position of the Jews and the early Shīʿīs as groups acutely aware of their inherent chosenness and superiority, as well as their manifest humiliation and inferiority. This prolonged discrepancy and immense tension between the chosen status of their group and its actual inferior situation, is crucial for Jewish and Shīʿī

83 Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam*, pp. 281-83.
84 See Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī-Shīʿī Views on the *Ṣaḥaba*."
85 Kohlberg, "In Praise of the Few," pp. 289-96.
86 See Kohlberg, "Some Shīʿī Views of the Antediluvian World;" Bar-Asher, "La place du judaïsme," pp. 68-76.

thinkers. For them it attests to the discrepancy between history's inner dimension, in which their group's status as God's chosen ones remains secure and unshaken, and its outer dimension, in which most if not all indicators on the surface point to the contrary conclusion.[87] Here lies the basic explanation for the points of affinity in some expressions of meta-historical and theosophical modes of thought in Jewish and Shīʿī literature. Moreover, for us scholars, here also lies a main justification for viewing the comparative study of Jewish and Shīʿī thought as a distinctive field. Although this field occasionally overlaps with other fields pertaining to the comparative study of Judaism and Islam, scholars should be careful to avoid reducing it to anyone of them, and continue to seek to establish its distinctiveness.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the scholars who commented on drafts of the article: Meir Bar-Asher, Etan Kohlberg, Daniel J. Lasker, Yoram Erder, Omer Michaelis and Sarah Stroumsa. I am further indebted to the two anonymous readers for their useful comments.

Bibliography

Abdulsater, Hussein Ali, *Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology—al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Imami Discourse*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.

Adang, Camilla, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali, "Shiʿism and Judaism: A Relation Marked by Paradox," *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, ed. Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 816-23.

Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali, *The Spirituality of Shiʿi Islam: Beliefs and Practices*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali, and Schmidtke Sabine, "Twelver Shīʿite Resources in Europe," *Journal Asiatique* 285 (1997), pp. 73-122.

Asatryan, Mushegh, *Controversies in Formative Shiʿi Islam: The Ghulat Muslims and Their Belief*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2017.

87 See Krinis, "*Galut* and *Ghayba*," pp. 245-63, 265-76, 292-94.

Bar Asher, Meir Michael, "La place du judaïsme et des juifs dans le shīʿisme duodécimain," *Islam: identité et altérité—Hommage au Père Guy Monnot o.p.*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 57-82.

Blumenthal, David R., "An Example of Ismaili Influence in Post-Maimonidean Yemen," *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, ed. Shelomo Morag, Issachar Ben-Ami and Norman A. Stillman, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1981, pp. 155-74.

Borisov, Andrei Iakovlevič, "On the Point of Departure of Solomon ibn Gabirol's Voluntarism," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie obščestvennyx nauk*, Moscow–Leningrad, 1933, pp. 755-68 [Russian].

Borisov, Andrei Iakovlevič, "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts of the State Public Library in Leningrad," *Bibliografiia Vostoka* 8-9 (1935), pp. 69-95 [Russian].

Borisov, Andrei Iakovlevič, "On the Muʿtazilī Manuscripts Discovered in Leningrad and on Their Significance for the History of Islamic Thought," *Trudy Pervoi sessii arabistov* (1937), pp. 113-25 [Russian].

Borisov, Andrei Iakovlevič, "Problems in the Study of the *Theology of Aristotle*," *Materials and Studies on the History of Neoplatonism in the Medieval East*, ed. Klavdiia Borisovna Starkova, *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 99 (36), 2002, pp. 14-116 [Russian].

Borisov, Iakovlevič Borisov, "The Arabic Original of the Latin Version of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*," *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov* 5 (1930 [dated September 1929]), pp. 83-98 [Russian].

Bryer, David R.W., "Preface: An Analysis of Samuel M. Stern's Writings on Ismāʿīlism," in S.M. Stern, *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism*, Jerusalem and Leiden: Brill-Magnes Press, 1983, pp. ix-xxii.

Casewit, Yousef A., *The Mystics of al-Andalus: Ibn Barrajān and Islamic Thought in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Cohen, Mark R. and Somekh, Sasson, "In the Court of Yaʿqūb ibn Killis: A Fragment from the Cairo Geniza," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 80 (1990), pp. 283-314.

Conrad, Lawrence I., "Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan: From Orientalist Philology to the Study of Islam," *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. Martin Kramer, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999, pp. 137-80.

Daftary, Farhad, and Miskinzoda, Gurdofarid, "Preface," *The Study of Shiʿi Islam: History, Theology and Law*, ed. F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, pp. xv-xviii.

Daftary, Farhad, "Stern, Samuel Miklos," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/stern-samuel.

De Smet, Daniel, "Ismaʿilism and Medieval Jewish Thought in Islamic Territories," *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, ed.

Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 824-27.

De Smet, Daniel, *La quiétude de l'intellect: Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'oeuvre de Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī* (*X^e/XI^e s*), Leuven: Peeters, 1995.

De Smet, Daniel and Van Reeth, Jan M.F., "Les citations bibliques dans l'oeuvre du dāʿī Ismaélien Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī," *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jan M.F. Van Reeth, Leuven: Peeters, 1998, pp. 147-60.

Ebstein, Michael, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Ismāʿīlī Tradition*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Ebstein, Michael, "The Word of God and the Divine Will: Ismāʿīlī Traces in Andalusī Mysticism," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39 (2012), pp. 247-302.

Ebstein, Michael, "Was Ibn Qasī Ṣūfī?," *Studia Islamica* 110 (2015), pp. 196-232.

Ebstein, Michael and Weiss, Tzahi, "A Drama in Heaven: 'Emanation on the Left' in Kabbalah and a Parallel Cosmogonic Myth in Ismaʿili Literature," *History of Religions* 55 (2015), pp. 148-71.

Erder, Yoram, "The Doctrine of Abū ʿIsā al-Iṣfahānī and its Sources," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), pp. 168-99.

Erder, Yoram, "The Karaites' Sadducee Dilemma," *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1994), pp. 195-226.

Fenton, Paul B., *A Tentative Hand List of Judeo-Arabic Manuscripts in Leningrad*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1991 [Hebrew].

Fenton, Paul B., "Georges Vajda's Contribution to the Study of Kabbalah," *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The "Science of Judaism" Between East and West*, ed. Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke, Oldenbourg: de Gruyter, 2016, pp. 306-25.

Fenton, Paul. B., "Judaism and Sufism," *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman, London-New York: Routledge, 1996, pp. 1333-55.

Fenton, Paul. B., "Judaism and Sufism," *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 201-17.

Fenton, Paul B., "The Arabic and Hebrew Versions of the Theology of Aristotle," *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts*, ed. Jill Kraye, Charles B. Schmitt and William F. Ryan, London: The Warburg Institute, 1986, pp. 241-64.

Franklin, Arnold E., *This Noble House: Jewish Descendants of King David in the Medieval Islamic East*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

Friedlander, Israel, "'Abdallāh ibn Sabā, der Begründer der Šīʿa, und sein jüdischer Ursprung," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 23 (1909) pp. 296-327; 24 (1910), pp. 1-46.

Friedlander, Israel, "Jewish-Arabic Studies: Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. 1.2 (Oct., 1910), pp. 183-215; 2.4 (Apr., 1912), pp. 481-516; 3.2 (Oct., 1912), pp. 235-300.

Friedlander, Israel, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 28 (1907), pp. 1-80; 29 (1908), pp. 1-183.

Friedman, Yaron, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawīs—An Introduction to the Religion, History and Identity of the Leading Minority in Syria*, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Gavarin, Martel, "The Conception of Time in the Works of Rabbi ʿAzriel," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6 (1987), pp. 309-36 [Hebrew].

Gil, Moshe, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Gil, Moshe, "The Origins of the Karaites," *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, ed. M. Polliack, Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 73-118.

Goldreich, Amos, "The Theology of the ʿIyyun Circle and a Possible Source of the Term *ʿAḥdut Shava*'," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6 (1987), pp. 141-56 [Hebrew].

Goldziher, Ignaz, "Al-Hidāja ʾilā Farāʾid al-Qulūb des Bachja ihn Josēf ihn Paqūda aus Andalusien. Im arabischem Urtext zum ersten Male nach der Oxforder und Pariser Handschrift sowie den Petersburger Fragmenten by A.S. Yahuda," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 67 (1913), pp. 529-38.

Goldziher, Ignaz, "Mélanges Judéo-Arabes XXI: Le *Amr ilāhī* (*ha-ʿinyan ha-elohi*) chez Juda Halevi," *Revue des Études Juives* 50 (1905) pp. 32-41.

Goldziher, Ignaz, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im ḥadīṯ," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 22 (1909), pp. 317-44.

Halft, Dennis, "Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī: A Twelfth/Eighteenth-Century Jewish Convert to Imāmī Šīʿism and His Critique of Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Four Kingdoms. (Daniel 2:31-45)," *Senses of Scriptures, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. Miriam L. Hjälm, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp. 280-304.

Halm, Heinz, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der Frühen Ismāʿīliyya*, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1978.

Halperin, David J., "Hekhalot and Miʿrāj: Observations on the Heavenly Journey in Judaism and Islam," *Death, Ecstasy and other Worldly Journeys*, ed. John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane. Albany: SUNY Press, 1995, pp. 269-88.

Heller-Wilensky, Sara Ora, "'The First Created Being' in Early Kabbalah and Ismaʿīlian Sources," *Binah* 3 (1994), pp. 65-77.

Hollenberg, David, "Disrobing Judges with Veiled Truths: An Early Ismāʿīlī Torah Interpretation (*taʾwīl*) in Service of the Fāṭimid Mission," *Religion* 33 (2003), pp. 127-45.

Hollenberg, David, *Beyond the Qurʾan: Ismāʿīlī Taʾwīl and the Secrets of the Prophets*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016.

Hughes, Aaron W., "Mysticism: The Quest for Transcendence," *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim-Jewish Relations*, ed. Josef Meri, New York-London: Routledge, 2016, pp. 219-34.

Hughes, Aaron W., *The Art of Dialogue in Jewish Philosophy*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Idel, Moshe, "Jewish Mysticism and Islamic Mysticism," *Maḥanaim—A Quarterly for Studies in Jewish Thought and Culture* 1 (1992), pp. 28-33 (Hebrew].

Idel, Moshe, "The Sefirot above the Sefirot," *Tarbiz—a Quarterly for Jewish Studies* 51 (1982), pp. 239-280 [Hebrew].

Ivry, Alfred L., "Ismāʿīlī Theology and Maimonides' Philosophy," *The Jews of Medieval Islam—Community, Society, and Identity*, ed. Daniel Frank, Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 271-99.

Kaufmann, David, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der Judischen Religionphilosophie des Mittelaters von Saadja bis Maimuni*, Gotha: F.A. Perthes, 1877.

Kiener, Ronald C., "Jewish Ismāʿilism in the Twelfth Century Yemen: R. Nethanel ben al-Fayyūmī," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 74 (January 1984), pp. 249-66.

Kitāb Maʿāni al-Nafs—Buch vom Wesen der Seele, ed. Ignaz Goldziher, Berlin: Weidmann, 1907.

Kohlberg, Etan, "In Praise of the Few," *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions in Memory of Norman Calder*, ed. Gerald R. Hawting, Jawid A. Mojaddedi and Alexander Samely, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 149-62.

Kohlberg, Etan, "Some Imāmī-Shīʿī Views on the *Ṣaḥaba*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), 143-75.

Kohlberg, Etan, "Western Studies of Shīʿa Islam," *Shiʿism, Resistance and Revolution*, ed. Martin Kramer, London: Mansell, 1987, pp. 31-44.

Kraemer, Joel L., "The Death of an Orientalist: Paul Kraus from Prague to Cairo," *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. Martin Kramer, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999, pp. 181-223.

Kraus, Paul, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismāʿīlitischen Schriften," *Der Islam* 19 (1931), pp. 243-63.

Kraus, Paul, *Jābir ibn Hayyān—Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, vol. II—*Jâbir et la science grecque*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1942.

Krinis, Ehud, "Abraham Bar Ḥiyya on 'the Pure Soul': The Neoplatonic Doctrine of the Soul in the Service of Apocalyptic Interpretation to History," *Teʿuda* 29 = *Studies in Memory of Moshe Gil*, ed. Elinoar Bareket, Yoram Erder and Meira Polliack, Tel-Aviv, Tel-Aviv University Press, 2018, pp. 287-312 [Hebrew].

Krinis, Ehud, "*Al-Risāla al jāmiʿa* and its Judeo-Arabic Manuscript," *Islam: identité et altérité—Hommage au Père Guy Monnot o.p.*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 311-29.

Krinis, Ehud, "A Shīʿī Passage in Duties of the Heart—Baḥya ibn Paquda's Adaptation of the Shīʿī Principle of Continuity," lecture at the 17th Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies, Vanderbilt University-Nashville, August 2016.

Krinis, Ehud, "Cyclical Time in the Ismāʿīlī Circle of Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ (tenth century) and in Early Jewish Kabbalists Circles (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)," *Studia Islamica* 111 (2016), pp. 20-108.

Krinis, Ehud, "*Galut* and *Ghayba*: The Exile of Israel and the Occultation of the Shīʿī Imām—Comparative Aspects (Judah Halevi and Early Shīʿī Literature)," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013), 245-99.

Krinis, Ehud, *God's Chosen People: Judah Halevi's Kuzari and the Shīʿī Imām Doctrine*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Krinis, Ehud, "The Philosophical and Theosophical Interpretations of the Microcosm-Macrocosm Analogy in Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ and Jewish Medieval Writings," *L'ésotérisme shiʿite, ses racines et ses prolongements*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Maria De Cillis, Daniel De Smet and Orkhan Mir-Kasimov, Turnhout: Brepols, 2016, pp. 395-409.

Langermann, Y. Tzvi, "A Marginalium on the Phrase 'Man is Political by Nature' in some Yemenite Manuscripts of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*," *Daʿat* 83 (2017), pp. 95-103 [Hebrew].

Langermann, Y. Tzvi, "Cultural Contacts of the Jews of Yemen," *Contacts between Cultures, vol. 1: West Asia and North Africa*, ed. Amir Harrak, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992, pp. 281-85.

Langermann, Y. Tzvi, *Yemenite Midrash: Philosophical Commentaries on the Torah*, New York: Harper-Collins, 1998.

Liebes, Yehuda, "Shlomo Pines and Kabbalah Research," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 9 (1990), pp. 16-22 [Hebrew].

Lucas, Scott C., *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam: The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Maʿīn and Ibn Ḥanbal*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Madelung, Wilferd, "Muʿtazilī Theology in Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-Niʿma*," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014), pp. 9-17.

Moreen, Vera Basch, "A Shīʿī-Jewish 'Debate' (Munāẓara) in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119 (1999), pp. 570-89.

Moreen, Vera Basch, "*Risāla-yi Ṣawāʿiq al-Yahūd* [The Treatise Lightning Bolts against the Jews] by Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d. 1699)," *Die Welt des Islams* N.S. 32 (1992), pp. 177-95.

Moreen, Vera Basch, "Shiʿa and the Jews," *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, vol. 5, pp. 355-59.

Nemoy, Leon, *Karaite Anthology: Excerpts from the Early Literature*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952.

Netton, Ian R., *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity* (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991².

Pedaya, Haviva, *Nahmanides: Cyclical Time and Holy Text*, Tel-Aviv: ʿAm ʿOved, 2003 [Hebrew].

Pines, Shlomo, "La longue récension de la Théologie d'Aristotle dans ses Rapports avec la doctrine ismaélienne," *Revue des études islamiques* 22 (1954), pp. 7-20.

Pines, Shlomo, "Nathanael ben al-Fayyumi et la théologie ismaëlienne," *Revue de l'histoire juive en Egypt* 1 (1947), pp. 5-22. Reprinted in *The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines*, vol. 5, ed. Warren Zev Harvey and Moshe Idel, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1997, pp. 317-34.

Pines, Shlomo, "Note sur la Doctrine de la Prophétie et la Réhabilitation de la Matière dans le Kuzari," *Mélanges de Philosophie et de Littérature Juives* 1-2 (1956-57), pp. 253-60.

Pines, Shlomo, "Shīʿite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's Kuzari," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980), pp. 165-251.

Pines, Shlomo, "Une notice sur les Rech Galuta chez un ecrivain Arabe du IX^{e} siècle," *Revue des Études Juives* 100 (1936), pp. 71-73.

Polliack, Meira, "Major Trends in Karaite Biblical Exegesis in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, ed. M. Polliack, Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 363-413.

Rosenthal, Franz, "From the 'Unorthodox' Judaism of Medieval Yemen," *Hommages à Georges Vajda*, ed. Gerard Nahon and Charles Touati, Louvain: Peeters, 1980, pp. 279-90.

Rubin, Uri, *Between Bible and Qurāʾn: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-image*, Princeton: Darwin Press, 1999.

Saif, Liana, "Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ's Religious Reform and Magic: Beyond the Ismaʿili Hypothesis," *Journal of Islamic Studies* (2018), doi.org/10.1093/jis/etyo20.

Schmidtke, Sabine, "Jewish Reception of Twelver Shīʿī *kalām*: A Copy of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra* in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014), pp. 50-74.

Schmidtke, Sabime, "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg—A Descriptive Catalogue," *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke and David Sklare, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, pp. 377-462.

Scholem, Gershom G., *The Kabbalah in Gerona*, Jerusalem: Academon, 1964 [Hebrew].

Schwarb, Gregor, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmāʾ*," *Ginzei Qedem: Genizah Research Annual* 2 (2006), pp. 61*-105*.

Schwarb, Gregor, "Short Communication: A Newly Discovered Fragment of *al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī usūl al-dīn* in Hebrew Script," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014), pp. 75-79.

Sela, Shulamit, "The Interaction of Judaic and Islamic Studies in the Scholarship of S.M. Stern," *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed.

Martin Kramer, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999, pp. 261-71.

Shargel, Baila R., *Practical Dreamer: Israel Friedlaender and the Shaping of American Judaism*, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1985.

Sklare, David, "Levi ben Yefet and his *Kitāb al-Niʿma*—Selected Texts," *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke and David Sklare, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, pp. 157-216.

Sklare, David, "A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts," *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, ed. Meira Polliack, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 893-924.

Stern, Samuel Miklos, "Fāṭimid Propaganda among Jews according to the Testimony of Yefet b. ʿAlī the Karaite," *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism*, Jerusalem and Leiden: Brill-Magnes Press, 1983, pp. 84-95.

Stillman, Norman A., *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979.

Stroumsa, Sarah, "Ibn Masarra and the Beginnings of Mystical Thought in al-Andalus," *Wege Mystischer Gotteserfahrung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam / Mystical Approaches to God: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Peter Schäfer, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006, pp. 97-112.

Stroumsa, Sarah, "Shlomo Pines: le savant, le sage," *Journal Asiatique* 278 (1990), pp. 205-11.

Stroumsa, Sarah, "'Wondrous Paths'—the Ismāʿīlī Context of Saʿadya's' 'Commentary on *Sefer Yeṣira*'," *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter* 18 (2015), pp. 74-90.

Touati, Charles and Rothschild, Jean-Pierre, "Vajda, Georges," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*[2], vol. 20, pp. 457-58.

Treiger, Alexander, "Andrei Iakovlevič Borisov (1903-1942) and his Studies of Medieval Arabic Philosophy," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 17 (2007), pp. 159-95.

Tsadik, Daniel, "Religious Disputations of Imāmī Shīʿīs against Judaism in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Studia Iranica* 34 (2005), pp. 95-134.

Vajda, Georges, "De quelques emprunts d'origine juive dans le hadith shiʿite," *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, ed. Shelomo Morag, Issachar Ben-Ami and Norman A. Stillman, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1981, pp. 45-53.

Vajda, Georges, "Idées théologiques et philosophiques d'Abraham Bar Hiyya," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 15 (1946), pp. 191-223.

Vajda, Georges, "Les lettres et les sons de la langue arabe d'après Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī," *Arabica* 8 (1961), pp. 113-30.

Vajda, Georges, "Un opuscule Ismaélien en transmission Judéo-Arabe (*Risālat al-Jawharayn*)," *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958), pp. 459-66.

Walzer, Richard, "Samuel M. Stern—In Memoriam," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), pp. 1-14.

Wansbrough, John E., *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Wasserstrom, Steven M., *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Wasserstrom, Steven M., "Further Thoughts on the Origins of 'Sefer Yeṣirah'," *Aleph* 2 (2002), pp. 201-21.

Wasserstrom, Steven M., "Sefer Yeṣira and Early Islam: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993), pp. 1-30.

Weiss, Tzahi, *Sefer Yeṣirah and Its Contexts*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.