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عنه زعم

# ISMAILI LITERATURE

Farhad Daftary

## Ismaili Literature



# Ismaili Literature

A Bibliography of  
Sources and Studies

*Farhad Daftary*

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3. Editions or translations of significant primary or secondary texts.
4. Translations of poetic or literary texts which illustrate the rich heritage of spiritual, devotional and symbolic expressions in Muslim history.
5. Works on Ismaili history and thought, and the relationship of the Ismailis to other traditions, communities and schools of thought in Islam.
6. Proceedings of conferences and seminars sponsored by the Institute.
7. Bibliographical works and catalogues which document manuscripts, printed texts and other source materials.

This book falls into category seven listed above.

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To my colleagues and students at  
The Institute of Ismaili Studies



## Preface

I started to compile a bibliography of Ismaili sources and studies more than three decades ago when I began my research on the history of the Ismailis. By then, publications in this field of Islamic studies had already grown significantly since the 1920s and 1930s when Louis Massignon (1883–1962) and Asaf A.A. Fyzee (1899–1981) made the earliest attempts to take stock of modern scholarship on the Ismailis. The rapid increase in the number of Ismaili-related publications since the middle of the twentieth century is, indeed, a reflection of the impressive progress of modern Ismaili studies during that period. Aspects of the progress made in the field have been recorded, partially but on a regular basis, in the *Index Islamicus*, conceived by James D. Pearson (1911–1997), and its continuation in the *Quarterly Index Islamicus*, while Nagib Tajdin attempted a sketchy and uncritical compilation in his *A Bibliography of Ismailism* (1985).

As is now well-known, modern scholarship in Ismaili studies has been almost exclusively due to the recovery and study of an increasing number of Ismaili manuscript sources preserved privately in India, Central Asia, Syria and Yaman, amongst other regions. The improvement in our knowledge of Ismaili texts and in their recovery may be readily traced by a comparative analysis of *A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (1933), compiled by W. Ivanow (1886–1970) partially on the basis of the medieval *Fihrist al-Majdūʿ*, and its second revised edition,

*Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (1963) with I.K. Poonawala's monumental *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature* (1977), which identifies some 1,300 titles attributed to more than 200 authors. It may be noted here that the present bibliography relates only to 'published' primary sources, by or about the Ismailis (Chapter 3), as well as secondary studies (Chapter 4) and as such, it complements the works of Ivanow and Poonawala which refer mostly to unpublished Ismaili texts. A most valuable undertaking accomplished by Professor Poonawala is the identification of the locations of the various manuscripts of each text.

The coverage of secondary studies in the present bibliography is not limited to Ismaili history and thought, although these areas do represent its focus. Ismailism is defined rather broadly here to cover what some scholars designate more specifically as Fatimid studies, including Fatimid political history, institutions, art and archaeology. In addition, certain peripheral yet highly relevant subjects and areas of study have been covered to various extents, notably the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and their *Rasā'il* as well as the Cairo Geniza documents and the Druzes who originally split away from the Ismailis in the time of the Fatimid Ismaili caliph-imam al-Ḥākīm (d. 411/1021). In the case of the Druzes, particular emphasis has been placed on major monographs and publications related to the earlier history of this community in Fatimid times (but without covering the Druze writings which are not always readily accessible) together with the earliest studies of the orientalists who sometimes also covered the Ismailis in their investigations of the Druzes. Druze studies are currently experiencing a breakthrough as attested by two recent bibliographies compiled by Samy S. Swayd (1998) and Talal Fandi and Ziyad Abi-Shakra (2001). A selection of recent publications on Imāmī Shi'ism, covering the early history and teachings of the Shi'i imams recognized by the Ismailis, as well as some major genealogical works and biographical dictionaries, are also included.

An attempt at comprehensive coverage of Arabic, Persian and Tajik (Cyrillic) publications has been made. Similarly, all major publications in the main European languages, especially English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian, have been included, in addition to a selection in other languages such as Dutch and Polish. The coverage of publications in Urdu and Turkish is less certain. With few

exceptions, publications in Gujarātī and other Indian languages have been excluded, although a selection of the religious literature of the Khojas, the *gināns*, in English translation has been included. Ismaili publications in South Asian languages would indeed require a separate annotated bibliography. Also excluded is most of the literature of a popular or polemical kind produced by different Ismaili groups as well as numerous 'open letters' and legal proceedings of court cases. Chapter 4: Studies, with few exceptions deals exclusively, or at least primarily, with books, contributions to collective volumes, articles, encyclopedia articles, etc., on the Ismailis. Consequently, chapters or sections on Ismailis appearing in single-authored books devoted to other Islamic subjects have not been covered. A selection of Ismaili-related theses is covered in Chapter 5. The system of transliteration used in this book for the Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu scripts, as well as the Cyrillic characters, is essentially the same as that adopted in the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with the usual modifications.

It remains for me to express my gratitude to a number of colleagues and friends who assisted me in various ways in this endeavour. Sophia Vasalou, my research assistant in 2002, meticulously and tirelessly checked the bibliographical details of the entries which I had not undertaken myself, at the British Library, the SOAS Library, and other libraries in Oxford and Cambridge; without her, this bibliography would have contained many (perhaps even more) errors. Samer F. Traboulsi checked a selection of my Arabic entries using the collections of the American University in Beirut and Princeton University, while Dr Leila R. Dodikhudoeva did the same in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dushanbe for the entries in Russian and Tajik, transcribed in Cyrillic; I would like to thank them both very sincerely. I am also grateful to Dr Sergei Andreyev who called my attention to a number of Russian publications, and to Alnoor Merchant, Senior Librarian and Keeper of the Ismaili Collection at our Institute, for his help throughout the years.

I received valuable comments and suggestions from Professor W. Madelung; as always, I remain very grateful to him. I would also like to thank Kutub Kassam and Patricia Salazar of the editorial team at the Institute's Department of Academic Research and Publications who helped in various ways to improve this work. Finally, I am indebted

to Julia Kolb who produced the earlier drafts of the bibliography and to Nadia Holmes who meticulously prepared its final typescript for publication. Needless to reiterate that the inclusion of any item in this bibliography does not necessarily imply its endorsement by the author or The Institute of Ismaili Studies.

F.D.

July 2004

## Abbreviations

- AIEO *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*
- AI *Annales Islamologiques*
- AI(U)ON *Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli*
- APP S.H. Nasr and M. Aminrazavi (ed.), *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia*. Volume II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- BEO *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*
- BIE *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*
- BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*
- BSO(A)S *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
- CT *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*
- DDI *Dānishnāma-yi Djahān-i Islām [Encyclopaedia of the World of Islam]*, ed., S.M. Mīrsalīm et al. Tehran: Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation, 1375 Sh.-/1996-
- DIFM *Darūlfünun Ilāhiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Istanbul)
- DKGI Muḥammad Karīmī Zanjānī Aşl, ed., *Darāmadī bar kashākish-i Ghazālī va Ismā'īliyān*. Tehran: Kavīr, 1381 Sh./2002.
- DMBI *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī [The Great Islamic Encyclopaedia]*, ed., K. Musavi Bojnurdi. Tehran: The Centre of Great Islamic Encyclopaedia, 1367 Sh.-/1989-.



- DT *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Tashayyū'* [*Encyclopaedia of Shi'a*], ed., A. Šadr Hāj-Sayyid-Jawādī et al. Tehran: Nashr-i Shahīd Muḥibbī, 1375 Sh.–/1996–.
- EF M. Barrucand (ed.), *L'Égypte Fatimide, son art et son histoire*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999.
- EAL *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed., J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- EI *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed., M. Th. Houtsma et al. 1st edition, Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1913–38; reprinted, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987; also published in French and German.
- EI2 *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed., H.A.R. Gibb et al. New edition, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2004; also published in French.
- EII *Encyclopaedia of Iran and Islam* [*Dānish-nāma-yi Īrān va Islām*], ed., E. Yarshater. Tehran: The Institute of Translation and Publication, 1354–70 Sh./1975–91.
- EIR *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed., E. Yarshater. London: Routledge and K. Paul; New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 1982–.
- EJ *Eranos Jahrbuch*
- ER *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed., M. Eliade. New York: Macmillan; London: Collier Macmillan, 1987.
- ERE *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed., J. Hastings. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1908–26.
- ESFAM U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet (ed.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 73. Louvain: Peeters, 1995.
- ESFAM 2 U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet (ed.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras II*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 83. Louvain: Peeters, 1998.
- ESFAM 3 U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (ed.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 102. Louvain: Peeters, 2001.
- EUDI *Encyclopaedia Universalis: Dictionnaire de l'Islam, religion et civilisation*. Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis and A. Michel, 1997.

- GIH *The Great Ismaili Heroes*. Karachi: Prince Aly S. Khan Colony Religious Night School, 1973.
- HI *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, ed., A.J. Wensinck and J.H. Kramers. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1941.
- IA *Islām Ansiklopedisi*. Istanbul, 1940–86.
- IA2 *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islām Ansiklopedisi*. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–.
- IAW F. Daftary (ed.), *al-Isma‘iliyyūn fi’l-‘aṣr al-wasīṭ*, tr., Sayf al-Dīn al-Qaṣīr. Damascus and Beirut: Dār al-Madā, 1998.
- IC *Islamic Culture*
- ICIC S.H. Nasr (ed.), *Isma‘ili Contributions to Islamic Culture*. Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977.
- IJMES *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
- IMM The Department of Islamic Denominations, The Center for Religious Studies, *Isma‘iliyya: majmū‘a-yi maqālāt*. Qom, Iran: Center for Religious Studies, 1381 Sh./2002.
- JA *Journal Asiatique*
- JASB *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JBBRAS *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JIMMA *Journal, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*
- JIS *Journal of Islamic Studies*
- JRCA *Journal of the (Royal) Central Asian Society*
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- MIHT F. Daftary (ed.), *Mediaeval Isma‘ili History and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- NP *Nāme-ye Pārsī: Quarterly of the Center for Expansion of Persian Language and Literature*
- MW *The Muslim World*
- NS New Series
- OE *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, ed., John L. Esposito. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- REI *Revue des Études Islamiques*
- RIS F. Sezgin, et al. (ed.), *Rasā’il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā’ wa-Khillān*

- al-Wafā'* (2nd half 4th/10th cent.): *Texts and Studies Collected and Reprinted*. Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1999.
- RSO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
- SEI *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed., H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953.
- SI *Studia Islamica*
- TAI F. Daftary (ed.), *Ta'rikh va andīshahā-yi Ismā'īlī dar sadahā-yi miyāna*, tr., Farīdūn Badra'ī. Tehran: Farzān, 1382 Sh./2003.
- WI *Die Welt des Islams*
- WO *Die Welt des Orients*
- YNK *Yādnāma-yi Nāšir-i Khusraw*. Mashhad: Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī, Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī, 2535 [1355 Sh.]/1976.
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

## Ismaili History and its Literary Sources

The Ismailis, a major Shi'i Muslim community who have subdivided into a number of branches and minor groups, have had a long and complex history dating back to the middle of the 2nd/8th century. Currently, the Ismailis, who belong to the Nizārī and Ṭayyibī Musta'li branches, are scattered as religious minorities in numerous countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America. Numbering several millions, they also represent a diversity of ethnic groups and speak a variety of languages, including Persian, Arabic and Indic languages, as well as a number of European languages.\*

### **Early Shi'ism**

At least during the first three centuries of their history, Muslims lived in an intellectually dynamic and fluid milieu. The formative period of Islam was, indeed, characterized by a multiplicity of communities of interpretation and schools of thought, representing a diversity of views on the major religio-political issues faced by the early Muslims after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad in 11/632. At the time, the Muslims were confronted by many gaps in their religious knowledge and understanding of Islam, revolving around issues such as the unity and attributes of God, nature of religious authority and definitions of true believers. Different religious communities and schools of

thought, which were later enumerated in heresiographical writings, elaborated their doctrines in stages and eventually acquired their distinctive identities and names. In terms of political loyalties, which remained closely linked to theological perspectives, pluralism in early Islam ranged from the stances of those later designated as Sunnis, who endorsed the historical caliphate and the authority-power structure that had actually evolved in the nascent Muslim community (*umma*), to various religio-political opposition communities, notably the Khawārij and the Shī'a, who aspired towards new orders.

The Shī'a themselves eventually subdivided into a number of major communities, notably the Ithnā'asharis or Twelvers, the Ismailis and the Zaydīs, and several minor groupings. It is the fundamental belief of the Shī'a of all branches, however, that the Prophet himself had designated his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), married to his daughter Fāṭima, as his successor – a designation or *naṣṣ* instituted through divine command and revealed by the Prophet at Ghadir Khumm shortly before his death. A minority group originally holding to this view gradually expanded and became generally designated as the *Shī'at 'Alī*, party of 'Alī, or simply as the Shī'a. The Shī'a also came to hold a particular conception of religious authority that set them apart from other Muslims. They held that the message of Islam as revealed by the Prophet Muḥammad contained inner truths that could not be grasped directly through common reason. Thus, they recognized the need for a religiously authoritative guide, or imam, as the Shī'a have traditionally preferred to call their spiritual leader. A person qualified for such an important task of spiritual guidance, according to the Shī'a, could belong only to the Prophet's family, the *ahl al-bayt*, whose members provided the sole, authoritative channel for elucidating and interpreting the teachings of Islam.<sup>1</sup> Before long, however, the Shī'a disagreed among themselves regarding the precise definition and composition of the *ahl al-bayt*, causing internal divisions within Shi'ism.

Initially, for some fifty years, Shi'ism represented a unified community with limited membership comprised mainly of Arab Muslims. The Shī'a had then recognized successively 'Alī and his sons al-Ḥasan (d. 49/669) and al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680) as their imams. This situation changed with the movement of al-Mukhtār who, in 66/685, briefly launched an open revolt in Kūfa, the cradle of Shi'ism, against the

Umayyads. Aiming to avenge al-Ḥusayn's murder, al-Mukhtār organized his own Shi'i movement in the name of 'Alī's third son and al-Ḥusayn's half-brother Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (d. 81/700), as the Mahdi, 'the divinely-guided one', the messianic saviour imam and restorer of true Islam who would establish justice on earth and deliver the oppressed from tyranny. The new eschatological concept of imam-Mahdi proved particularly appealing to the *mawālī*, the non-Arab converts to Islam who under the Umayyads (41–132/661–750) were treated as second-class Muslims. As a large and underprivileged social class aspiring to the establishment of a social order based on the egalitarian precepts of Islam, the *mawālī* provided a significant recruiting ground for any movement opposed to the exclusively Arab hegemony of the Umayyads and their social structure. Starting with the movement of al-Mukhtār that survived his demise in 67/687, however, the *mawālī* became particularly drawn to Shi'ism and played a key role in transforming it from an Arab party of limited membership and doctrinal basis to a dynamic movement. Henceforth, different Shi'i communities and lesser groups, consisting of both Arabs and *mawālī*, came to coexist, each with its own line of imams and elaborating its own ideas. The Prophet's family, whose sanctity was supreme for the Shi'a, was still defined broadly in its tribal sense to include not only all major branches of the extended 'Alid family – descendants of his sons al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya – but also members of other branches of the Prophet's clan of Banū Hāshim. It was not until after the Abbasid revolution that the *ahl al-bayt* came to be defined more narrowly to include only certain 'Alids.

It was under such circumstances that the Shi'ism of the later Umayyad period developed mainly in terms of two branches or trends, the Kaysāniyya and the Imāmiyya, each with its own internal groupings. In time, another 'Alid movement led to the foundation of a third major Shi'i community, the Zaydiyya. There were also those Shi'i *ghulāt*, individual theorists with often small followings, who existed within or on the margins of the major Shi'i communities. A radical branch, in terms of both doctrine and policy, evolved out of al-Mukhtār's movement accounting for the bulk of the early Shi'a until shortly after the Abbasid revolution. This branch, comprised of a number of interrelated groups recognizing various 'Alids and other Hāshimids as their imams, was generally designated as the

Kaysāniyya by heresiographers who were responsible for coining the names of many of the early Muslim communities. The Kaysāni groups drew mainly on the support of the *mawālī* in southern Iraq, Persia and elsewhere. Many of the Kaysāni doctrines were propounded by the *ghulāt* amongst them, who were accused by the more moderate Shi'is of later times of 'exaggeration' (*ghuluww*) in religious matters. In addition to their condemnation of the early caliphs before 'Alī, the commonest feature of the ideas propagated by the early Shi'i *ghulāt* was the attribution of superhuman qualities, or even divinity, to imams. The Kaysāniyya also pursued an activist anti-establishment policy against the Umayyads, aiming to transfer the leadership of the Muslim *umma* to 'Alids. By the end of the Umayyad period, the main body of the Kaysāniyya, known as the Hāshimiyya, had transferred their allegiance to the Abbasids, descendants of the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās, who had been cleverly conducting an anti-Umayyad campaign on behalf of an anonymous member of the *ahl al-bayt* with much Shi'i appeal.

In the meantime, there had developed another major branch of Shi'ism, later designated as the Imāmiyya. This branch, the early common heritage of the Ismailis and the Twelvers, had acknowledged a particular line of Ḥusaynid 'Alids, descendants of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, as imams and remained completely removed from any political activity. Indeed, the Imāmiyya adopted a quiescent policy in the political field while doctrinally they subscribed to some of the radical views of the Kaysāniyya, such as the condemnation of 'Alī's predecessors as caliphs. The Imāmiyya, who like other Shi'is of the Umayyad times were centred in Kūfa, traced the imamate through al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's sole surviving son 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 95/714), with the honorific title of Zayn al-'Ābidīn (the Ornament of the Pious). But it was with Zayn al-'Ābidīn's son and successor Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca. 114/732) that the Ḥusaynid line of 'Alid imams and the Imāmī branch began to acquire prominence among the early Shi'a. The Imam al-Bāqir, too, refrained from political activity and concerned himself with the religious aspects of his imamate. In particular, he elaborated the rudiments of some of the ideas which later became the legitimate principles of Imāmī Shi'ism. He is also credited with introducing the important principle of *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissimulation of one's true religious belief under adverse circumstances, which was

later adopted widely by both the Ismailis and the Twelvers. In spite of many difficulties, al-Bāqir succeeded during his imamate of some twenty years in increasing his following. It was, however, during the long and eventful imamate of al-Bāqir's son and successor, Ja'far al-Šādiq, that the Imāmiyya expanded significantly and became a major religious community with a distinct identity. The foremost scholar and teacher of the Ḥusaynid line of imams, al-Šādiq acquired prominence rather gradually during this turbulent period in early Islam when the Umayyads were finally uprooted by the Abbasids.

The Abbasid revolution marked a turning point in early Islamic history, ushering in many socio-political and economic changes, including the disappearance of distinctions between the Arab Muslims and the *mawālī*. But the Abbasid victory proved a source of deep disillusionment for all Shi'a who had expected an 'Alid to succeed to the caliphate after the demise of the Umayyads. The Shi'a were further disappointed when the Abbasids, soon after seizing the caliphate in 132/750, began to persecute their former Shi'i supporters as well as many of the 'Alids. In fact, the Abbasid caliph became in due course the spiritual spokesman of Sunni Islam. It was under such circumstances that many Shi'is, including those Kaysānīs who had not joined the Abbasid party, rallied to the side of Ja'far al-Šādiq, who had gradually acquired a widespread reputation as a religious scholar. He was a reporter of *ḥadīth* and was later cited as such even in the chain of authorities accepted by Sunnis. He also taught *fiqh* or jurisprudence and has been credited, after the work of his father, with founding the Imāmī Shi'i school of religious law or *madhhab*, named Ja'fari after him. By the final decade of his imamate, al-Šādiq had gathered a noteworthy group of religious scholars and associates around him which included some of the most eminent jurists, traditionists and theologians of the time, such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795), the foremost representative of Imāmī *kalām* or scholastic theology. As a result of the intense intellectual activities of Ja'far al-Šādiq and his circle, the Imāmī Shi'is came to possess a distinctive body of ritual as well as theological and legal doctrines. Above all, they now elaborated the basic conception of the doctrine of the imamate (*imāma*), which was essentially retained by later Ismaili and Twelver Shi'is.<sup>2</sup> This doctrine enabled al-Šādiq to consolidate Shi'ism, after its numerous earlier defeats, on a quiescent basis, as it no longer required the imam to rebel



against actual rulers to assert his claims. The last imam recognized by both the Twelvers and the Ismailis, Ja‘far al-Šādiq died in 148/765. The dispute over his succession led to historic divisions in Imāmī Shi‘ism, also marking the emergence of independent Ismaili groups.<sup>3</sup>

### Origins and early development of the Ismaili *Da‘wa*

A persistent research problem in Ismaili studies relates to the dearth of reliable information. The Ismailis were often persecuted and were, thus, obliged to observe *taqiyya* in their daily life. Furthermore, the authors who produced the Ismaili literature of different periods were generally trained as theologians who normally also served secretly as their community’s *dā‘īs*, missionaries or religio-political agents, in hostile milieus. As a result of these realities, the Ismaili *dā‘ī*-authors were not particularly interested in compiling historical records of their activities. This general lack of interest in historiography is attested to by the fact that only a handful of historical works have come to light in the modern recovery of Ismaili texts. It is also noteworthy that in medieval times only one general history of Ismailism was compiled by an Ismaili author, namely, the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* of Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468), the nineteenth *dā‘ī* of the Ṭayyibī Musta‘lī Ismailis.

The pre-Fatimid period of Ismaili history in general and the opening phase of Ismailism in particular remain rather obscure in Ismaili historiography. It is highly probable that the early Ismailis, conducting a revolutionary movement in an extremely hostile environment, did not produce any substantial volume of literature, preferring instead to propagate their doctrines mainly by word of mouth. The modern recovery of Ismaili literature has confirmed this suspicion. In addition, much of the meagre literature of the early Ismailis was evidently discarded or subjected to revisions in the Fatimid period. Nevertheless, a small collection of early Ismaili doctrinal works has survived to the present day. These include fragments of the *Kitāb al-rushd wa’l-hidāya*, attributed to the *dā‘ī* Ibn Ḥawshab, better known as Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. 302/914); the *Kitāb al-‘ālim wa’l-ghulām* of Maṣṣūr al-Yaman’s son Ja‘far (d. ca. 346/957), who is also credited with compiling the *Kitāb al-kashf*, a collection of six short treatises. The religious texts of the Ismailis produced in later times are themselves invaluable for tracing their early doctrinal history. There

are also those brief but highly significant historical accounts of specific early Ismaili events, notably the *Istitār al-imām* of the *dā'ī* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī (d. after 386/996), dealing with the settlement of the early Ismaili Imam 'Abd Allāh in Salamiyya and the flight of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, the founder of the Fatimid caliphate, from Salamiyya to North Africa. However, for the initial phase of Ismaili history, the brief accounts of the earliest Imāmī Shi'ī heresiographers al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (d. after 300/912) and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī (d. 301/913–14), who were much better informed than Sunni heresiographers about the internal divisions of Shi'ism, remain our main sources of information. The anti-Ismaili polemical writings, too, despite their malicious intentions, serve as important sources on aspects of early Ismailism. In this context, particular mention should be made of the highly influential works of Ibn Rizām and the Sharif Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, better known as Akhū Muḥsin, who flourished in the 4th/10th century. Their refutations of the Ismailis have not been recovered, but they were widely available to several generations of Muslim scholars and historians who have preserved them fragmentarily. In modern times, after the pioneering efforts of W. Ivanow (1886–1970), S.M. Stern (1920–1969) and W. Madelung produced ground-breaking studies on early Ismailism. However, scholars still disagree on certain aspects of the early Ismaili *dā'wa*, and some of the outstanding issues may never be resolved due to a lack of reliable sources.

According to most sources, both Ismaili and non-Ismaili, the Imam al-Ṣādiq had originally designated his second son Ismā'īl, the eponym of the Ismā'īliyya, as his successor to the imamate by the rule of the *naṣṣ*. There cannot be any doubt regarding the historicity of this designation, which provides the basis of the Ismaili claims. However, matters are rather confused as Ismā'īl apparently predeceased his father, and three of al-Ṣādiq's sons simultaneously laid claim to his heritage. According to the Ismaili religious tradition and as reported in some of its sources, Ismā'īl survived his father and succeeded him in due course. But most non-Ismaili sources relate that he died before his father, the latest date mentioned being 145/762–63. These sources also add that during Ismā'īl's funeral procession in Medina, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq made several attempts to show the face of his dead son to witnesses, though some of the same sources also state that Ismā'īl was

later seen in Baṣra.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, Ismā‘īl was not present in Medina or Kūfa on Ja‘far al-Šādiq’s death in 148/765 when three other sons, ‘Abd Allāh al-Afṭah (d. 149/766), Muḥammad al-Dībāj (d. 200/815) and Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799) laid open claims to the imamate. As a result, al-Šādiq’s Imāmī Shi‘i following split into six groups, two of which may be identified as proto-Ismailis or earliest Ismailis. These splinter groups, based in Kūfa and supporting the claims of Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far and his son Muḥammad, had evidently appeared in the lifetime of the Imam al-Šādiq, but they separated from other Imāmīs only in 148/765.

One of these groups denied the death of Ismā‘īl and awaited his return as the Mahdī, as did another Imāmī group now believing in the Mahdīship of al-Šādiq himself. The members of this group, designated as ‘al-Ismā‘īliyya al-khāliṣa’ or the ‘Pure Ismā‘īliyya’ by al-Nawbakhtī and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī,<sup>5</sup> held that the Imam al-Šādiq had announced Ismā‘īl’s death merely as a ruse to protect him against Abbasid persecution as he had been politically active against them. Indeed on the basis of sketchy biographical details available on Ismā‘īl, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that he had close ties with the more activist circles of the Imāmīyya.<sup>6</sup> Evidently, there were also contacts between Ismā‘īl and Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī, the most prominent of all early Shi‘i *ghulāt* who was for a while in the entourage of Ja‘far al-Šādiq before being repudiated by him for his extremist views. Soon afterwards in 138/755, Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb and a number of his followers were attacked and killed in the mosque of Kūfa where they had gathered for rebellious purposes. Ismā‘īl’s association with Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb is also alluded to in an obscure Persian treatise called *Umm al-kitāb*, which states that the Ismaili religion (*madhhab*) was founded by the disciples of Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>7</sup> However, Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb is generally condemned as a ‘heretic’ in the Ismaili literature of the Fatimid times.<sup>8</sup> The second proto-Ismaili splinter group, known as the Mubārakiyya, affirmed Ismā‘īl’s death in the lifetime of his father and now recognized his eldest son Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl as their imam. It seems likely that the Mubārakiyya, derived from Ismā‘īl’s epithet al-Mubārak, ‘the blessed one’, were originally supporters of Ismā‘īl before acknowledging his son Muḥammad as their imam. Be that as it may, Mubārakiyya – a term coined later by heresiographers – was, thus, one of the original names of the nascent Ismā‘īliyya.

As in the case of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, little is known about the life and career of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the seventh imam of the Ismailis. The relevant biographical information contained in early Ismaili sources has been reproduced by the *dā'ī* Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn in his *'Uyūn al-akhbar*.<sup>9</sup> After the recognition of the imamate of his uncle Mūsā al-Kāzīm, soon after al-Šādiq's death, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl left Medina, seat of the 'Alids, and went into hiding, marking the initiation of the *dawr al-satr*, or the period of concealment, in early Ismailism which lasted until the foundation of the Fatimid state and the emergence of the Ismaili imams from their concealment. Henceforth, Muḥammad acquired the epithet of al-Maktūm, 'the hidden one', in addition to al-Maymūn, 'the fortunate one'. Nevertheless, Muḥammad maintained his contacts with the Kūfan-based Mubārakiyya from different localities in Iraq and Persia. He died not long after 179/795, during the caliphate of the Abbasid Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809).

No details are available on the relations between the 'Pure Ismā'īliyya' and the Mubārakiyya or any particular connections between these two groups and the Khaṭṭābīs, the followers of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, some of whom may have joined the supporters of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, as claimed by al-Nawbakhtī and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh.<sup>10</sup> It is certain, however, that all these groups were politically active against the Abbasids and they originated within the radical fringes of Imāmī Shi'ism in Kūfa. At any rate, on the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the Mubārakiyya split into two groups. The majority, identified by Imāmī heresiographers as the immediate predecessors of the dissident Qarmaṭīs, refused to accept his death; they recognized him as their seventh and last imam, and awaited his return as the Mahdī or *qā'im* (riser) – terms which were synonymous in their early usage by the Ismailis and other Shi'is. A second small and obscure group acknowledged Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's death and now began to trace the imamate in his progeny. Almost nothing is known with certainty regarding the subsequent history of these earliest Ismaili groups until shortly after the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when a unified Ismaili movement appeared on the historical stage.

Drawing on different categories of sources, including the Ismaili literature of the early Fatimid period, the heresiographical works of Imāmī scholars and even the anti-Ismaili treatises of polemicists, especially the works of Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin, modern scholarship

has to a large extent succeeded in clarifying the circumstances leading to the emergence of the Ismaili movement in the 3rd/9th century. It is certain that for almost a century after Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, a group of leaders, well placed within the earliest Ismailis, worked secretly for the creation of a unified, revolutionary Shi'i movement against the Abbasids. Initially attached to one of the earliest Ismaili groups, and in all probability the imams of that obscure group issued from the Mubārakiyya who maintained continuity in the imamate in the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, these leaders did not openly claim the Ismaili imamate for three generations. They had, in fact, hidden their true identity in order to escape Abbasid persecution. 'Abd Allāh, the first of these hidden leaders, had organized his campaign around the central doctrine of the majority of the earliest Ismailis, namely the Mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl.

The existence of such a group of early Ismaili leaders is confirmed by both the official version of Ismailis of the Fatimid period regarding the pre-Fatimid phase of their history, as reflected in the *'Uyūn al-akhbār* of the *dā'ī* Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, as well as the hostile accounts of the anti-Ismaili polemicists, Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin, as preserved by later Sunni historians such as Ibn al-Dawādārī, al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī, among others. Indeed, with minor variations, the names of these leaders ('Abd Allāh, Aḥmad, Ḥusayn or Muḥammad, and 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdi), who were members of the same family and succeeded one another on a hereditary basis, are almost identical in the accounts of the later Fatimid Ismailis,<sup>11</sup> and in the lists traceable to Akhū Muḥsin and his source Ibn Rizām.<sup>12</sup> However, in the Ismaili sources these central leaders are presented as 'Alids descending from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq while in the anti-Ismaili accounts their ancestry is traced to a certain Maymūn al-Qaddāh. Modern scholarship has shown that the Qaddāhid ancestry attributed to the early Ismaili leaders was a construct of the polemicists who aimed to refute the 'Alid genealogy of the Fatimid caliph-imams. Maymūn al-Qaddāh and his son 'Abd Allāh were, in fact, associates of the Imams al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq and had nothing to do with early Ismailism.

'Abd Allāh, designated in later Ismaili sources as al-Akbar (the elder), the first of the early Ismaili leaders after Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, settled in 'Askar Mukram, in Khūzistān, south-western Persia, where he disguised himself as a merchant. It should be noted that

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl himself had spent the latter part of his life in Khūzistān; and several early *dā'īs* including al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī and 'Abdān also hailed from that part of Persia adjacent to southern Iraq. The Ismaili *dā'ī* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī relates important details on 'Abd Allāh al-Akbar and his successors down to 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī in his *Istitār al-imām*. It was from that locality that he began to organize a reinvigorated Ismaili *da'wa* sending *dā'īs* to different districts around Khūzistān. At an unknown date in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, 'Abd Allāh found refuge in Syria, where he re-established contact with some of his *dā'īs*, and settled in Salamiyya, continuing to pose as a Hāshimid merchant. Henceforth, Salamiyya served as the secret headquarters of the Ismaili *da'wa*.

The efforts of 'Abd Allāh and his successors began to bear fruit in the 260s/870s, when numerous *dā'īs* appeared in southern Iraq and adjacent regions. In 261/874 Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ was converted to Ismailism by the *dā'ī* al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī. Ḥamdān, in turn, organized the *da'wa* in the Sawād of Kūfa, his native locality, and in other districts of southern Iraq. His chief assistant was his brother-in-law 'Abdān. A learned theologian, 'Abdān was responsible for training and appointing numerous *dā'īs*, including Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī, who later founded the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn. The Ismailis of southern Iraq became generally known as the Qarāmiṭa, after their first local leader. This term was soon applied to other Ismaili communities not organized by Ḥamdān and 'Abdān. At the time, there was a single Ismaili movement directed from Salamiyya in the name of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the Mahdī. In fact, in order to prepare the ground for the emergence of the Mahdī, in 277/890 Ḥamdān established a *dār al-hijra*, or abode of migration, near Kūfa, where his followers gathered weapons and other provisions. The abode was to serve as the nucleus of a new society for the Ismailis. Later, similar *dār al-hijras* were established for the Ismaili communities of Yaman, Baḥrayn and North Africa. The Ismailis (Qarmaṭīs) now referred to their movement simply as *al-da'wa* (the mission) or *al-da'wa al-hādiya* (the rightly guiding mission), in addition to using expressions such *da'wat al-ḥaqq* (summons to the truth) or *ahl al-ḥaqq* (people of the truth). Aside from the narratives traceable to Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin, valuable details on the history of the early Ismaili (Qarmaṭī) movement in Iraq are related by al-Ṭabarī who had access to Qarmaṭī informants.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime, the Ismaili *da'wa* had appeared in many other regions in the 260s/870s. Centred on the expectation of the imminent return of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the Mahdi who would establish justice in the world, the revolutionary and messianic Ismaili movement appealed to underprivileged groups of different social strata; and it achieved particular success among those Imāmī Shi'is who had been disillusioned with the quietist policies of their imams and were, furthermore, left without a manifest imam after al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874). The *da'wa* in Yaman was initiated by Ibn Ḥawshab, later known as Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, where he arrived in 268/881 accompanied by his collaborator ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl. By 293/905, when ʿAlī occupied Ṣanʿā, the Ismaili *dā'īs* were in control of almost all of Yaman. South Arabia also served as a base for the extension of the *da'wa* to other regions such as Yamāma, Baḥrayn and Egypt as well as Sind. By 280/893, on Ibn Ḥawshab's instructions, the *dā'ī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīrī was already active among the Kutāma Berbers of the Lesser Kabylia mountains in the Maghrib. And in 273/886, or a few years later, Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī was sent to Baḥrayn by Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān; he rapidly won converts there from among the bedouins and the Persian emigrants.<sup>14</sup>

In a chapter on the Ismailis, added to his *Siyāsat-nāma* shortly before his assassination in 485/1092, the Saljūq vizier Niẓām al-Mulk provides important details on the early *da'wa* in Persia and Khurāsān. It was in the same decade of 260s/870s that the *da'wa* was taken to the region of the Jibāl in Persia by Khalaf al-Ḥallāj, who established his base of operations in Rayy where an important Imāmī community already existed. Under Khalaf's successors as chief *dā'īs* of the Jibāl, the *da'wa* spread to Qumm, another major Imāmī centre of learning, Iṣfahān, Hamadān and other towns of that region. Ghiyāth, the third *dā'ī* of the Jibāl, extended the *da'wa* to Khurāsān and Transoxania on his own initiative. Ghiyāth's chief deputy was the learned theologian Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who in time became the chief *dā'ī* of Rayy, his native land. Abū Ḥātim further extended the *da'wa* to Ādharbāyjan, in north-western Persia, and to various parts of Daylam in the Caspian region of northern Persia. He succeeded in converting several Daylamī amirs. But the Ismaili *da'wa* was officially established in Khurāsān only during the last decade of the 3rd century/903–12 by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khādim, who set up his secret headquarters at

Nīshāpūr. A later chief *dā'ī* of Khurāsān, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marwazī, was an eminent amir in the service of the Sāmānids, and he succeeded in extending the *da'wa* to Harāt, Ghūr, Maymana and other localities in eastern Iranian lands under his control. Al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī's successor as chief *dā'ī* of Khurāsān was the Central Asian Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, who introduced a form of Neoplatonism into Ismaili thought. He moved his base of operations to his native town of Nakhshab (Arabic, Nasaf) and then to Bukhārā, the Sāmānid capital. Al-Nasafī's success in Transoxania was crowned by his conversion of the Sāmānid amir Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (301–331/914–943), as well as other dignitaries at the Sāmānid court. But in 332/943, in the aftermath of the revolt of the Turkish soldiers who deposed Naṣr, al-Nasafī and his close associates were executed in Bukhārā. Their co-religionists too were persecuted under Naṣr's son and successor Nūḥ I (331–343/943–954), who called for a *jihād* or religious war against the Qarmaṭī 'heretics'. Despite these setbacks, the *da'wa* survived in Khurāsān and Transoxania under the leadership of other *dā'īs*, including especially Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, by the early 280s/890s, a unified Ismaili movement had replaced the earlier Ismaili splinter groups. But in 286/899, soon after 'Abd Allāh, the future Fatimid caliph al-Mahdī, had succeeded to leadership in Salamiyya, Ismailism was rent by a major schism.<sup>16</sup> Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ now noticed significant changes in the doctrinal instructions he received from Salamiyya, and dispatched 'Abdān there to investigate the matter. In due course, Ḥamdān found out that instead of advocating the Mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the new leader claimed the imamate for himself and his predecessors, the very central leaders of the Ismaili *da'wa* in the *dawr al-satr*. Refusing to accept this doctrinal change, Ḥamdān and 'Abdān renounced their allegiance to the central leadership of Ismailism and suspended their *da'wa* activities. Soon after, 'Abdān was murdered at the instigation of the *dā'ī* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, and Ḥamdān disappeared. Evidently, as reported by Ibn Ḥawqal, Ḥamdān later changed his mind, joined the faction loyal to 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī and surfaced as a *dā'ī* in Egypt with a new identity, calling himself Abū 'Alī.<sup>17</sup>

'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī's reform is explained in the above-mentioned letter he later sent to the Ismailis of Yaman, in which an attempt is made to reconcile his reform with the actual course of events in



pre-Fatimid Ismaili history. He explains that as a form of *taqiyya* the central leaders of the early *da'wa* had assumed different pseudonyms, such as al-Mubārak and al-Maymūn, also assuming the rank of the *ḥujja*, proof or full representative, of the absent Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. It is further explained that the earlier propagation of the Mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was itself another dissimulating veil, and that this was in reality a collective code-name for every true imam in the progeny of Ja'far al-Šādiq.

The doctrinal reform of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī split the Ismaili movement into two rival factions. One faction remained loyal to the central leadership and acknowledged continuity in the imamate, recognizing 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī (d. 322/934) and his 'Alid ancestors as their imams, which in due course became the official Fatimid Ismaili doctrine of the imamate. These Ismailis allowed for three hidden imams (*al-a'imma al-mastūrīn*) between Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. This loyalist faction included the bulk of the Ismailis of Yaman and those communities in Egypt, North Africa and Sind founded by *dā'īs* dispatched by Ibn Ḥawshab. On the other hand, a dissident faction, originally led by Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, rejected 'Abd Allāh's reform and maintained their belief in the Mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. Henceforth, the term Qarmaṭī came to be applied more specifically to the dissidents who did not acknowledge 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, as well as his predecessors and successors in the Fatimid dynasty, as their imams. The dissident Qarmaṭīs, who lacked central leadership, soon acquired their most important stronghold in Baḥrayn in eastern Arabia, where a Qarmaṭī state had been founded in the same eventful year 286/899 by Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī who had sided with Ḥamdān and 'Abdān. The Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn survived until 470/1077–78. There were also Qarmaṭī communities in Iraq, Yaman, Persia and Central Asia.

Abū Sa'īd was murdered in 300/913 and, subsequently, several of his sons rose to leadership of the Qarmaṭī state in Baḥrayn. Under his youngest son Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān (311–332/923–944), the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn became infamous for their regular raids into Iraq and their pillaging of the Meccan pilgrim caravans. Abū Ṭāhir's ravaging activities culminated in his attack on Mecca during the pilgrimage season in 317/930, when the Qarmaṭīs committed numerous desecrating acts and dislodged the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) from the corner

of the Ka'ba and carried it to al-Aḥsā', their new capital in eastern Arabia. Sunni polemicists who condemned the entire Ismaili movement as a conspiracy to destroy Islam, capitalized on these events and alleged that Abū Ṭāhir had secretly received his instructions from 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī who was then reigning as the first Fatimid caliph-imam in Ifrīqiya. Modern scholarship has shown, however, that the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn were at the time, like other Qarmaṭī communities, still predicting the imminent appearance of the Mahdi and did not acknowledge the first Fatimid caliph, or any of his successors, as their imams. This also explains why after sacking Mecca, Abū Ṭāhir recognized the expected Mahdi in a young Persian, to whom he handed over the rule in 319/931. The Persian Mahdi embarked on strange behaviour, he abolished the *sharī'a* and Islamic worship, and as he started to execute the notables of Baḥrayn, too, Abū Ṭāhir admitted that the Mahdi had been an impostor and had him killed. The obscure episode of the 'Persian Mahdi' seriously demoralized the Qarmaṭīs. Subsequently, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn reverted to their former beliefs and their leaders, once again, claimed to be acting on the orders of the hidden Mahdi. They eventually returned the Black Stone to Mecca in 339/950, for a large ransom paid by the Abbasids and not, as alleged by anti-Ismaili sources, in response to the Fatimid caliph's request.

In Yaman, by 291/904, or perhaps earlier, Ibn Ḥawshab's collaborator, the *dā'ī* 'Alī b. al-Faḍl displayed signs of disloyalty. In 299/911, after occupying Ṣan'ā', Ibn al-Faḍl openly renounced his allegiance to 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī and declared war on Ibn al-Ḥawshab, who remained loyal to the Fatimids until his death in 302/914. On Ibn al-Faḍl's demise in 303/915, the Qarmaṭī movement in Yaman disintegrated rather rapidly. In Persia, Qarmaṭism spread widely after 286/899. The *dā'īs* of the Jibāl did not generally recognize 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī's imamate, and awaited the return of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il as the expected Mahdi. Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, too, like Qarmaṭīs elsewhere, prophesied the Mahdī's advent for the year 316/928 on the basis of certain astrological calculations. As Abū Ḥatīm's predictions did not materialize, he encountered hostilities from his co-religionists and was obliged to seek refuge with an amir in Ādharbāyjan, where he died in 322/934. Later, as attested by coins dating from 343/954–55, some rulers of Ādharbāyjan and Daylam, belonging to the Musāfirid (or Sallārid)

dynasty, adhered to Qarmaṭism and recognized Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil as the Mahdi. In Khurāsān and Transoxania, as well, dissident Qarmaṭism persisted after the establishment of the Fatimid state. The *dāʿī* al-Nasafi affirmed the Mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil in his major treatise, *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, which acquired a prominent status within the Qarmaṭī circles of different regions.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, the *dāʿī* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh had gone into hiding following the events of the year 286/899, possibly fearing reprisals by ʿAbdān's supporters in Iraq. From 288/901, however, he sent several of his sons as *dāʿīs* to the Syrian desert where large numbers of bedouins were converted. Zikrawayh now aimed to establish a Fatimid state in Syria for ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī without his authorization. Soon Zikrawayh's sons summoned their bedouin followers to proceed to Salamiyya and declare their allegiance to the imam who was still guarding his identity. In the event, ʿAbd Allāh, whose position had now been dangerously compromised, secretly left Salamiyya in 289/902 to escape capture by the Abbasid agents sent after him. He first went to Ramla, in Palestine, and then in 291/904, following the defeat of Zikrawayh's movement in Syria by an Abbasid army, he embarked on a historic journey which ended several years later in North Africa where he founded the Fatimid caliphate. Important details on ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's fateful journey to North Africa are contained in the autobiography, *Sīra*, of his chamberlain Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī who accompanied the imam. After their defeat in Syria in 291/904, Zikrawayh and his sons turned against ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī and in fact established a separate wing of the dissident camp. Zikrawayh was finally defeated and killed in 294/907 by the Abbasids while his Qarmaṭī movement lingered on for a while longer.<sup>19</sup>

The early Ismailis elaborated the basic framework of a system of religious thought which was further developed or modified in the Fatimid period. As only a handful of Ismaili texts have survived from this period, and as the literature of the Qarmaṭīs has disappeared almost completely, it is not possible to trace the development of early Ismaili thought in any great detail. It is nevertheless possible to convey in broad terms the distinctive intellectual traditions and the central teachings of the early Ismailis, as expounded by the unified Ismaili movement during 261–286/874–899. Subsequently, the early doctrines were further developed, modified, or even discarded,

by the Ismailis of the Fatimid times while the Qarmaṭīs followed a separate course. Central to the early Ismaili system of thought was a fundamental distinction between the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspects of the sacred scriptures and religious commandments and prohibitions. Accordingly, the Ismailis held that the Qur'an and other revealed scriptures, and their laws (*sharī'as*), had their apparent or literal meaning, the *ẓāhir*, which had to be distinguished from their inner meaning hidden in the *bāṭin*. They further held that the *ẓāhir*, or the religious laws enunciated by prophets, underwent periodical changes while the *bāṭin*, containing the spiritual truths (*ḥaqā'iq*), remained immutable and eternal. These truths, indeed, represented the message common to the religions of the Abrahamic tradition, namely, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. However, the truths hidden in the *bāṭin* of these monotheistic religions had been veiled by different exoteric laws or *sharī'as* as required by different temporal circumstances. The hidden truths were explained through the methodology of *ta'wīl* or esoteric interpretation, which often relied on the mystical significance of letters and numbers. In every age, however, the esoteric truths would be accessible only to the elite (*khawāṣṣ*) of humankind as distinct from the ordinary people (*awāmm*), who were only capable of perceiving the apparent meaning of the revelations. Consequently, in the era of Islam, the eternal truths of religion could be explained only to those who had been properly initiated into the Ismaili *da'wa* and as such recognized the teaching authority of the Prophet Muḥammad and, after him, that of his *waṣī*, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and the rightful imams who succeeded him; these authorities were the sole possessors of *ta'wīl* in the era of Islam. The centrality of *ta'wīl* for the Ismailis is attested by the fact that a good portion of the literature produced by them during the early and Fatimid times, notably the writings of Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, is comprised of the *ta'wīl* genre which seeks justification for Ismaili doctrines in Qur'anic verses.

Initiation into Ismailism, known as *balāgh*, was gradual and took place after the novice had taken an oath of allegiance known as *'ahd* or *mīthāq*. There were, however, no fixed seven or more stages of initiation as claimed by the polemicists. The initiates were obliged to keep secret the *bāṭin* imparted to them by a hierarchy (*ḥudūd*) of teachers. Such ideas provide the subject matter of the *Kitāb al-'ālim wa'l-ghulām*, one of the few surviving early Ismaili texts attributed to

Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. By exalting the *bāṭin* aspects of religion, the Ismailis came to be regarded by the rest of the Muslim community as the most representative of the Shi'is propounding esotericism in Islam and, hence, their common designation as the Bāṭiniyya. This designation was, however, used in a derogatory sense accusing the Ismailis of generally ignoring the *zāhir*, or the *sharī'a*. The available evidence, including the fragmentary texts of the Ismaili oath of allegiance,<sup>20</sup> clearly show that the early Ismailis were not exempted in any sense from the commandments and prohibitions of Islam. Indeed, early Ismaili teachings accorded equal significance to the *zāhir* and the *bāṭin* and their inseparability, ideas that were further elaborated in the Ismaili teachings of the Fatimid period. Such generalized accusations of *ibāḥa* or antinomianism against the Ismailis seem to have been rooted in the polemics of their enemies, who also blamed the entire Ismaili movement for the anti-Islamic views and practices of the Qarmaṭīs.

The esoteric truths or *ḥaqā'iq* formed a gnostic system of thought for the early Ismailis, representing a distinct world-view. The two main components of this system, developed by the 280s/890s, were a cyclical history of revelations or prophetic eras and a gnostic cosmological doctrine. The Ismailis applied their cyclical interpretation of time and the religious history of humankind to Judaeo-Christian revelations as well as a number of other pre-Islamic religions such as Zoroastrianism with much appeal to non-Muslims. This conception of religious history, reflecting a variety of influences such as Hellenic, Judaeo-Christian, Gnostic as well as eschatological ideas of the earlier Shi'is, was developed in terms of the eras of different prophets recognized in the Qur'an. This cyclical conception was also combined with the Ismaili doctrine of the imamate inherited from the Imāmīs.

According to their cyclical view, the Ismailis held that the religious history of humankind proceeded through seven prophetic eras (*dawrs*) of various durations, each one inaugurated by a speaker or enunciator (*nāṭiq*) of a divinely revealed message which in its exoteric (*zāhir*) aspect contained a religious law (*sharī'a*). The *nāṭiqs* of the first six eras of human history were Adam (Ādam), Noah (Nūḥ), Abraham (Ibrāhīm), Moses (Mūsā), Jesus (ʿĪsā) and Muḥammad. These *nāṭiqs* had announced only the outer (*zāhir*) aspects of each revelation with its rituals, commandments and prohibitions, without

explaining details of its inner (*bāṭin*) meaning. Each *nāṭiq* was, therefore, succeeded by a spiritual legatee (*waṣī*), also called the ‘silent one’ (*ṣāmit*) and later the ‘foundation’ (*asās*), who explained to the elite the esoteric truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) contained in the *bāṭin* dimension of that era’s message. Each *waṣī* was, in turn, succeeded by seven imams, also called *atimmā*’ (singular, *mutimm*), who guarded the true meaning of the sacred scriptures and laws in their *zāhir* and *bāṭin* aspects. The seventh imam of every era would rise in rank to become the *nāṭiq* of the following era, abrogating the *sharīʿa* of the previous era and enunciating a new one in its place. This pattern would change only in the seventh, final era of history. As the seventh imam of the sixth era, the era of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islam, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil was initially expected to return as the Mahdi (or *qāʾim*) as well as the *nāṭiq* of the seventh eschatological era when, instead of promulgating a new law, he would fully divulge to all humankind the esoteric truths of all the preceding revelations. He would, thus, unite in himself the ranks of *nāṭiq* and *waṣī*, being also the last of the imams as the eschatological Imam-Mahdi. In the final, millenarian age, the *ḥaqāʾiq* would be completely freed from all their veils and symbolisms; there would no longer be any distinction between the *zāhir* and the *bāṭin* in that age of pure spirituality. On his advent, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil would rule in justice before the physical world is consummated. This original cyclical view of religious history was modified after ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdi’s doctrinal reform, which allowed for more than one heptad of imams in the era of Islam. Recognizing continuity in the imamate, the advent of the seventh era now lost its earlier messianic appeal for the Fatimid Ismailis, for whom the final eschatological age, whatever its nature, was postponed indefinitely into the future; while the functions of the Mahdi who would initiate the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*) at the end of time, were to be similar to those envisaged by other Muslim communities. On the other hand, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and elsewhere continued to consider Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil as their Mahdi who on his reappearance as the seventh *nāṭiq* was expected to initiate the final age.<sup>21</sup>

The cosmological doctrine of the early Ismailis, which was evidently propagated orally, has been reconstructed from the fragmentary evidence preserved in later Ismaili texts by S.M. Stern and H. Halm.<sup>22</sup> This doctrine, representing a gnostic cosmological myth, was

evidently espoused by the entire Ismaili (Qarmaṭī) movement until it was superseded by a new cosmology of Neoplatonic provenance. According to this doctrine, through His intention (*irāda*) and will (*mashī'a*), God first created a light (*nūr*) and addressed it with the Qur'anic creative imperative *kun* (Be!). Through duplication of its two letters, *kāf* and *nūn*, the name acquired its feminine form Kūnī. On God's command, Kūnī created from its light Qadar, its male assistant. Kūnī and Qadar were, thus, the first two principles (*aṣṣān*) of creation. It was out of the original heptad of consonantal letters of Kūnī-Qadar, also called the higher letters (*al-ḥurūf al-'ulwiyya*), interpreted as the archetypes of the seven *nāṭiqs* and their messages, that all other letters and names emerged; and with the names there simultaneously appeared the very things they symbolized. The doctrine explained how God's creative activity, through the intermediary of Kūnī and Qadar, brought forth the beings of the spiritual world, also accounting for the creation of the lower physical world which culminated in the genesis of Man. The early cosmology also had a key soteriological purpose. Man, who appears at the end of the process of creation, is far from his origins and his Creator. This cosmology, thus, aimed at showing the path for removing this distance and bringing about Man's salvation. This could be achieved only if Man acquired knowledge (*gnosis*) of his origin and the causes for his distance from God, a knowledge that had to be imparted from the above by God's messengers (*nāṭiqs*), as recognized in the Qur'an, and their legitimate successors in each era of human history.

### The Fatimid period in Ismaili history

The Fatimid period represents the 'golden age' of Ismailism, when the Ismailis possessed an important state of their own and Ismaili scholarship and literature attained their summit. The foundation of the Fatimid caliphate in 297/909 in North Africa indeed marked the crowning success of the early Ismailis. The religio-political *da'wa* of the Ismā'īliyya had finally led to the establishment of a state or *dawla* headed by the Ismaili imam. In line with their universal claims, the Fatimid caliph-imams did not abandon their *da'wa* activities on assuming power. They particularly concerned themselves with the affairs of the Ismaili *da'wa* after transferring the seat of their state to

Egypt. The *da'wa* achieved particular success outside the domains of the Fatimid state, and, as a result, Ismailism outlived the downfall of the Fatimid dynasty and caliphate in 567/1171, also surviving the challenges posed by the Sunni revival of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. Be that as it may, Cairo, founded by the Fatimids upon their conquest of Egypt in 358/969, became the headquarters of the complex hierarchical Ismaili *da'wa* organization in addition to serving as the capital of the Fatimid state. In Egypt, the Fatimids patronized intellectual activities. They founded major institutions of learning and libraries in Cairo, and the Fatimid capital soon became a flourishing centre of Islamic scholarship, sciences, art and culture, in addition to playing a prominent role in the Indian Ocean as well as the Mediterranean trade and commerce. All in all, the Fatimid period marked not only a glorious age in Ismaili history, but also one of the greatest eras in Egyptian and Islamic histories – a milestone in the development of Islamic civilizations.

It was during this period that the Ismaili *dā'īs*, who were at the same time the scholars and writers of their community, produced what were to become the classical texts of Ismaili literature dealing with a multitude of exoteric and esoteric subjects, as well as *ta'wīl* which became the hallmark of Ismaili thought. The *dā'īs* of the Fatimid period elaborated distinctive intellectual traditions. In particular, certain *dā'īs* of the Iranian lands, notably Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī and Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, amalgamated Ismaili theology with Neoplatonism and other philosophical traditions into elegant and complex metaphysical systems of thought as expressed in numerous treatises written in Arabic. Only Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the last major proponent of that Iranian Ismaili school of philosophical theology, produced all of his works in Persian. With the establishment of the Fatimid state the need had also arisen for promulgating a legal code, even though Ismailism was never to be imposed on all Fatimid subjects as their official religion. Ismaili law, which had not existed during the pre-Fatimid, secret phase of Ismailism, was codified during the early Fatimid period as a result of the efforts of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, the foremost jurist of the Ismailis. The Fatimid Ismailis now came to possess their own school of religious law or *madhhab*, similarly to the principal Sunni systems of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and the Ja'farī system of the Imāmī (Twelver) Shi'is. It was indeed during the Fatimid period that Ismailis made



their contributions to Islamic theology and philosophy in general and to Shi'ī thought in particular. Modern recovery of their literature clearly attests to the richness and diversity of the literary and intellectual heritage of the Ismailis of Fatimid times.

The Fatimid period is one of the best documented in Islamic history. Many medieval Muslim historians have written about the Fatimid dynasty and state, and there are also memoirs and a multitude of non-literary sources of information on the Fatimids. In the latter category, Fatimid monuments and works of art have been thoroughly studied, and much progress has been made on the scholarly investigations of numismatic, epigraphic and other types of evidence related to the Fatimids. There are also valuable letters, documents and other types of archival materials from Fatimid Egypt – materials which are rarely available for other Muslim dynasties of medieval times. These sources have been categorized and explained in Paul E. Walker's *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (2002). Furthermore, the extensive Ismaili literature of the period, recovered in modern times, contains some historical details in addition to shedding light on various aspects of Ismaili doctrines propagated during this period. As a result of this relative abundance of the primary sources, Fatimid history and Ismailism of the Fatimid period represent the best studied and understood areas of research within the entire spectrum of modern Ismaili studies.

As a rare instance of its kind in Ismaili literature, for the Fatimid period we also have a few historical works written by Ismaili authors. These include al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa* (*Commencement of the Mission*), completed in 346/957, the oldest known historical work in Ismaili literature covering the background to the establishment of the Fatimid state; and Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-munāzarāt* on the first year of Fatimid rule in North Africa which was recently brought to light. There are also a number of short treatises on specific Ismaili events, such as the *dā'ī* al-Nīsābūrī's *Istitār al-imām*. The Fatimid caliph-imams are, of course, treated by the *dā'ī* Idrīs in volumes 5–7 of his *'Uyūn al-akhbār*. Aside from strictly historical sources, Ismailis of the Fatimid period produced a few biographical works of the *sīra* genre with great historical value. Amongst the extant examples in this category, mention may be made of the *Sīras* of the chamberlain Ja'far b. 'Alī; the courtier Jawdhar, and the chief *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn

al-Shīrāzī. A wide variety of archival documents, such as treatises, letters, decrees and epistles (*sijillāt*) of historical value issued through the Fatimid chancery of state, or *dīwān al-inshā'*, such as *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanşiriyya*, and the documents included in Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl's *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-Fāṭimiyya* (1958) and in S.M. Stern's *Fāṭimid Decrees* (1964), have survived directly or been preserved in later literary sources, notably in al-Qalqashandī's encyclopedic *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. The Geniza documents, consisting of thousands of letters, contracts, petitions, etc., written in Judaeo-Arabic and recovered in an old synagogue in Cairo in 1890, should also be mentioned in this context. Studied extensively by S.D. Goitein (1900–1985), Cl. Cahen (1909–1991) and others, they provide an invaluable source of information on the socio-economic and cultural life of Fatimid Egypt.

The Fatimid caliph-imams did concern themselves with historiography, and they commissioned or encouraged works which may have been regarded as official chronicles. Indeed, the events and achievements of the Fatimid state needed to be recorded by reliable chroniclers, and this became an important concern of the Fatimids, especially after the transference of the seat of their state from Ifrīqiya to Egypt in 362/973. Henceforth, numerous histories of the Fatimid state and dynasty were compiled by contemporary chroniclers, both Ismaili and non-Ismaili. But with the exception of a few fragments, these chronicles did not survive the downfall of the dynasty.

Ibn Zūlāq (d. 386/996) is one of the earliest Fatimid chroniclers whose works have been lost completely. The tradition of Fatimid historiography was maintained by al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1030), an official in the service of the Fatimids who may have been an Ismaili himself. He produced a vast history of Fatimid Egypt and its ruling dynasty, but only a small fraction of the fortieth volume of his *Akhbār Miṣr* has survived in a unique manuscript. Amongst other Fatimid chroniclers whose works have not survived directly, mention may be made of Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍā'ī (d. 454/1062), al-Murtaḍā al-Muḥannak (d. 549/1154) and Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī (d. 588/1192). Portions of these Fatimid chronicles have been preserved by later Egyptian historians, notably al-Maqrizī. Indeed, the only extant contemporary account of the Fatimids is the history of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī (d. 458/1066). Amongst later Egyptian historians, who were mostly functionaries in Fatimid administration, mention should be

made of Ibn al-Şayrafī (d. 542/1147), a prolific writer who headed the Fatimid chancery of state for more than four decades. A history written by Ibn al-Şayrafī has not survived, but two of his other works on Fatimid viziers and institutions have been preserved. During the 7th/13th century, after the demise of the Fatimids, several other histories of the dynasty were written, such as the *Akhhbār mulūk Banī ‘Ubayd* of Ibn Ḥammād (d. 628/1231), a Berber *qāḍī* of North Africa, and the history of the Fatimid and Ayyūbid dynasties by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (d. 617/1220), a high-ranking official of the later Fatimids. Ibn Zāfir (d. 613/1216), a secretary in the chancery of the early Ayyūbids, produced a universal history in terms of dynasties, with a section on the Fatimids. However, the most extensive history of Fatimid Egypt produced in the 7th/13th century under the early Mamlūks is the *Akhhbār Mişr* of Ibn Muyassar (d. 677/1278), which has survived in an incomplete form.

The Fatimids were treated in a number of regional chronicles and in several universal histories written by Egyptian authors of the later Mamlūk period. Ibn ‘Idhārī, a Maghribī historian who died after 712/1312, included an important account of the early Fatimids in his chronicle of Ifriqiya entitled *al-Bayān al-mughrib*. Ibn al-Dawādārī, an Egyptian historian and a Mamlūk officer, produced an extensive universal history in 736/1335, *Kanz al-durar*, of which the sixth part is devoted to the Fatimids. Ibn al-Dawādārī has preserved extracts from the anti-Ismaili polemical work of the Sharīf Akhū Muḥsin, as well as the history of Ibn Zūlāq and other earlier sources. More extensive paraphrases from Akhū Muḥsin, as well as a detailed history of the Fatimids, are contained in the encyclopedic *Nihāyat al-arab* of al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333). Later, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) wrote a voluminous history of Islamic Egypt, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Mişr wa’l-Qāhira*, which includes an elaborate account of Fatimid Egypt. There were other Egyptian historians, such as Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), writing on the Fatimids. However, the only Sunni author to have produced a separate and substantial history of the Fatimids was Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the dean of the medieval Egyptian historians. He produced an extensive account of the Fatimid dynasty in his *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*. In his topographic work, *al-Mawā‘iz wa’l-i’tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa’l-āthār*, generally known as the *Khiṭaṭ*, too, al-Maqrīzī provides many details on the

Fatimids and their achievements. In both these works, al-Maqrīzī has preserved substantial quotations from Ibn Zūlāq, al-Muḥannak, al-Musabbiḥī, Ibn al-Ṭuwayr and many other earlier authorities whose writings have been lost. Finally, al-Maqrīzī compiled a biographical dictionary, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, with many entries on persons connected to Fatimid Egypt.

Much valuable information on the Fatimids and the Ismailis of that period are contained in the universal histories of Muslim authors, starting with the *Ta'rikh* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and its continuation by 'Arīb b. Sa'd (d. 370/980), the Andalusian historian and poet. More significantly, al-Ṭabarī's continuation became the collective work of Thābit b. Sinān (d. 365/975) and some of his relatives belonging to the learned family of Sabean scholars who hailed from Ḥarrān but settled in Baghdad. These histories, too, are almost completely lost, but they are quoted in later universal histories, such as *al-Muntazam* of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200). The most important early universal history containing information on the Ismailis is, however, the *Tajārib al-umam* of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), who made extensive use of the histories of Thābit and his nephew Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi' (d. 448/1056). The tradition of compiling universal histories found its culmination in *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), representing the peak of Muslim annalistic historiography. Ibn al-Athīr's history is rich in information on both the Fatimids and the Nizārī Ismailis of Persia and Syria.

In modern times, Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1808–1899) was the first European orientalist to have produced an independent history of the Fatimids, *Geschichte der Faṭimiden Chalifen* (1880–81), based on Arabic chronicles, but without using any Ismaili sources. Several subsequent works on the Fatimids, such as S. Lane-Poole's *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (1901), De Lacy O'Leary's *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate* (1923), and G. Wiet's early publications, were all written before the modern advances in Ismaili studies and as such were based exclusively on hostile Sunni sources. Meanwhile, with the initiation of modern scholarship in Ismaili studies, a number of specialists began to investigate the religious dimensions of the Fatimids and the religio-political milieu in which they rose to power. In this context, particular mention should be made of B. Lewis's *The Origins of Ismā'īlism: A Study of the Historical Background of the Fāṭimid*

*Caliphate* (1940) and W. Ivanow's *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (1942). It was under such circumstances that Zāhid 'Alī (1888–1958), a learned Ismaili Bohra, produced the first history of the Fatimids in Urdu, *Ta'rīkh-i Fāṭimīyyīn-i Miṣr* (1948), using his ancestral collection of Ismaili manuscripts. In the meantime, Egyptian authors themselves had started to compose histories of the Fatimids, starting with Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan (1892–1968), who in 1932 published his doctoral thesis on the Fatimids, *al-Fāṭimīyyūn fī Miṣr*, and in the subsequent editions of this book also drew on Ismaili sources. The progress made since then is amply reflected in the much more comprehensive *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimīyya fī Miṣr* (1992; rev. ed., 2000), written by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, the dean of contemporary Egyptian historians who has edited numerous Arabic texts on the Fatimids. A number of Egyptian scholars have also written biographies of individual Fatimid caliph-imams. Meanwhile, Western scholarship in Fatimid studies has continued unabated, after the earlier studies of P. Casanova (1861–1926) and M. Canard (1888–1982) who contributed the entry 'Fāṭimids' to the revised edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, as reflected in a growing number of articles and monographs devoted to different aspects of Fatimid history or Ismaili teachings and activities under the Fatimids. In the latter category, special mention should be made of the contributions of H. Halm, who fully uses Ismaili and non-Ismaili sources in his historical studies, and P.E. Walker, who has produced major work on aspects of Ismaili thought in the Fatimid age. Amongst other contemporary scholars who are specifically contributing to Fatimid studies, mention may be made of the Tunisian scholars F. Dachraoui and M. Yalaoui, as well as M. Brett, Y. Lev and Th. Bianquis, while I.K. Poonawala has concerned himself, after the pioneering work of Asaf A.A. Fyzee (1899–1981), with Ismaili jurisprudence under the Fatimids. At the same time, Jonathan M. Bloom and other art historians have been investigating aspects of Fatimid art and architecture, after the initial studies of K.A.C. Creswell (1879–1974), P. Balog (1900–1982), E.J. Grube and others. Much new research in Fatimid-Ismaili studies found expression in the papers presented at an international colloquium, *L'Égypte Fatimide, son art et son histoire*, held in Paris in 1998.

The ground for the establishment of the Fatimid state was meticulously prepared by the *dā'ī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī (d. 298/911),

who had been active among the Kutāma Berbers of the Maghrib since 280/893.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, after leaving Salamiyya, the Ismaili Imam ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī had arrived in Egypt in 291/904, where he spent a year. Subsequently, he was prevented from going to the Maghrib because the Aghlabid rulers of the region had discovered the Ismaili imam’s plans and were waiting to arrest him. ‘Abd Allāh instead headed for the remote town of Sijilmāsa, in southern Morocco, where he lived quietly for four years (292–296/905–909), maintaining his contacts with Abū ‘Abd Allāh who had already commenced his conquest of Ifrīqiya with the help of his Kutāma soldier-tribesmen. By 296/908, this Kutāma army had achieved much success signalling the fall of the Aghlabids. On 1 Rajab 296/25 March 909, Abū ‘Abd Allāh entered Raqqāda, the royal city outside of the Aghlabid capital of Qayrawān, from where he governed Ifrīqiya as al-Mahdī’s deputy, for almost a whole year. In Ramaḍān 296/June 909, he set off at the head of his army for Sijilmāsa to hand over the reins of power to the Ismaili imam himself. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī was acclaimed as caliph in a special ceremony in Sijilmāsa on 7 Dhu’l-Ḥijja 296/27 August 909. With these events the *dawr al-satr* in early Ismailism had also ended. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī entered Raqqāda on 20 Rabī‘ II 297/4 January 910 and was immediately acclaimed as caliph there. An eyewitness account of the establishment of Fatimid rule is contained in Ibn al-Haytham’s *Kitāb al-munāzarāt*. The Ismaili Shi‘i caliphate of the Fatimids had now officially commenced in Ifrīqiya. The new dynasty was named Fatimid (Fāṭimiyya) after the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima to whom al-Mahdī and his successors traced their ‘Alid ancestry.

The Fatimids did not abandon their Ismaili *da‘wa* on assuming power, as they entertained universal aspirations aiming to extend their rule over the entire Muslim community. However, the first four Fatimid caliph-imams, ruling from Ifrīqiya, encountered numerous difficulties while consolidating their power with the help of the Kutāma Berbers who were converted to Ismailism and provided the backbone of the Fatimid armies. In particular, they confronted the hostility of the Khārijī Berbers and the Sunni Arab inhabitants of Qayrawān and other cities of Ifrīqiya led by their Mālīkī jurists, in addition to their rivalries and conflicts with the Umayyads of Spain, the Abbasids and the Byzantines. Under these circumstances, the Ismaili *da‘wa* remained rather inactive in North Africa for some

time.<sup>24</sup> Fatimid rule was established firmly in the Maghrib only under al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (341–365/953–975), who succeeded in transforming the Fatimid caliphate from a regional state into a great empire. He was also the first Fatimid caliph-imam to concern himself significantly with the propagation of the Ismaili *da'wa* outside the Fatimid dominions, especially after the transference of the seat of the Fatimid state in 362/973 to Egypt, where he founded Cairo as his new capital city. The *da'wa* policy of al-Mu'izz was based on a number of religio-political considerations. In particular, he was apprehensive of the success of the Qarmaṭī propaganda in the eastern regions, which not only undermined the efforts of the Fatimid Ismaili *dā'īs* operating in the same lands, notably Iraq, Persia and Transoxania, but also aroused the general anti-Ismaili sentiments of the Sunni Muslims who did not distinguish the Ismailis from the Qarmaṭīs who had acquired a reputation for extremism and lawlessness. Al-Mu'izz's policies soon bore fruit as the Ismaili *da'wa* and Fatimid cause were reinvigorated outside the Fatimid state. However, he was only partially successful in undermining the Qarmaṭīs and their *da'wa* activities. Most notably, Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī (d. after 361/971), the *dā'ī* of Sistān, Makrān and Khurāsān, who had earlier belonged to the dissident faction, transferred his allegiance to the Fatimids; and, consequently, many of his followers in Persia and Central Asia acknowledged the Fatimid caliph-imam. Ismailism also acquired a permanent stronghold in Multān, Sind, where an Ismaili principality was established for a few decades.

The caliph-imam al-Mu'izz permitted the assimilation of the Neoplatonic cosmology elaborated by the *dā'īs* of the Iranian lands into the teachings of the Fatimid *da'wa*. Henceforth, this Neoplatonized cosmology was advocated by the Fatimid *dā'īs* in preference to the earlier doctrine of creation. In the course of the 4th/10th century, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī set about harmonizing their Ismaili Shi'ī theology with Neoplatonic philosophy which led to the development of a unique intellectual tradition of philosophical theology in Ismailism. These *dā'īs* wrote for the educated classes of society and aimed to attract them intellectually. This is why they expressed their theology, always revolving around the central Shi'ī doctrine of the imamate, in terms of the then most intellectually fashionable terminologies and themes. After

the initial efforts of al-Nasafī and al-Rāzī, the Iranian *dā'īs* elaborated complex metaphysical systems of thought with a distinct Neoplatonized emanational cosmology. In this cosmology, fully elaborated in al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-yanābī* and other works, God is described as absolutely transcendent, beyond being and non-being, and thus unknowable. Here, the Neoplatonic dyad of universal intellect (*'aql*) and universal soul (*nafs*) in the spiritual world replace Kūnī and Qadar of the earlier cosmology; and the emanational chain of creation is traced finally to Man, while recognizing that God created everything in the spiritual and physical worlds all at once.<sup>25</sup> These *dā'īs* also expounded a doctrine of salvation as part of their cosmology. In their soteriology, the ultimate goal of salvation is the human soul's progression towards its Creator in quest of a spiritual reward in an eternal afterlife. This, of course, would depend on guidance provided by the authorized sources of wisdom in every era of history.<sup>26</sup>

Sharing a common interest in philosophy, a number of major Iranian *dā'īs* became involved in a long-drawn theological debate with important juridical implications. Al-Nasafī's main work, *Kitāb al-mahṣūl* (*Book of the Yield*), written around 300/912 and representing the earliest work of a *dā'ī* to contain Greek philosophical materials, has not survived. This book circulated widely in Qarmaṭī circles, and was soon afterwards criticized by al-Nasafī's contemporary *dā'ī* of Rayy, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who wrote his own *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* (*Book of the Correction*) to correct certain antinomian aspects of al-Nasafī's teachings including the view that the final seventh era of history had already commenced on the first appearance of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. Al-Rāzī's *al-Iṣlāḥ* was, in turn, attacked by al-Nasafī's successor in Khurāsān, al-Sijistānī, who wrote a book entitled *Kitāb al-nuṣra* (*Book of the Support*) to defend al-Nasafī's views against the criticisms of al-Rāzī. It is mainly on the basis of al-Sijistānī's numerous extant writings, however, that scholars have recently studied the early development of what Paul Walker has termed philosophical Ismailism, with its Neoplatonized emanational cosmology, elaborated during the 4th/10th century. Later, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī acted as an arbiter in the prolonged debate that had taken place earlier among the Iranian *dā'īs*. He reviewed this debate from the perspective of the Fatimid *da'wa* in his *Kitāb al-riyāḍ* (*Book of the Meadows*), and in particular upheld certain views of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī against those of



al-Nasafi in affirming the indispensability of both the *zāhir* and the *bāṭin*, the letter of the law as well as its inner meaning. This explains perhaps why Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *al-Iṣlāḥ* was the only text related to this disputation that was preserved by the Fatimid *da'wa*.

Neoplatonic philosophy also influenced the cosmology elaborated by the Ismaili-connected Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', a group of anonymous authors in Baṣra who produced an encyclopedic work of fifty-two epistles, *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, on a variety of sciences during the 4th/10th century, or just before the foundation of the Fatimid state as argued in numerous studies by Abbas Hamdani. At any rate, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', usually translated as the 'Sincere Brethren' or 'Brothers of Purity', drew on a wide variety of Greek and other pre-Islamic sources and traditions which they combined with Islamic teachings, especially as upheld by the Shi'is. Like the contemporary Iranian *dā'īs*, they aimed to harmonize religion and philosophy, but they do not seem to have had any discernible influence on Ismaili thought of the Fatimid period. It was only in the 6th/12th century that the *Rasā'il* were introduced into the literature of the Ṭayyibī Musta'li *da'wa* in Yaman. Henceforth, these epistles were widely studied by the Ṭayyibī *dā'īs* of Yaman and, later, by their successors in the Dā'ūdī Bohra community of the Indian subcontinent.

It was also in al-Mu'izz's time that Ismaili law was finally codified. The process had started already in 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī's reign as caliph (297–322/909–934), when the precepts of Shi'i law were put into practice. The promulgation of an Ismaili *madhhab* resulted mainly from the efforts of al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanifa al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad (d. 363/974), who was officially commissioned by al-Mu'izz to prepare legal compendia. Al-Nu'mān had started serving the Fatimids in different capacities from the time of al-Mahdī. In 337/948, he was appointed by the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Manṣūr (334–341/946–953) as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of the Fatimid state. It is to be noted that from the time of Aflaḥ b. Hārūn al-Malūsī, the Fatimid chief judge was also placed in charge of the affairs of the Ismaili *da'wa*. Thus, responsibilities for explaining and enforcing the *zāhir*, or the commandments and prohibitions of the law, and interpreting its *bāṭin* or inner meaning, were united in the same person under the overall guidance of the Ismaili imam of the time.

Al-Nu'mān codified Ismaili law by systematically collecting the

firmly established *ḥadīths* transmitted from the *ahl al-bayt*, drawing on existing collections of earlier Imāmī as well as Zaydī authorities.<sup>27</sup> His initial efforts resulted in a massive compendium entitled *Kitāb al-īdāh*, which has not survived except for one fragment. Subsequently, he produced several abridgements of the *Īdāh*, which was treated as semi-official by the Fatimids. Al-Nu'mān's efforts culminated in the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (*The Pillars of Islam*), which was scrutinized closely by al-Mu'izz and endorsed as the official code of the Fatimid state. Similarly to the Sunnis and other Shi'i communities, the Ismailis, too, now possessed a system of law and jurisprudence, also defining an Ismaili paradigm of governance. Ismaili law accorded special importance to the Shi'i doctrine of the imamate. The authority of the infallible 'Alid imam and his teachings became the third principal source of Ismaili law, after the Qur'an and the *sunna* of the Prophet which are accepted as the first two sources by all Muslims. In the *Da'ā'im*, al-Nu'mān also provided Islamic legitimation for an 'Alid state ruled by the *ahl al-bayt*, elaborating the *zāhirī* doctrinal basis of the Fatimids' legitimacy as ruling imams and lending support to their universal claims. The *Da'ā'im al-Islām* has continued through the centuries to be used by Ṭayyibī Ismailis as their principal authority in legal matters.

The Ismailis had high esteem for learning and elaborated distinctive traditions and institutions of learning under the Fatimids. The Fatimid *da'wa* was particularly concerned with educating the Ismaili converts in esoteric doctrine, known as the *ḥikma* or 'wisdom'. As a result, a variety of lectures or 'teaching sessions', generally designated as *majālis* (singular, *majlis*), were organized. The private lectures on Ismaili esoteric doctrine, known as the *majālis al-ḥikma* or 'sessions of wisdom', were reserved exclusively for the Ismaili initiates who had already taken the oath of allegiance and secrecy. The lectures, delivered by the *dā'ī al-du'āt* at the Fatimid palace, were approved beforehand by the imam. Only the imam was the source of the *ḥikma*; and the *dā'ī al-du'āt* or chief *dā'ī*, commonly called *bāb* (the gate) in Ismaili sources, was the imam's mouthpiece through whom the Ismailis received their knowledge of esoteric doctrines. Many of these *majālis* were in due course collected and committed to writing, such as al-Nu'mān's *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im* and the *Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* delivered by al-Maliji. This Fatimid tradition of learning culminated in the

*Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* of the *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078). Another of the main institutions of learning founded by the Fatimids was the Dār al-'Ilm, the House of Knowledge, sometimes also called the Dār al-Ḥikma. Established in 395/1005 by the caliph-imam al-Ḥākim (386–411/996–1021), a variety of religious and non-religious subjects were taught at this academy which was also equipped with a major library. Many Fatimid *dā'īs* received at least part of their training at the Dār al-'Ilm.<sup>28</sup>

Information on the structure and functioning of the Ismaili *da'wa* organization were among the most guarded secrets of the Ismailis. The religio-political messages of the *da'wa* were disseminated by networks of *dā'īs* within the Fatimid dominions as well as in other regions referred to as the *jazā'ir* (singular, *jazīra*, 'island'). Each *jazīra* was placed under the charge of a high-ranking *dā'ī* referred to as *ḥujja*; and every *ḥujja* had a number of *dā'īs* of different ranks working under him. Organized in a strictly hierarchical manner, the Fatimid *da'wa* was under the overall supervision of the imam and the *dā'ī al-du'āt*, or *bāb*, who acted as its administrative head. The *da'wa* organization developed over time and reached its full elaboration under the caliph-imam al-Mustansir. It was, however, in non-Fatimid regions, the *jazā'ir*, especially Yaman, Persia and Central Asia, that the Fatimid *da'wa* achieved lasting success.<sup>29</sup> The *da'wa* was intensified in Iraq and Persia under al-Ḥākim. Foremost among the *dā'īs* of this period was Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020). A learned philosopher, he harmonized Ismaili theology with a variety of philosophical traditions in developing his own metaphysical system, presented in his *Rāḥat al-'aql*, completed in 411/1020. In fact, al-Kirmānī's thought represents a unique tradition within the Iranian school of philosophical Ismailism. In particular, he expounded a modified cosmology, replacing the Neoplatonic dyad of intellect and soul in the spiritual world by a system of ten separate intellects in partial adaptation of al-Fārābī's Aristotelian cosmic system.<sup>30</sup> Al-Kirmānī's cosmology, however, was not adopted by the Fatimid *da'wa*; it later provided the basis for the fourth and final stage in the evolution of Ismaili cosmology at the hands of Ṭayyibī *dā'īs* of Yaman. The Fatimid caliph-imam al-Ḥākim's reign also coincided with the opening phase of what was to become known as the Druze religion, founded by a number of *dā'īs* who had come to Cairo from Persia and Central Asia,

notably al-Akhram, and al-Darazī. These *dā'īs* proclaimed the end of the historical era of Islam and advocated the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Al-Kirmānī was officially invited to Cairo around 405/1014 to refute the new extremist doctrines from a theological perspective. He wrote several treatises in defence of the doctrine of imamate in general and al-Ḥākim's imamate in particular, including *al-Maṣābiḥ fi ithbāt al-imāma*, the *Risālat mabāsīm al-bishārāt* and *al-Risāla al-wā'iza*. In fact, the doctrine of the imamate provided an essential subject matter for a number of doctrinal treatises written by the Ismaili authors of different periods.

The Ismaili *da'wa* activities outside the Fatimid dominions reached their peak in the long reign of al-Mustanṣir (427–487/1036–1094), even after the Sunni Saljūqs replaced the Shi'ī Būyids as overlords of the Abbasids in 447/1055. The Fatimid *dā'īs* won many converts in Iraq and different parts of Persia and Central Asia. One of the most prominent *dā'īs* of this period was al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī who after his initial career in Fārs, in southern Persia, settled in Cairo and played an active role in the affairs of the Fatimid *dawla* and Ismaili *da'wa*. In 450/1058, al-Mustanṣir appointed him as *dā'ī al-du'āt*, a post he held for twenty years, with the exception of a brief period, until his death in 470/1078. He has left an invaluable account of his life and early career in his *Sira*,<sup>31</sup> which reveals this *dā'ī's* central role as an intermediary between the Fatimids and the Turkish military commander al-Basāsīrī who briefly led the Fatimid cause in Iraq against the Saljūqs. Al-Basāsīrī seized Baghdad in 450/1058 and had the *khuṭba* read there for one whole year for al-Mustanṣir before he was eventually defeated by the Saljūqs. Al-Mu'ayyad established closer relations between Cairo and several *jazīras*, especially Yaman where Ismailism had persisted in a dormant form throughout the 4th/10th century. By the time of al-Mustanṣir, the leadership of the *da'wa* in Yaman had fallen into the hands of the *dā'ī* 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, an important chieftain of the Banū Hamdān in the mountainous region of Ḥarāz. The *dā'ī* 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī rose in Ḥarāz in 439/1047, marking the effective foundation of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty ruling over different parts of Yaman as vassals of the Fatimids until 532/1138. On 'Alī's death in 459/1067, Lamak b. Mālīk al-Ḥammādī was appointed as chief *dā'ī* of Yaman while 'Alī's son Aḥmad al-Mukarram (d. 477/1084) succeeded his father merely as head of the Ṣulayḥid state. The

*dā'ī* Lamak had earlier spent five years in Cairo, staying and studying with the chief *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad at his residence at the Dār al-'Ilm. From the latter part of Aḥmad al-Mukarram's reign, during which time the Ṣulayḥīds lost much of Yaman to Zaydīs there, effective authority in the Ṣulayḥīd state was transferred to al-Mukarram's consort, al-Malika al-Sayyida Ḥurra (d. 532/1138). She played an increasingly important role in the affairs of the Yamanī *da'wa* culminating in her appointment as the *hujja* of Yaman by al-Mustanṣir. This represented the first assignment of a high rank in the *da'wa* hierarchy to a woman. These events, and the Ṣulayḥīds in general, are treated in 'Umāra al-Yamanī's *Ta'riḫ al-Yaman*, and in the seventh volume of the *dā'ī* Idrīs's *'Uyūn al-akhbār*.<sup>32</sup> The Ṣulayḥīds also played an active part in the renewed efforts of the Fatimids to spread the *da'wa* on the Indian subcontinent. The Ismaili community founded in Gujarāt by *dā'īs* sent from Yaman in the second half of the 5th/11th century evolved into the modern day Ṭayyibī Bohra community.

Meanwhile, the Ismaili *da'wa* had continued to spread in many parts of the Iranian world, now incorporated into the Saljūq sultanate. By the early 460s/1070s, the Persian Ismailis in the Saljūq dominions were under the leadership of 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Aṭṭāsh who had his secret headquarters in Iṣfahān, the main Saljūq capital. He was also responsible for launching the career of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ who in due course led the Ismaili *da'wa* in Persia. In Badakhshān and other eastern parts of the Iranian world, too, the *da'wa* had continued to spread after the downfall of the Sāmānīds in 395/1005.<sup>33</sup> One of the most eminent *dā'īs* of al-Mustanṣir's time, Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 462/1070) played an important part in propagating Ismailism in Central Asia as the *hujja* of Khurāsān; he also spread the *da'wa* to Ṭabaristān and other Caspian provinces.<sup>34</sup> It was mainly during his period of exile in Yumgān that Nāṣir extended the *da'wa* throughout Badakhshān while maintaining his contacts with the *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad and the *da'wa* headquarters in Cairo. It was during those years in the midst of the Pamir mountains that Nāṣir produced the bulk of his poetry as well as his theological-philosophical writings, including the *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, his last known work completed in 462/1070 at the request of his Ismaili protector and amir of Badakhshān, Abu'l-Ma'ālī 'Alī b. al-Asad. The Ismailis of Badakhshān, now divided between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, and their offshoot groups in the Hindu Kush region,

situated in Hunza and other northern areas of Pakistan, regard Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the founder of their communities. By the time the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn was finally uprooted in 470/1077–78 by the local tribal chieftains, other Qarmaṭī groups in Persia, Iraq and elsewhere too had either disintegrated or switched their allegiance to the Ismaili *da'wa* of the Fatimids. There was now, once again, only one unified Ismaili *da'wa* under the supreme leadership of the Fatimid caliph-imam.

During the long reign of al-Mustanṣir the Fatimid caliphate had already embarked on its decline resulting from factional fighting in the Fatimid armies and other political and economic difficulties. The ravaging activities of the Turkish regiments which led to a complete breakdown of law and order finally obliged al-Mustanṣir to appeal for help to Badr al-Jamālī, an Armenian general in the service of the Fatimids. Badr arrived in Cairo in 466/1074 and soon assumed leadership of civil, judicial and religious administrations in addition to being 'commander of the armies' (*amīr al-juyūsh*), his main title and source of power. He managed to restore peace and relative prosperity to Egypt in the course of his long vizierate of some twenty years when he was the effective ruler of the Fatimid state. Badr died in 487/1094 after having arranged for his son al-Afḍal to succeed him in the vizierate. Henceforth, real power in the Fatimid state remained in the hands of viziers who were normally commanders of the armies, whence their title of 'vizier of the sword' (*wazīr al-sayf*), and normally also in charge of the *da'wa* organization and activities.

Al-Mustanṣir, the eighth Fatimid caliph and eighteenth Ismaili imam, died in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 487/December 1094, a few months after Badr al-Jamālī. Thereupon, the unified Ismaili *da'wa* split into two rival factions, as al-Mustanṣir's son and original heir-designate Nizār was deprived of his succession rights by al-Afḍal who quickly installed Nizār's younger half-brother to the Fatimid throne with the title of al-Musta'li bi'llāh (487–495/1094–1101). The two factions were later designated as the Nizāriyya and Musta'liyya after al-Mustanṣir's sons who claimed his heritage. Al-Afḍal immediately obtained for al-Musta'li the allegiance of the notables of the Fatimid court and most leaders of the Ismaili *da'wa* in Cairo who also recognized al-Musta'li's imamate. Nizār refused to pay homage to al-Musta'li and fled to Alexandria where he rose in revolt, but was defeated and killed in 488/1095. The

imamate of al-Musta‘li was recognized by the Ismaili communities of Egypt, Yaman and western India. These Ismailis who depended on the Fatimid regime later traced the imamate in the progeny of al-Musta‘li. The bulk of the Ismailis of Syria, too, joined the Musta‘li camp. On the other hand, the Ismailis of Persia who were then already under the leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ supported the succession rights of Nizār. The Central Asian Ismailis seem to have remained uninvolved in the Nizārī-Musta‘li schism for quite some time.

The Fatimid state survived for another 77 years after the Nizārī-Musta‘li schism of 487/1094. These decades witnessed the rapid decline of the Fatimid caliphate which was beset by continuing crises. Al-Musta‘li and his successors on the Fatimid throne, who were mostly minors and remained powerless in the hands of their viziers, continued to be recognized as imams by the Musta‘li Ismailis who themselves soon split into Ḥāfiẓī and Ṭayyibī branches. On al-Musta‘li’s premature death in 495/1101, the all-powerful vizier al-Afḍal placed his five-year-old son on the throne with the caliphal title of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh. Al-Afḍal was murdered in 515/1121; and when al-Āmir himself was assassinated in 524/1130, the Musta‘li Ismailis were confronted with a major crisis of succession. A son, named al-Ṭayyib, had been born to al-Āmir a few months before his death; and he had been designated as the heir apparent. But on al-Āmir’s death, power was assumed by his cousin, ‘Abd al-Majīd, a grandson of al-Mustanṣir and the eldest member of the Fatimid family, and nothing more was heard of al-Ṭayyib. After a brief confusing period in Fatimid history, when Twelver Shi‘ism instead of Ismailism was adopted as the official religion of the Fatimid state by al-Afḍal’s son Kutayfāt who had succeeded to the vizierate, ‘Abd al-Majīd re-emerged on the scene in 526/1132 proclaiming himself as caliph and imam with the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh; and Ismailism was reinstated as the Fatimid state’s religion.<sup>35</sup>

The irregular proclamation as imam of al-Ḥāfiẓ, whose father (Abu’l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. al-Mustanṣir) had not been imam previously, caused a major split in the Musta‘li Ismaili community. As in the case of the Nizārī-Musta‘li schism, the Musta‘li *da‘wa* headquarters in Cairo endorsed the imamate of al-Ḥāfiẓ, who claimed al-Āmir had personally designated him.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, it was also acknowledged by the Musta‘li Ismailis of Egypt and Syria as well as a portion of the

Musta'lis of Yaman. These Ismailis, who recognized al-Ḥāfiẓ and the later Fatimid caliphs as their imams, became known as the Ḥāfiẓiyya. On the other hand, the Şulayḥid queen of Yaman, al-Sayyida Ḥurra, who had already drifted away from Cairo, upheld al-Ṭayyib's cause and recognized him as al-Āmir's successor to the imamate. As a result, the Musta'li community of the Şulayḥid state, too, recognized al-Ṭayyib's imamate. These Musta'li Ismailis of Yaman, with some minority groups in Egypt and Syria, initially known as the Āmiriyya, became later designated as the Ṭayyibiyya. The Ismaili traditions of the earlier times were maintained during the final decades of the Fatimid dynasty. These included the appointment of chief *dā'īs* as administrative heads of the Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa*, the regular holdings of the *majālis al-ḥikma*, and the activities of the Dār al-'Ilm, which was moved to a new location in Cairo in 526/1132. The Ḥāfiẓī theologians of this period must have, therefore, concerned themselves with literary activities. However, after the demise of the Fatimid dynasty and caliphate, there were no longer any Ḥāfiẓī communities left in Egypt or elsewhere to preserve their literature. The extant anonymous *al-Qaṣida al-Shāfiya*, originally composed by a Ḥāfiẓī poet, may be a sole exception.

The Ayyūbid Şalāḥ al-Dīn, who had acted as the last Fatimid vizier, ended Fatimid rule on 7 Muḥarram 567/10 September 1171, when he had the *khuṭba* read in Cairo in the name of the reigning Abbasid caliph al-Mustaḍī'. A few days later, al-'Āḍid (555–567/1160–1171), the fourteenth and final Fatimid caliph, died after a brief illness. The Fatimid *dawla* had, thus, ended after 262 years.<sup>37</sup> On the collapse of the Fatimid caliphate, Egypt's new Sunni Ayyūbid masters began to persecute the Ismailis, also suppressing the Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa* organization and all the Fatimid institutions. The immense treasures of the Fatimids and their vast libraries were pillaged or sold. For a while longer, however, certain direct descendants of al-Ḥāfiẓ and a few false pretenders claimed the imamate of the Ḥāfiẓīs. Some of them led revolts which received limited support in Egypt. Al-'Āḍid had appointed his eldest son, Dā'ūd, as his heir apparent; and, after al-'Āḍid, the Ḥāfiẓīs recognized him as their next imam. But Dā'ūd, like other members of the Fatimid family, had been placed in permanent captivity in Cairo. In 569/1174, a major conspiracy to overthrow Şalāḥ al-Dīn and restore Fatimid rule was discovered in Cairo. The chief conspirators included 'Umāra, the famous Yamanī poet and historian, a former chief *dā'ī* as



well as several Ismaili jurists and Fatimid commanders. ‘Umāra and several others were executed on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s order. A few more minor revolts, led by Fatimid pretenders or Ismailis, occurred during the final decades of the 6th/12th century. After Dā‘ūd b. al-‘Āḍid (d. 604/1207), his son Sulaymān (d. 645/1248), conceived secretly in prison, was evidently acknowledged as the imam of the Ḥāfīzī Ismailis.

The Ḥāfīziyya had disintegrated almost completely in Egypt by the end of the 7th/13th century, when the Fatimid prisoners were finally released by the Mamlūks who had succeeded the Ayyūbids. In Yaman, the Zuray‘ids of ‘Adan and some of the Hamdānids of Ṣan‘ā’ had adhered to Ḥāfīzī Ismailism until the Ayyūbid conquest of southern Arabia in 569/1173. The main source for the history of the Zuray‘ids, who also acted as the chief *dā‘īs* of the Ḥāfīzī *da‘wa*, is the *Ta’rīkh al-Yaman* of ‘Umāra al-Yamanī, who personally knew some members of the dynasty.<sup>38</sup> The Ḥāfīzīs may still have enjoyed some prominence in Yaman by the beginning of the 7th/13th century when the fifth *dā‘ī* of the Ṭayyibīs, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid (d. 612/1215), found it necessary to write a polemical work, *Tuḥfat al-murtād*, refuting the claims of al-Ḥāfīz and his successors to the imamate and defending the legitimacy of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa*. For all practical purposes, on the collapse of the Fatimid caliphate, Musta‘lī Ismailism survived only in its Ṭayyibi form.

### The Yamanī and Indian phases of Ṭayyibī Ismailism

The Ṭayyibī Ismailis recognized al-Āmir’s infant son, al-Ṭayyib, as their imam after al-Āmir, rejecting the claims of al-Ḥāfīz and the later Fatimids to the imamate. Ṭayyibī Ismailism found its permanent stronghold in Yaman, where it received the initial support of the Ṣulayḥids. The Ṭayyibīs divide their history into succeeding eras of concealment (*satr*) and manifestation (*kashf* or *zuhūr*), during which the imams are concealed or manifest. The first era of *satr*, coinciding with the pre-Fatimid period in Ismaili history, ended with the appearance of ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. This was followed by an era of *zuhūr* which continued in the Fatimid period until the concealment of the twenty-first Ṭayyibī Imam al-Ṭayyib, soon after al-Āmir’s death in 524/1130. Al-Ṭayyib’s concealment, it is held by the Ṭayyibīs, initiated another era of *satr*, during which the Ṭayyibī imams have all remained

hidden (*mastūr*) from the eyes of their followers; and the current *satr* will continue until the appearance of an imam from al-Ṭayyibī's progeny. The current period of *satr* in Ṭayyibī Ismailism has, in turn, been further divided into a Yamanī phase, extending from 526/1132 to around 997/1589, when the Ṭayyibīs were split into Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī factions, and an Indian phase, covering essentially the history of the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī *da'wa* during the last four centuries. There were essentially no doctrinal differences between the two Ṭayyibī communities, which were to follow separate lines of *dā'īs*.

The history of the Yamanī phase of Ṭayyibī Ismailism is essentially a history of the activities of the various *dā'īs* and their relations with the Zaydīs and other local dynasties of medieval Yaman. The literary sources for this phase have been fully discussed in the relevant sections of A. Fu'ād Sayyid's bio-bibliographical survey of the sources on Yaman's Islamic history.<sup>39</sup> For the earliest period in Ṭayyibī history, the chief authority is once again 'Umāra al-Yamanī's *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*. Ismaili historiography on the subject, as expected, is rather meagre with the major exception of the works of the *dā'ī* Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468). The still unpublished *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* of the *dā'ī* Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199) is another important source on the history of the early Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yaman. Professor Abbas Hamdani has prepared a critical edition of the *Tuḥfa*, which will be published in the near future.

Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan remains our major source on the history of Ṭayyibī Ismailism in medieval Yaman. He hailed from the prominent Banū al-Walīd clan of Quraysh, who led the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yaman for more than three centuries. In 832/1428, Idrīs succeeded his uncle, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Walīd, as the nineteenth *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs. Idrīs, who took special interest in the affairs of the *da'wa* in Gujarāt, was also a warrior and participated in several battles against the Zaydīs. Idrīs produced three extensive historical works. As the head of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*, Idrīs was very well-informed about the affairs of the Ismaili community in Yaman. He also has extensive quotations from numerous Ismaili sources and archival documents which have not survived. In the seventh and final volume of his *Uyūn al-akhbār*, he provides valuable information on the Ṣulayḥīds and the *da'wa* in Ṣulayḥīd Yaman, as well as on the later Fatimids and the opening phase of Ṭayyibī Ismailism. His second

historical work, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, deals especially with the history of the Ismaili *da'wa* in Yaman from the collapse of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty in 532/1138 until 853/1449. In the *Nuzhat al-afkār*, which is still in manuscript form, particular attention is paid to the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in India and the relations between the Ṭayyibī communities of Yaman and India. Thirdly, in the *Rawḍat al-akhbār*, which is a continuation of the previous history, Idrīs relates the events of his own time, from the year 854/1450 to 870/1465. This is also an important source on the history of the Ṭāhirids (858–923/1454–1517) who ruled over Yaman after the Rasūlids (626–858/1229–1454) and were allied with the *dā'ī* Idrīs. The recently published *Rawḍat al-akhbār* is also an important autobiographical source on Idrīs's career. Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī was the first modern scholar to indicate the importance of Idrīs's historical works for studying Ismailism in Yaman while also pointing out their occasional biases.<sup>40</sup>

The history of the Indian phase of Ṭayyibī Ismailism, too, revolves around the activities of different *dā'īs*, in addition to the polemical accounts of various disputes and minor schisms in the Dā'ūdī Bohra community arising mainly from competing claims to the leadership of the *da'wa*. A number of Dā'ūdī *dā'īs* and authors have produced historical works on the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in India, some of which have been written in a form of Arabicized Gujarātī, i.e., Gujarātī transcribed in Arabic script, adopted as the language of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa* and Bohras. The majority of the Ismaili sources produced in South Asia, however, mix legend and reality rather indiscriminately. As a result, the history of Ṭayyibī Ismailism in India, especially for the earlier centuries, remains shrouded in mystery. Among the few accurate Ismaili histories produced in India, is the *Muntaza' al-akhbār*, in two volumes, written in Arabic by Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānjī Burhānpūrī (d. 1241/1826), a Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohra with a high rank in the *da'wa* organization. The first volume of this work deals with the history of the twenty-one imams recognized by the Ṭayyibī Musta'līs, and the second volume covers the history of the Ṭayyibīs and their (Dā'ūdī) *dā'īs* until 1240/1824. Another noteworthy history of Ismailism in South Asia is the *Mawsim-i bahār* of Muḥammad 'Alī b. Mullā Jīwābhā'ī Rāmpūrī, a functionary of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa* who died in 1315/1897 or a year later. This three-volume work, in Arabicized Gujarātī and drawing on the *Muntaza' al-akhbār* and a number of earlier sources

which have not survived, is considered by the Dā'ūdī Bohras as an authentic source of their history. The first volume on the stories of the prophets and the second volume on the imams were completed during 1302–11/1885–93, after the third volume on the history of the *dā'īs* in Yaman as well as the *da'wa* in India from its origins until the time of the author. The third volume was compiled in 1299/1882 and lithographed shortly afterwards.

The Ṭayyibīs of Yaman and South Asia have preserved a good portion of the literary heritage of the Ismailis, including the classical works of the Fatimid period and the texts written by Yamanī Ṭayyibī authors. These manuscript sources, collectively designated as *al-khizāna al-maknūna* 'the guarded treasure', were mostly transferred after the 10th/16th century from Yaman to India, where they continued to be copied by better-educated Bohras of Gujarāt and elsewhere. This literature was classified and described for the first time in the *Fahrasat al-kutub wa'l-rasā'il* of al-Majdū', a Dā'ūdī Bohra scholar who died in 1183/1769 or a year later. All this, as well as the devotional sectarian and polemical writings of the Dā'ūdī Bohras themselves, are also listed in the relevant sections of I.K. Poonawala's *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature* (1977). At present, there are major libraries of Ismaili manuscripts in Sūrat, Bombay and Baroda, seats of the Dā'ūdī, Sulaymānī and 'Alawī Bohras in India, and in some private collections in Yaman within the Sulaymānī community there. The largest collections of such manuscripts in the West is located at The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library in London.

In modern times, a number of Dā'ūdī Bohras, who account for the overwhelming majority of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis, have written on various aspects of their community. But historical works of any value have remained rather few in number. The *Gulzare Daudi* (1920), written by Mullā Abdul Husain, a Dā'ūdī functionary who became a dissident, served as one of the most popular and influential books in English on Ṭayyibī Ismailism in India. Several other Dā'ūdī authors, such as Hasan Ali Badripresswala Ismailji and Najm al-Ghani Khan, wrote historical works in Gujarātī or Urdu. The late Zāhid 'Alī produced in Urdu the fullest contemporary account of the Ṭayyibī doctrines in his *Hamāre Ismā'īlī madhhab* (1954). Several members of the distinguished al-Hamdānī family, descendants of Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Ya'būrī al-Hamdānī (d. 1315/1898), a prominent

Dā'ūdī scholar from Sūrat, have written on Ṭayyibī Ismailism and on the *da'wa* in India. Muḥammad 'Alī's grandson Ḥusayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī (1901–1961) and the latter's son Abbas Hamdani have also made their family collections of Ismaili manuscripts available to libraries and scholars at large. Asaf A.A. Fyzee (1899–1981), a learned Sulaymānī Bohra, produced pioneering work on Ismaili jurisprudence – a field of enquiry later adopted by I.K. Poonawala, himself from another learned Bohra family. With a few exceptions, notably John N. Hollister's *The Shi'a of India* (1953), Western scholars and Ismaili specialists have not produced major works on Ṭayyibī Ismailism. On the other hand, a number of dissident Dā'ūdīs, led by Asghar Ali Engineer, who have been involved in various reformist groups organized against the *dā'ī* and his policies have written on Bohra institutions and practices.<sup>41</sup>

The Ṭayyibī *da'wa*, as noted, survived the downfall of the Fatimids, because from early on it had developed independently of the Fatimid state. It received its initial support from the Ṣulayḥid queen, al-Sayyida Ḥurra, who had been looking after the affairs of the Musta'li *da'wa* in Yaman with the help of the *dā'ī* Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī (d. ca. 491/1098) and then his son Yaḥyā (d. 520/1126). It was soon after 526/1132 that the Ṣulayḥid queen broke her relations with Cairo and declared Yaḥyā's successor al-Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādī'ī as the *dā'ī muṭlaq*, or *dā'ī* with absolute authority, to lead the affairs of the Ṭayyibī Musta'li *da'wa* on behalf of their concealed Imam al-Ṭayyib. This marked the foundation of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* independently of the Ṣulayḥid state as well. On al-Dhu'ayb's death in 546/1151, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī succeeded to the leadership of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* as the second *dā'ī muṭlaq*. The Ṭayyibī *da'wa* spread successfully in the Ḥarāz region of Yaman even though it did not receive the support of any Yamanī rulers after the death of the Ṣulayḥid queen in 532/1138.<sup>42</sup> After Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī (d. 557/1162), the position of *dā'ī muṭlaq* remained hereditary among his descendants until 605/1209 when it passed to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd of the Banū al-Walīd al-Anf family of the Quraysh and remained in this family, with minor interruptions, until 946/1539. During the Yamanī period, the Ṭayyibīs maintained their unity in Yaman and won an increasing number of converts in western India.

In the doctrinal field, the Ṭayyibīs maintained the Fatimid

traditions, and, in like manner, they emphasized the equal importance of the *zāhir* and *bāṭin* aspects of religion, also retaining the earlier interest of the Ismailis in cyclical history and cosmology which served as the basis of their gnostic, esoteric *ḥaqāʾiq* system of religious thought with its distinctive eschatological themes. This system was, in fact, founded largely by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī who drew extensively on al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* and synthesized its cosmological doctrine of the ten separate intellects with gnostic mythical elements. The Ṭayyibī modification of al-Kirmānī's system, first elaborated in Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī's *Kanz al-walad*, in effect, represents the fourth and final stage in the development of the Neoplatonized cosmology in Ismaili thought. By astronomical and astrological speculations, the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs also introduced certain innovations into the earlier cyclical conception of religious history, expressed in terms of the seven prophetic eras. They conceived of countless cycles leading the sacred history of humankind from its origins to the Great Resurrection (*qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt*). The Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq*, explained in many sources such as the *Tāj al-ʿaqaʾid* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215), find their fullest description in Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn's *Zahr al-maʿānī*, an extensive compendium of esoteric doctrines completed in 838/1435. Subsequently, the Ṭayyibīs made few further doctrinal contributions while copying the earlier texts. From early on, the Ṭayyibīs also used al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* as their most authoritative legal compendium. In modern times, Henry Corbin has studied extensively the various aspects of Ṭayyibī thought, especially its cosmology and eschatology with what he called its 'drama in heaven', also discussing important parallels between these doctrines and those found in Manichaeism and other Iranian religions.<sup>43</sup>

The Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* organization has drawn on Fatimid antecedents with certain modifications. As in the case of imams, every *dāʿī muṭlaq* has appointed his successor by the rule of the *naṣṣ*. The Ṭayyibī *dāʿīs* in Yaman were among the most educated members of their community; many became outstanding religious scholars and produced the bulk of the classical Ṭayyibī literature related to the *ḥaqāʾiq*. The *dāʿī muṭlaq* was normally assisted in the affairs of the *daʿwa* by several subordinate *dāʿīs* designated as *maʾdhūn* and *mukāsir*. Meanwhile, the Yamanī *dāʿī muṭlaq*s had maintained close relations with the Ṭayyibī community of western India. There, the Ismaili converts,

mostly of Hindu descent, were known as Bohras, a name believed to have been derived from the Gujarātī term *vohorvū* meaning 'to trade', since the *da'wa* originally spread among the trading community of Gujarāt. The Ismaili Bohras of Gujarāt were persecuted under the Sunni sultans of the region from 793/1391, obliging them to observe *taqiyya* in the guise of Sunnism. With the establishment of Mughal rule in 980/1572, however they began to enjoy a certain degree of religious freedom in India and conversions to Sunni Islam ceased.

On the death of the twenty-sixth *dā'ī muṭlaq*, Dā'ūd b. 'Ajabshāh, in 997/1589 or 999/1591, his succession was disputed leading to the Dā'ūdī-Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* and community. By then, the Ṭayyibī Bohras in India, who greatly outnumbered their Yamanī co-religionists, desired to attain their independence from Yaman. As a result, they acknowledged Dā'ūd Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1021/1612) as their next *dā'ī* and became known as Dā'ūdīs. A small number of Yamanī Ṭayyibīs, too, supported the Dā'ūdī cause. On the other hand, a minority of Ṭayyibīs, who accounted for the bulk of the community in Yaman, recognized Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597) as their new, twenty-seventh *dā'ī*; they became known as Sulaymānīs. Henceforth, the Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs followed separate lines of *dā'īs*. The Dā'ūdī *dā'īs* continued to reside in India, while the headquarters of the Sulaymānī *da'wa* were established in Yaman. Subsequently, the Dā'ūdī Bohras were further subdivided in India due to periodical challenges to the authority of their *dā'ī muṭlaq*. As one such instance, in 1034/1624, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1046/1637) founded the 'Alawī splinter group who established their own line of *dā'īs*. At present, the 'Alawī Bohras are a very small community centred in Baroda (Vadodara), Gujarāt. The present 'Alawī *dā'ī*, the forty-fourth in the series, is Sayyidnā Abū Ḥātim Ṭayyib Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ṣāhib who succeeded his father in 1394/1974.

In 1200/1785, the headquarters of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa* was transferred to Sūrat, where the forty-third *dā'ī*, 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (1213–1232/1798–1817), founded a seminary known as Sayfī Dars, also Jāmi'at Sayfiyya, for the education of Dā'ūdī scholars and functionaries. This seminary, with a major library, has continued to serve as an institution of traditional Islamic learning for the Dā'ūdī Bohras. Since 1232/1817, the office of the *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibīs has remained among the descendants of Shaykh Jiwānjī Awrangābādī, while the

community has experienced intermittent strife and crisis rooted in opposition to the *dā'īs* authority. The present *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa*, Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, succeeded his father Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (1333–1385/1915–1965) as the fifty-second in the series. The total Dā'ūdī population of the world is currently (2004) estimated at around 900,000 persons, located mainly in India. Since the 1920s, Bombay (Mumbai), with its largest single concentration of Bohras, has served as the permanent administrative seat of the Dā'ūdī *dā'ī muṭlaq*. The Ṭayyibī Bohras, together with the Nizārī Khojas, were also among the earliest Asian communities to settle, during the nineteenth century and subsequently, in East Africa. Their settlement received particular encouragement from Sultan Sa'īd (1220–1273/1806–1856), of the Āl Bū Sa'īd dynasty of 'Umān and Zanzibar, who aimed to expand his trade relations with India. In time, the Indian Ismaili traders, who had originally emigrated to Zanzibar, the sultan's capital since 1256/1840, moved to the growing urban centres of East Africa. But from the early 1970s, due to the anti-Asian policies of Ugandan and other African governments, many Ismailis left Africa for the West.

In Yaman, the leadership of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs has remained hereditary, since 1088/1677 with few exceptions, in the same Makramī family. Unlike the Dā'ūdīs, the Sulaymānīs have not experienced succession disputes and schisms. The Sulaymānī *dā'īs* established their headquarters in Najrān, in north-eastern Yaman, and ruled over that region with the military support of the local Banū Yām. In the twentieth century, the political prominence of the Sulaymānī *dā'īs*, checked earlier by Zaydīs and the Ottomans, was further curtailed by the Sa'ūdī family; Najrān was, in fact, annexed to Saudi Arabia in 1353/1934. The present *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Sulaymānīs, the fiftieth in the series, Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Makramī, succeeded to office in 1413/1992 and lives in Saudi Arabia. At present, the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibī Ismailis of Yaman number around 70,000 persons. The Sulaymānī Bohras represent a very small community of a few thousands in India. Similarly to the Dā'ūdīs, the Sulaymānīs withhold their religious literature from outsiders.



### Nizārī Ismailism of the Alamūt period

By the time of the Nizārī-Musta'li succession dispute of 487/1094, Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, who preached the Ismaili *da'wa* within the Saljūq dominions in Persia, had emerged as the leader of the Persian Ismailis. He was then clearly following an independent policy, and his seizure of the fortress of Alamūt in 483/1090 had, in fact, signalled the initiation of the Persian Ismailis' open revolt against the Saljūqs as well as the foundation of what would become the Nizārī Ismaili state. The Nizārī state, centred at Alamūt, with its territories scattered in different parts of Persia and Syria, lasted some 166 years until it was destroyed by the Mongols in 654/1256.

The circumstances of the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period were radically different from those faced by the Ismailis of the Fatimid state and the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman. From early on, the Nizārīs were preoccupied with a revolutionary campaign and their survival in an extremely hostile environment. As a result, they produced military commanders rather than learned theologians. Furthermore, Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ and his seven successors at Alamūt used Persian as the religious language of their community. This made it very difficult for the Nizārīs of Persia and adjacent Persian-speaking, eastern lands to have ready access to the Ismaili literature produced in Arabic during the Fatimid period, although the Syrian Nizārīs using Arabic did preserve some of the earlier texts. At any rate, the Persian Nizārīs did not produce a substantial literature;<sup>44</sup> the bulk of their literature, including the collections of the famous library at Alamūt, was either destroyed in the Mongol invasions or lost soon afterwards during the Mongol Īlkhānid rule over Persia (654–754/1256–1353). The Syrian Nizārīs were spared the Mongol catastrophe and were permitted by the Mamlūks to remain in their traditional strongholds. Subsequently, many of the literary sources, produced or preserved by the Syrian Nizārīs, perished in the course of prolonged hostilities with their Nuṣayrī ('Alawī) neighbours.

The Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period did, nevertheless, maintain a sophisticated intellectual outlook and a literary tradition, elaborating their teachings in response to changing circumstances. Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ himself was a learned theologian and was credited with founding an impressive library at Alamūt. Later, other major Nizārī fortresses in Persia and Syria were equipped with significant

collections of books, documents and scientific instruments. In the doctrinal field, only a handful of Nizārī works have survived directly from that period. These include the *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, or the *Seven Chapters* of Bābā Sayyidnā, two honorific titles reserved for Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. This is an anonymous work written around 596/1200, several decades after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's death in 518/1124. There are also those Ismaili works written during the final decades of the Alamūt period and attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), who spent some three decades in the Nizārī fortress communities of Persia. Among the Ismaili corpus of al-Ṭūsī's works, mention should be made of the *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, which is the single most important source on the Nizārī teachings of the Alamūt period. A few Nizārī texts, which are not extant otherwise, have been fragmentarily preserved in the *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal* of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's contemporary, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahraṣṭānī (d. 548/1153), the famous heresiographer and theologian who was influenced by Ismaili ideas if not an Ismaili himself, as well as in some post-Alamūt Nizārī writings. Al-Shahraṣṭānī himself wrote several works, including a partial Qur'an commentary called *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār*, and a philosophical treatise in refutation of Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics, *Kitāb al-muṣāra'a*, using Ismaili ideas and the methodology of *ta'wīl* or esoteric interpretation.

The Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period, too, maintained a historiographical tradition in Persia. They compiled chronicles in the Persian language recording the events of their state according to the reigns of the successive lords of Alamūt.<sup>45</sup> This historiographical tradition commenced with the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*, covering the biography of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, designated as Bābā and Sayyidnā ('our master') by the contemporary Nizārīs, and the events of his rule as the first lord of Alamūt. The reign of Ḥasan's successor, Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd (518–532/1124–1138), was covered in another chronicle known as the *Kitāb-i Buzurg-Umīd*. The chronicle of Buzurg-Umīd's son and successor, Muḥammad (532–557/1138–1162), was compiled by a certain Dihkhudā 'Abd al-Malik Fashandī, who was also the commander of the Nizārī fortress of Maymūndiz, near Alamūt. The events of the Nizārī state during the later Alamūt period, when the imams themselves were leading the affairs of their community, were recorded by other official chroniclers, such as Ra'īs Ḥasan Munshī Bīrjandī who

was also a poet and secretary (*munshī*) to Shihāb al-Dīn Manṣūr, the Nizārī chief in Quhistān during the first half of the 7th/13th century.

All the Nizārī chronicles, kept at Alamūt and other strongholds in Persia, perished in the period of Mongol rule. However, some of these chronicles and other Nizārī documents, such as the *fuṣūl* or epistles of the lords of Alamūt, were seen and used extensively by three Persian historians of the Īlkhānid period, namely, ‘Aṭā-Malik Juwaynī (d. 681/1283), Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318), and Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh Kāshānī (d. ca. 738/1337). The Ismaili histories of these authorities remain our main sources on the Nizārī *da‘wa* and state in Persia during the Alamūt period. Having joined the entourage of Hülegü, Juwaynī accompanied the Mongol conqueror on his military campaigns against the Nizārīs in 654/1256; he also participated in the peace negotiations between Hülegü and the Nizārī Imam Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh. Juwaynī received permission to visit the Alamūt library before the destruction of that fortress by the Mongols. As a result, he succeeded in saving a number of what he called ‘choice books’, including the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*, and used these Ismaili sources in writing his history of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors at Alamūt, who he labelled the *da‘wa* of the ‘heretics’ (*malāḥida*) and the ‘new preaching’ (*da‘wat-i jadīd*). He composed this account soon after the fall of Alamūt and added it to the end of his *Ta’rīkh-i jahāngushā* on Mongol victories, completed in its present form in 658/1260. Juwaynī’s history of the Persian Nizārīs, permeated with invective and curses against them, is preceded by sections relating to the earlier history of the Ismailis, a pattern adopted by later Persian historians. Rashīd al-Dīn’s history of the Ismailis is contained in the second volume of his vast *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* (*Collection of Histories*) completed in 710/1310. More detailed than Juwaynī’s account, Rashīd al-Dīn doubtless had direct access to the same Ismaili sources in addition to his predecessor’s work. Rashīd al-Dīn quotes more extensively from the Nizārī chronicles and also displays a sense of relative objectivity rarely found in other Sunni historians writing on the Ismailis. Few details are known about the life of Kāshānī, a Persian (Twelver) Shī‘ī historian belonging to the Abū Ṭāhir family of leading potters from Kāshān. It is known, however, that he was associated with Rashīd al-Dīn and was probably involved in producing parts of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, although his claim to the entire authorship of that work is

very doubtful.<sup>46</sup> At any rate, he included a section on the Ismailis in his *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, a general history of the Muslim world until the demise of the Abbasids. Kāshānī's account, which came to light in 1964, is the fullest of the three sources.

Later Persian historians who produced summary accounts of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors, based themselves mainly on Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, occasionally drawing also on sources of legendary nature. Amongst such authors writing general histories with sections devoted to the Ismailis, the earliest and perhaps the most famous is Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī (d. after 740/1339), who benefited from the patronage of Rashīd al-Dīn himself. In 730/1330, he completed his *Ta'rikh-i guzīda*, a general history of Islam and the dynasties ruling over Persia, with a section on the Fatimids and the Ismailis (*malāḥida*),<sup>47</sup> and dedicated it to Rashīd al-Dīn's son and successor as Īlkhānid vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī included a section on the lords of Alamūt also in his versified history, *Zafar-nāma*, recently published for the first time.<sup>48</sup> Among later Persian chroniclers writing on the Ismailis, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430), court historian of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāhrukh (807–850/1405–1447), is one of the most important. In 826/1423, he began to compile a vast universal history, *Majma' al-tawārikh*, at the request of Shāhrukh's son Bāysunghur (d. 837/1433), a patron of poets and of the arts. In the third volume of his history, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū devoted an extensive section to the Fatimids and the Nizārī state of Persia, following closely the account of Rashīd al-Dīn. Muḥammad b. Khwāndshāh, known as Mīrkhwānd (d. 903/1498), is a later historian of note who wrote a detailed account of the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period, which was first published in Paris in 1813.<sup>49</sup> This represented one of the earliest accounts of the Persian Ismailis made accessible to European orientalists. Mīrkhwānd's grandson, Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Khwānd Amīr (d. 942/1535–36) also wrote on the Ismailis in his own general history which was completed in 930/1524.<sup>50</sup> The Nizārī rulers of Alamūt continued to be treated, in later medieval times, and to various extents, by Persian historians such as Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī (d. 975/1567).

Another category of literary sources on the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period are the contemporary chronicles of the Saljūqs. 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201) was evidently

the author of the earliest Saljūq history with references to the Nizārīs, *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, which has survived only in an abridgement compiled in 623/1226.<sup>51</sup> Mention should also be made of Zāhīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī's (d. 582/1187) *Saljūq-nāma*, composed around 580/1184 and used by many later chroniclers; the *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saljūqiyya*, written around 622/1225 and ascribed to Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī, and al-Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, a history of the Great Saljūqs completed around 601/1204 with many references to the Persian Nizārīs.<sup>52</sup> The medieval regional histories of Daylam and other Caspian provinces in northern Persia, starting with Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān* written in 613/1216–17,<sup>53</sup> provide another category of historical sources on the Persian Nizārīs. Finally, both Syrian and Persian Nizārīs are treated in many general histories of the Muslim world by Arab authors, most notably in *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) whose biography of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is independent of the official *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*, compiled at Alamūt perhaps on the basis of an autobiographical account.

The Nizārīs of Syria produced their own religious literature, including numerous poetical works in Arabic, during the Alamūt period.<sup>54</sup> This literature has not been sufficiently studied in modern times, as the relevant manuscript sources are not readily accessible. The Syrian Nizārīs have also preserved many of the Ismaili texts of the Fatimid period, works of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman and others. The Persian Nizārī works of the Alamūt period were evidently not translated into Arabic in Syria, and, similarly the religious literature of the Syrian Nizārīs was not rendered into Persian. Nor did the Syrian Nizārīs compile official chronicles like those produced by their Persian co-religionists. Amongst the few surviving Syrian Nizārī works, a special place is occupied by the *Faṣl min al-lafẓ al-sharīf*, which includes a biographical account of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān (d. 589/1193), the most famous *dā'ī* of the community, in addition to sayings attributed to him. This hagiographic work containing various anecdotes based on the oral tradition of the Syrian Nizārīs, may have been compiled much later by the *dā'ī* Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530 or 947/1540), or possibly by another Syrian Abū Firās who lived two centuries earlier. The main literary sources on the history of the Syrian Nizārīs, from the arrival of the first *dā'īs* dispatched from Alamūt in the earliest years of the 6th/12th century until the complete

subjugation of the Nizārī castles by Mamlūks in 671/1273, are the local histories of Syria as well as general Arab chronicles.<sup>55</sup> Amongst the relevant authorities, the most important are Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), the Damascene chronicler, Ibn al-‘Adīm (d. 660/1262), the historian of Aleppo, and Ibn al-Jawzī’s grandson known as Šibt (d. 654/1256).<sup>56</sup> Of particular interest here are also works of several lesser known historians, notably al-‘Azīmī (d. after 556/1161). For the later decades, the histories of Abū Shāma (d. 665/1267) and Ibn Wašil (d. 697/1298), amongst others, are of significance.

The non-literary sources on the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period are rather insignificant. The Mongols demolished the major Nizārī fortresses of Persia, which may have provided valuable archaeological evidence. At any rate, these fortresses have not been scientifically studied; and, the few excavations undertaken in modern times probably caused more damage to the sites than they yielded results. All in all, no epigraphic evidence has been recovered from the Nizārī castles of Persia, which were equipped with impressive defence and water supply systems, while relatively limited hoards of Nizārī coins minted at Alamūt have also been recovered.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, the Nizārī castles of Syria, which have been much better preserved, have yielded valuable archaeological, including epigraphic, information.<sup>58</sup>

The development of Nizārī studies in broad terms is covered in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to recall that the distorted image of the Nizārīs, made famous in medieval Europe as the Assassins, was retained by the orientalist until at least the 1930s, when W. Ivanow, the founder of modern Nizārī studies, began to produce his numerous publications based on genuine Nizārī source materials. Subsequently, Marshall G.S. Hodgson (1922–1968) produced the first scholarly monograph on the Nizārīs of Alamūt period in his *The Order of Assassins* (1955), a misleading title which he himself later recanted.<sup>59</sup> After these pioneering efforts, few Islamicists have concerned themselves with the medieval history of the Nizārīs. On the other hand, there have periodically appeared ‘sensational’ and popular types of monographs on the so-called ‘Assassins’ – a misnomer for the Nizārī Ismailis which has continued to be used by many Western authors, as in W.B. Bartlett’s *The Assassins: The Story of Medieval Islam’s Secret Sect* (2001), to name a recent example.

By 487/1094, Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, as noted, had emerged as the leader

of the Persian Ismailis. As an Ismaili Shi'ī, he could not tolerate the anti-Shi'ī policies of the Saljūqs, who as the new champions of Sunni Islam aimed to uproot the Fatimids. Ḥasan's revolt was also an expression of Persian 'national' sentiments, as the alien rule of Saljūq Turks was greatly detested by the Persians of different social classes. This may explain why he substituted Persian for Arabic as the religious language of the Persian Ismailis, accounting also for the popular success of his movement.<sup>60</sup> It was under such circumstances that in al-Mustanşir's succession dispute, Ḥasan supported Nizār's cause and severed his relations with the Fatimid regime and the *da'wa* headquarters in Cairo which had lent their support to al-Musta'li. By this decision, Ḥasan founded the independent Nizārī Ismaili *da'wa* on behalf of the Nizārī imam who then remained inaccessible; and, as a result, the Nizārī *da'wa* survived the downfall of the Fatimid dynasty, similarly to the subsequent fate of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yaman.

The revolt of the Persian Ismailis soon acquired a distinctive pattern and method of struggle, suited to the decentralized power structure of the Saljūq sultanate and their much superior military power. Ḥasan devised a strategy to overwhelm the Saljūqs locality by locality, amir by amir, and from a multitude of impregnable mountain strongholds. Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ did not divulge the name of Nizār's successor to the imamate. In fact, numismatic evidence shows that Nizār's own name appeared on coins minted at Alamūt for about seventy years after his death in 488/1095, while his progeny were blessed anonymously. The early Nizārī Ismailis were, thus, left without an accessible imam in another *dawr al-satr*; and, as in the pre-Fatimid period of concealment, the absent imam was represented in the community by a *hujja*, his chief representative. Ḥasan and his next two successors as heads of the Nizārī *da'wa* and state, were indeed recognized as such *hujjas*. It seems that already in Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ's time many Nizārīs believed that a son or grandson of Nizār had been secretly brought from Egypt to Persia, and he became the progenitor of the line of the Nizārī imams who later emerged at Alamūt.

From early on in the Alamūt period, outsiders had the impression that the Persian Ismailis had initiated a 'new preaching' (*al-da'wa al-jadīda*) in contrast to the 'old preaching' (*al-da'wa al-qadīma*) of the Fatimid times. The 'new preaching' did not, however, represent any new doctrines; it was merely a reformulation of the old Shi'ī doctrine

of *ta'lim*, or authoritative teaching by the imam. It was mainly Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ himself who restated this doctrine in a more rigorous form in a theological treatise entitled *al-Fuṣūl al-arba'a*, or *Four Chapters*. This treatise, originally written in Persian, has been preserved only fragmentarily by al-Shahrastānī and our Persian historians.<sup>61</sup> The doctrine of *ta'lim*, emphasizing the autonomous teaching authority of each imam in his own time, became the central doctrine of the Nizārīs who, henceforth, were designated as the Ta'limiyya. The intellectual challenge posed to the Sunni establishment by the doctrine of *ta'lim*, which also refuted the legitimacy of the Abbasid caliph as the spiritual spokesman of all Muslims, called forth the reaction of the Sunni establishment. Many Sunni scholars, led by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), attacked the Ismaili doctrine of *ta'lim*. It is to be noted that the Nizārīs, as a matter of general policy, do not seem to have responded to these polemics.

By 489/1096, when the fortress of Lamasar was seized, Ḥasan had acquired or built numerous mountain strongholds in Rūdbār, Daylamān, the centre of Nizārī power in northern Persia. Meanwhile, the Ismailis had come to possess a network of fortresses and several towns in Quhistān, in south-eastern Khūrāsān, which remained the second most important territory of the Nizārī state in Persia. Later, the Nizārīs acquired Girdkūh and other fortresses in the regions of Qūmis, Arrajān and Zagros. In the opening years of the 6th/12th century, Ḥasan began to extend his activities also to Syria by sending Persian *dā'īs* from Alamūt, led by al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim (d. 496/1103). In Syria, the *dā'īs* confronted many difficulties in the initial phases of their operations in Aleppo and Damascus; and it took them several decades before they succeeded in various ways to acquire a network of castles, collectively referred to in the sources as the *qilā' al-da'wa*, in the Jabal Bahrā' (present-day Jabal Anšāriyya), a mountainous region between Ḥamā and the Mediterranean coastline in central Syria. These castles included Qadmūs, Kahf and Mašyāf, which often served as the headquarters of the chief *dā'ī* of the Syrian Nizārīs. There, the Nizārīs confronted the enmity of various local Sunni rulers as well as the Crusaders who were active in adjacent territories belonging to the Latin states of Antioch and Tripoli. By the final years of Ḥasan's life, however, the anti-Saljūq revolt of the Nizārīs had lost its momentum, much in the same way that the Saljūqs under Barkiyāruq (d. 498/1105)



and Muḥammad Ṭapar (d. 511/1118) had failed in their prolonged military campaigns to uproot the Persian Ismailis from their mountain strongholds.<sup>62</sup> Ismaili-Saljūq relations had now entered a new phase of 'stalemate'.

On Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's death in 518/1124, Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd succeeded him as the head of the Nizārī *da'wa* and state. A capable administrator like his predecessor, Buzurg-Umīd (518–532/1124–1138) maintained the policies of Ḥasan and further strengthened and extended the Nizārī state. The Ismaili-Saljūq stalemate essentially continued during the long reign of Buzurg-Umīd's son Muḥammad (532–557/1138–1162) as the third lord of Alamūt. By then, the Nizārī state had acquired its distinctive administrative structure. Each Nizārī territory was placed under the overall leadership of a chief *dā'ī* appointed from Alamūt; the leader of the Quhistānī Nizārīs was known as *muḥtasham*. These *dā'īs* as well as the commanders of major fortresses enjoyed a large degree of independence and local initiative, contributing to the dynamism and resilience of the Nizārī movement. Highly united with a remarkable sense of mission, the Nizārīs acknowledged the supreme leadership of Alamūt and obeyed without any dissent the religious policies initiated at that fortress by the imam's *hujjas* and, subsequently, by the Nizārī imams themselves. Meanwhile, the Nizārīs had been eagerly expecting the appearance of their imam, who had remained inaccessible since Nizār's murder in 488/1095.

The fourth lord of Alamūt, Ḥasan II to whom the Nizārīs refer with the expression '*alā dhikrihi'l-salām* (on his mention be peace), succeeded to leadership in 557/1162 and, soon after, declared the *qiyāma* or resurrection initiating a new phase in the religious history of the Nizārī community. On 17 Ramaḍān 559/8 August 1164, in the presence of the representatives of different Nizārī territories who had gathered at Alamūt, he delivered a sermon in which he proclaimed the *qiyāma*, the long awaited Last Day. About two months later, a similar ceremony was held at the fortress of Mu'minābād, near Birjand, and the earlier *khuṭba* and message were read out by Ra'īs Muẓaffar, the *muḥtasham* in Quhistān. There, Ḥasan II's position was more clearly equated with that of al-Mustaṣfir as God's caliph (*khalīfa*) on earth, implicitly claiming the status of imam for the lord of Alamūt.<sup>63</sup>

Ḥasan II relied heavily on Ismaili *ta'wīl* and earlier traditions,

interpreting *qiyāma* symbolically and spiritually for the Nizārīs. Accordingly, *qiyāma* meant nothing more than the manifestation of unveiled truth (*ḥaqīqa*) in the person of the Nizārī imam; it was a spiritual resurrection only for those who acknowledged the rightful imam of the time and were now capable of understanding the truth, the esoteric and immutable essence of Islam. It was in this sense that Paradise was actualized for the Nizārīs in this world. They were now to rise to a spiritual level of existence, transcending from *zāhir* to *bāṭin*, from *sharī'a* to *ḥaqīqa*, or from the literal interpretation of the law to an understanding of its spirituality and the eternal truths of religion. On the other hand, the 'outsiders', the non-Nizārīs who were incapable of recognizing the truth, were rendered spiritually non-existent. The imam proclaiming the *qiyāma* would be the *qā'im al-qiyāma*, 'lord of resurrection', a rank which in Ismaili religious hierarchy was always higher than that of an ordinary imam.

Ḥasan II's son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad devoted his long reign (561–607/1166–1210) to a systematic elaboration of the *qiyāma* in terms of a doctrine. The exaltation of the autonomous teaching authority of the present imam now became the central feature of Nizārī thought; and *qiyāma* came to imply a complete personal transformation of the Nizārīs who were expected to perceive the imam in his true spiritual reality. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad also made every Nizārī imam potentially a *qā'im*, capable of inaugurating an era of *qiyāma*. In the spiritual world of resurrection, there would remain only three categories of persons, ranked in terms of their relationship to the Nizārī imam. These include the 'people of opposition' (*ahl-i taḍādd*), the non-Nizārīs who exist only in the realm of appearances (*zāhir*) and are spiritually non-existent. Secondly, there are the ordinary followers of the Nizārī imam, the 'people of gradation' (*ahl-i tarattub*), who have penetrated the *sharī'a* to its inner meaning. However, they have access only to partial truth, as they still do not fully understand the *bāṭin*. Finally, there are the 'people of union' (*ahl-i waḥdat*), the Nizārī super-elite, or the *akhaṣṣ-i khāṣṣ*, who perceive the imam in his true spiritual reality as the epiphany (*mazhar*) of the word (*kalima*) of God; only they arrive at the realm of *ḥaqīqa*, in a sense the *bāṭin* behind the *bāṭin*, where they find full truth and as such, enjoy salvation in the paradisaal state actualized for them in this world.<sup>64</sup> Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad also explicitly affirmed the Nizārīd

Fatimid descent of his father and, therefore, of himself. He explained that Ḥasan II was in fact an imam and the son of a descendant of Nizār b. al-Mustaṣfir who had earlier found refuge in Alamūt. Henceforth, the Nizārīs recognized the lords of Alamūt, beginning with Ḥasan II, as their imams.<sup>65</sup>

Meanwhile, the Syrian Nizārīs had entered into an important phase of their own history under the leadership of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, their most famous leader who had been appointed as chief *dā'ī* in Syria by Ḥasan II soon after his own accession in 557/1162. Sinān reorganized and strengthened the Syrian Nizārī *da'wa*, also consolidating their network of fortresses in the Jabal Bahrā'. Furthermore, he organized an independent corps of *fidā'īs*, designated more commonly in Syria and in the Arabic sources as *fidāwīs* (*fidāwiyya*), self-sacrificing devotees of the community who were sent on dangerous missions to remove selected enemies who had posed serious threats to the survival of the Nizārīs in particular localities. Aiming to safeguard his community, Sinān entered into intricate and shifting alliances with the major neighbouring powers and rulers, notably the Crusaders, the Zangids and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The Syrian Nizārīs had intermittent conflicts with the Templars and the Hospitallers, Frankish military orders which often acted independently in the Latin East. The only one of the Syrian *dā'īs* to act somewhat independently of Alamūt, Sinān evidently taught his own version of the doctrine of *qiyāma*. He led the Syrian Nizārīs for almost three decades to the peak of their power and fame until his death in 589/1193.<sup>66</sup>

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad's son and successor, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607–618/1210–1221), was concerned largely with redressing the isolation of the Nizārīs from the larger world of Sunni Islam. Consequently, he publicly repudiated the doctrine of *qiyāma* and ordered his followers to observe the *sharī'a* in its Sunni form, inviting Sunni jurists to instruct his people. Indeed, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan did his utmost to convince the outside world of his new policy. In 608/1211, the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir acknowledged the imam's rapprochement with Sunni Islam and issued a decree to that effect. Henceforth, the rights of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan to Nizārī territories were officially recognized by the Abbasid caliph, as well as the Khwārazm Shāhs, who were then establishing their own empire in Persia as successors to the Saljūqs, and by other Sunni rulers. The Nizārīs evidently viewed Jalāl al-Dīn

Ḥasan's declarations as a restoration of *taqiyya*, which had been lifted in the *qiyāma* times; the observance of *taqiyya* could imply any type of accommodation to the outside world as deemed necessary by the infallible imam. Be that as it may, the Nizārī imam had now successfully achieved peace and security for his community and state.

Under 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (618–653/1221–1255), Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's son and successor as the penultimate lord of Alamūt, gradually the Sunni *sharī'a* was relaxed within the community and the Nizārī traditions associated with *qiyāma* were once again revived, although the Nizāris continued to appear to outsiders in Sunni guise. The Nizārī leadership now also made a sustained effort to explain the different doctrinal declarations and religious policies of the lords of Alamūt. As a result, all these teachings were interpreted comprehensively within a coherent theological framework, aiming to provide satisfactory explanations for the seemingly contradictory policies adopted at Alamūt. Intellectual life indeed flourished in the long reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, receiving a special impetus from the influx of outside scholars who fled the first waves of the Mongol invasions and took refuge in the Nizārī fortress communities. Foremost among such scholars, who availed themselves of the Nizārī libraries and patronage of learning, was Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), who made major contributions to the Nizārī Ismaili thought of the late Alamūt period during his prolonged stay amongst them.

It is mainly through al-Ṭūsī's extant Ismaili writings, notably the *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, that we have an exposition of the Nizārī thought of the Alamūt period, especially as it developed after the declaration of the *qiyāma*. Al-Ṭūsī explained that *qiyāma* was not necessarily a final, eschatological event, but a transitory condition of life when the veil of *taqiyya* would be lifted so as to make the unveiled truth accessible. In the current cycle of history, however, the full *qiyāma*, or Great Resurrection (*qiyāmat-i qiyāmāt*) would still occur at the end of the era initiated by the Prophet Muḥammad. The identification between *sharī'a* and *taqiyya*, implied by the teachings of Ḥasan II, was now made explicit by al-Ṭūsī who also identified *qiyāma* with *ḥaqīqa*. Thus, the imposition of the Sunni *sharī'a* by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was presented as a return to *taqiyya*, and to a new period of *satr* or concealment, when the truth (*ḥaqīqa*) would be once again concealed in the *bāṭin* of religion. The condition of *qiyāma* could, in principle, be granted by

the current Nizārī imam at any time, because every imam was potentially also an *imām-qā'im*. In his integrated theological presentation, human life could alternate between periods of *qiyāma*, when reality is manifest, and *satr*, when it would be concealed requiring the observance of *taqiyya*. In this sense, the term *satr* was redefined to imply the concealment of the religious truths and the true spiritual reality of the imam, and not just the physical inaccessibility of the imam, as had been the case in the pre-Fatimid and early Alamūt times.<sup>67</sup> The teachings of the late Alamūt-period brought the Nizārīs even closer to the esoteric traditions more commonly associated with Sufism.

Nizārī fortunes in Persia were rapidly reversed after the collapse of the Khwārazmian empire which brought them into direct confrontation with the invading Mongols. When the Great Khan Möngke decided to complete the Mongol conquests of western Asia, he assigned first priority to the destruction of the Nizārī Ismaili state, a task completed with some difficulty in 654/1256 by his brother Hülegü who led the main Mongol expedition into Persia. Shortly before, in 653/1255, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad had been succeeded by his eldest son Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, who would rule for exactly one year as the last lord of Alamūt. The youthful imam engaged in a complex, and ultimately futile, series of negotiations with Hülegü. Finally, on 29 Shawwāl 654/19 November 1256, Khurshāh descended from the fortress of Maymūndiz in Rūdbār in the company of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Nizārī dignitaries, and surrendered to the Mongols. With the fall of Alamūt a month later, the fate of the Nizārī state was sealed. Alamūt and many other fortresses were demolished, though Girdkūh resisted its Mongol besiegers for another fourteen years. In the spring of 655/1257, Khurshāh himself was killed by his Mongol guards in Mongolia, where he had gone in order to meet the Great Khan. By then, the Mongols had massacred large numbers of Nizārīs who had been placed in their protective custody.

In the meantime, the Syrian Nizārīs had been led by other *dā'īs* after Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān. From the time of the Imam Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's rapprochement with Sunni Islam, relations between the Syrian Nizārīs and their Muslim neighbours had improved significantly, while periodic encounters of different kinds continued with the Franks. The last important encounter between the Nizārīs and the Crusaders, who still held the Syrian coastline, occurred in the

early 650s/1250s in connection with embassies exchanged with Louis IX, the French king better known as St. Louis (d. 1270), who led the Seventh Crusade (1248–1255) to the Holy Land. John of Joinville (d. 1317), the king's biographer and secretary, has left a valuable account of these dealings, including a curious disputation between an Arabic-speaking friar and the chief *dā'ī* of the Syrian Nizārīs.<sup>68</sup> Subsequently, the Nizārīs collaborated with the Mamlūks and other Muslim rulers in defeating the Mongols in Syria. Baybars, the victorious Mamlūk sultan, now resorted to various measures for bringing about the submission of the Nizārī strongholds in Syria. Kahf was the last Nizārī outpost there to fall in 671/1273. However, the Syrian Nizārīs were permitted to remain in their traditional abodes as loyal subjects of the Mamlūks and their Ottoman successors. Having lost their political prominence, the Nizārīs henceforth lived secretly as religious minorities in numerous communities scattered in Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent.

### **Nizārī Ismailism of the post-Alamūt period**

The post-Alamūt period in Nizārī Ismailism covers more than seven centuries, from the fall of Alamūt in 654/1256 to the present time. The Nizārī communities, scattered from Syria to Persia, Central Asia and South Asia, now elaborated a diversity of religious and literary traditions in different languages. The first five centuries after the fall of Alamūt represent the longest obscure phase of Ismaili history. Many aspects of Ismaili activity in this period are not still sufficiently studied due to a scarcity of primary sources. A variety of factors, related to the very nature of Nizārī Ismailism of this period, have caused special research difficulties here. In the aftermath of the destruction of their state and fortress communities in Persia, the Nizārīs were deprived of the centralized leadership they had enjoyed during the Alamūt period. After Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh's son and successor, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, there was a split in the line of the Nizārī imams and their followers, dividing the community into rival Muḥammad-Shāhī and Qāsim-Shāhī branches. The Nizārī imamate was, thus, handed down through two parallel lines while the imams remained in hiding and were inaccessible to most of their followers for about two centuries.

More complex research difficulties arise from the widespread

practice of *taqiyya* by the Nizārīs of different regions. During much of the post-Alamūt period of their history, the Nizārīs were obliged to dissimulate rather strictly to safeguard themselves against rampant persecution. They concealed their true beliefs and literature in addition to resorting to Sunni, Sufi, Twelver Shi'i and Hindu disguises in different parts of the Iranian world and the Indian subcontinent. It is important to note that in many regions, the Nizārīs observed *taqiyya* for very long periods with lasting consequences. Although this phenomenon has only recently been studied by a few scholars, notably cultural anthropologists, it is certain that long-term dissimulation under any guise would eventually result in irrevocable changes in the traditions and the very religious identity of the dissimulating community. Such influences might have manifested themselves in a variety of manners, ranging from total acculturation or full assimilation of the Nizārīs of a particular locality into the community chosen originally as a protective cover, to various degrees of interfacing and admixture between Ismaili and 'other' traditions without necessarily the loss of their Ismaili identity. Probabilities for complete assimilation or disintegration were particularly high during the early post-Alamūt times when the Nizārīs were effectively deprived of any form of central leadership, including especially the guidance of their imams. In the event, for several centuries, the Nizārī communities developed independently of one another under the local leadership of their *dā'īs*, *pīrs*, *shaykhs*, *khalīfas*, etc., who often established their own hereditary dynasties.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the dissimulating Nizārī Ismailis did not generally attract the attention of outsiders and historians during much of this period. The difficulties of studying post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismailism are further aggravated by the fact that the Nizārīs produced relatively few religious texts, while, following the demise of their state in 654/1256, they had lost their earlier interest in historiography as well. The difficult conditions under which the Nizārīs have often lived and the generally limited standards of education attained by the community until recent times made it impossible for the Nizārīs to produce outstanding theologians and authors comparable to their contemporary Ṭayyibī *dā'īs* in Yaman. Furthermore, already from the Alamūt period the Persian-speaking Nizārīs did not have much access to the Arabic Ismaili literature of the Fatimid times,

which was preserved and used extensively by the Tayyibī Ismailis. Of all the Nizārī communities, only the Syrians were able to preserve a certain number of the Arabic texts of the classical Ismaili literature.

In the light of these problems, further progress here would require the acquisition of better understanding of the historical developments as well as the religious and literary traditions of major Nizārī communities of this period, especially those in South Asia and different parts of the Iranian world. The Nizārī Ismaili literature of the post-Alamūt period can be classified into four main categories, namely, the Persian, the Badakhshānī or Central Asian, the Syrian, and the South Asian or the *ginān* literature. The Nizārī sources produced in Persia, Afghanistan and the upper Oxus region are written entirely in the Persian language, while the Syrian texts are in Arabic. The Nizārīs of South Asia, designated as Khojas, who elaborated a distinctive Ismaili tradition known as Satpanth or ‘true path’, have used various Indian languages in committing their doctrines to writing in the form of devotional hymns known as *gināns* and using the Khojki script developed by themselves.

The Nizārīs of Persia and adjacent regions did not produce any doctrinal works during the earliest post-Alamūt centuries. Only the versified works of Ḥakīm Sa‘d al-Dīn Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 720/1320), a poet and government functionary from Birjand in south-eastern Khurāsān, remain extant from that period. He was perhaps also the first post-Alamūt Nizārī author to have chosen verse and Sufi forms of expression to conceal his Ismaili ideas, a model adopted by later Nizārī authors in Persia. The revival of the *da‘wa* activities during the Anjudān period also encouraged the literary activities of the community, and a number of better educated Persian Nizārīs began to produce the first doctrinal works of the period. The earliest amongst these authors were Abū Ishāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498), and Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553), a *dā‘ī* and poet who visited the contemporary Nizārī imam in Anjudān. The writings of these authors contain important historical references as well. Amongst later authors, mention may be made of the poet Imām Qulī Khāki Khurāsānī (d. after 1056/1646) and his son ‘Alī Qulī, better known as Raqqāmī Khurāsānī; they, too, resorted to poetry and Sufi expressions. More doctrinal works by Persian Nizārī authors appeared during the 13th/19th century and later times, marking a modern revival



in Nizārī literary activities. This revival was encouraged by the Nizārī imams following the transference of their residence to India. Amongst such works written in Persian mention may be made of the *Risāla dar ḥaqīqat-i dīn* and the *Khiṭābāt-i ‘āliya* of Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1302/1884), the eldest son of Āqā ‘Alī Shāh, Āghā Khān II, and the works of Muḥammad b. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, known as Fidā’ī Khurāsānī (d. 1342/1923), who was also the only Persian Nizārī author of modern times to have written a history of Ismailism, *Hidāyat al-mu’minīn al-ṭālibīn*, a work permeated with anachronisms and inaccuracies.<sup>69</sup> The Nizārīs of Persia did not attract the attention of Persian historians of the post-Alamūt period until modern times. Only a few chroniclers writing during the first three post-Alamūt centuries, including Sayyid Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Mar‘ashī (d. after 893/1488) and other historians of the Caspian region, occasionally have important references to the Persian Nizārīs. It was after the middle of the 12th/18th century, when the Nizārī imams had acquired political prominence in Persia, that the chroniclers of the Zand and Qājār dynasties there, such as Aḥmad ‘Alī Khān Vazīrī Kirmānī (d. 1295/1878), Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871) and Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Sipīhr (d. 1297/1880), made frequent references to those imams and their activities.

The Nizārī Ismailis of Badakhshān and the adjacent areas in the upper Oxus have retained their distinctive literary tradition, drawing on the Persian Ismaili literature of different periods with particular reference to the writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 462/1070) as well as the Sufi traditions of Central Asia. Consequently, the Badakhshānī Nizārīs have preserved and transmitted the anonymous *Umm al-kitāb*, which does not contain any specific Ismaili ideas, the genuine and spurious writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, all written in Persian, as well as the Nizārī literature of later times representing the coalescence of Nizārī Ismailism and Sufism; they have also preserved many anonymous works as well as the writings of the great mystic poets of Persia, who are regarded as their co-religionists. The Nizārīs of these remote regions in the Pamirs do not seem to have produced many noteworthy authors in the post-Alamūt period, with some exceptions such as Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī (d. after 856/1452); but they have preserved the bulk of the Ismaili literature of different periods written in Persian elsewhere. These manuscript sources have been held in

numerous private collections, especially by the local religious leaders known as *khalīfas*, in Shughnān, Rūshān, Ishkāshim and other districts of the Gorno-Badakhshān province of Tajikistan. The Nizārīs of Afghan Badakhshān, too, have extensive collections of manuscripts, about which information is not readily available. The Nizārīs of Hunza, Chitral, and the districts of Gilgit, now all situated in northern areas of Pakistan, have preserved a selection of Persian Nizārī works, although they themselves speak a host of local languages and dialects such as Burushaski and Wakhi rather than Persian. This literature was originally made available to them by their Badakhshānī neighbours, who themselves speak a number of local dialects, like Shughni, in addition to a Tajik version of Persian. The Ismailis of Badakhshān do not seem to have compiled histories of their community, but there are references to Ismailis in a few local histories of the region.

The Syrian Nizārīs, who adhered almost entirely to the Muḥammad-Shāhī branch of Nizārī Ismailism until the 13th/19th century, developed their own limited literature in Arabic. As they also preserved some of the Ismaili works of the Fatimid period, certain earlier Ismaili traditions continued to be represented in the Nizārī texts of the Syrian provenance.<sup>70</sup> The most famous Syrian *dā‘ī*-author of this period was Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī, who died in 937/1530 or ten years later. However, the attribution by ‘Arif Tāmīr of a number of Ismaili works, such as the *Kitāb al-īdāh*, to this author, has proven incorrect. The Nizārīs of Syria were evidently not persecuted by the Ottomans, who mention them and their castles in their land registers of the region. In fact, the Syrian Nizārīs did not attract much outside attention until the early decades of the nineteenth century, when they became entangled in recurrent conflicts with their Nuṣayrī neighbours. It was around the same time that European travellers and orientalist began to make references to them. In the 1840s, the Syrian Nizārīs successfully petitioned the Ottoman authorities for permission to restore Salamiyya, then in ruins, for the settlement of their community. Meanwhile, the Syrian Nizārīs belonging to the Muḥammad-Shāhī line had not heard, since 1210/1796, from their last known imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who lived in India. As they failed to locate him, the majority of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs of Syria transferred their allegiance in 1304/1887 to the Qāsim-Shāhī line, then represented by Aga Khan III. An Ismaili minority, centred in Maṣyāf

and Qadmūs, remained loyal to the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, and are still awaiting the reappearance of their imam. In modern times, ʿĀrif Tāmīr (1921–1998), a Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī, and Muṣṭafā Ghālīb (1923–1981), a Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī, have written extensively on the history of the Syrian Nizārī Ismailis in addition to producing editions (alas often defective) of many Arabic Ismaili texts.

The Nizārī Khojas of the Indian subcontinent, as noted, elaborated their own literary tradition in the form of the *gināns*, containing a diversity of mystical, mythological, didactic, cosmological and eschatological themes.<sup>71</sup> Many *gināns* contain ethical and moral instructions for the conduct of religious life and guiding the spiritual quest of the believer. As an oral tradition, some *gināns* also relate anachronistic, hagiographic and legendary accounts of the activities of *pīrs*, as the chief *dāʿīs* in India were called, and their converts; and, as such, they are not generally reliable as historical sources. The *gināns* are composed in verse form and are meant to be sung and recited melodically. The earlier Ismaili literature, produced in Arabic and Persian, was not until recently available to the Khojas. The authorships of the *gināns* are attributed to Pīr Shams al-Dīn, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and a few other early *pīrs*. Originally transmitted orally, the *gināns* began to be collected and recorded from the 10th/16th century. The *gināns* exist in a mixture of Indian languages, including Sindhī, Gujarātī, Hindī, Panjābī and Multānī. The bulk of the recorded corpus of the *ginān* literature, comprised of about one thousand separate compositions, has survived in the specific Khojkī script developed and used extensively by the Nizārī Khojas. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of *gināns* have been published in India.

Drawing mainly on the *gināns* and their oral traditions, the Nizārī Khojas and related communities like the Imām-Shāhīs compiled a few historical works in Gujarātī during the nineteenth century. There also appeared the *Noorum Mobin* (1935) of Alimahomed J. Chunara (1881–1966), which was treated for several decades as the quasi-official history of the Nizārī Khojas. In more recent times, a number of Khojas have studied various aspects of their Satpanth tradition and its literature. Foremost among such scholars, mention should be made of Azim Nanji, Ali S. Asani, Aziz Esmail, Zawahir Moir (Noorally) and Tazim Kassam. At the same time, several European scholars, notably Françoise Mallison and Dominique-Sila Khan, have contributed to

this field of South Asian religious studies from social and anthropological perspectives. All in all, numerous aspects of Nizārī Ismailism of the post-Alamūt period remain obscure; and modern scholars, after the initial efforts of W. Ivanow, have not produced major studies dealing with this phase of Ismailism. As noted, further progress here would require studying the individual Nizārī communities and their separate literary and intellectual traditions.

As a result of modern progress in Nizārī studies, three main periods may be distinguished in the history of post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismailism: (a) an obscure early period covering the first two centuries after the fall of Alamūt in 654/1256; (b) the Anjudān revival in Nizārī *da'wa* and literary activities, from around the middle of the 9th/15th century until the 12th/18th century; and (c) the modern period dating to the middle of the 13th/19th century when the residence of the Nizārī imams was transferred from Persia to India and subsequently to Europe. This chronological categorization provides the frame for our brief discussion of post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismailism.

In the aftermath of the Mongol debacle, contrary to Juwaynī's claim, the Nizārī Ismailis of Persia survived the downfall of their state. Many migrated to Badakhshān and Sind, where Ismaili communities already existed. Other isolated Nizārī groups soon disintegrated or were assimilated into the religiously dominant communities of their locality. The centralized *da'wa* organization also disappeared, to be replaced by a loose network of autonomous *dā'īs* and *pīrs* in the regions. Under these circumstances, scattered Nizārī communities developed independently while resorting to *taqiyya* and different external guises. Many Nizārī groups in the Iranian world, where Sunnism prevailed until the rise of the Safawids, disguised themselves as Sunni Muslims. Meanwhile, a group of Nizārī dignitaries had managed to hide Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh's minor son, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded to the imamate in 655/1257. Shams al-Dīn was taken to Ādharbāyjān, in north-western Persia, where he and his next few successors to the imamate lived clandestinely. Certain allusions in the unpublished versified *Safar-nāma* (*Travelogue*) of the contemporary poet Nizārī Quhistānī indicate that he may have seen the Nizārī imam in Tabrīz in 679/1280. Shams al-Dīn, who in certain legendary accounts has been confused with Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's spiritual guide Shams-i Tabrīz, died around 710/1310. An obscure dispute over

his succession split the line of the Nizārī imams and their following into the Qāsim-Shāhī and Muḥammad-Shāhī (or Mu'min-Shāhī) branches.<sup>72</sup> The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams, who initially had more followers in Persia and Central Asia, transferred their seat to India in the 10th/16th century and by the end of the 12th/18th century this line had become discontinued. The sole surviving Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs, currently numbering about 15,000, are to be found in Syria where they are locally known as the Ja'fariyya. The Qāsim-Shāhī community has persisted to the present time, and their last four imams have enjoyed prominence under their hereditary title of Āghā Khān (also Āqā Khān and Aga Khan). It was in the early post-Alamūt times that Persian Nizārīs, as part of their *taqiyya* practices, disguised themselves under the cover of Sufism, without establishing formal affiliations with any of the Sufi *ṭarīqas* then spreading in Persia and Central Asia. The practice soon gained wide currency among the Nizārīs of Central Asia and Sind as well.

In early post-Alamūt times, the Nizārīs had some success in regrouping in Daylam, where they remained active throughout the Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid periods. A certain Khudāvand Muḥammad (d. 807/1404), a Muḥammad-Shāhī imam, even occupied Alamūt for a while, before he was dislodged by Sayyid 'Alī, the powerful Zaydī ruler of Daylamān. The Nizārīs did not survive in the Caspian region after the 10th/16th century.<sup>73</sup> Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Jahāngīr (d. 998/1589) and his son Sulṭān Jahāngīr (d. 1006/1597), belonging to the Banū Iskandar rulers of Kujūr, adhered to Nizārī Ismailism and spread it in their dominions; they represent the last known references in the sources to Ismailis in northern Persia. Only a few isolated Nizārī groups survived a while longer in Daylam during the Safawid period when Alamūt was used as a prison. In Badakhshān and other parts of Central Asia, the Ismailis evidently acknowledged the Nizārī imamate only during the late Alamūt period as a result of the activities of *dā'īs* dispatched from Quhistān.<sup>74</sup> These *dā'īs* founded dynasties of *pīrs* and *mīrs* who ruled over Shughnān and other districts of Badakhshān. In 913/1507, Shāh Raḡī al-Dīn b. Tāhir, a Muḥammad-Shāhī imam, established his rule briefly over a part of Badakhshān with the help of his followers there. Subsequently, the Badakhshānī Nizārīs were severely persecuted by the local Tīmūrid, and then, Özbek rulers.

By the middle of the 9th/15th century, Ismaili-Sufi relations had

become well established in the Iranian world. Indeed, a type of coalescence had emerged between Persian Sufism and Nizārī Ismailism, two independent esoteric traditions in Islam which shared close affinities and common doctrinal grounds. As an early instance of this coalescence, mention may be made of the celebrated Sufi *mathnawī* poem, *Gulshan-i rāz* (*The Rose-Garden of Mystery*), composed by the Sufi master Maḥmūd-i Shabistārī (d. after 740/1339), and its later commentary, *Ba‘ḍī az ta’wīlāt-i Gulshan-i rāz*, by an anonymous Persian Nizārī author. Among other examples, Central Asian Nizārīs consider ‘Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. ca. 661/1262), a local Sufi master, as a co-religionist, and they have preserved his treatise *Zubdat al-ḥaqā’iq* as an Ismaili work. Owing to their close relations with Sufism, the Persian-speaking Nizārīs have also regarded several of the great mystic poets of Persia, such as Sanā’ī, ‘Aṭṭār and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, as their co-religionists. The Nizārī Ismailis of Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia have preserved their works and continue to use their poetry in their religious ceremonies. Soon, the dissimulating Persian Ismailis adopted the more visible aspects of the Sufi way of life. Thus, the imams appeared to outsiders as Sufi masters or *pīrs*, while their followers adopted the typically Sufi appellation of disciples or *murīds*.<sup>75</sup> By then, the Nizārī imams of the Qāsim-Shāhī line had emerged in the village of Anjudān, in central Persia, and initiated the Anjudān revival in Nizārī Ismailism. With Mustanṣir bi’llāh (II) (d. 885/1480), who carried the Sufi name of Shāh Qalandar, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams became definitely established in the locality where a number of their tombs are still preserved.<sup>76</sup> Taking advantage of the changing religious-political climate of Persia, including the spread of ‘Alid loyalism and Shi‘i tendencies through Sunni Sufi orders, the imams successfully began to reorganize and reinvigorate their *da‘wa* activities to win new converts and reassert their authority over various Nizārī communities, especially in Central Asia and India where the Ismailis had been led for long periods by independent dynasties of *pīrs*. The imams gradually replaced these powerful autonomous figures with their own loyal appointees who would also regularly deliver the much needed religious dues to the imam’s central treasury.

The Anjudān period witnessed a revival in the literary activities of the Nizārīs, especially in Persia, where the earliest doctrinal works of the post-Alamūt period were now produced. In the context of

Nizārī-Sufi relations during the Anjudān period, valuable details are preserved in a book entitled *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī*, containing the religious admonitions of Imam Mustanşir bi'llāh (II). In this book, later translated into Gujarātī for the benefit of the Khojas, the Nizārīs are referred to with common Sufi expressions such as *ahl-i ḥaḳīqat*, or the 'people of the truth', while the imam is designated as *pīr* or *murshid*. The imam's admonitions start with the *sharī'at-tarīqat-ḥaḳīqat* categorization of the Sufis, describing *ḥaḳīqat* as the *bāḥin* of *sharī'at* which could be attained only by the believers (*mu'mins*). The *Pandiyāt* further explains, in line with the earlier Nizārī teachings of the *qiyāma* times, that *ḥaḳīqat* consists of recognizing the spiritual reality of the imam of the time.<sup>77</sup> The Nizārīs now essentially retained the teachings of the Alamūt period, especially as elaborated after the declaration of the *qiyāma*. The current imam retained his central importance in Nizārī doctrine, and the recognition of his true spiritual reality remained the prime concern of his followers.<sup>78</sup>

The advent of the Safawids and the proclamation of Twelver Shi'ism as the state religion of their realm in 907/1501, promised more favourable opportunities for the activities of the Nizārīs and other Shi'i communities in Persia. The Nizārīs were, in fact, now able to reduce the intensity of their *taqiyya* practices. However, this new optimism was short-lived as the Safawids and their *sharī'at*-minded '*ulamā'*' soon suppressed all popular forms of Sufism and those Shi'i movements which fell outside the confines of Twelver Shi'ism. The Nizārīs, too, received their share of persecutions. Shāh Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī (d. ca. 956/1549), the most famous imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line whose popularity had proved unacceptable to the founder of the Safawid dynasty, was persecuted in Shāh Ismā'il's reign (907–930/1501–1524). However, Shāh Ṭāhir fled to India in 926/1520 and permanently settled in the Deccan where he rendered valuable services to the Nizām-Shāhs of Aḥmadnagar. It is interesting to note that from early on in India, Shāh Ṭāhir advocated Twelver Shi'ism, which he had obviously adopted as a form of disguise. He achieved his greatest success in the Deccan when Burhān Nizām-Shāh, after his own conversion, proclaimed Twelver Shi'ism as the official religion of his state in 944/1537. Shāh Ṭāhir's successors as Muḥammad-Shāhī imams continued to observe *taqiyya* in India under the cover of Twelver Shi'ism.<sup>79</sup> In this connection, it is to be noted that in the *Lama'āt al-ṭāhirīn*, one

of the few extant Muḥammad-Shāhī texts composed in India around 1110/1698, the author (a certain Ghulām ‘Ali b. Muḥammad) conceals his Ismaili ideas under the double cover of Twelver Shi‘i and Sufi expressions; he eulogizes the Ithnā‘asharī imams whilst also alluding to the Nizārī imams of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line.

Meanwhile, the second Safawid monarch Shāh Ṭahmāsp persecuted the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs of Anjudān and had their thirty-sixth imam, Murād Mīrzā, executed in 981/1574. By the time of Shāh ‘Abbās I (995–1038/1587–1629), the Persian Nizārīs, too, had successfully adopted Twelver Shi‘ism as a second form of disguise, which was now widely adopted by the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams and their followers in Persia and adjacent lands.<sup>80</sup> By the end of the 11th/17th century, the Qāsim-Shāhī *da‘wa* had gained the allegiance of the bulk of the Nizārīs at the expense of the Muḥammad-Shāhīs. The *da‘wa* had been particularly successful in Afghanistan, Central Asia and several regions of the Indian subcontinent.

In South Asia, the Hindu converts originally belonging to the Lohana caste, became known as Khoja, derived from the Persian word *khwāja*, an honorary title meaning lord or master corresponding to the Hindi term *thākur* by which the Lohanas were addressed. As noted, the Nizārī Khojas developed a religious tradition, known as Satpanth or the ‘true path’ (to salvation), as well as a devotional literature, the *gināns*. The earliest Nizārī *pīrs*, missionaries or preacher-saints, operating in India concentrated their efforts in Sind. Pīr Shams al-Dīn is the earliest figure specifically associated in the *ginān* literature with the commencement of the Nizārī *da‘wa* there. By the time of Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, a great-grandson of Pīr Shams, the *pīrs* in India had established a hereditary dynasty. Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, who died around the turn of the 9th/15th century, consolidated and organized the *da‘wa* in India; he is also credited with building the first *jamā‘at-khāna* (literally, community house), in Kotri, Sind, for the religious and communal activities of the Khojas. In India, too, the Nizārīs developed close relations with Sufism. Multān and Uchh in Sind, in addition to serving as centres of Satpanth *da‘wa* activities, were the headquarters of the Suhrawardī and Qādirī Sufi orders. Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, who reportedly visited the Nizārī Imam Mustanṣir bi’llāh (II) in Anjudān. Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn’s brother Tāj al-Dīn was evidently the last person appointed as *pīr* by the Nizārī



imams who were then making systematic efforts to end the hereditary authority of the *pīrs* in India.

Periodically the Khojas experienced internal dissensions, while many reverted back to Hinduism or converted to Sunnism, the dominant religions of the contemporary Indo-Muslim society. It was under such circumstances that a group of Nizārī Khojas of Gujarāt seceded and recognized the imamate of Nar Muḥammad (d. 940/1533); they became known as Imām-Shāhīs, named after Nar Muḥammad's father Imām Shāh (d. 919/1513), one of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn's sons who had attempted in vain to become a *pīr* in Sind. The Imām-Shāhīs, who produced their own *ginān* literature and split into several groups following different *pīrs*, soon denied any connections with Ismailism. Meanwhile, in the absence of *pīrs*, the Nizārī imams maintained their contacts with the Khoja community through lesser functionaries known as *wakīls* or *bābās*. The origins and early development of the indigenous form of Ismailism known as Satpanth on the Indian subcontinent remain obscure. In particular, it is not clear whether Satpanth Ismailism resulted from the conversion policies developed locally by the early *pīrs* who operated in India at least from the 7th/13th century, or whether it represented a tradition that had evolved gradually over several centuries dating further back, possibly even to Fatimid times. Be that as it may, Satpanth Ismailism may be taken to represent an indigenous tradition reflecting certain historical, social, cultural and political circumstances prevailing in the medieval Indian subcontinent, especially in Sind. On the evidence of the *gināns*, it seems plausible that the *pīrs* did attempt ingeniously to maximize the appeal of their message to a Hindu audience of mainly rural and uneducated lower castes. Hence, they turned to Indian vernaculars, rather than Arabic and Persian used by the educated classes. And for the same reasons, they used Hindu idioms and mythology, interfacing their Islamic and Ismaili tenets with myths, images and symbols already familiar to the Hindus. The teachings of Satpanth Ismailism are clearly reflected in the *ginān* literature.<sup>81</sup>

In the meantime, with the fortieth Qāsim-Shāhī imam, Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722), the seat of this branch of the Nizārī *da'wa*, then representing the only branch in Persia, was transferred from Anjudān to the nearby village of Kahak, in the vicinity of Qumm and Maḥallāt, effectively ending the Anjudān period in post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismailism.

By the middle of the 12th/18th century, in the unsettled conditions of Persia after the demise of the Safawids and the Afghan invasion, the Nizārī imams moved to Shahr-i Bābak in Kirmān, a location closer to the pilgrimage route of Khojas who then regularly travelled from India to see their imam and deliver the religious dues, the *dassondh* or tithes, to him. The Khojas were by then acquiring increasing influence in the Nizārī community, both in terms of their numbers and financial resources. Soon, the imams acquired political prominence in the affairs of Kirmān. The forty-fourth imam, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, also known as Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Kahakī, was appointed around 1170/1756 to the governorship of the Kirmān province by Karīm Khān Zand (1164–1193/1751–1779), founder of the Zand dynasty in Persia; earlier the imam had been the *beglerbegi* or governor of the city of Kirmān.<sup>82</sup> It was in his time that the Ni'mat Allāhī Sufi order was revived in Persia. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan had close relations with Nūr 'Alī and Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh among other Ni'mat Allāhī Sufis then active in Kirmān. On Abu'l-Ḥasan's death in 1206/1792, his son Shāh Khalīl Allāh succeeded to the Nizārī imamate and eventually settled in Yazd. Shāh Khalīl Allāh was murdered in 1232/1817, and was succeeded by his eldest son Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, who was later appointed to the governorship of Qumm by Fath 'Alī Shāh (1212–1250/1797–1834) and also given properties in Maḥallāt. In addition, the Qājār monarch of Persia gave one of his daughters in marriage to the youthful imam and bestowed upon him the honorific title of Āghā Khān (Āqā Khān), meaning 'lord' or 'master' – this title has remained hereditary among Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh's successors. This Nizārī imam, who maintained his own close relations with the Ni'mat Allāhī Sufi order, has left a valuable autobiographical account of his early life and career in Persia in a work entitled *Tbrat-afzā*.<sup>83</sup>

Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh was appointed to the governorship of Kirmān in 1251/1835 by the third Qājār monarch, Muḥammad Shāh. Subsequently, after some prolonged confrontations between the imam and the Qājār establishment, Āghā Khān I, also known as Āghā Khān Maḥallātī, left Persia permanently in 1257/1841. After spending some years in Afghanistan, Sind, Gujarāt and Calcutta, the imam finally settled in Bombay in 1265/1848, marking the commencement of the modern period of Nizārī Ismailism. As the spiritual head of a Muslim community, Āghā Khān I received the full protection of the British

establishment in India. The Nizārī imam now launched a widespread campaign for defining and delineating the distinct religious identity of his Khoja following. The Nizārī Khojas were not always certain about their religious identity as they had dissimulated for long periods as Sunnis and Twelver Shi'is, while their Satpanth tradition had been influenced by Hindu elements. With the help of the British courts in India, however, the Āghā Khān's followers were, in due course, legally defined as Shi'i Imāmī Ismailis. In the event, the bulk of Khojas reaffirmed their allegiance to Āghā Khān I and acknowledged their Ismaili identity while minority groups seceded and joined Twelver Khoja and other communities.

Āghā Khān I died in 1298/1881, and was succeeded by his son Āqā 'Alī Shāh who led the Nizārīs for only four years (1298–1302/1881–1885). The latter's sole surviving son and successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III, led the Nizārīs for seventy-two years, and also became internationally known as a Muslim reformer and statesman. Aga Khan III, too, made systematic efforts to set his followers' identity apart from those of other religious communities, particularly the Twelvers who for long periods had provided dissimulating covers for Nizārīs of Persia and elsewhere. The Nizārī identity was spelled out in numerous constitutions that the imam promulgated for his followers in different regions, especially in India, Pakistan and East Africa. Furthermore, the Nizārī imam became increasingly engaged with reform policies that would benefit not only his followers but other Muslims as well. He worked vigorously to consolidate and reorganize the Nizārīs into a modern Muslim community with high standards of education, health and social well-being, for both men and women, also developing a new network of councils for administering the affairs of his community. The participation of women in communal affairs was a high priority in the imam's reforms. Aga Khan III, who established his residence in Europe in the early part of the twentieth century, has left an interesting account of his life and public career in his *Memoirs*.<sup>84</sup>

Aga Khan III died in 1376/1957 and was succeeded by his grandson, known to his followers as Mawlana Hazar Imam Shah Karim al-Husayni. The present, Harvard-educated imam of the Nizārī Ismailis, the forty-ninth in the series, has continued and substantially expanded the modernization policies of his predecessor, also developing numerous new programmes and institutions of his own which

are of wider interest to Muslims and Third World countries at large. He has created a complex institutional network generally referred to as the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), which implements projects in a variety of social, economic and cultural areas. In the field of higher education and educational institutions, his major initiatives include The Institute of Ismaili Studies, founded in London in 1977 for the promotion of general Islamic as well as Ismaili studies, and the Aga Khan University, set up in Karachi in 1985. More recently, he established in Tajikistan the University of Central Asia to address the specific educational needs of the region's mountain-based societies.

Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, as he is known internationally, has his secretariat near Paris. By 2004, when the Nizāris celebrated the forty-seventh anniversary of his imamate, Aga Khan IV had established an impressive record of achievement not only as an Ismaili imam but also as a Muslim leader deeply aware of the demands of modernity and dedicated to promoting a better understanding of Islamic civilizations with their diversity of traditions and expressions.<sup>85</sup> Numbering several millions, the Nizārī Ismailis have emerged as progressive and prosperous Muslim minorities in more than twenty-five countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America.

### Notes

\* This chapter is partially based on the author's *The Ismā'īlis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990) and *A Short History of the Ismailis* (Edinburgh, 1998).

1. The issues surrounding the succession to the Prophet and 'Alī's legitimate claims to leadership are thoroughly investigated in W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1997). For a modern exposition of the traditional Shi'ī view on the origins of Shi'ism, see Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Shi'ite Islam*, ed. and tr., S.H. Nasr (London, 1975), especially pp. 39–73, 173–190.

2. See Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, ed., 'A.A. al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1388/1968), vol. 1, pp. 168–548, containing the earliest Shi'ī *ḥadīths* on the imamate reported mainly from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Many of the same *ḥadīths* are reiterated in al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed. A.A.A. Fyzee (Cairo, 1951–61), vol. 1, pp. 3–98; English trans., A.A.A. Fyzee, completely revised by I.K. Poonawala, as *The Pillars of Islam:*

Volume I, *Acts of Devotion and Religious Observances* (New Delhi, 2002), pp. 5–122. See also S. Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shī'a Islam* (London, 1979), pp. 235–300, and Ayatollah Ja'far Sobhani, *Doctrines of Shi'i Islam: A Compendium of Imami Beliefs and Practices*, ed. and tr., R. Shah-Kazemi (London, 2001), pp. 96–120.

3. Many interesting ideas on the origins and early development of Shi'ism are contained in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, tr., D. Streight (Albany, NY, 1994). See also A.R. Lalani, *Early Shī'i Thought: The Teachings of Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir* (London, 2000), and W. Madelung "Shī'a," *EL2*, vol. 9, pp. 420–424. A number of classical studies on the Imāmiyya may be found in E. Kohlberg, ed., *Shi'ism* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 1–167.

4. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, ed., S.M. al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī (Qumm, 1409–12/1988–92), vol. 3, p. 309; Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Sarā'ir wa-asrār al-nuṭaqā'*, ed., M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1984), pp. 262–263; Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *Zahr al-ma'ānī*, ed., M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1991), pp. 200–201; his *Uyūn al-akhbār*, ed., M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1973), vol. 4, p. 334, and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād: The Book of Guidance*, tr., I.K.A. Howard (London, 1981), p. 431.

5. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Kitāb firaq al-Shī'a*, ed., H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), pp. 57–61, and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-firaq*, ed., M.J. Mashkūr (Tehran, 1963), pp. 80–81, 83. On the relationships between these two closely connected heresiographies, see W. Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur," *Der Islam*, 53 (1967), pp. 37–52; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London, 1985), article XV; English trans., "Some Remarks on the Imāmī Firaq Literature," in Kohlberg, ed., *Shi'ism*, pp. 153–167. See also F. Daftary, "The Earliest Ismā'īlīs," *Arabica*, 38 (1991), pp. 220 ff.; reprinted in Kohlberg, ed., *Shi'ism*, pp. 235 ff.

6. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, vol. 3, pp. 302, 309–310; Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Sarā'ir wa-asrār al-nuṭaqā'*, pp. 256–257, 258; Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 332–350; Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl*, as abridged by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tūsī, ed., Ḥ. al-Muṣṭafawī (Mashhad, 1348 Sh./1969), pp. 217–218, 244–245, 321, 325–326, 354–356, 376–382, 390, and F. Daftary, "Esmā'il b. Ja'far al-Šādeq," *EIR*, vol. 8, pp. 625–626.

7. *Umm al-kitāb*, ed., W. Ivanow, in *Der Islam*, 23 (1936), text p. 11; see also H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis* (Zurich and Munich, 1990), pp. 113–198.

8. See, for example, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50; tr., Fyze and Poonawala, vol. 1, p. 65.

9. Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 351–356; see also his *Zahr al-*

*ma'ānī*, pp. 204–208.

10. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'a*, pp. 60–61, and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt*, p. 83.

11. See 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī's letter to the Ismailis of Yaman, as preserved by Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, edited by Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī under the title of *On the Genealogy of Fatimid Caliphs* (Cairo, 1958), text pp. 10–12.

12. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed., M.R. Tajaddud (2nd ed., Tehran, 1973), p. 238; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vol. 6, ed., Ş. al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1961), pp. 17–20; Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed., J. al-Shayyāl and M.Ḥ.M. Aḥmad (Cairo, 1967–73), vol. 1, pp. 22–26; Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, ed., M.J. 'A. al-Ḥīnī et al. (Cairo, 1984), p. 189, and Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed., S. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1357/1939), pp. 16 ff. See also A. Hamdani and F. de Blois, "A Re-examination of al-Mahdī's Letter to the Yemenites on the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs", *JRAS* (1983), pp. 173–207.

13. See Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed., M.J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901), III, pp. 2124, 2126–2127; English trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Volume XXXVII, The 'Abbāsīd Recovery*, tr., Philip M. Fields (Albany, NY, 1987), pp. 169, 171–173.

14. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, III, pp. 2188 ff., 2196–2197, 2205, 2232; tr., Fields, pp. 77 ff., 86–89, 98, 128–129; 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr., C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–76), vol. 8, pp. 191 ff.; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 55–62, 91 ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, vol. 1, pp. 159 ff., and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 233 ff.

15. The best modern treatment of the early *da'wa* in Khurāsān and Central Asia, with a survey of the sources, is to be found in S.M. Stern, "The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania", *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), pp. 59–60; reprinted in his *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism* (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1983), pp. 189–233.

16. For the issues and the sources, see W. Madelung, "Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre", *Der Islam*, 37 (1961), pp. 59–65, 69 ff., and F. Daftary, "A Major Schism in the Early Ismā'īlī Movement", *SI*, 77 (1993), pp. 123–139.

17. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed., J.H. Kramers (2nd ed., Leiden, 1938–39), pp. 96, 295; French trans., *Configuration de la terre*, tr., J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Paris and Beirut, 1964), pp. 94, 289, and W. Madelung, "Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ", *EIR*, vol. 11, pp. 634–635.

18. For surveys of the Qarmaṭīs and the relevant sources, see W. Madelung, "Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen", *Der Islam*, 34 (1959), pp. 34–88; English trans., "The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn", in *MIHT*, pp. 21–73; W.

Madelung, "Karmaṭī", *EL2*, vol. 4, pp. 660–665, and F. Daftary, "Carmatians", *EIR*, vol. 4, pp. 823–832.

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41. For further details, see J. Blank, *Mullahs on the Mainframe: Islam and Modernity among the Daudi Bohras* (Chicago, 2001), pp. 229–257, 301–307.

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75. F. Daftary, "Ismāʿīlī-Sufi Relations in Early Post-Alamūt and Safavid Persia", in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan, ed., *The Heritage of Sufism: Volume III, Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501–1750)* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 275–289.

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77. Mustanṣir biʿllāh (II), *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī*, ed. and tr., W. Ivanow (Leiden, 1953), text pp. 2–3, 11, 13, 14, 34–36, 54–58, 65–68 and elsewhere.

78. Abū Ishāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, ed. and tr., W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1959), text pp. 19–20, 37–38, 53–54, 58, 67–68, translation pp. 19–20, 37–38, 53–54, 58, 67–68; Khayrkhawāh-i Harātī, *Kalām-i pīr*, ed. and tr., W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1935), text pp. 46, 72–73, 86, 95–96, 100, 114–116, and his *Taṣnīfāt*, ed., W. Ivanow (Tehran, 1961), pp. 18 ff.

79. Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābābī, better known as Firishṭa, *Taʾrikh-i Firishṭa*, ed., J. Briggs (Bombay, 1832), vol. 2, pp. 213–231; ʿAlī b. ʿAzīz Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 251–270, 274 ff., 281 ff., 291, 308, 314, 324–326, 338–339, 361, 381, 433, 448–450, 502–503 and elsewhere; Qāḍī Nūr Allāh al-Shūstari, *Majālis al-muʾminīn* (Tehran, 1375–76/1955–56), vol. 2, pp. 234–240; Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 271–275, and F. Daftary, "Shāh Ṭāhīr and the Nizārī Ismaili Disguises", in T. Lawson, ed., *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt* (London, forthcoming).

80. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, pp. 471–474, 487–491.

81. For some listings of the *gināns*, see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 174–181; Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 298–311, and Ali S. Asani, *The Har-*

*vard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages* (Boston, 1992). The *ginān* collection of The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library, numbering some 150 items, has not yet been catalogued; see Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 130–131.

82. ‘Alī Riḍā b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Shīrāzī, *Ta’riḫ-i Zandiyya*, ed., E. Beer (Leiden, 1888), pp. 52–56; ed., Ghulām Riḍā Varahrām (Tehran, 1365 Sh./1986), pp. 74–77; Aḥmad ‘Alī Khān Vazīrī, *Ta’riḫ-i Kirmān*, ed., M.I. Bāstānī Pārīzī (2nd ed., Tehran, 1352 Sh./1973), pp. 543–565; Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1339 Sh./1960), vol. 9, pp. 250, 252, 255; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān I’timād al-Salṭana, *Ta’riḫ-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1298–1300/1881–83), vol. 3, pp. 53–54, and Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, pp. 499–503.

83. On Āghā Khān I, in addition to his *Ibrat-afzā* (Bombay, 1278/1862), pp. 8–49; ed., Ḥ. Kūhī Kirmānī (Tehran, 1325 Sh./1946), pp. 1–86, see Vazīrī, *Ta’riḫ*, pp. 602–604, 608–13; Fidā’ī Khurāsānī, *Kitāb-i hidāyat al-mu’minīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed., A.A. Semenov (Moscow, 1959), pp. 146–176; Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā’*, vol. 10, pp. 169, 249–253, 259–261; Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Si-pihr, *Nāsikh al-tawāriḫ: ta’riḫ-i Qājāriyya*, ed., M.B. Bihbūdī (Tehran, 1344 Sh./1965), vol. 2, pp. 248, 334–335, 350–356, 358–360, 364; I’timād al-Salṭana, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 3, pp. 165, 167, 173–174, 175–176, 177; N.M. Dumasia, *A Brief History of Aga Khan* (Bombay, 1903), pp. 62–95; H. Algar, “Maḥallātī, Āghā Khān”, *EL2*, vol. 5, pp. 1221–1222, and Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, pp. 504–516, 717–720, where full references to the sources and studies are cited.

84. See *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (London and New York, 1954). Several biographies of this imam have also been published.

85. See Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, pp. 518–532, 537–548, and his *A Short History of the Ismailis*, pp. 206 ff.

## Ismaili Studies: Medieval Antecedents and Modern Developments

Ismaili historiography and the perceptions of the Ismailis by others, in both Muslim and Christian milieus, as well as stages in modern Ismaili studies have had their own fascinating evolution, of which we shall present a brief survey here. In the course of their history the Ismailis have often been accused of various heretical teachings and practices and, at the same time, a multitude of myths and misconceptions circulated about them. This state of affairs reflected mainly the unfortunate fact that the Ismailis were, until the middle of the twentieth century, perceived, studied and judged almost exclusively on the basis of evidence collected or often fabricated by their enemies. As the most revolutionary wing of Shi'ism with a religio-political agenda that aimed to uproot the Abbasids and restore the caliphate to a line of 'Alid imams, the Ismailis from early on aroused the hostility of the Sunni establishment of the Muslim majority. With the foundation of the Fatimid state in 297/909, the Ismaili challenge to the established order had become actualized, and thereupon the Abbasid caliphs and the Sunni '*ulamā*' launched what amounted to nothing less than a widespread and official anti-Ismaili propaganda campaign. The overall objective of this systematic and prolonged campaign was to

discredit the entire Ismaili movement from its origins so that the Ismailis could be readily condemned as *malāḥida*, heretics or deviators from the true religious path.

Sunni polemicists, starting with Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Rizām al-Ṭā’ī al-Kūfī, better known as Ibn Rizām, who lived in Baghdad during the first half of the 4th/10th century, now began to fabricate evidence that would lend support to the condemnation of the Ismailis on specific doctrinal grounds. Ibn Rizām’s anti-Ismaili tract, *Kitāb radd ‘alā’l-Isma‘īliyya* (or *al-Naqd ‘alā’l-bāṭiniyya*), does not seem to have survived, but it is quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm in his catalogue of Arabic books, *al-Fihrist*. More importantly, it was used extensively a few decades later by another polemicist, the Sharīf Abu’l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, an ‘Alid from Damascus better known as Akhū Muḥsin, whose own anti-Ismaili work, consisting of historical and doctrinal parts written around 372/982, has also not survived. However, the Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin accounts have been preserved fragmentarily by several later historians, notably al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1335), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) who was the first authority to have identified Ibn Rizām as the principal source of Akhū Muḥsin while condemning both writers as unreliable.<sup>1</sup> The polemicists concocted detailed accounts of the sinister teachings and practices of the Ismailis, while refuting the ‘Alid genealogy of their imams, descendants of the Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) and the last of the early Shi‘i imams recognized jointly by the Ismaili and the Twelver (Ithnā‘asharī) Shi‘is. Anti-Ismaili polemical writings provided a major source of information for Sunni heresiographers, such as al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), who produced another important category of writing against the Ismailis.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Imāmī Shi‘i heresiographers al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (d. after 300/912) and Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī (d. 301/913–14), who were better informed than their Sunni counterparts on the internal divisions of Shi‘ism, were notably less hostile towards the Ismaili Shi‘is.<sup>3</sup> In fact, these earliest Imāmī heresiographers provide our main source of information on the opening phase of Ismailism.

A number of polemicists fabricated travesties in which they attributed a variety of shocking beliefs and practices to the Ismailis; these forgeries circulated widely as genuine Ismaili treatises and were used as source materials by subsequent generations of polemicists



and heresiographers. One of these forgeries, the anonymous *Kitāb al-siyāsa* (*Book of Methodology*), acquired wide popularity as it contained all the ideas needed to condemn the Ismailis as heretics on account of their libertinism and atheism. Akhū Muḥsin claims to have read this book and quoted passages from it; the same book, or another forgery entitled *Kitāb al-balāgh* was seen shortly afterwards by Ibn al-Nadīm who mentions it in his *al-Fihrist* completed in 377/987.<sup>4</sup> The heresiographer al-Baghdādī even claims that the *Kitāb al-siyāsa* was sent by ‘Abd Allāh (‘Ubayd Allāh) al-Mahdī (d. 322/934), the founder of the Fatimid dynasty, to Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī (d. 332/944), the leader of the Qarmaṭī state in Baḥrayn.<sup>5</sup> By this claim al-Baghdādī not only attempted to accord authenticity to this forgery, but also made the Qarmaṭīs subservient to the Fatimids in order to defame all Ismailis. This book, which has survived only fragmentarily in later Sunni sources, and was partially reconstructed by S.M. Stern,<sup>6</sup> is reported to have candidly expounded the procedures that were supposedly followed by Ismaili *dā’īs* for winning new converts and instructing them through some seven stages of initiation or *balāgh* leading ultimately to unbelief and atheism. Needless to add that the Ismaili tradition knows of these fictitious accounts only from the polemics of its enemies. The anti-Ismaili polemical and heresiographical traditions, in turn, influenced the Muslim historians, theologians and jurists who had something to say about the Ismailis.

The Sunni authors, who were generally not interested in collecting accurate information on the internal divisions of Shi’ism and treated all Shi’i interpretations of Islam as ‘heterodoxies’ or even ‘heresies’, also readily availed themselves of the opportunity of blaming the Fatimids and indeed the entire Ismaili community for the atrocities perpetrated by the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn who, in 317/930, attacked Mecca, massacred the pilgrims there and then carried away the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*). The Qarmaṭīs, it may be recalled, seceded from the rest of the Ismā’īliyya, in 286/899, and never recognized continuity in the imamate which was the central doctrine of the Fatimid Ismailis. They continued to await the return of their seventh and last imam, Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl, as the initiator of the final era of history. At any rate, the dissemination of hostile accounts and misrepresentations contributed significantly to turning the Sunni Muslims at large against the Ismailis.<sup>7</sup>

By spreading defamations and forged accounts, the anti-Ismaili authors, in fact, produced a 'black legend' in the course of the 4th/10th century. Ismailism was now depicted as the arch-heresy, *illhād*, of Islam, carefully designed by a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh or some other non-'Alid impostors, or possibly even a Jewish magician disguised as a Muslim, aiming at destroying Islam from within.<sup>8</sup> By the 5th/11th century, this fiction, with its elaborate details and stages of initiation, had been accepted as an accurate and reliable description of Ismaili motives, beliefs and practices, leading to further anti-Ismaili polemics and heresiographical accusations as well as intensifying the animosity of other Muslim communities towards the Ismailis. It is interesting to note that the same 'black legend' served as the basis of the famous Baghdad manifesto issued in 402/1011 against the Fatimids. This declaration, sponsored by the reigning Abbasid caliph al-Qādir (381–422/991–1031), was essentially a public refutation of the 'Alid ancestry of the Fatimid caliphs. The same was reiterated in a second anti-Fatimid document sponsored in 444/1052 by the Abbasid caliph al-Qā'im (422–467/1031–1075).

By the end of the 5th/11th century, the widespread anti-Ismaili campaign of the Sunni authors had been astonishingly successful throughout the central Islamic lands. The revolt of the Persian Ismailis led by Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) against the Saljūq Turks, the new overlords of the Abbasids, called forth another vigorous Sunni reaction against the Ismailis in general and the Nizārī Ismailis in particular. The new literary campaign, accompanied by military attacks on Alamūt and other Nizārī strongholds in Persia, was initiated by Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), the Saljūq vizier and virtual master of their dominions for more than two decades. Niẓām al-Mulk himself devoted a long chapter in his *Siyāsat-nāma* (*The Book of Government*) to the condemnation of the Ismailis who, according to him, aimed 'to abolish Islam, to mislead mankind and cast them into perdition.'<sup>9</sup> However, the earliest polemical treatise against the Persian Ismailis and their doctrine of *ta'lim*, propounding the necessity of authoritative teaching by the Ismaili imam, was written by no lesser a figure than Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the most renowned contemporary Sunni theologian and jurist. He was, in fact, commissioned by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir (487–512/1094–1118) to write a treatise in refutation of the Bāṭinīs – another designation,

meaning 'esotericists', coined for the Ismailis by their enemies who accused them of dispensing with the *zāhir*, or the commandments and prohibitions of the *sharī'a*, because they claimed to have found access to the *bāṭin*, or the inner meaning of the Islamic message as interpreted by the Ismaili imam. In this widely circulating book, completed around 488/1095 and generally known as *al-Mustazhiri*, al-Ghazālī fabricated his own elaborate 'Ismaili' system of graded initiation leading to the ultimate stage (*al-balāgh al-akbar*) of atheism.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, al-Ghazālī wrote several shorter works in refutation of the Ismailis, and his defamations were adopted by other Sunni writers who, like Nizām al-Mulk, were familiar with the earlier 'black legend' as well. It is interesting to note that the Nizārīs never responded to al-Ghazālī's polemics, but a detailed refutation of the *Mustazhiri* was much later written in Yaman by the fifth Ṭayyibī Musta'li *dā'ī* who died in 612/1215.<sup>11</sup> In any case, Sunni authors, including especially Saljūq chroniclers, participated actively in the renewed propaganda against the Ismailis, while Saljūq armies failed to dislodge the Nizārīs from their mountain fortresses.

By the opening decades of the 6th/12th century, the Ismaili community became divided and embarked on its own internal, Nizārī versus Musta'li, feuds. It is reported that Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ sent secret agents to Egypt to undermine the Musta'li *da'wa* there, while the Musta'li Ismailis, now supported by the Fatimid state, initiated their own campaign to refute the claims of Nizār b. al-Mustanšir (d. 488/1095) to the Ismaili imamate. In one anti-Nizārī polemical epistle, *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, issued in 516/1122 by the Fatimid caliph al-Āmir (495–524/1101–1130), the Nizārī Ismailis of Syria were for the first time referred to with the abusive designation of *hashīshiyya*, without any explanation.<sup>12</sup> This term was later applied to Syrian Nizārīs by a few Sunni historians, notably Abū Shāma (d. 665/1267) and Ibn Muyassar (d. 677/1278), without accusing them of actually using *hashīsh*, a product of hemp.<sup>13</sup> The Persian Nizārīs, too, were designated as *hashīshīs* in some Zaydī Arabic sources written in northern Persia during the Alamūt period.<sup>14</sup> It is important to note that in all the Muslim sources in which the Nizārīs are referred to as *hashīshīs*, this term is used only in its abusive, figurative sense of 'low-class rabble' and 'irreligious social outcast'. The literal interpretation of the term for the Nizārīs as users of *hashīsh* is rooted in the fantasies of medieval Europeans and

their 'imaginative ignorance' of Islam and the Ismailis. At any event, the Fatimids and the Syrian Nizārīs soon found a common enemy in the Christian Crusaders, who arrived in the Holy Land to liberate their co-religionists. The Crusaders seized Jerusalem, their primary target, in 492/1099, and subsequently, they founded four principalities in the Near East and engaged in extensive military and diplomatic encounters against the Fatimids in Egypt and the Nizārī Ismailis in Syria, with lasting consequences in terms of the distorted image of the Nizārīs in Europe.

The Syrian Nizārīs attained the peak of their power and fame under the leadership of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, who was their chief *dā'ī* for some three decades until his death in 589/1193. It was in the time of Sinān, the original 'Old Man of the Mountain' or 'Le Vieux de la Montagne' of the Crusader sources, that occidental chroniclers of the Crusades and a number of European travellers and diplomatic emissaries began to write about the Nizārī Ismailis, designated by them as the 'Assassins'. The very term Assassin, evidently based on the variants of the Arabic word *ḥashīshī* (plural, *ḥashīshīyya*) that was applied to the Nizārī Ismailis in a derogatory sense by other Muslims, was picked up locally in the Levant by the Crusaders and their European observers. At the same time, the Frankish circles and their occidental chroniclers, who were not interested in collecting accurate information about Islam as a religion and its internal divisions despite their proximity to Muslims, remained completely ignorant of Muslims in general and the Ismailis in particular. It was under such circumstances that the Frankish circles themselves began to fabricate and put into circulation both in the Latin Orient and in Europe a number of tales about the secret practices of the Ismailis. It is important to note that none of the variants of these tales are to be found in contemporary Muslim sources, including the most hostile ones, produced during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries.

The Crusaders were particularly impressed by the highly exaggerated reports and rumours of the Nizārī assassinations and the daring behaviour of their *fidā'īs*, the self-sacrificing devotees who carried out targeted missions in public places and normally lost their own lives in the process. It should be recalled that in the 6th/12th century, almost any assassination of any significance committed in the central Islamic lands was readily attributed to the daggers of the Nizārī *fidā'īs*. This

explains why these imaginative tales came to revolve around the recruitment and training of the *fidā'īs*; for they were meant to provide satisfactory explanations for behaviour that would otherwise seem irrational or strange to the medieval European mind. These so-called Assassin legends consisted of a number of separate but interconnected tales, including the 'paradise legend', the '*hashīsh* legend', and the 'death-leap legend'.<sup>15</sup> The legends developed in stages, receiving new embellishments at each successive stage, and finally culminated in a synthesis popularized by Marco Polo (d. 1324). The famous Venetian traveller added his own original contribution in the form of a 'secret garden of paradise', where bodily pleasures were supposedly procured for the *fidā'īs* with the aid of *hashīsh* by their mischievous and beguiling leader, the Old Man, as part of their indoctrination and training.<sup>16</sup>

Marco Polo's version of the Assassin legends, offered as a report obtained from reliable contemporary sources in Persia, was reiterated to various degrees by subsequent European writers, such as Odoric of Pordenone (d. 1331), as the standard description of the 'Old Man of the Mountain and his Assassins'. Strangely enough, it did not occur to any European that Marco Polo may have actually heard the tales in Italy after returning to Venice in 1295 from his journeys to the East – tales that were by then widespread in Europe and could already be at least partially traced to European antecedents on the subject – not to mention the possibility that the Assassin legends found in Marco Polo's travelogue may have been entirely inserted, as a digressionary note, by Rustichello of Pisa, the Italian romance writer who was actually responsible for committing the account of Marco Polo's travels to writing. No more can be said on this subject given the present state of our knowledge, especially as the original version of Marco Polo's travelogue written by Rustichello in a peculiar old French mixed with Italian has not been recovered. In this connection, it may also be noted that Marco Polo himself evidently revised his travelogue during the last twenty years of his life, at which time he could readily have appropriated the Assassin legends regarding the Syrian Nizārīs then current in Europe. In fact, it was Marco Polo who transferred the scene of the legends from Syria to Persia. The contemporary historian 'Aṭā-Malik Juwaynī (d. 681/1283), an avowed enemy of the Nizārīs who accompanied the Mongol conqueror Hülegü to Alamüt in 654/

1256 and personally inspected that fortress and its library before their destruction by the Mongols, does not report that he discovered any 'secret garden of paradise' there, as claimed in Marco Polo's famous account.

Different Assassin legends or components of particular tales were 'imagined' independently and at times concurrently by different authors, such as Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1212) and James of Vitry (d. 1240), and embellished over time. Starting with Burchard of Strassburg who visited Syria in 570/1175 as an envoy of the Hohenstaufen emperor of Germany, European travellers, chroniclers and envoys to the Latin East who had something to say about the 'Assassins' participated, as if in tacit collusion, in the process of fabricating, transmitting and legitimizing the legends. By the 8th/14th century, the legends had acquired wide currency and were accepted as reliable descriptions of secret Nizārī Ismaili practices, in much the same way as the earlier 'black legend' of Sunni polemicists had been accepted as accurate explanation of Ismaili motives, teachings and practices. Henceforth, the Nizārī Ismailis were portrayed in medieval European sources as a sinister order of drugged assassins bent on indiscriminate murder and terrorism.

In the meantime, the word 'assassin', instead of signifying the name of the Nizārī community in Syria, had acquired a new meaning in French, Italian and other European languages. It had become a common noun designating a professional murderer. With the advent of this usage, the origin of the term was soon forgotten in Europe, while the 'oriental sect' designated by that name in the Crusader sources continued to arouse interest among Europeans, mainly because of the enduring popularity of the Assassin legends which had indeed acquired an independent mythical life of their own. In this connection, mention should be made of Denis Lebey de Batilly's book, the first Western monograph devoted entirely to the subject.<sup>17</sup> Having become apprehensive of the existence of would-be assassins in the religious orders of Christendom, after the 1589 stabbing of Henry III of France by a Jacobian friar, the author had set out to compose this short treatise on the true origin of the word *assasin* and the history of the sect to which it originally belonged. Needless to add that this work represented a confused medley of a number of European accounts with Marco Polo's narrative. Henceforth, a number of European philologists and

lexicographers began to collect the variants of the term 'assassin', such as *assassini*, *assissini* and *heysseini*, occurring in medieval occidental sources, also proposing many strange etymologies. By the 12th/18th century, numerous etymologies of this term had become available, while the Ismailis in question had received a few more notices from the pens of travellers and missionaries to the East. In sum, by the beginning of the 13th/19th century, Europeans still perceived the Ismailis in an utterly confused and fanciful manner.<sup>18</sup>

The orientalist of the nineteenth century, led by Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), began their more scholarly study of Islam on the basis of the Arabic manuscripts which were written mainly by Sunni authors. As a result, they studied Islam according to the Sunni viewpoint and, borrowing classifications from Christian contexts, treated Shi'ism as the 'heterodox' interpretation of Islam by contrast to Sunnism which was taken to represent 'orthodoxy'. It was mainly on this basis, as well as the continued attraction of the seminal Assassin legends, that the orientalist launched their own study of the Ismailis. Nevertheless, Étienne M. Quatremère (1782–1857), one of the most learned orientalist of the period, did manage to produce a number of historical studies on the Fatimids. It was left for de Sacy, however, to finally solve the mystery of the name 'Assassin' in his famous *Memoir*;<sup>19</sup> he also produced important studies on early Ismailis as background materials for his major work on the Druze religion, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes* (1838). Although the orientalist correctly identified the Ismailis as a Shi'i Muslim community, they were still obliged to study them exclusively on the basis of the hostile Sunni sources and the fictitious occidental accounts of the Crusader circles. Consequently, the orientalist, too, tacitly lent their own seal of approval to the myths of the Ismailis, namely, the anti-Ismaili 'black legend' of the medieval Sunni polemicists and the Assassin legends of the Crusaders.

Indeed, de Sacy's distorted evaluation of the Ismailis, though unintentional, set the frame within which other orientalist of the nineteenth century studied the medieval history of the Ismailis. The orientalist's interest in the Ismailis had now received a fresh impetus from the anti-Ismaili accounts of the then newly-discovered Sunni chronicles which seemed to complement the Assassin legends contained in the occidental sources familiar to them. It was under such circumstances that misrepresentation and plain fiction came to

permeate the first Western book devoted exclusively to the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period written by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856). This Austrian orientalist-diplomat endorsed Marco Polo's narrative in its entirety as well as all the medieval defamations levelled against the Ismailis by their Sunni enemies. Originally published in German in 1818, this book achieved great success in Europe and continued to be treated as the standard history of the Nizārī Ismailis until the 1930s.<sup>20</sup> With rare exceptions, notably the French orientalist Charles F. Defrémery (1822–1883) who produced valuable historical studies on the Nizārīs of Syria and Persia,<sup>21</sup> the Ismailis continued to be misrepresented to various degrees by later orientalists such as Michael J. de Goeje (1836–1909), who made valuable contributions to the study of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn but whose incorrect interpretation of Fatimid-Qarmaṭī relations was generally adopted.<sup>22</sup> Orientalism, thus, gave a new lease of life to the myths surrounding the Ismailis; and this deplorable state of Ismaili studies remained essentially unchanged until the 1930s. Even an eminent scholar like Edward G. Browne (1862–1926), who covered the Ismailis rather tangentially in his magnificent survey of Persian literature, could not resist reiterating the orientalist tales of his predecessors on the Ismailis.<sup>23</sup> As a result, Westerners continued unwittingly to refer to the Nizārī Ismailis as the Assassins, a misnomer rooted in a medieval pejorative neologism.<sup>24</sup>

The breakthrough in Ismaili studies had to await the recovery and study of genuine Ismaili texts on a large scale – manuscript sources which had been preserved secretly in numerous private collections. A few Ismaili manuscripts of Syrian provenance had already surfaced in Paris during the nineteenth century, and some fragments of these works were studied and published there by Stanislas Guyard (1824–1884) and other orientalists.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, Paul Casanova (1861–1926), who produced important studies on the Fatimids and the Nizārī coins, was the first European orientalist to have recognized the Ismaili affiliation of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, a portion of which had found its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>26</sup> Earlier, the German orientalist Friedrich Dieterici (1821–1903) had published many portions of the *Rasā'il*, with German translation, without recognizing their Ismaili connection. More Ismaili manuscripts preserved in Yaman and Central Asia were recovered in the opening decades



of the twentieth century by Giuseppe Caprotti (1869–1919), Ivan I. Zarubin (1887–1964) and others.<sup>27</sup> In particular, a number of Nizārī texts were collected from Shughnān, Rūshān and other districts of Badakhshān (now divided by the Oxus River between Tajikistan and Afghanistan) and studied by Aleksandr A. Semenov (1873–1958), the Russian pioneer in Ismaili studies from Tashkent.<sup>28</sup> The Ismaili manuscripts of Central Asian provenance found their way to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, now part of the collections of the Institute of Oriental Studies there. However, by 1922, when the first Western bibliography of Ismaili writings was prepared by the foremost French pioneer in Shi‘i and Ismaili studies, Louis Massignon (1883–1962), knowledge of European libraries and scholarly circles about Ismaili literature was still very limited.<sup>29</sup>

Modern scholarship in Ismaili studies was actually initiated in the 1930s in India, where significant collections of Ismaili manuscripts have been preserved by the Ismaili Bohra community. This breakthrough resulted mainly from the pioneering efforts of Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970), and a few Ismaili Bohra scholars, notably Asaf A.A. Fyzee (1899–1981), Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī (1901–1962) and Zāhid ‘Alī (1888–1958), all of whom based their original studies on their family collections of manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> Asaf Fyzee, who studied law at Cambridge University and belonged to the most learned Sulaymānī Ṭayyibī family of Ismaili Bohras in India, in fact, made modern scholars aware of the existence of an independent Ismaili school of jurisprudence. Among his numerous publications on the subject,<sup>31</sup> Fyzee produced a critical edition of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān’s major work, *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, which served as the legal code of the Fatimid state and is still used by the Ṭayyibī Ismailis of India, Pakistan, Yaman and elsewhere. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, belonging to an eminent Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī family of scholars with Yamanī origins and who received his doctorate from London University, was a pioneer in producing a number of studies based on Ismaili sources, calling the attention of modern scholars to the existence of this unique literary heritage. Zāhid ‘Alī hailed from another learned Dā’ūdī Bohra family and was for many years the principal of the Nizām College at Hyderabad after receiving his doctorate from Oxford University, where he produced a critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the Ismaili poet Ibn Hānī’ as his doctoral thesis. He was also the first author in modern times to have produced in Urdu, on the basis

of a variety of Ismaili sources, a scholarly study of Fatimid history and a work on Ismaili doctrines.<sup>32</sup>

Wladimir Ivanow, who eventually settled in Bombay after leaving his native Russia in 1917, collaborated closely with the above-mentioned Bohra scholars and succeeded, through his own connections within the Khoja community, to gain access to Nizārī literature as well. Consequently, he compiled the first detailed catalogue of Ismaili works, citing some 700 separate titles which attested to the hitherto unknown richness and diversity of Ismaili literature and intellectual traditions. The initiation of modern scholarship in Ismaili studies may indeed be traced to the publication of this very catalogue in 1933, which provided a scientific frame for further research in the field.<sup>33</sup> In the same year, Ivanow founded in Bombay the Islamic Research Association with the help of Fyzee and other Ismaili friends. Several Ismaili works appeared in the series of publications sponsored by the Islamic Research Association which was subsequently transformed into the Ismaili Society of Bombay. Ismaili scholarship received a major impetus through the establishment in 1946 of the Ismaili Society under the patronage of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (1877–1957), the forty-eighth imam of the Nizārī Ismailis. Ivanow played a crucial role in the creation of the Ismaili Society whose various series of publications were mainly devoted to his own monographs as well as editions and translations of Persian Nizārī Ismaili texts.<sup>34</sup> He also acquired a large number of Persian and Arabic manuscripts for the Ismaili Society's Library, which were transferred to The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library in London during the early 1980s.

By 1963, when Ivanow published a revised edition of his Ismaili catalogue, many more sources had become known and progress in Ismaili studies had accelerated considerably.<sup>35</sup> In addition to many studies by Ivanow and the Bohra pioneers in the field, numerous Ismaili texts now began to be critically edited by other scholars, preparing the ground for further progress in this relatively new area of Islamic studies. In this connection, particular mention should be made of the Ismaili texts of Fatimid and later times edited together with French translations and analytical introductions by Henry Corbin (1903–1978), published simultaneously in Tehran and Paris in his 'Bibliothèque Iranienne' series;<sup>36</sup> and the Fatimid texts edited by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (1901–1961) and

published in his 'Silsilat Makhṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn' series in Cairo.<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to note that it was in Cairo, the capital city founded by the Fatimids, that Paul Kraus (1904–1944), another pioneer in the field, kindled Corbin's interest in Ismailism, as M. Kāmil Ḥusayn was to do for Wilferd Madelung who, later, studied also under Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960), an important German authority on Shi'i and Ismaili studies.

Meanwhile, a number of Russian scholars, notably Andrey E. Bertel's and Lyudmila V. Stroeve (1910–1993), had maintained the earlier interests of their compatriots in Ismaili studies. In Syria, 'Arif Tāmir (1921–1998), who belonged to the small Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī community there, made the Ismaili texts of Syrian provenance available to scholars, as did his Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī compatriot Muṣṭafā Ghālib (1923–1981). A number of European scholars, such as Marius Canard (1888–1982) and several Egyptians including Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan (1892–1968), Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (1911–1967), Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr (1911–1992) and 'Abd al-Mun'im Mājīd (1920–1999) made further contributions to Fatimid studies.<sup>38</sup> Ivanow himself as well as Bernard Lewis had earlier produced important studies on the Ismaili background to the establishment of Fatimid rule.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Yves Marquet embarked on a lifelong study of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and their *Rasā'il*. Subsequently, Alessandro Bausani (1921–1988) and his student Carmela Baffioni, among others, contributed to the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' studies, while Abbas Hamdani expounded his own distinct views in a body of articles. Concentrating his research on the authorship and dating of the *Rasā'il*, Professor Hamdani has essentially maintained that these epistles were composed by a group of Ismaili *dā'īs* just prior to the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate in 297/909.<sup>40</sup> There are other scholars, however, like I.R. Netton, who dispute the Ismaili origin of the *Rasā'il*.<sup>41</sup>

By the mid-1950s, progress in the field had already enabled Marshall G.S. Hodgson (1922–1968) to produce the first scholarly and comprehensive study of the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period, albeit mistitled as *The Order of Assassins* (1955). Soon, others representing a new generation of scholars, notably Samuel M. Stern (1920–1969) and Wilferd Madelung, produced pathbreaking studies, especially on the early Ismailis and their relations with the dissident Qarmaṭīs.<sup>42</sup> A number of Stern's major Ismaili articles, together with

some of his unpublished work, were collected in his *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism* (1983). Professor Madelung clarified many obscure aspects of early Ismailism in two seminal articles;<sup>43</sup> and, among his many later contributions to the field, he summed up the current state of research on Ismaili history in his article 'Ismāʿīliyya', written for the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Progress in Ismaili studies has proceeded at a rapid pace during the last few decades through the efforts of yet another generation of scholars such as Pio Filippani-Ronconi, Ismail K. Poonawala, Heinz Halm, Paul E. Walker, Azim Nanji, Thierry Bianquis, Michael Brett, Yaacov Lev, Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, Farhat Dachraoui and Mohammed Yalaoui, some of whom have devoted their attention mainly to Fatimid studies. The progress in the recovery and study of Ismaili literature is well reflected in Professor Poonawala's monumental *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīli Literature* (1977), which identifies some 1300 titles written by more than 200 authors. This progress has received further impetus from the recovery, or accessibility, of yet more Ismaili manuscripts. For instance, hundreds of Ismaili manuscripts preserved by the Nizārīs of Tajik Badakhshān were recovered during 1959–63,<sup>44</sup> and in the 1990s many more manuscripts were identified in Shughnān and other districts of the same region through the efforts of The Institute of Ismaili Studies. Many Ismaili texts have now been published in critical editions, while numerous secondary studies of Ismaili history and thought have been produced by at least three successive generations of scholars. Meanwhile, the Satpanth Ismaili tradition of the Nizārī Khojas, as reflected in the *ginān* literature, has provided yet another highly specialized area within Ismaili studies. In particular, A. Nanji and Ali Asani have made valuable contributions here. There are also those newcomers to the field, such as Pieter Smoor, Daniel de Smet, Christian Jambet, Michel Boivin and Paula Sanders, who are already making contributions to different aspects of Ismailism.

Scholarship in Ismaili studies is set to continue at an ever greater pace as the Ismailis themselves are becoming increasingly interested in studying their literary heritage and history – a phenomenon attested by the growing number of Ismaili-related doctoral dissertations written in recent decades by Ismailis. In this context, a major contribution is made by The Institute of Ismaili Studies, established in London in 1977 by H.H. Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, the present imam of the

Nizārī Ismailis. This institution is already serving as the central point of reference for Ismaili studies while making its own contributions through various programmes of research and publications. Amongst these, particular mention should be made of the monographs appearing in the Institute's 'Ismaili Heritage Series' which aims to make available to wide audiences the results of modern scholarship on the Ismailis and their intellectual and cultural traditions; and the 'Ismaili Texts and Translations Series' in which critical editions of Arabic and Persian texts are published together with English translations and contextualizing introductions.<sup>45</sup> Numerous scholars worldwide participate in these academic programmes, as well as in the recently initiated series devoted to the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (critical edition and English translation), and many more benefit from the accessibility of the Ismaili manuscripts held at the Institute's library, representing the largest collection of its kind in the West.<sup>46</sup> With these modern developments, the scholarly study of the Ismailis, which by the closing decades of the twentieth century had already greatly deconstructed and explained the seminal anti-Ismaili legends of medieval times, promises to dissipate the remaining misrepresentations of the Ismailis rooted either in hostility or the imaginative ignorance of earlier generations.

### Notes

1. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vol. 25, ed., M.J.'A. al-Ḥinī et al. (Cairo, 1984), pp. 187–317; Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar*, vol. 6, ed., Ṣ. al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1961), pp. 6–21, 44–156, and Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, vol. 1, ed., J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), pp. 22–29, 151–202.
2. Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-fīraq*, ed., M. Badr (Cairo, 1328/1910), pp. 265–299; English trans., *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, part II, tr., A.S. Halkin (Tel Aviv, 1935), pp. 107–157.
3. See al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Kitāb fīraq al-Shī'a*, ed., H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), pp. 37–41, 57–60, and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-fīraq*, ed., M.J. Mashkūr (Tehran, 1963), pp. 50–55, 63–64, 80–83.
4. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed., M.R. Tajaddud (2nd ed., Tehran, 1973), pp. 238, 240.

5. Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 277–279; tr., Halkin, pp. 130–132.
6. See Stern, “The ‘Book of the Highest Initiation’ and Other Anti-Ismā‘īli Travesties”, in his *Studies in Early Ismā‘īlism*, (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1983), pp. 56–83.
7. See W. Madelung, “Ḳarmaṭī”, *EI*2, vol. 4, pp. 660–665, and F. Daftary, “Carmatians”, *EIR*, vol. 4, pp. 823–832.
8. W. Ivanow produced a number of pioneering studies on this “black legend”, see especially his *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism* (Bombay, 1946).
9. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-mulūk (Siyāsat-nāma)*, ed., H. Darke (2nd ed., Tehran, 1347 Sh./1968), p. 311; English trans., *The Book of Government; or, Rules for Kings*, tr., H. Darke (2nd ed., London, 1978), p. 231.
10. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Faḍā’ih al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed., ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo, 1964), pp. 21–36.
11. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, *Dāmigh al-bāṭil wa-ḥatf al-munādil*, ed., M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1403/1982), 2 vols.; see also H. Corbin, “The Ismā‘īli Response to the Polemic of Ghazālī”, in S.H. Nasr, ed., *Ismā‘īli Contributions to Islamic Culture* (Tehran, 1977), pp. 69–98 and F. Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis* (London, 2001).
12. Abū ‘Alī al-Manṣūr al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, *Risālat iqā‘ ṣawā‘iq al-irghām*, in al-Āmir’s *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, ed., A.A.A. Fyzee (London, etc., 1938), pp. 27, 32; reprinted in *Majmū‘at al-wathā’iq al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed., J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1958), pp. 233, 239.
13. Abū Shāma Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ismā‘īl, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn* (Cairo, 1287–88/1870–71), vol. 1, pp. 240, 258, and Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed., A. Fu‘ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), p. 102.
14. See W. Madelung (ed.), *Arabic Texts Concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gilān* (Beirut, 1987), pp. 146, 239.
15. For a survey of these legends, see F. Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma‘īlis* (London, 1994), especially pp. 88–127.
16. Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ed. and tr., H. Yule, 3rd revised ed. by H. Cordier (London, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 139–146.
17. D. Lebey de Batilly, *Traité de l’origine des anciens Assassins porte-couteaux* (Lyon, 1603); reprinted in *Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l’histoire de France*, ed., C. Leber (Paris, 1838), vol. 20, pp. 453–501.
18. See, for instance, Camille Falconet, “Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple d’Asie”, in *Mémoires de Littérature, tirés des registres de l’Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 17 (1751), pp. 127–170; English trans.,

“A Dissertation on the Assassins, a People of Asia”, in John of Joinville, *Memoirs of John Lord de Joinville*, tr., T. Johnes (Hafod, 1807), vol. 2, pp. 287–328, and Simone Assemani, *Ragguaglio storico-critico sopra la setta Assassiana, detta volgarmente degli Assassini* (Padua, 1806).

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21. C.F. DeFrémery, “Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismaéliens ou Bathiniens de Syrie, plus connus sur le nom d'Assassins”, *JA*, 5 série, 3 (1854), pp. 373–421; 5 (1855), pp. 5–76, and his “Essai sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens ou Batinien de la Perse, plus connus sur le nom d'Assassins”, *JA*, 5 série, 8 (1856), pp. 353–387; 15 (1860), pp. 130–210.

22. Michael Jan de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides* (Leiden, 1862; 2nd ed., Leiden, 1886).

23. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1902–24), vol. 1, pp. 391–415; vol. 2, pp. 190–211, 453–460. See also the anonymous article “Assassins”, in *EI*, vol. 1, pp. 491–492.

24. Freya Stark (1893–1993), the celebrated traveller to the Alamūt valley entitled her travelogue *The Valleys of the Assassins* (London, 1934), where she also cited von Hammer as a main authority on the Nizārī Ismailis (p. 228). Also, Professor Bernard Lewis, who has made valuable contributions to Ismaili studies, persistently designated the Nizārīs as the Assassins; see his “The Sources for the History of the Syrian Assassins”, *Speculum*, 27 (1952), pp. 475–489; reprinted in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam* (London, 1976), article VIII, and *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London, 1967), which has been translated into a number of European languages, always retaining variants of the name Assassins, such as *Les Assassins* (Paris, 1982), *Die Assassinen* (Frankfurt, 1989) and *Gli assassini* (Milan, 1992).

25. S. Guyard (ed.), *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis* (Paris, 1874), and his “Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin”, *JA*, 7 série, 9 (1877), pp. 324–489.

26. P. Casanova, “Notice sur un manuscrit de la secte des Assassins”, *JA*, 9 série, 11 (1898), pp. 151–159.

27. E. Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften," *ZDMG*, 69 (1915), especially pp. 80–88, and V.A. Ivanov (W. Ivanow), "Ismailitskie rukopisi Aziatskago Muzeya. Sobranie I. Zarubina, 1916g.," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Russie*, 6 série, 11 (1917), pp. 359–386; English summary in E. Denison Ross, "W. Ivanow, Ismaili MSS in the Asiatic Museum," *JRAS* (1919), pp. 429–435.

28. A.A. Semenov, "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisey, sobrannikh A.A. Semyonovim," *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 6 série, 12 (1918), pp. 2171–2202.

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30. Subsequently, these collections were made available to scholars at large. Asaf Fyzee donated some 200 manuscripts to the Bombay University Library; see M. Goriawala, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fyzee Collection of Ismaili Manuscripts* (Bombay, 1965), and A.A.A. Fyzee, "A Collection of Fatimid Manuscripts," in N.N. Gidwani, ed., *Comparative Librarianship: Essays in Honour of Professor D.N. Marshall* (Delhi, 1973), pp. 209–220. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī also donated part of his family's manuscript collection to the Bombay University, which remains uncatalogued, while a portion remains in the possession of his son, Professor Abbas Hamdani, who has generously made these texts accessible to scholars. The Zāhid 'Alī collection of some 226 Arabic Ismaili manuscripts was donated in 1997 to The Institute of Ismaili Studies; see D. Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zāhid 'Alī Collection in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London, 2003).

31. See F. Daftary, "The Bibliography of Asaf A.A. Fyzee," *Indo-Iranica*, 37 (1984), pp. 49–63.

32. Zāhid 'Alī, *Ta'rikh-i Fāṭimiyyīn-i Miṣr* (Hyderabad, 1367/1948), 2 vols., and his *Hamāre Ismā'īlī madhhab kī ḥaqīqat awr uskā nizām* (Hyderabad, 1373/1954).

33. W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (London, 1933).

34. See the following articles by F. Daftary: "Bibliography of the Publications of the late W. Ivanow," *IC*, 45 (1971), pp. 56–67; 56 (1982), pp. 239–240; "W. Ivanow: A Biographical Notice," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 8 (1972), pp. 241–244; "Anjoman-e Esmā'īlī," *EIR*, vol. 2, p. 84, and "Ivanow, Wladimir," *EIR* (forthcoming).

35. W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (Tehran, 1963), covering some 929 titles.

36. This series was launched with Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī's *Kashf al-*



*mahjūb*, ed., H. Corbin (Tehran and Paris, 1949).

37. The first text to be published here was *al-Majālis al-Mustanşiriyya*, ed., M.K. Ḥusayn (Cairo, [1947]); as shown by S.M. Stern, this represents the collected lectures that Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Ḥākīm b. Wahb al-Mālījī delivered as the *majālis al-ḥikma* in the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mustanşir's time.

38. See F. Daftary, "Marius Canard (1888–1982): A Bio-bibliographical Notice", *Arabica*, 33 (1986), pp. 251–262; A. Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd* (2nd ed., Cairo, 2000), pp. 76–92, and P.E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London, 2002), pp. 186–202.

39. See, for instance, W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (London, etc., 1942), and B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism* (Cambridge, 1940).

40. For summaries of A. Hamdani's views on this subject, see his "Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī and the Brethren of Purity", *IJMES*, 9 (1978), pp. 345–353, and his "Brethren of Purity, a Secret Society for the Establishment of Fāṭimid Caliphate: New Evidence for the Early Dating of their Encyclopaedia", in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide, son art et son histoire* (Paris, 1999), pp. 73–82.

41. Ian R. Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā')* (London, 1982), especially pp. 95–108.

42. See J.D. Latham and H.W. Mitchell, "The Bibliography of S.M. Stern", *JSS*, 15 (1970), pp. 226–238; reprinted with additions in S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern*, ed., L.P. Harvey (Oxford, 1974), pp. 231–245, and F. Daftary, "Bibliography of the Works of Wilferd Madelung", in F. Daftary and J.W. Meri, ed., *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung* (London, 2003), pp. 5–40.

43. W. Madelung, "Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen", *Der Islam*, 34 (1959), pp. 34–88; slightly revised English trans., "The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn", in *MIHT*, pp. 21–73, and his "Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre", *Der Islam*, 37 (1961), pp. 43–135.

44. See, for instance, A.E. Bertel's and M. Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue of Manuscripts found by 1959–1963 Expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region*, ed., B.G. Gafurov and A.M. Mirzoev (Moscow, 1967). The Persian Ismaili manuscripts of The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library are now in the process of being catalogued.

45. These series were launched, respectively, with P.E. Walker's *Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī: Intellectual Missionary* (London, 1996), and Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-munāẓarāt*, ed. and tr., W. Madelung and P.E. Walker as *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness* (London, 2000).

For a complete listing, see The Institute of Ismaili Studies, Department of Academic Research and Publications, *Catalogue of Publications, 2003–2004* (London, 2003). See also P.E. Walker, “The Institute of Ismaili Studies,” *EIR* (forthcoming).

46. See A. Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London, 1984), vol. 1; D. Cortese, *Ismaili and Other Arabic Manuscripts: A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London, 2000), and her already-cited *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zāhid ‘Alī Collection in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*.

## Primary Sources

The Ismailis have produced a relatively substantial and diversified literature on a variety of subjects and religious themes in different periods of their history. These texts range from a few historical and biographical works of the *sīra* genre, legal compendia, poetry, and treatises on the central Shi'ī doctrine of the imamate, to complex esoteric and metaphysical works culminating in the gnostic system of the Ismaili *ḥaqā'iq*, with its cyclical history, cosmology, eschatology, soteriology, etc. From early on, a good portion of the Ismaili literature related to *ta'wīl*, esoteric or allegorical interpretation of the Qur'anic passages and prescriptions of the *sharī'a*. Some of the *dā'īs* of the Iranian lands, such as Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw elaborated a distinct Shi'ī intellectual tradition amalgamating their Ismaili theology (*kalām*) with a variety of philosophical traditions.

After the classical texts of the Fatimid period, produced mainly by the Ismaili *dā'īs*, works on the *ḥaqā'iq* occupied a central place in the literary activities of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis of Yaman, who maintained many of the Fatimid traditions, while the Nizārī Ismailis concerned themselves more particularly with the doctrine of *ta'lim*, or authoritative guidance of their imam, and ideas related to the declaration of *qiyāma*, or spiritual resurrection, in their community. In later medieval times, the Nizārīs of the post-Alamūt period often adopted

Sufi idioms and poetic forms for expressing their Ismaili ideas. At the same time, the Nizārīs of the Indian subcontinent elaborated a distinct literary tradition, in a variety of Indian languages, in the form of devotional hymns known as *gināns*.

Many of the Ismaili manuscript resources, written mainly in Arabic and Persian languages, have been recovered, edited, translated and published since the middle of the twentieth century. These publications provide the subject matter of Section A of this chapter. It is to be noted that only published works are included here; for other Ismaili titles which remain unpublished, the reader should consult I.K. Poonawala's *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature* (1977). Full details of the collective volumes in which some of the Ismaili texts have been published are cited in "Collective Ismaili Works" in Section B of this chapter. For other full references, see Chapter 4: Studies. With the major exception of the Syrian Nizārīs, the Nizārī authors of the post-8th/14th-century period named in Section A belong to the Qāsim-Shāhī, as distinct from the Muḥammad-Shāhī (Mu'minī), branch of Nizārī Ismailism.

In addition to covering a number of anonymous and pseudo-Ismaili works (Section C), and the publications related to the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Section D), the final part (Section E) of this chapter is devoted to a selection of published works on Ismailis written by non-Ismaili Muslim authors. The Ismailis are treated rather pejoratively in numerous medieval works of Muslim heresiographers, polemicists, theologians, jurists and historians who were mostly of Sunni persuasion. Only a selection of the most important publications in this category are covered in this chapter. Medieval Europeans, especially chroniclers of the Crusades and travellers, too, have made brief and passing, often fanciful, references to the Ismailis, notably to the Syrian Nizārīs. These works provide another suitable field of bibliographical study but are excluded from our coverage.

## A. Works by Ismaili Authors

### Abu'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb (d. ca. 411/1020), Ismaili *dā'ī* in Syria

- *al-Risāla fi'l-imāma*, ed. and English trans., Sami Nasib Makarem as *The Political Doctrine of the Ismā'īlīs (The Imamate)*. Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1977. pp. x + 104 (English) + 41 (Arabic). Excerpt, ed. and French trans., André Ferré, in his “Le traité sur l'imāmat”, *Études Arabes: Dossiers*, 84–85 (1993), pp. 80–89.

A theological work containing replies to sixteen questions dealing with various aspects of the imamate.

### Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-Qāḍī Naṣr al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530 or 947/1540), Nizārī *dā'ī* in Syria

- *Faṣl min al-lafẓ al-sharīf*, see Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān
- *Kitāb al-īḍāh*, see Abū Tammām, *Kitāb al-shajara*
- *Risālat maṭāli' al-shumūs fi ma'rifat al-nufūs*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr, in his *Arba' rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, pp. 27–57.

A short theological treatise on *tawhīd*, the creation, the soul, eschatology (*ma'ād*) and the Ismaili oath (*'ahd*) of allegiance.

### Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, see al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim

### Abu'l-Haytham Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Jurjānī, Khwāja (fl. 4th/10th century), Persian Ismaili author

- *Qaṣīda*, ed., Mujtabā Mīnuvī, in *Yādigār*, 2, no. 8 (1325 Sh./1946), pp. 9–21; also in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Kitāb-i jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, ed., H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn, pp. 19–30; French trans., Isabelle de Gastines as *Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse*, pp. 50–57; also in Muḥammad b. Surkh Nishāpūrī, *Sharḥ-i qaṣīda-yi Fārsī*, ed., H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn, scattered throughout the text, pp. 2–106.

This *Qaṣīda*, in eighty-two verses in response to questions, deals with a variety of theological and philosophical subjects.

**Abū Ishāq (Ibrāhīm) Quhistānī**  
(d. after 904/1498), Nizārī *dā'ī* in Persia

- *Haft bāb-i Abū Ishāq*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow. Ismaili Society Series A, no. 10. Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1959. pp. 27 (English) + 85 (English) + 68 (Persian).

One of the earliest doctrinal texts produced during the Anjudān revival in Persian Nizārī Ismailism. After an autobiographical *bāb*, this work in seven chapters (*haft bāb*) deals with the seventy-two erring sects, the Ismailis as the only salvaged community, prophethood, the revelation of the Qur'an and its esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*), imamate, era of concealment (*satr*), resurrection (*qiyāmat*), eschatology (*ma'ād*), spiritual and physical worlds, hierarchy of ranks from *mustajīb* to imam, etc.

**Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī (al-Sijzī), see al-Sijistānī, Abū Ya'qūb**

**Abū Tammām [Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī]**  
(fl. 4th/10th century), Ismaili (Qarmaṭī) *dā'ī* in Khurāsān

- *Kitāb al-shajara*, partial ed. and English trans., Wilferd Madelung and Paul Ernest Walker as *An Ismaili Heresiography: The "Bāb al-shayṭān" from Abū Tammām's Kitāb al-shajara*. Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, 23. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998. pp. xi + 134 (English) + 143 (Arabic); partial edition, wrongly attributed to the Syrian Nizārī *dā'ī* Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530 or 947/1540), as *Kitāb al-īdāh*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1965. pp. 12 + 164; a second partial edition of the same second part of the *Kitāb al-shajara*, this time wrongly attributed to the early Ismaili *dā'ī* 'Abdān (d. ca. 286/899), as *Shajarat al-yaqīn*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1402/1982. pp. 165.

The first part of the *Kitāb al-shajara* is comprised of a heresiography of the seventy-two erring sects in Islam in its third chapter on Satan. Other chapters of the first part relate to the following classes of beings: angels, jinn, devils and humans. The text of the second part, as edited by Tāmīr, starts in the middle of the section on devils and continues to a discussion of humans in potentiality and actuality. Abū Tammām's heresiography, as edited by Madelung and Walker on the basis of its single known manuscript, contains information on the following

communities: Mu‘tazila (six sects), the Khawārij (fourteen sects), Ḥadīthiyya or *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (four sects), Qadariyya or Mujbira (five sects), Mushabbihā (thirteen sects), Murji‘a (six sects), Zaydiyya (five sects), Kaysāniyya (four sects), ‘Abbāsiyya (two sects), Ghāliya (eight sects), and Imāmiyya (five sects). Abū Tammām’s descriptions of eight sects are unique, and for several others add much to known details about them; see Walker, “An Isma‘ili Version of the Heresiography of the Seventy-two Erring Sects”, in *MIHT*, pp. 161–177.

**Abu’l-Ma‘ālī Ḥātim b. ‘Imrān (or Maḥmūd) b. Zahrā**  
(d. 497 or 498/1103–5), Syrian Ismaili author

- *Risālat al-uṣūl wa’l-aḥkāṃ*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr, in his *Khams rasā’il Ismā‘īliyya*, pp. 99–143.

A theological treatise on prophetic eras and religious duties with their esoteric interpretations (*ta’wīl*).

**Āghā Khān Maḥallātī, Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh**  
(d. 1302/1885), Nizārī imam

- *‘Ibrat-afzā*, lithographed, Bombay, 1278/1862. pp. 79; ed., Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī. *Intishārāt-i Rūznāma-yi Nasīm-i Ṣabā*, 32. Tehran: n.p., 1325 Sh./1946. pp. xxxii + 100; also in M. Sā‘ī, *Āqā Khān Maḥallātī*, pp. 25–68.

This biography of the first Āghā Khān, the forty-sixth (Qāsim-Shāhī) Nizārī imam, written in the manner of an autobiography, was evidently compiled in India by Mīrzā Aḥmad Viqār b. Viṣāl Shīrāzī (d. 1298/1881) who stayed briefly with the imam in Bombay in 1266/1850. This work is particularly valuable for details relating to the Āghā Khān’s early life and the events leading to his conflict with the Qājār ruling establishment in Persia which culminated in his permanent settlement in British India in the 1840s.

**‘Alī b. Ḥanzala b. Abī Sālīm al-Maḥfūzī al-Wādī‘ī al-Hamdānī**  
(d. 626/1229), Ṭayyibī *dā‘ī muṭlaq* in Yaman

- *Ḍiyā’ al-ḥulūm wa-miṣbāḥ al-‘ulūm*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālīb, in his *Arba’ kutub ḥaqqāniyya*, pp. 77–111.

Divided into four chapters, this work on the *ḥaqā'iq* deals with *tawḥīd*, the creation, eschatology (*ma'ād*) and other theological issues.

- *Simṭ al-ḥaqā'iq* (*fī 'aqā'id al-Ismā'īliyya*), ed., 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1953. pp. 67.

This short versified work deals with *tawḥīd*, the creation, the seven spheres, eras of religious history and eschatology (*ma'ād*), amongst other themes found normally in such Yamanī Ṭayyibī writings on the *ḥaqā'iq*.

**‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, see Ibn al-Walīd,  
‘Alī b. Muḥammad**

**‘Āmir b. ‘Āmir al-Baṣrī  
(d. after 700/1300), Syrian Ismaili poet**

- *Tā'iyyat ‘Āmir b. ‘Āmir al-Baṣrī*, ed., ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1367/1948. pp. 103; ed., ‘Ārif Tāmir as *al-Qaṣīda al-tā'iyya*, in his *Arba' rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, pp. 103–133; ed. and French trans., Yves Marquet as *Poésie ésoterique Ismailienne. La Tā'iyya de ‘Āmir b. ‘Āmir al-Baṣrī*. Islam d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 26. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1985. pp. 242.

A long didactic poem in 506 verses on Ismaili subjects related to the *ḥaqā'iq*, including *tawḥīd*, the creation, cycles of prophethood, imamate and eschatology.

**al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, Abū ‘Alī Maṣṣūr  
(d. 524/1130), Fatimid caliph and Musta‘li imam**

- *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya fī ibṭāl da'wat al-Nizāriyya*, ed., Asaf A.A. Fyze. Islamic Research Association Series, no.7. London, etc.: Published for the Islamic Research Association by H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938. pp. 18 (English) + 26 (Arabic); reprinted in *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed., J. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 203–230, analysis pp. 47–67.

The *Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, based on the proceedings of a meeting held in Cairo at the Fatimid palace in 516/1122 and written down by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), is a polemical epistle against the claims of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir (d. 488/1095) to the Ismaili imamate. This epistle is the



earliest official document upholding the rights of al-Āmir's father, al-Musta'li, and refuting the claims of Nizār and his descendants to the imamate; see S.M. Stern, "The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir", pp. 20–31.

- *Risālat iqā' sawā'iq al-irghām*, ed., Asaf A.A. Fyzee, together with al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh's *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, pp. 27–39; reprinted in *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed., J. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 231–247, analysis pp. 68–70.

This additional epistle against the Nizārī claims to the imamate was written in refutation of a Nizārī reply produced in Syria to the earlier *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*.

### **Badakhshānī, Sayyid Suhrāb Vali**

**(d. after 856/1452), Central Asian Nizārī author**

- *Sī va shish ṣaḥīfa*, ed., Hūshang Ujāqī, with an English Foreword by W. Ivanow. Ismaili Society Series A, no.12. Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1961. pp. 15 (English) + 84 (Persian).

Preserved by the Nizārīs of Central Asia and in some of its manuscripts referred to also as the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāzirīn*, this work is a typical representation of the Badakhshānī Nizārī tradition. It deals with the creation, prophethood, revelation (*tanzīl*) and its esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*), resurrection (*qiyāmat*) and eschatology (*ma'ād*), salvation, Paradise and Hell, with scattered references to Naṣir-i Khusraw and his teachings.

### **al-Bharūchī (or al-Bharūjī), Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Hindī**

**(d. 939/1533), Ṭayyibī Bohra author in India**

- *Kitāb al-azhār wa-majma' al-anwār*, vol. 1, ed., 'Ādil al-'Awwā, in his *Muntakhabāt Ismā'iliyya*, pp. 181–250; for part of vol. 6, see Ibn al-Haytham, *Kitāb al-munāzarāt*.

Part of a seven-volume anthology of Ismaili literature compiled between 931/1524 and 933/1527. The first volume of the *Kitāb al-azhār* deals with prophethood, imamate and aspects of the Ismaili *da'wa*; see I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 179–183.

**Birjandī, Raʿīs Ḥasan b. Ṣalāḥ Munshī**  
(fl. 7th/13th century), Persian Nizārī historian and poet

- *Ashʿār*, selection, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow, in his “An Ismaili Poem in Praise of Fidawis”, *JBRAS*, NS, 14 (1938), pp. 63–72.  
A poem in praise of *fidāʿīs* who killed Atabeg Qizil Arslān, governor of Ādharbāyjan, in 587/1191. Other poems of Raʿīs Ḥasan, who served also as secretary (*munshī*) to the *muḥtasham* Shihāb al-Dīn Maṣṣūr and other Nizārī governors in Quhistān, are scattered in *Khayrkhawāh-i Harātī’s Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām*.

**Burhānpūrī, Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānjī**  
(d. 1241/1826), Dāʿūdī Bohra author in India

- *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār fī akhbār al-duʿāt al-akhyār*, partial ed., Samer F. Traboulsi. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999. pp. 318.  
A partial edition covering the first part of the second volume of the *Muntazaʿ*, from the time of the first Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaq* al-Dhuʿayb (d. 546/1151) to the Dāʿūdī-Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* and the period of the twenty-seventh Dāʿūdī *dāʿī muṭlaq* Dāʿūd b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612). Part of a two-volume history of the Ismaili *daʿwa* from earliest times until 1240/1824.

**al-Dādīkhī, Qays b. Maṣṣūr**  
(d. 655/1257), Syrian Nizārī author

- *Risālat al-asābīʿ*, ed., ʿArif Tāmīr, in his *Khams rasāʿil Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 157–179.  
A short treatise on esoteric interpretations (*taʿwīl*) of certain Qurʾānic verses and Ismaili teachings related to the number seven.

**Ḍiyāʿ al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm**  
(d. 1184/1770), Sulaymānī Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaq* in Yaman

- *Mizāj al-tasnīm*, partial ed., Rudolf Strothmann as *Ismailitischer Koran-Kommentar*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 31. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1944–55. Fascicules, 1–4.  
Part of a commentary of the Qurʾān composed by the thirty-third

Sulaymānī *dā'ī*, who was a learned religious scholar and made some original contributions to Ṭayyibī Ismaili thought.

**Fidā'ī Khurāsānī, Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Dizābādī**  
(d. 1342/1923), Persian Nizārī historian and poet

- *Kitāb-i hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed., Aleksandr A. Semenov. Akademiya Nauk SSSR, pamyatniki literaturī narodov Vostoka, Tekstī, Malaya seriya, 1. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoy Literaturī, 1959. pp. 24 (Russian) + 222 (Persian); reprinted, Tehran: Asāṭīr, 1362 Sh./1983. pp. 222 (Persian text, without the Russian introduction).

A history of Ismailism from its origins to modern times; the final sections on the Āghā Khāns were evidently added in Bombay around 1328/1910 by a certain Mūsā Khān Khurāsānī (d. 1937) who was in the service of the imams. Copies of this work, permeated with errors, have been preserved by the Nizārīs of Badakhshān in present-day Tajikistan and Afghanistan; see F. Daftary, "Fedā'ī *Korāsānī*", in *EIR*, vol. 9, p. 470.

- *Qaṣīda-yi Nigāristān*, ed. and Russian trans., Aleksandr A. Semenov, in his "Ismailitskiy panegirik obozhestvlyonnomu 'Aliyu Fedai Khorasanskogo" [An Ismaili Panegeric of 'Ali by Fida'i Khorasani], *Iran* (Leningrad), 3 (1929), pp. 51–70.

Fidā'ī was also a poet and composed a large number of poems in different forms such as *mathnawī*, *qaṣīda* and *ghazal*. This *mathnawī* of 169 verses is in praise of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib.

**al-Ḥāmīdī, Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm**  
(d. 596/1199), Ṭayyibī *dā'ī muḥlaq* in Yaman

- *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq*, an abridged version of al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, partial ed., Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Abd al-Nāṣir. Silsilat nafā'is al-fikr al-Islāmī, 2. Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1975. pp. 459.

Contains selections in 18 chapters from the *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (d. 470/1078) *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* on theological and other themes as well as esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'an.

- *Majālis Sayyidnā Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī*, excerpt, ed. and

English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, text pp. 107–113, translation pp. 305–313.

Excerpt from the 117th *majlis* on Ismaili imams.

- *Risālat zahr badhr al-ḥaqāʾiq*, ed., ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwā, in his *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 155–180.

Divided into 18 sections, this is another Yamani Ṭayyibī work on the *ḥaqāʾiq* dealing with the creation, the spheres, eschatology and other standard themes.

- *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*, see al-Nisābūrī, *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya*

**al-Ḥāmidī, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn**  
(d. 557/1162), Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaq* in Yaman

- *Kitāb kanz al-walad*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Bibliotheca Islamica, 24. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1391/1971. pp. 342; reprinted, Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1979. pp. 342.

Drawing extensively on Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's metaphysical system as contained in his *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, this theological work provided the basis of the specific Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq* system, including its cosmology and eschatology with what H. Corbin called its mythical 'drama in heaven', and as such, it was used as a model for later Ṭayyibī writings on the subject. Divided into 14 chapters (*bābs*), this is also one of the earliest works in Yamani Ṭayyibī tradition to refer to the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*.

**Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muʿaddil**  
(d. ca. 658/1260), Syrian Nizārī author

- *Risālat maʿrifat al-naḥs al-nāṭiqa*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, in his *Arbaʿ kutub ḥaqqāniyya*, pp. 113–121.

A brief philosophical work on the rational soul.

- *Risālat mubtadaʾ al-ʿawālim wa-mabdaʾ dawr al-satr waʾl-taqiyya*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, in his *Arbaʿ kutub ḥaqqāniyya*, pp. 122–142.

A brief *urjūza* on cosmogony and eras of prophets, from Ādam to Ibrāhīm.

### Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, Pīr

(d. ca. 875/1470), Satpanth Nizārī preacher-saint in India

- *Gināns*, selections, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 109–111; also in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 97, 99, 127, 129, 137, 139; in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 106–107, 121, 126, 133, 181–185, and in A.S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 153–159, 165–166.

### Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Šabbāḥ

(d. 518/1124), Ismaili *dā‘ī* and founder of the

Nizārī *da‘wa* and state in Persia

- *al-Fuṣūl al-arba‘a* (*Fuṣūl-i arba‘a*), fragmentarily quoted by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahraṣṭānī in his *Kitāb al-milal wa’l-niḥal*, ed., William Cureton. London: Printed for the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, 1842, part 1, pp. 150–152; on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm’s *Kitāb al-fiṣal fi’l-milal wa’l-ahwā’ wa’l-niḥal*. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Adabiyya, 1317–21/1899–1903, part 2, pp. 32–36; reprinted (with the same pagination), Rawā‘i‘ al-turāth al-‘Arabī. Beirut: Maktabat Khayyāṭ, n.d.; ed. Aḥmad Fahmī Muḥammad. Cairo: n.p., 1368/1948, vol. 1, pp. 339–345; ed. Muḥammad b. Faṭḥ Allāh Badrān. *Silsila fi’l-dirāsāt al-falsafiyya wa’l-akhlāqiyya*. 2nd ed., Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjlū al-Miṣriyya, 1375/1956, vol. 1, pp. 175–178; ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Muḥammad al-Wakil. Cairo: Mu’assasat al-Ḥalabī, 1387/1968, vol. 1, pp. 195–198. Partial English trans., in Edward S. Salisbury, "Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents", pp. 267–272; also in Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, pp. 325–328; partial English trans., A.K. Kazi and J.G. Flynn as *Muslim Sects and Divisions: The Section on Muslim Sects in Kitāb al-Milal wa’l-Niḥal*. London: K. Paul International, 1984, pp. 167–170. French trans., Daniel Gimaret, Guy Monnot and Jean Jolivet as *Livre des religions et des sectes*. Collection UNESCO d’œuvres représentatives, série Arabe. Paris: UNESCO; Louvain: Peeters, 1986–93, vol. 1, pp. 560–565. Partial French trans., Jean-Claude Vadet as *Kitāb al-Milal, les dissidences de l’Islam*. Bibliothèque d’études Islamiques, 14. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1984, pp. 315–319. German trans., Theodor Haarbrücker as *Religionsparteien und Philosophen-Schulen*. Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1850–51, vol. 1, pp. 225–230. Persian trans., Afḍal al-Dīn Šadr Turka-yi Iṣfahānī (d.

850/1446), ed., Muḥammad Riḍā Jalāli Nāʿinī. Tehran: Iqbāl, 1350 Sh./1971, pp. 155–157. Persian trans., Muṣṭafā Khāliqḍād Hāshimī as *Tawḍīḥ al-milāl*. 2nd ed., Tehran: n.p., 1358 Sh./1979, vol. 1, pp. 259–269. Ottoman Turkish trans., *Tercüme-yi Milel ve nihāl*. Istanbul: Tabʿhane-yi Āmire, 1279/1862–63, pp. 43–47.

Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ's *Fuṣūl* was seen and paraphrased also by three Persian historians of the Īlkhānid period, namely, 'Aṭā-Malik Juwaynī, *Taʾriḫ-i jahān-gushā*, ed., Muḥammad Qazwīnī. Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1937, vol. 3, pp. 195–199; English trans., John A. Boyle as *The History of the World-Conqueror*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 671–673; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Jāmiʿ al-tawāriḫ: qismat-i Ismāʿiliyān*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Muḥammad Mudarrisi Zanjānī. Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjama va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1338 Sh./1959, pp. 105–107, reproduced with English trans. in R. Levy, "The Account of the Ismaʿili Doctrines", pp. 532–536, and Abu'l-Qāsim Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawāriḫ: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh. 2nd ed., Tehran: Muʿassasa-yi Muṭālaʿāt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1366 Sh./1987, pp. 142–143.

Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ's major theological treatise, *al-Fuṣūl al-arbaʿa*, written originally in Persian, has not survived directly, but it has been preserved fragmentarily by Ḥasan's contemporary al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), in his heresiographical work written around 521/1127. This treatise was also seen and paraphrased by a number of Persian historians who had access to Nizārī Ismaili sources of the Alamūt period which have not survived. In the *Fuṣūl*, Ḥasan restated the Shiʿi doctrine of *taʿlīm*, establishing a logical basis in four propositions for the necessity of an authoritative and trustworthy teacher (*muʿallim-i ṣādiq*) as the spiritual guide of mankind, who would be none other than the Ismaili imam of the time.

- *Javāb-i Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ bi ruqʿa-yi Jalāl al-Dīn Malik Shāh Saljūqī*, ed., Naṣr Allāh Falsafī (1901–1981), in his *Hasht maqāla-yi taʾriḫī va adabī*. Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 104. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1330 Sh./1951, pp. 208–216; reprinted in Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Chand maqāla-yi taʾriḫī va adabī*. Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 903. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1342 Sh./1963, pp. 416–425. This text is also published by Mehmet Şerefeddin (Yaltkaya), in *Darülfünun İlähiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Istanbul), 1, no. 4 (1926), pp. 38–44.

The authorship of this reply (*javāb*), allegedly written by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to the brief letter (*ruq'a*) of the Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh (465–485/1073–1092), is very doubtful. In this letter, the author after relating some biographical details including his travel to Egypt where he encountered the animosity of the Fatimid vizier, Badr al-Jamālī (d. 487/1094) but was protected by the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mustanshir (d. 487/1094), defends his religious beliefs. Above all, the author rejects the idea that he is propagating a new religion.

- *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*. This anonymous work was the official Nizārī account of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's biography (*sargudhasht*) and reign, and its first part may have been autobiographical. The *Sargudhasht* has not survived, but it was seen by Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī, who used and paraphrased it in writing their accounts of the life and career of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ as part of their Ismaili histories. Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī have fuller quotations from this work; see Juwaynī, *Ta'rikh-i jahān-gushā*, vol. 3, pp. 186–216; tr., Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 666–683; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh: qismat-i Ismā'iliyān*, pp. 97–134, and Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawārikh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān*, 2nd ed., pp. 133–168.

### **Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī, Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad (d. 362/973), Ismaili poet in the Maghrib**

- *Dīwān*, lithographed, Būlāq, 1274/1858. pp. 160; Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Lubnāniyya, 1886; Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1326/1908; ed., Zāhid 'Alī as *Tabyīn al-ma'ānī fī sharḥ Dīwān Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī al-Maghribī*. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1352/1933. pp. 61 + 818; ed., with an introduction by K. Bustānī, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1964. pp. 391; ed., Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1995. pp. 503; ed., Anṭwān Nu'aym. Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1416/1996. pp. 502; partial ed., Karam al-Bustānī. Beirut: Maktabat Ṣādir, 1952. pp. 435; partial ed. and English trans., Arthur Wormhoudt as *The Diwan of Abu Qasim Muhammad ibn Hani al Azdi al Andalusī*. Arab Translation Series, 79. [Oskaloosa, IA]: William Penn College, 1985. pp. 92 (Arabic and English on opposite pages). Selections, in R.P. Dewhurst, "Abu Tammam and Ibn Hani'", pp. 629–642, and in H. Massé, "Le poème d'Ibn Hani'", pp. 121–127.

The first great poet of the Maghrib, and a devout Ismaili, Ibn Hānī' eventually became the chief court poet to the Fatimid caliph-imam

al-Mu'izz. Most of his collected poems are in praise of the Fatimids, notably al-Mu'izz himself, also defending the rights of the Fatimids against the claims of the Abbasids and the Umayyads of Spain. Ibn Hāni' was murdered on his way to Egypt in 362/973.

**Ibn Ḥawshab (Manṣūr al-Yaman), Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Farah (Faraj) (d. 302/914), early Ismaili *dā'ī* in Yaman**

- *Kitāb al-rushd wa'l-hidāya*, fragment, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. [Silsilat makhtūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn, 2], in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 185–213. English trans., W. Ivanow as “The Book of Righteousness and True Guidance”, in his *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, 1st ed., pp. 51–83; 2nd ed., pp. 29–59.

One of the earliest Ismaili texts, this exegesis of the Qur'an has survived only fragmentarily. This work also makes references to the reappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the Mahdi and the seventh *nāṭiq*, which was the central doctrine of the bulk of the Ismā'īliyya in pre-Fatimid times.

**Ibn al-Haytham, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Aswad (fl. 4th/10th), Ismaili *dā'ī* in North Africa**

- *Kitāb al-munāzarāt*, ed. and English trans., Wilferd Madelung and Paul Ernest Walker as *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness*. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 1. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2000. pp. xiv + 192 (English) + 134 (Arabic).

This work, on the first year of Fatimid rule in Ifrīqiya, has been preserved in the sixth volume of al-Bharūchī's *Kitāb al-azhār*, still in manuscript form. Composed around 334/945, it is a personal memoir of Ibn al-Haytham, a scholar from Qayrawān, who reconstructs his encounters and conversations with the Ismaili *dā'īs* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī and his brother Abu'l-'Abbās which took place between Rajab 296/March 909 and Rabī' II 297/January 910. This work also contains many biographical details on Ibn al-Haytham, who hailed from a Zaydī family and then converted to Imāmī (Twelver) Shi'ism before eventually becoming an Ismaili and a prominent *dā'ī*.



**Ibn al-Walīd, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan  
(d. 886/1481), Yamani Ṭayyibī author**

- *Dīwān*, ed., Ghulam Ali Godharwī as *Sharḥ dīwān Sayyidnā ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-mawsūm bi tanfīs al-mughram fī sharḥ Wasīlat al-mu’lam*. Bombay: Akbarī Press, 1336/1917.

A collection of 28 poems, each consisting of 29 verses, in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad and dealing additionally with various religious matters.

**Ibn al-Walīd, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad  
(d. 612/1215), Ṭayyibī *dā’i* muṭlaq in Yaman**

- *Dāmigh al-bāṭil wa-ḥatf al-munādīl*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālīb. Beirut: Mu’assasat ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1403/1982. 2 vols.

A detailed refutation, in two volumes, of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī’s polemical work, *Faḍā’ih al-Bāṭiniyya*, better known as *al-Mustaẓhirī*, written around 488/1095 against the Ismailis.

- *Dīwān Sayyidnā ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd*, excerpts, in R. Strothmann, “Kleinere ismailitische Schriften”, pp. 145–146 and 153–163; excerpts with English trans., in Rabab Hamiduddin’s doctoral thesis “The Qaṣīdah of the Ṭayyibī Da’wah and the Dīwān of Syedna ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd”. A *qaṣīda* is edited by Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn, in *Nasīm rawḍat al-adab al-Fāṭimī*. Surat: al-Jāmi’a al-Sayfiyya, 1380/1960, pp. 59–98.

A collection of over 100 poems in praise of dignitaries and *dā’īs* of the Ṭayyibī *da’wa*, also covering a variety of themes such as a refutation of the Ḥāfizī claims to the Ismaili imamate and descriptions of the *ḥajj*.

- *Jalā’ al-‘uqūl wa-zubdat al-maḥṣūl*, ed., ‘Ādil al-Awwā, in his *Muntakhabāt Ismā’iliyya*, pp. 87–153.

Divided into three main parts, this theological work deals with *tawḥīd* and the creation, the spiritual world, and esoteric interpretations of certain Qur’anic verses related mainly to eschatology.

- *Kitāb al-dhakhīra fi’l-ḥaqīqa*, ed., Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A’zamī. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1391/1971. pp. 156.

This work on the *ḥaqā’iq* in 33 chapters deals with numerous standard themes such as *tawḥīd*, cosmology, hierarchy of the Ismaili *da’wa*, eschatology, speaker-prophets (*nuṭaqā’*) and imams, Muḥammad b.

Ismā'īl, reward and punishment of the believers and their opponents.

- *Risāla [fī ma'nā] al-ism al-a'zam*, ed., R. Strothmann, in his *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 171–177.

Strothmann does not mention the author's name, treating this treatise as anonymous, but Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 159 (no. 12) attributes it to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walid.

- *Risālat al-īdāh wa'l-tabyīn*, ed., R. Strothmann, in his *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 137–158.

A short treatise on the creation, ranks in the Ismaili hierarchy, eschatology and the imamate of al-Ṭayyib, the twenty-first and last manifest imam of Ṭayyibī Musta'lis.

- *al-Risāla al-mufīda fī sharḥ mulḥaz al-qaṣīda li-Abī 'Alī Sinā*, ed., al-Ḥabīb al-Faqī, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Jāmi'a al-Tūnusiyya*, 17 (1979), pp. 117–182.

A brief commentary on the *Qaṣīdat al-naḥs* of Ibn Sinā (d. 429/1037), a poem on the relationship between soul and body.

- *Risālat tuḥfat al-murtād wa-ghuṣṣat al-aḍḍād*, ed., R. Strothmann, in his *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 159–170.

A polemical work defending the claims of al-Ṭayyib to the Ismaili imamate against those of the Ḥāfiẓī faction of the Musta'li *da'wa*.

- *Tāj al-'aqā'id wa-ma'din al-fawā'id*, ed., 'Arif Tāmir. Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Série 1: Pensée Arabe et Musulmane, XXXVII. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1967, pp. 11 + 193; 2nd ed., Beirut: Mu'assasat 'Izz al-Dīn, 1403/1982. pp. 11 + 193. Summary English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *A Creed of the Fatimids*. Bombay: Qayyimah Press, 1936. pp. viii + 82.

A compendium of Ismaili doctrines in 100 sections (*i'tiqāds*) intended for ordinary believers. The themes covered include cosmogony, prophethood, imamate, eschatology, religious practices, esoteric interpretations of the *sharī'a*, and the necessity of observing *taqiyya*.

### **Ibn al-Walid, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 667/1268), Ṭayyibī dā'i muḥlaq in Yaman**

- *Risālat al-īdāh wa'l-bayān 'an masā'il al-imtiḥān*, excerpt, ed., B. Lewis, in his "An Ismaili Interpretation of the Fall of Adam", pp. 698–704.

A compendium of responses to 25 theological questions from an

Ismaili perspective. This excerpt relates to the ninth question on Adam and his fall.

- *Risālat al-mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, ed. and French trans., H. Corbin, in his *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, Arabic text pp. 99–130, trans. as *Cosmogonie et eschatologie*, pp. 129–200; ed., Khālid al-Mīr Maḥmūd. Damascus: Dār al-Takwīn, 2001. pp. 84.

Divided into five chapters (*faṣls*) and preceded by an introduction on *tawḥīd*, this short treatise summarizes Ismaili doctrines of the early Yamani Ṭayyibī tradition; it deals with cosmogony, origination of the spiritual universe and its corresponding ranks in the physical world, creation of man, eschatology (*ma'ād*) and the advent of the *qā'im*, the imamate and the opponents of the imam, etc.

**Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Walid, 'Imād al-Dīn  
(d. 872/1468), Ṭayyibī *dā'ī* muṭlaq and historian in Yaman**

- *Kitab zahr al-ma'ānī*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Jāmi'iyya li'l-Dirāsa wa'l-Nashr wa'l-Tawzī', 1411/1991. pp. 344. Selection covering chapter 17, ed. and English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, text pp. 47–80, translation pp. 232–274.

This work divided into 21 chapters (*bābs*) and completed in 838/1435 represents the zenith of the Yamani Ṭayyibī tradition of compiling compendia of esoteric Ismaili doctrines, drawing on the writings of the major authors of the Fatimid period, such as Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī.

- *Rawḍat al-akhbār wa-nuzhat al-asmār*, ed., Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī al-Ḥimyārī. Sanaa: Dār al-Ma'rifa li'l-Ṭibā'a wa'l-Nashr, 1995. pp. 258.

A history of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yaman from 853/1449 to 870/1465.

- *'Uyūn al-akhbār wa-funūn al-āthār*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, vols. 4–6. Silsilat al-turāth al-Fāṭimī. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1973–78; vol. 5 and part of vol. 6, ed., Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī as *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā' al-Fāṭimīyyīn bi'l-Maghrib: al-qism al-khāṣṣ min Kitāb 'uyūn al-akhbār*. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1985. pp. 817; vol. 7, ed. and summary English trans., Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid in collaboration with Paul E. Walker and Maurice A. Pomerantz as *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yaman: The History of an Islamic Community*. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 4. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The

Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2002. pp. x + 109 (English) + 44 (Arabic) + 397 (Arabic).

Parts of a comprehensive, seven-volume history of the Ismaili *da'wa* from its beginnings until the opening phase of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yaman and the subsequent demise of the Fatimid dynasty in 567/1171; see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 170–172. This is also an important history of the Prophet Muḥammad, the early Shi'ī imams, and the Fatimids and their state.

**Imām Shāh, Imām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm  
(d. 919/1513), founder of the Imām-Shāhī Satpanth community in  
India**

- *Dasa Avatāra*, complete English trans., G. Khakee, in her doctoral thesis “The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan”, pp. 62–478.

This important *ginān* has been preserved and recorded in three separate versions attributed to Pīr Shams al-Dīn, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Imām Shāh. This *ginān* presents the imam as the long-awaited saviour of a Vaishnavite tradition concerning the ten descents (*dasa avatāra*) of the Hindu deity Vishnu through the ages.

- *Mōman Chetāmāni*, selection, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his “Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature”, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 97–101.
- *Gināns*, selections, English trans., in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 91, 139, 141, and in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 84, 87–88, 97–98, 99–100, 122, 123, 124–125, 127, 128, 134–135.

**Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, Abu'l-Qāsim  
(d. ca. 346/957), Ismaili *dā'ī* and author in North Africa**

- *Kitāb al-'ālim wa'l-gḥulām*, ed. and English trans., James Winston Morris as *The Master and the Disciple: An Early Islamic Spiritual Dialogue*. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 3. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001. pp. xiii + 225 (English) + 180 (Arabic); ed., M. Ghālib, in his *Arba' kutub ḥaqqāniyya*, pp. 13–75. Summary English trans., W. Ivanow as “The

Book of the Teacher and the Pupil”, in his *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*. 1st ed., pp. 61–86; 2nd ed., pp. 85–113. Summary French trans., H. Corbin, in his “L’initiation Ismaélienne ...”, pp. 41–142. Summary English trans., H. Corbin, in his *Ismaili Initiation or Esotericism and the Word*.

One of the earliest Ismaili texts and an important source on pre-Fatimid Ismaili teachings and practices. This work is essentially the presentation of a series of personal encounters between various seekers of the spiritual truth and other individuals who act as their guides.

- *Kitāb al-farāʿid wa-ḥudūd al-dīn*, extract, see al-Mahdi bi’llāh, *Kitāb arsalahu ...*
- *Kitāb al-kashf*, ed., Rudolf Strothmann. Islamic Research Association Series, no.13. London, etc.: Published for the Islamic Research Association by G. Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1952. pp. 180 + 15 + 19; ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1404/1984. pp. 153.

A collection of six short treatises, written separately in pre-Fatimid times but attributed to Jaʿfar, who apparently acted only as the compiler of the collection. Compiled probably during the reign of the second Fatimid caliph-imam al-Qāʾim (322–334/934–946), this work contains allegorical exegesis of the Qurʾan, in some passages in cipher, as well as allusions to early Ismaili doctrines, such as the expectation of the return of the Mahdi or *qāʾim* as the the seventh *nāṭiq*.

- *Sarāʾir wa-asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1404/1984. pp. 264; selection, ed. and English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, text pp. 81–106, translation pp. 275–304 (from *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*).

The *Sarāʾir al-nuṭaqāʾ* and *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ* are two separate but closely related works edited together here by M. Ghālib. The *Sarāʾir* and its later expanded version, the *Asrār*, contain esoteric interpretations of mythological figures, and stories of the prophets (*nuṭaqāʾ*) recognized in the Qurʾan and their eras. The *Asrār* also upholds the legitimacy of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq’s claim to the imamate.

### al-Jawdhari, Abū ʿAlī Maṣṣūr al-ʿAzīzī

(d. ca. 386/996), Fatimid functionary and author in North Africa

- *Sīrat al-ustādh Jawdhar*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿira. Silsilat makhṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn,

11. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, [1954]. pp. 198. French trans., Marius Canard as *Vie de l’ustadh Jaudhar (contenant sermons, lettres et rescrits des premiers califes Fâtimides)*. Publications de l’Institut d’Études Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d’Alger, II<sup>e</sup> série, XX. Algiers: La Typo-Litho et J. Carbonel, 1958. pp. 232.

This is the biography of Jawdhar, the eunuch (*ustādh*) and courtier who served the first four Fatimid caliph-imams and died in 363/973; it was compiled by Jawdhar’s private secretary Abū ‘Alī Maṣṣūr al-‘Azīzī al-Jawdhārī, who was named after his master, in the time of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-‘Azīz (365–386/975–996). This is an important source for early Fatimid history and the inner workings of the Fatimid court.

**Khākī Khurāsānī, Imām Qulī**  
**(d. after 1056/1646), Persian Nizārī poet**

- *Dīwān*, partial ed., Wladimir Ivanow as *An Abbreviated Version of the Diwan of Khaki Khorasani*. Islamic Research Association [Series], no.1. Bombay: A.A.A. Fyzee, 1933. pp. ii + 20 (English) + 128 (Persian).

Part of Khākī’s collection of popular *ghazals* which occasionally also contain rural forms of the Khurāsānī dialect spoken in north-eastern Persia.

- *Nigāristān*, ed., W. Ivanow, in his edition of Khākī’s *Dīwān*, pp. 109–124.

A lengthy *qaṣīda* of 980 verses on the recognition of the imam, salvation and other religious themes.

- *Bahāristān*, ed., W. Ivanow, in his edition of Khākī’s *Dīwān*, pp. 124–128.

A *qaṣīda* of 79 verses on Adam and Satan, eras in religious history, piety, etc.

**Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, Muḥammad Riḍā b. Khwāja Sulṭān**  
**Ḥusayn Ghūriyānī**  
**(d. after 960/1553), Persian Nizārī *dā‘ī* and poet**

- *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow, in his *Ismāīlīca*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,

8 (1922), pp. 3–49; 2nd ed., Ismaili Society Series B, no.3. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1949. pp. xvi (English) + 28 (Persian); 3rd ed., Ismaili Society Series B, no. 11. Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1960. pp. 11 (English) + 44 (Persian). English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *On the Recognition of the Imam*. Ismaili Society Series B, no.4. 2nd ed., Bombay: Published for the Ismaili Society by Thacker & Co., 1947. pp. xii + 59.

Composed around 952/1545, this work contains a summary of the author's views on the imamate and other Nizārī teachings of the Anjudān period.

- *Kalām-i pīr*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *Kalami Pir: A Treatise on Ismaili Doctrine, also (wrongly) called Haft-Babi Shah Sayyid Nasir*. Islamic Research Association [Series], no. 4. Bombay: A.A.A. Fyzee, 1935. pp. lxxviii (English) + 146 (English) + 117 (Persian).

This is apparently a plagiarized version of Abū Ishāq Quhistānī's *Haft bāb*, wrongly attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw; see W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 142–143.

- *Taṣnīfāt-i Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow. Ismaili Society Series A, no.13. Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1961. pp. 14 (English) + 150(Persian). Includes *Risāla-yi Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī*, pp. 1–75 (originally lithographed by Sayyid Munir Badakhshānī as *Kitāb-i Khayrkhwāh-i Muwaḥḥid Waḥdat*, Bombay, 1333/1915), *Qīṭa'āt*, pp. 77–111, and *Ash'ār-i Gharībī*, pp. 113–132.

In his poetry, Khayrkhwāh adopted the pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of Gharībī, after Mustanṣir bi'llāh (III) also known as Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 904/1498), a contemporary Nizārī imam. In the *Risāla*, Khayrkhwāh expounds his ideas on the status and attributes of the ranks of *pīr* and *ḥujjat*, also providing autobiographical details and relating how he travelled to Anjudān to see the Nizārī imam.

### **al-Kirmānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. after 411/1020), Ismaili *dā'ī* in Persia and Iraq**

- *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya*, ed., Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣāwī, with an English introduction by S. Hossein Nasr. Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Publication no. 32. Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1397/1977. pp. 5 (English) + xxiii (Persian) + 142 (Arabic); ed., Muṣṭafā

Ghālib. Beirut: Dār Miḥyū, 1977. pp. 200; ed., ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-‘Abd, in his *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī li-Abī Bakr al-Rāzī: al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya li’l-Kirmānī wa-ma‘āhā al-munāẓarāt li-Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1978, pp. 148–283. Selections, in *Rasā’il falsafiyya li-Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī*, ed., Paul Kraus. Universitatis Fouadi I Litterarum Facultatis Publicationum, Fasc. XXII. Cairo: n.p., 1939, pp. 7–13 and 313–316.

A work on the nature of the soul and prophethood refuting the Persian physician and philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī’s (d. 313/925) *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, which had been earlier refuted by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934) in his *A’lām al-nubuwwa*.

- *Kitāb al-riyād fi’l-ḥukm bayna’l-ṣādayn ṣāhibay al-Iṣlāḥ wa’l-Nuṣra*, ed., ‘Arif Tāmir. Silsilat al-makhṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya, 1. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, [1960]. pp. 253.

In this work, divided into ten *bābs*, al-Kirmānī acts as an arbiter, from the point of view of the Fatimid Ismaili *da‘wa*, in a controversial theological debate among Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 332/943), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934) and Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sijistānī (d. after 361/971), and preserves fragments of al-Nasafī’s *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* and al-Sijistānī’s *Kitāb al-nuṣra*, which have not survived. In many instances, al-Kirmānī upholds the views of al-Rāzī, as expressed in his *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* which is extant, against those of al-Nasafī and al-Sijistānī.

- *Majmū‘at rasā’il al-Kirmānī*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: al-Mu‘assasa al-Jāmi‘iyya li’l-Dirāsāt wa’l-Naṣr wa’l-Tawzī‘, 1403/1983. pp. 209.

A collection of eleven short *Risālas*, starting with *al-Durriyya* and ending with *al-Kāfiya*. The attribution of two other *Risālas* usually included in this collection (*Khazā’in al-adilla* and *Risāla fi’l-radd ‘alā man yunkir al-‘ālam al-rūḥānī*) to al-Kirmānī are doubtful. For English summaries of these epistles, see H. Haji, *A Distinguished Dā‘ī*, pp. 22–67.

- (i) *al-Risāla al-durriyya fi ma’nā al-tawḥīd wa’l-muwahḥid wa’l-muwahḥad* (pp. 13–34), together with *Risālat al-nuzum fi muqābalat al-‘awālim* (pp. 35–59), ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. Silsilat makhṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn, 7, 8. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Jāmi‘a, [1952]. pp. 59; ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 19–26. Excerpt, English trans., Faquir M. Hunzai as *al-Risāla al-durriyyah (The Brilliant Epistle)*, in *APP*, pp. 192–200.

On the literal and esoteric meanings of *tawḥīd*.



- (ii) *Risālat al-nuzum* (or *al-naẓm*) *fī muqābalat al-‘awālim*, ed., M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, together with *al-Risāla al-durriyya* (pp. 35–59); ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 27–34.

A brief treatment of correspondences among coexisting realms so as to reconcile multiplicity of the creation with *tawḥīd*.

- (iii) *al-Risāla al-raḍiyya fī jawāb man yaqūlu bi-qīdam al-jawhar wa-ḥudūth al-šūra*, ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 35–42.

A short epistle in refutation of those who hold that substance is eternal and form is temporal.

- (iv) *al-Risāla al-muḍī‘a fī’l-amr wa’l-āmīr wa’l-ma’mūr*, ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 43–60.

A short treatise on the divine command, the commander and the commanded. Here, al-Kirmānī also refutes the doctrine of *amr* discussed by al-Sijistānī in the 28th chapter of his *Kitāb al-maqālīd*, which still remains in manuscript form.

- (v) *al-Risāla al-lāzima fī ṣawm shahr Ramaḍān wa-ḥīnihi*, ed., Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, in *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi‘at al-Qāhira/Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University*, 31 (1969), pp. 1–52; ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 61–80; ed. and Urdu trans., Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A‘zamī, in his *Niẓām al-ṣawm ‘inda al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, pp. 18–54.

An epistle on the suitable time for starting the fast of Ramaḍān, defending the Fatimid practice of relying on astronomical calculations in preference to sighting of the new moon.

- (vi) *Risālat al-rawḍa fī’l-azal wa’l-azālī wa’l-azaliyya*, ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 81–91.

On the literal and esoteric meanings of terms related to eternity. In this epistle, al-Kirmānī also refutes al-Sijistānī’s ideas as elaborated in the 21st chapter of his *Kitāb al-maqālīd*.

- (vii) *al-Risāla al-zāhira fī jawāb masā’il wa’l-nazar fī abwāb al-rasā’il*, ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 92–101.

A series of questions and answers in refutation of a work wrongly attributed to al-Sijistānī.

- (viii) *al-Risāla al-ḥāwiya fī’l-layl wa’l-nahār*, ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 102–112.

A short work on esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of night and day, written in 399/1009, in reply to a question raised by al-Kirmānī's deputy in Jiruft, Kirmān.

- (ix) *Risālat mabāsīm al-bishārāt bi'l-imām al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, in his *Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz*, pp. 55–74; ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū'at rasā'il*, pp. 113–133; ed., M. Ghālib, in his *al-Ḥarakāt al-bāṭiniyya fi'l-Islām*, pp. 205–233.

Composed in 405–406/1014–1016 in Egypt, this work deals with the imamate in general and al-Ḥākim's imamate (386–411/996–1021) in particular.

- (x) *al-Risāla al-wā'iza 'an masā'il al-māriq min al-dīn Ḥasan al-Farghānī al-Ajda'* (also as *al-Risāla al-wā'iza fi'l-radd 'alā'l-Akhram al-Farghānī*), ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. *Silsilat makhtūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, 6, in *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi'at Fu'ād al-Awwal/Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 14, part 1 (1952), pp. 1–29; ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū'at rasā'il*, pp. 134–147.

This epistle, written in 408/1017 in Egypt, aims to refute the views of al-Ḥasan al-Akhram (d. 408/1018), one of the founders of the Druze movement, on al-Ḥākim's divinity.

- (xi) *al-Risāla al-kāfiya fi'l-radd 'alā'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥusaynī*, ed., M. Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū'at rasā'il*, pp. 148–182.

A polemical treatise written against the Zaydī Imam Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh Aḥmad al-Buṭḥānī al-Hārūnī (d. 411/1020). It was sent to al-Kirmānī's deputy, 'Abd al-Malik al-Māzīnī, in Kirmān, Persia.

- *al-Maṣābiḥ fi ithbāt al-imāma*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Manshūrāt Ḥamad, 1969. pp. 155. Extract, in P. Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate", pp. 243–263; reprinted in Kraus, *Alchemie, Ketzerei*, pp. 3–23.

A treatise on the imamate in two parts (*maqālas*), each subdivided into seven *maṣābiḥs*. The ultimate aim of this treatise, composed around 404/1013, is to defend the legitimacy of al-Ḥākim's imamate. This work also contains quotations from Hebrew and Syriac writings in Arabic script.

- *Rāḥat al-'aql*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī. Ismaili Society Series C, no.1; *Silsilat makhtūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, 9. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1953. pp. 45 + 438 + 48 (English index prepared by W. Ivanow); ed.,

Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1967. pp. 591; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1983. pp. 591. Russian trans., A.V. Smirnov as *Uspo-koenie razuma*. Moscow: Lodomir, 1995. pp. 510. Excerpt, English trans., Daniel C. Peterson as *Rāḥat al-‘aql, Repose of the Intellect*, in *APP*, pp. 175–192.

Completed in 411/1020 for advanced adepts, this work contains al-Kirmānī’s metaphysical system, representing a unique syncretic tradition within the Iranian school of philosophical Ismailism. Al-Kirmānī was fully acquainted with Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies as well as the metaphysical systems of Muslim philosophers, notably al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), known as the ‘second teacher’ (*al-mu‘allim al-thānī*) of philosophy in the Islamic world after Aristotle, and Ibn Sinā (d. 428/1037), or Avicenna of the medieval Europeans. He harmonized Ismaili theology with a diversity of philosophical traditions in elaborating his own system expounded in the *Rāḥat al-‘aql*, which is comprised of seven ramparts (*suwars*). In his cosmology, al-Kirmānī replaced the Neoplatonic dyad of intellect (‘*aql*) and soul (*nafs*) in the spiritual world, adopted by al-Sijistānī and other Ismaili predecessors, by a system of ten separate intellects, in partial adaptation of al-Fārābī’s school of philosophy. Al-Kirmānī’s cosmology was later adopted by the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in Yaman. The *Rāḥat al-‘aql* and its sources are thoroughly studied in D. de Smet, *La Quiétude de l’intellect*.

- *Risālat usbū‘ dawr al-satr*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr, in his *Arba‘ rasā’il Ismā‘īliyya*, pp. 59–66.

The attribution of this short work, on the seven cycles of prophethood, to al-Kirmānī is probably incorrect.

- *al-Risāla al-waḍī‘a fī ma‘ālim al-dīn wa-uṣūlihi*, ed., Muḥammad ‘Īsā al-Ḥarīrī. Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam, 1407/1987. pp. 231.

A short treatise on the necessity of maintaining balance between the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) dimensions of religion. The first part deals with prophethood, imamate, the creation, religious hierarchy, esoteric interpretation of the *sharī‘a*, while the second part relates to the pillars of Islam.

**al-Mahdī bi'llāh, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh (ʿUbayd Allāh)  
(d. 322/934), Fatimid caliph and Ismaili imam**

- *Kitāb arsalahu al-Mahdī ilā nāḥiyat al-Yaman*, as preserved in Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman's *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ wa-ḥudūd al-dīn*, ed. and English trans., Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī as *On the Genealogy of Fatimid Caliphs (Statement on Mahdī's Communication to the Yemen on the Real and Esoteric Names of his Hidden Predecessors)*. Publications of the American University at Cairo, School of Oriental Studies, Occasional Paper no.1. Cairo: American University at Cairo, 1958. pp. 14 (Arabic) + 22 (English). A more complete and literal English trans., in A. Hamdani and F. de Blois, "A Re-examination of al-Mahdī's Letter", pp. 175–178.

In this letter, sent to the Ismaili community in Yaman, al-Mahdī explains his genealogy and claim to the imamate as well as the *taqīyya* practices used by the central leaders of the early Ismaili *daʿwa*. The text of this letter, in paraphrased form, is preserved in Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman's *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ wa-ḥudūd al-dīn*, still in manuscript form.

**al-Majdūʿ, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl  
(d. 1183 or 1184/1769–71), Dāʾūdī Bohra author in India**

- *Fahrasat al-kutub wa'l-rasā'il*, ed., ʿAlī Naqī Munzavī. Manshūrāt Maktabat al-Asadī bi-Ṭīhrān, 9. Tehran: Tehran University Printing House, 1344 Sh./1966. pp. 419.

Divided into 12 chapters, this is the earliest known catalogue of Ismaili literature. Commonly known as the *Fihrist al-Majdūʿ*, it summarizes some 250 Ismaili works, and it served as the basis for W. Ivanow's *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*.

**al-Malījī, Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ḥākīm b. Wahb  
(fl. 5th/11th century), Fatimid chief *qāḍī* in Egypt**

- *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. *Silsilat makḥṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyin*, 1. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, [1947]. pp. 229; ed., Muḥammad Zīnhum and Muḥammad ʿAzab. Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī 1413/1992. pp. 223.

These 35 weekly lectures, containing sermons of al-Mustanṣir on different topics, were delivered by al-Malījī during 451/1059. Before Stern correctly identified the author of this work, in his "Cairo as the Centre

of the Ismā‘īlī Movement”, pp. 439–440, different individuals such as the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamālī (d. 487/1094) had been named as its author by various scholars.

**Mazyad b. Şafwān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī al-Asadī, al-Amīr  
(d. 584/1188 or 592/1196), Syrian Nizārī poet**

- *Dīwān*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1418/1998. pp. 140.  
Originally belonging to the Banū Asad of Iraq before settling in Maşyāf, the amir Mazyad’s collected poems here are in the form of 33 *qaşīdas* on a variety of ethical and religious subjects.

**Manşūr al-Yaman, see Ibn Ḥawshab**

**al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Abū Naşr Hibat Allāh b. Abū  
‘Imrān Mūsā  
(d. 470/1078), Ismaili chief *dā‘ī* and poet**

- *al-Dawḥa*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr, in his *Thalāth rasā’il Ismā‘īliyya*, pp. 35–52.  
A brief *qaşīda* in defence of Ismailis, also containing esoteric interpretation (*ta’wīl*) of certain Ismaili teachings.
- *Dīwān al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn dā‘ī al-du‘āt*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. Silsilat makḥṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn, 4. Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-Mişrī, 1949. pp. 372.  
Collected poems in praise of the Fatimid caliph-imams, also dealing with *tawḥīd*, esoteric interpretation of the Qur’an and other religious themes.
- *Khuṭba*, English trans., Jawad Muscati and Khan Bahadur A.M. Moulvi, in their *Life and Lectures of the Grand Missionary al-Muayyad-fid-Dīn al-Shirazi*, pp. 78–183; excerpt (pp. 174–178) reprinted in *APP*, pp. 281–290.  
Sermons on Paradise, the *walāya* of ‘Alī, *tawḥīd*, guidance of the imams and on certain *ḥadīths*.
- *al-Majālis al-Mu’ayyadiyya*, vols. 1 (*al-mi’a al-ūlā*) and 3 (*al-mi’a al-thālitha*), ed., Muşṭafā Ghālib. Silsilat al-turāth al-Fāṭimī. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, [1974] and 1984; vols. 1 and 2 (*al-mi’a al-thāniya*), ed.,

Ḥātim Ḥamid al-Dīn. Bombay, 1395/1975 and Oxford, 1407/1986; vol. 1, ed., Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1994. pp. 338. Selections: *Aḍwā’ ‘alā’l-rasā’il al-mutabādala bayna dā’i al-du’āt al-Fāṭimī Hibat Allāh al-Shīrāzī, wa-Abi’l-‘Alā’ al-Ma’arrī*, ed., ‘Alī Muḥammad Khalūf. Damascus: Dār Ḥūrān, 1996. pp. 95. For an abridged version of volume 1, see al-Ḥāmīdī, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm. Selections, English trans., in Muscati and Moulvi, *Life and Lectures of the Grand Missionary al-Mu’ayyad-fid-Din*, pp. 53–131.

Parts of a collection of eight volumes, with one hundred *majlis* in each volume. These lectures were delivered by al-Mu’ayyad as the Ismaili *dā’i al-du’āt* as the *majālis al-ḥikma* at the Dār al-‘Ilm in Cairo. The lectures deal with a wide range of theological, philosophical and ethical issues as well as esoteric interpretation (*ta’wīl*) of the Qur’an.

- *Sīrat al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn dā’i al-du’āt*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. Silsilat makhtūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn, 5. Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, 1949. pp. 28 + 209; ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr as *Mudhakkirāt dā’i du’āt al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn Hibat Allāh ibn Abi ‘Imrān Mūsā al-Shīrāzī*. Beirut: Mu’assasat ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1403/1983. pp. 228.

This is al-Mu’ayyad’s memoirs or autobiography covering the events of his life and times until around 450/1058; it also sheds particular light on al-Mu’ayyad’s role in the pro-Fatimid campaign of al-Basāsiri in Iraq which culminated in the pronouncement of the *khuṭba* in Abbasid Baghdad in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustanṣir during 450–51/1058–59. Al-Mu’ayyad’s *Sīra* is paraphrased, summarized and studied in V. Klemm, *Memoirs of a Mission*.

**Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Mullā Jīwābhā’ī Rāmpūrī**  
(d. 1315 or 1316/1897–1899), **Dā’ūdī Bohra functionary and**  
**historian in India**

- *Mawsim-i bahār fi akhbār al-ṭāhirīn al-akhyār*, lithographed, Bombay: Maṭba‘at Ḥaydarī Ṣafdarī, 1301–11/1884–93. 3 vols. (in Gujarati written in Arabic script). The first two volumes were reprinted in Bombay in 1335/1916–17 and thereafter; the third volume was reprinted only in the final decades of the twentieth century in Bombay.

A three-volume history of Ismailism, with volume two on the Ismaili imams until al-Ṭayyib, and volume three (completed in 1299/1882 and lithographed first soon afterwards) on the *da‘wa* in Yaman and

Gujarāt from its origins until the author's time. This history draws on the *Muntaza' al-akhbār* of Burhānpūrī and a number of earlier sources, some of which have not survived.

**Muḥammad b. Sa'ḍ (or Aḥmad) b. Dā'ūd al-Rafna  
(d. ca. 854/1450), Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī *dā'ī* in Syria**

- *al-Risāla al-kāfiyya*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr, in his *Khams rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, pp. 89–97; reprinted in *Thalāth rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr, pp. 21–33.

A brief treatise on Ismaili doctrine.

**al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Abū Tamīm Ma'add  
(d. 365/975), Fatimid caliph and Ismaili imam**

- *al-Munājāt aw ad'iyat al-ayyām al-sab'a*, selections, ed. and French trans., S. Guyard, in his *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, 22 (1874), text pp. 224–229, translation pp. 344–358; in Louis Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929, p. 217. Selections with Urdu trans., in Zāhid 'Alī, *Hamāre Ismā'īli madhhab*, pp. 90–96; also in Zāhid 'Alī, *Ta'rikh-i Fāṭimīyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 254–264.

A compilation of prayers, one for each day of the week. These prayers are traditionally attributed to al-Mu'izz.

- *al-Risāla al-Masīḥiyya*, excerpt, in Louis Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929, pp. 215–217.

This epistle is addressed to Bishop Paul of Damietta. The attribution of this work to al-Mu'izz may be doubtful.

- *Risālat al-Mu'izz ilā al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī*, as preserved by the Sharīf Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, known as Akhū Muḥsin, quoted in al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed., H. Bunz, pp. 133–143; ed., J. al-Shayyāl, 1948, pp. 251–265 (end of letter, pp. 200–201 in al-Shayyāl, 1967 ed., is missing in this edition); ed., J. al-Shayyāl, 1967, vol. 1, pp. 189–201; reprinted in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 367–383; also in al-Walī, *al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 289–300; briefer versions are preserved in Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vol. 6, pp. 149–156; in al-Nuwayrī,

*Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 308–311. French trans., in Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 227–238.

The attribution of this letter to al-Mu‘izz is doubtful. The author of this letter, sent to al-Ḥasan al-A‘šam around 363/973, reproaches the Qarmaṭī leader for having deviated from the creed of his forefathers. Al-A‘šam made this letter public and denounced the Fatimids before attacking Egypt in 363/974.

- *Sijill al-Mu‘izz ilā Ḥalam (Jalam) ibn Shaybān*, as preserved in Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn, *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*, ed., M. Ghālib, vol. 5, pp. 160–162; ed. and English trans., W. Ivanow, in his “Ismailis and Qarmatians”, pp. 74–76, and in S.M. Stern, “Heterodox Ismā‘īlism”, pp. 11–13, 26–27.

This *Sijill*, sent in 354/965 to the *dā‘ī* of Sind, Ḥalam, who established an Ismaili state in Multān, explains the *taqīyya* practices of the early Ismaili imams before the foundation of the Fatimid state. This document, reasserting the ‘Alid genealogy of the Fatimid caliphs, represents the earliest Ismaili refutation of the myth of Ibn al-Qaddāḥ that portrayed a certain non-‘Alid (‘Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ) as the progenitor of the Fatimid caliphs.

### **al-Mustanşir bi’llāh, Abū Tamīm Ma‘add (d. 487/1094), Fatimid caliph and Ismaili imam**

- *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanşiriyya*, ed., ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Mājid. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1954. pp. 231. English summary, Ḥ.F. al-Hamdānī, in his “The Letters of al-Mustanşir bi’llāh”, pp. 307–324.

A collection of 66 *Sijills* addressed, from 445/1053 to 489/1096, mainly by al-Mustanşir to the Şulayḥids who propagated the Ismaili *da‘wa* in Yaman on behalf of the Fatimids. Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī has edited five additional *Sijillāt* in his *al-Şulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 302–307 and 319–320.

### **Mustanşir bi’llāh [II] b. Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh (d. 885/1480), Nizārī imam**

- *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *Pandiyat-i Jawanmardi or “Advices of Manliness”*. Ismaili Society Series A, no.6. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1953. pp. 19 (English) + 97 (English) + 102 (Persian).

Containing the sermons or religious admonitions of the thirty-second



(Qāsim-Shāhī) Nizārī imam, this is one of the earliest doctrinal works produced during the Anjudān revival in Persian Nizārī Ismailism. These sermons or advices (*pandiyāt*) to the true believers seeking exemplary standards of chivalry (*jawānmardī*) were evidently compiled by an anonymous Nizārī author during the imamate of Mustanšir bi'llāh's son and successor 'Abd al-Salām Shāh. The Nizārī Khojas, who have preserved Sindhī (Khojki) and Gujarātī versions of the *Pandiyāt*, maintain that this book was sent to the Indian subcontinent for their religious guidance. This work preserves important evidence on Nizārī-Sufi relations during the early Anjudān period in Nizārī history.

**Nāšir-i Khusraw, Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Nāšir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith Qubādiyānī Marwazī (d. after 462/1070), Persian poet, traveller and Ismaili *dā'ī* in Khurāsān**

- *Dīwān*, lithographed by Ibn al-Ḥusayn 'Askar Urdūbādī. Tabriz, 1280/1864. pp. 277; lithographed in Tehran, 1307/1889; lithographed by Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Sharīf al-Ṣafawī. Tehran, 1314/1896. pp. 321 (together with *Safar-nāma*); lithographed in Tehran, 1318/1900; lithographed by Muḥammad Malik al-Kātib. Bombay, n.d. [1860?]. pp. 160 (together with *Savānih-i 'umrī*, pp. 2–14, and *Risāla dar taskhīr-i kavākib*, pp. 15–25); ed., Sayyid Našr Allāh Taqavī (1871–1947) et al., with an introduction by Ḥasan Taqīzāda (1878–1970). Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Tehran, 1304–7 Sh./1925–28. pp. 694 (together with *Rawshanā'ī-nāma*, *Sa'adat-nāma* and *Risāla dar javāb-i ...*); reprinted by Mahdī Suhaylī. Iṣfahān: Intishārāt-i Kitāb-furūshī-yi Ta'yīd, 1335 Sh./1956. pp. 8 + 96 + 694; reprinted by M. Darvīsh. Tehran: 'Ilmī, 1339 Sh./1960 (with subsequent reprints); ed., Muḥtabā Mīnuvī and Mahdī Muḥaqqiq. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1353 Sh./1974. pp. xxiii + 771; reprinted, *Wisdom of Persia*, 21. Tehran: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch; Tehran University, 1357 Sh./1978. pp. xxiii + 771; ed., Ja'far Shu'ār and Kāmil Aḥmad-Nizhād. *Silsila intishārāt-i Nashr-i Qaṭra*, 200. Tehran: Nashr-i Qaṭra, 1378 Sh./1999. pp. 769.

**Partial editions and translations of the *Dīwān***

- *Diwan-i Nasir-i Khusraw, containing only the Portions Prescribed for the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University*, ed., Āqā Muḥammad

Kāzīm Shīrāzī. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1926. pp. 100.

- *Pānzdah qaṣīda az Hakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī*, ed., Mahdī Muḥaqqiq. Zabān va farhang-i Īrān, 63. Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1340 Sh./1961. pp. 90; reprinted, 1341 Sh./1962 and later.
- *Barguzīda-yi ash'ār-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, with an introduction by Nāṣir 'Āmilī. Tehran: Sāzīmān-i Kitābhā-yi Jibī, 1344 Sh./1965. pp. 250.
- *Guzīda-yi qaṣā'id-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, ed., Ja'far Shu'ār. Tehran: Nashr-i Nāshir, 1363 Sh./1964. pp. 262.
- *Gulchine az devoni ash'or*, ed., Kamol Ainī. Stalinobod: Nashriyoti davlatii Tojikiston, 1957. pp. 179 (Persian text in Cyrillic script).
- Partial English trans., Edward G. Browne, in his "Nasir-i-Khusraw, Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist", pp. 313–352.
- Partial English trans., Peter L. Wilson and Gholam Reza Aavani as *Forty Poems from the Divan*. Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Publication no. 31. Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977. pp. 144; excerpt (pp. 31–43) reprinted in *APP*, pp. 329–340.
- Partial English trans., Annemarie Schimmel as *Make a Shield from Wisdom: Selected Verses from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Dīwān*. London: Kegan Paul International for The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1993, pp. 44–96; reprinted, London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001, pp. 44–96.
- Partial Urdu trans., Fidā 'Alī Īthār Hunza'ī Fāḍil as *Javāhir-i ḥikmat: muntakhab az dīwān-i ash'ār-i Sayyidnā Pīr Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i 'Alavī*. Karachi: H.R.H. The Aga Khan Ismailia Association [for] Pakistan, 1976. pp. 103.

Comprising more than 10,000 verses (*bayts*), the poems collected in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān* are primarily odes composed in the *qaṣīda* form. They relate to a wide range of ethical, theological and philosophical themes; several *qaṣīdas* are autobiographical.

### Other works by Nāṣir-i Khusraw

- *Gushāyish va rahāyish*, ed., Sa'īd Nafīsī (1895–1966). Ismaili Society Series A, no.5. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1950. pp. xix (English) + 125 (Persian); 2nd ed., Ismaili Society Series A, no.11. Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1961. pp. 108; ed. and English trans., Faqīr M. Hunzai, with an introduction and commentary by Parviz

Morewedge as *Knowledge and Liberation: A Treatise on Philosophical Theology*. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1998. pp. xii (English) + 132 (English) + 92 (Persian); excerpt (pp. 24–53) reprinted in *APP*, pp. 311–329. Italian trans., Pio Filippini-Ronconi as *Il libro dello scioglimento e della liberazione*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1959. pp. xxix + 102.

This concise work represents Nāṣir-i Khusraw's responses to a series of thirty questions on theological and philosophical topics, with special reference to the human soul, its relation to the world of nature and its quest for salvation.

- *Khawān al-ikhwān*, ed., Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1359/1940. pp. xxvi + 265; ed., 'Alī Qavīm. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Bārānī, 1338 Sh./1959. pp. 14 + 294.

Divided into 100 chapters, this is another work on philosophical theology. Here, Nāṣir-i Khusraw paraphrases many of the ideas found in Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-yanābī'*.

- *Kitāb jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, ed., Henry Corbin (1903–1978) and Muḥammad Mu'īn (1918–1971) as *Kitab-e Jami' al-Hikmatain. Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse, ou harmonie de la philosophie Grecque et de la théosophie Ismaélienne*. Bibliothèque Iranienne, 3. Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1953. pp. 144 (French) + 348 (Persian) + 18 (Persian). Arabic trans., Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī Shatā, *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*. Silsilat al-nuṣūṣ al-falsafiyā, 5. Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1974. pp. 432. French trans., Isabelle de Gastines as *Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse (Kitāb-e Jāmi' al-Ḥikmatayn)*. Paris: Fayard, 1990. pp. 339. Selection, English trans., Latimah Parvin Peerwani as *Kitāb jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn, The Sum of the Two Wisdoms*, in *APP*, pp. 293–311.

This is a commentary, on Khwāja Abu'l-Haytham Jurjānī's *Qaṣīda*, composed by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 462/1070 at the request of his patron and amir of Badakhshān, Abu'l-Ma'ālī 'Alī b. al-Asad. In this, the latest known work of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the author attempts to harmonize the "two wisdoms" (*ḥikmatayn*), philosophy and religion, or more specifically Ismaili gnosis.

- *Rawshanā'ī-nāma*, ed. and German trans., Hermann Ethé, in his "Nāsir Chusrau's Rūsanāināma oder Buch der Erleuchtung", in *ZDMG*,

33 (1879), pp. 645–665; 34(1880), pp. 428–464, 617–642; 36 (1882), pp. 96–106; ed., Sayyid Munir Badakhshānī, together with Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī's *Risāla*, under the title of *Kitāb-i Khayrkhwāh-i Muwaḥḥid Waḥdat*, lithographed, Bombay, 1333/1915. pp. 52; ed., M. Ghanizāda, together with *Safar-nāma*. Berlin: Kaviani, 1341/1922, pp. 36; ed., N. Taqavi et al., in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān*, pp. 508–542; ed., Aleksandr A. Semenov, "Shugnansko-ismailitskaya redaktsiya 'Knigi sveta' Nāṣir-i Khosrova" in *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov*, 5 (1930), pp. 589–610; ed. and Urdu trans., Naṣir al-Dīn Naṣir Hunzā'ī as *Nūr-i 'irfān, ya'nī tarjama-yi Rawshanā'ī-nāma*. Karachi: The Aga Khan Ismailia Association [for] Pakistan, 1976. pp. 99.

Composed around 440/1048, this *mathnawī* poem deals with *tawḥīd*, soul (*nafs*), and a number of other theological as well as ethical themes.

- *Risāla dar javāb-i navad va yak faqara as'ala-yi falsafī va mantiqī va ṭabī'ī va naḥvī va dīnī va ta'wīlī*, ed., N. Taqavi et al., in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān*, pp. 561–583, with subsequent reprints.

An abridged version of Nāṣir Khusraw's *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*.

- *Risāla dar taskhīr-i kavākib*, lithographed, together with the spurious *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī*, pp. 2–14, and the *Dīwān*. Bombay, n.d. [1860?], pp. 15–25.

The attribution of this brief astronomical treatise in seven chapters (*faṣls*) to Nāṣir-i Khusraw is very doubtful.

- *Sa'ādat-nāma*, ed. and French trans., Edmond Fagnan, in his "Le livre de la félicité par Nāṣir ed-Dīn Khosrou", in *ZDMG*, 34 (1880), pp. 643–674; 36 (1882), pp. 96–114; ed., Sayyid Munir Badakhshānī, together with *Rawshanā'ī-nāma* and Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī's *Risāla*, under the title of *Kitāb-i Khayrkhwāh-i Muwaḥḥid Waḥdat*, lithographed, Bombay, 1333/1915, pp. 53–78; ed., M. Ghanizāda, together with *Safar-nāma* and *Rawshanā'ī-nāma*. Berlin: Kaviani, 1341/1922, pp. 18; ed., N. Taqavi et al., in *Dīwān*, pp. 543–561, and subsequent reprints. English trans., George M. Wickens, in his "The Sa'ādatnāmah attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusrau", *Islamic Quarterly*, 2 (1955), pp. 117–132, 206–221.

This *Sa'ādat-nāma* is wrongly attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It was apparently composed by another Nāṣir, better known as Sharif-i Iṣfahānī, who died in 735/1334.

- *Safar-nāma*, ed. and French trans., Charles Schefer (1820–1898) as

- Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie et en Perse, pendant les années de l'hégire 437-444 (1035-1042)*. Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 2<sup>e</sup> série, I. Paris: E. Leroux, 1881. pp. lviii (French) + 348 (French) + 97 (Persian); reprinted, Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970; lithographed by Khwāja Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī. Delhi, 1299/1882. pp. 136; lithographed by Muḥammad Malik al-Kātib. Bombay, 1309/1891-92. pp. 76; lithographed by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Sharīf al-Ṣafawī. Tehran, 1312/1894-95. pp. 261; lithographed by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Sharīf al-Ṣafawī. Tehran, 1314/1896. pp. 82 (together with *Dīwān*); ed., Maḥmūd Ghanīzāda. Berlin: Kaviani, 1341/1922. pp. 151 (together with *Rawshanā’ī-nāma* and *Sa’ādat-nāma*); ed., ‘Alī Qavīm. Tehran: n. p., 1335 Sh./1956. pp. 112; ed., Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī. Tehran: Zavvār, 1335 Sh./1956. pp. xxxii + 156; reprinted, Zabān va farhang-i Īrān, 40. Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1344 Sh./1965. pp. 169; 4th ed., by Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1354 Sh./1975. pp. xlvi + 400; 5th ed., by M. Dabīr Siyāqī. Tehran: Zavvār, 2536 [1356 Sh.]/1977. pp. xxxvi + 400; ed., Vaḥīd Dāmghānī. Tehran: Farāhānī, 1344 Sh./1965. pp. 153; ed., Nādir Vazīnpūr. Majmū’a-yi sukhan-i Pārsī, 3. Tehran: Kitābhā-yi Jībī, 1350 Sh./1971. pp. xiv + 190; ed., Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī. Tehran: Vizārat Farhang va Hunar, 1355 Sh./1976. pp. 145; special edition produced by Shams al-Dīn Mīr Fakhrā’ī, in the handwriting of the calligrapher Kaykhusraw Khurūsh. Tehran: n.p., 1361 Sh./1982. pp. 122; ed., Ja’far Shu’ār as *Taḥlīl-i Safar-nāma-yi Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. Tehran: Nashr-i Qaṭra, 1371 Sh./1992. pp. 242. Persian text, based on Ghanīzāda’s edition, transcribed in Cyrillic, as *Safarnoma*. Dushanbe, 1970.
- Translations of the *Safar-nāma*: Arabic trans., Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, *Safarnāma*. Maṭbū’at Ma’had al-Lughāt al-Sharqīyya, Kullīyyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi’at Fu’ād al-Awwal. Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta’līf wa’l-Tarjama wa’l-Nashr, 1364/1945. pp. 135; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1970. pp. 182; excerpt, in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed., Suhayl Zakkar, pp. 193-199. English trans., Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., as *Nāṣer-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*. Persian Heritage Series, 36. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1986. pp. xii + 135; reprinted, with the Persian text, Bibliotheca Iranica, Intellectual Traditions Series, no. 6. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2001. pp. xv + 172. Partial English trans., Guy Le Strange (1854-1933) as *Diary of a*

*Journey Through Syria and Palestine*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, Library, vol. IV, no. 1. London: [Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society], 1893. pp. xiv + 72. German trans., Manfred Mayrhofer as *Safarnāme: Das Reisetagebuch des persischen Dichters Nāšir-i Husrau*. Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, 5. Graz: Leykam, 1993. pp. x + 132. German trans., Seyfeddin Najmabadi and Siegfried Weber as *Safarname. Ein Reisebericht aus dem Orient des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Diederichs, 1993. pp. 187. Russian trans., Evgeniy Bertel's as *Nasir-i Khosrov: Kniga puteshestviya*. Leningrad, 1933. pp. 206. Selections, in Tajik trans., A. Adalis as *Khisorou Nosir: Izbrannoe*. Stalinabad, 1949. Turkish trans., Abd al-Wahab Tarzi, *Sefername*. Istanbul: Milli egitim basimevi, 1950. pp. 28 + 268. Urdu trans., Muḥammad Tharvat Allāh, *Safarnāma*. Lucknow, 1937. Urdu trans., 'Abd al-Razzāq Kānīpūr, *Safarnāma*. Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqī Urdu, 1941. pp. 15 + 223.

The *Safar-nāma* is the account of Nāšir-i Khusraw's seven-year journey (437–444/1045–1052) to many parts of Central Asia, Persia, Near East, and Fatimid Egypt, where he furthered his education as an Ismaili *dā'ī*. He presents a vivid account of the splendour of Fatimid Cairo, in the reign of al-Mustanšir, with its royal palaces, gates, gardens and shops.

- *Shish faṣl, yā Rawshanā'ī-nāma-yi nathr*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow. Ismaili Society Series B, no. 6. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1949. pp. 111 (English) + 47 (Persian).

A short Ismaili treatise on *tawḥīd*, God's word (*kalima*), the soul (*nafs*), the intellect ('*aql*), *nāṭiq*, *asās*, *imām*, and reward and punishment in the hereafter.

- *Wajh-i dīn*, ed., Maḥmūd Ghanīzāda and Muḥammad Qazwīnī. Berlin: Kavianī, 1343/1924. pp. 304; reprinted, *Zabān va farhang-i Īrān*, 54, Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1348 Sh./1969. pp. 304; ed., Gholam Reza Aavani with an English introduction by S. Hossein Nasr. Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Publication no. 34. Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1398/1977. pp. xvi + 362. Urdu trans., Našir al-Dīn Našir Hunzā'ī, *Vajh-i dīn*. Gilgit, Hunza: Dār al-Ḥikma al-Isma'īliyya, n.d. 2 vols. Urdu selections, Našir al-Dīn Našir Hunzā'ī, *Intikhāb az Vajh-i dīn*. Karachi: The Aga Khan Ismaili Association [for] Pakistan, 1976. pp. 132. Partial Russian trans. (covering the eleventh chapter), in Aleksandr Semenov, *K dogmatike pamirskogo ismailizma, XI glava "Litsa veri" Nasir-i Khosrova*. Tashkent, 1926. pp. xiv + 52.

Divided into 51 sections (*guftārs*), this work contains esoteric interpretations of a range of religious commandments such as prayer, fasting, *hajj*, etc. This is Nāṣir-i Khusraw's major work on *ta'wīl*, preserved and read widely by the Nizārī Ismailis of Central Asia.

- *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed., Muḥammad Badhl al-Rahmān. Berlin: Kaviani, 1341/1923. pp. 520; ed., 'Alī Qavīm. Tehran: n.p., 1338 Sh./1960. pp. 322. Arabic trans., Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, *Zād al-musāfirīn*. Cairo, 1364/1945.

Composed in 453/1061, this is one of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's most important philosophical works dealing with a variety of metaphysical topics, with special reference to the voyage of the soul from the physical world in quest of salvation to the spiritual world. Here, Nāṣir also refutes the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*).

**al-Nisābūrī, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad)  
(d. after 386/996), Persian Ismaili *dā'ī* and author**

- *Istītār al-imām wa-tafarruq al-du'āt fi'l-jazā'ir li-ṭalabihi*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow, in *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, al-Jāmi'a al-Miṣriyya/ Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt*, 4, part 2 (1936), pp. 93–107; ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 111–132. English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, pp. 157–183.

An important historical source, authorized by the Fatimids themselves, this work deals with the settlement of the early Ismaili Imam 'Abd Allāh in Salamiyya in the 3rd/9th century, and the eventful journey of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, another early imam and the future founder of the Fatimid state, from Syria to North Africa.

- *Ithbāt al-imāma*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1404/1984. pp. 94; ed. and English trans., Arzina R. Lalani as *Degrees of Excellence: A Fatimid Treatise on Leadership in Islam*. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, forthcoming.

Composed in the reign of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Ḥākim (386–411/996–1021), this short treatise argues for the legitimacy of the imamate and its necessity. Defining the imamate as the foundation of religion, the author resorts to a variety of arguments for establishing his thesis, ranging from the ten categories of the philosophers to several metaphors from minerals, plants and animals.

- *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī adab al-du‘āt*, facsimile ed., V. Klemm, in her *Die Mission des fāṭimidischen Agenten*, pp. 205–277. Summary English trans., V. Klemm, in her *Memoirs of a Mission*, Appendix 2, pp. 117–127.

This work, on the attributes and functions of an ideal *dā‘ī* which has not survived directly, is preserved at the end of Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī’s *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*, still in manuscript form, and also in the second volume of al-Bharūchī’s *Kitāb al-azhār*.

**Nīshāpūrī, Muḥammad b. Surkh**  
(fl. 4th/10th century), Persian Ismaili author

- *Sharḥ-i qaṣīda-yi Fārsī-yi Khwāja Abu’l-Haytham Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Jurjānī* (*Commentaire de la qasida Ismaélienne d’Abu’l-Haitham Jorjani*), ed., Henry Corbin and Muḥammad Mu‘īn. Bibliothèque Iranienne, 6. Tehran: Département d’Iranologie de l’Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1955. pp. 113 (French) + 125 (Persian) + 12 (Persian).

This is another commentary using Ismaili *ta‘wīl*, other than Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s much more detailed *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn*, on Khwāja Abu’l-Haytham Jurjānī’s *Qaṣīda* by one of his disciples.

**Nizārī Quhistānī, Ḥakīm Sa‘d al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn**  
(d. 720/1320), Nizārī poet and *dā‘ī* in Persia

- *Dastūr-nāma*, ed. and Russian trans., Evgeniy Bertel’s, in *Vostochniy Sbornik* (Leningrad), 1 (1926), pp. 37–104; also in Nizārī’s *Dīwān*, ed., Maḥāhir Muṣaffā, vol. 1, pp. 257–299.

Composed in 710/1310, this *mathnawī* poem of 576 verses (*bayts*) contains many Ismaili ideas.

- *Dīwān*, ed., Maḥāhir Muṣaffā and presented by Maḥmūd Rafī‘ī, based on ten manuscripts as well as the doctoral thesis of Sayyid ‘Alī Riḍā Mujtahidzāda. Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī, 1371–73 Sh./1992–94. 2 vols.

Containing more than 10,000 verses (*bayts*) in *ghazal* form, Nizārī’s collected poems contain numerous Ismaili ideas expressed in Sufi terminologies.

- *Safar-nāma*, excerpts, in Chingiz G.A. Bayburdi, *Zhizn’ i tvorchestvo Nizārī*. Selections, English trans., in N. Eboo Jamal, *Surviving the*



*Mongols* (with the original verses in the Persian translation of N. Eboo Jamal's *Surviving the Mongols*, tr., F. Badra'i, as *Baqā-yi ba'd az Mughūl*).

A *mathnawī* poem of 1200 verses (*bayts*) describing Nizārī's two-year (678–681/1280–1282) journey through Persia and Transcaucasia. This versified travelogue was evidently completed before Nizārī's appointment in 694/1294 as court poet to 'Alī Shāh, the Mihrabānid governor of Quhistān in eastern Persia.

**al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Tamīmī**  
**al-Qayrawānī al-Maghribī, al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 363/974),**  
**Ismaili chief *dā'ī* and Fatimid chief *qāḍī***

- *Da'ā'im al-Islām fī dhikr al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām wa'l-qaḍāyā wa'l-aḥkām*, ed., Āṣaf b. 'Alī Aṣghar Fayḍī (Asaf A.A. Fyzee). Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1951–61. 2 vols; reprinted, Cairo, 1963–67. 2 vols; ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1416/1995. 2 vols. English trans., Asaf A. A. Fyzee, completely revised and annotated by Ismail K. Poonawala, as *The Pillars of Islam: Volume I, Acts of Devotion and Religious Observances*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002. pp. xxxiii + 558. Persian trans., 'Abd Allāh Umīdvār as *Tarjama-yi Kitāb-i Da'ā'im al-Islām*. Tehran: al-Ḥājj Sayyid Manṣūr Nādirī and Mu'assasa-yi Maṭbū'āti-yi Ismā'īliyyān, 1372 Sh./1993. 2 vols. Urdu trans., Yūnus Shakīb Mubārakpūrī as *Da'ā'im al-Islām*. Surat: Idāra-yi Adabiyāt-i Fāṭimī, 1964–67. 2 vols.
- Selections from the *Da'ā'im al-Islām: Kitāb al-jihād*, ed., Āṣaf b. 'Alī Aṣghar Fayḍī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1370/1951. pp. 23 (English) + 70 (Arabic). English trans., Gerald G. Salinger, in his "The *Kitāb al-Jihād* from Qāḍī Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām*" (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 1–107; also in Gerard G. Salinger, "A Muslim Mirror for Princes", *MW*, 46 (1956), pp. 24–39. *Kitāb al-waṣāyā*, ed. and English trans., A.A.A. Fyzee as *The Ismaili Law of Wills*. London, etc.: Published for the University of Bombay, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933. pp. vii + 94. *Kitāb al-walāya*, English trans., A.A.A. Fyzee as *The Book of Faith*. Bombay: Nichiketa Publications, 1974. pp. xix + 116.

Commissioned by the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu'izz and supervised

closely by him, the *Da‘ā‘im al-Islām* was composed around 349/960 in two volumes, with volume one on ‘*ibādāt* (acts of worship) and volume two on *mu‘āmalāt* (worldly affairs and transactions). It served as the official, legal code of the Fatimid state. This work has continued to be used by the Ṭayyibī Ismailis of India and elsewhere as their principal authority in legal matters; see I.K. Poonawala, “al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān and Isma‘ili Jurisprudence”, in *MIHT*, pp. 117–143.

- *Iftitāḥ al-da‘wa*, ed., Wadād al-Qāḍī. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1970. pp. 310; ed., Farḥāt al-Dashrāwī (Farhat Dachraoui). Tunis: al-Sharika al-Tūnusiyya li’l-Tawzi‘, 1975. pp. 143 (French) + 396 (Arabic). Excerpt, ed. and English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, text pp. 40–46, translation pp. 224–231.

Completed in 346/957, this is the earliest known historical work in Ismaili literature covering the background to the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate. The *Iftitāḥ* was apparently partially based on the *Sīra* of the *dā‘ī* Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. 302/914), which has not survived. The *Iftitāḥ al-da‘wa* is studied in T. Nagel, *Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden*.

- *Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib*, ed., Sham‘un T. Lokhandwalla. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972. pp. xiv + 140 (English) + 262 (Arabic); ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1393/1973. pp. 228.

Composed after 343/954, this legal work in refutation of Sunni schools of law is one of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān’s extant polemical treatises.

- *Kitāb asās al-ta‘wīl*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr. Silsilat al-makḥṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya, 2. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, [1960]. pp. 416.

This work, on Ismaili *ta‘wīl* of Qur’anic stories of prophets from Ādam to Muḥammad, was translated into Persian by al-Mu‘ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī under the title of *Bunyād-i ta‘wīl*, which is still in manuscript form. Only two copies of this Persian translation, belonging to the Hamdānī and Zāhid ‘Alī collections of Ismaili manuscripts, have come to light. The Hamdānī collection is now partly in the keeping of Professor Abbas Hamdani while the Zāhid ‘Alī collection is housed at The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library in London.

- *Kitāb al-iqtīṣār*, ed., Muḥammad Waḥīd Mīrzā. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1376/1957. pp. xxxviii (French) + 174 (Arabic); ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1416/1996. pp. 128.

An abridgement of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Kitāb al-īdāh* on *fiqh*, which was composed before the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* but has not survived directly. The *Iqtiṣār* was used later by al-Nu'mān's descendants as Fatimid chief judges (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) in public sessions on law held in the mosques of Cairo.

- *Kitāb al-himma fī ādāb atbā' al-a'imma*, ed., Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. *Silsilat makhtūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, 3. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, [1948]. pp. 142; ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1979. pp. 216; ed., Muḥammad Sharīf 'Alī Yamānī al-Ḥarāzī. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1416/1996. pp. 143. Abridged English trans., Jawad Muscati and Khan Bahadur A.M. Moulvi as *Selections from Qazi Noaman's Kitab-ul-Himma fi Adabi Ataba-el-a'emma or Code of Conduct for the Followers of Imam*. Ismailia Association [W.] Pakistan Series, no. 1. Karachi: The Ismailia Association [W.] Pakistan, 1950. pp. ii + 135; reprinted, Mombasa: The Ismailia Association for Africa, n.d.

Belonging to the *adab* genre in Arabic literature, on the code of conduct in different social contexts, this work explains proper behaviour towards the imam and in his presence. As a rare instance of its kind, in the final, fifteenth chapter, al-Nu'mān explains the virtues and qualifications of an ideal *dā'ī*.

- *Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyārāt*, ed., al-Ḥabīb al-Faqī (Habib Feki), Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ and Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Mohammed Yalaoui). Tunis: al-Maṭba'a al-Rasmiyya li'l-Jumhūriyya al-Tūnusiyya, 1978. pp. 648; 2nd ed., revised by Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997. pp. 568.

A collection of lectures and anecdotes on the activities of the first four Fatimid caliph-imams, this voluminous work also reports numerous conversations between al-Nu'mān and the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu'izz on religious matters and affairs of the Fatimid state.

- *Mafātīḥ al-ni'ma*, ed., Muhtadī Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Salamiyya: Dār al-Ghadir, 1992. pp. 66.

A short work written in reply to a certain Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī, explaining the necessity of obeying the imam.

- *al-Manāqib wa'l-mathālib* (also known as *Kitāb al-manāqib li-ahl bayt rasūl Allāh wa'l-mathālib li-Banī Umayya*), ed., Mājid b. Aḥmad al-'Aṭīyya. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-'Alamī li'l-Maṭbū'āt, 1423/2002. pp. 445.

This work provides in typical Shi'i fashion details on the virtues of the Prophet Muḥammad's clan of Banū Hāshim, his family (*ahl al-bayt*), the first Shi'i Imam 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the 'Alids and other Ṭālibids; and the impiety of the Banū Umayya and the Umayyad caliphs.

- *al-Risāla al-mudhhiba*, ed., 'Arif Tāmir, in his *Khams rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, pp. 27–87.

This is a philosophical work, in three chapters, in the form of answers to a number of questions on cosmology, eschatology, ranks of the Ismaili hierarchy, etc. The attribution of this work to al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān may be doubtful.

- *Sharḥ al-akhbār fī faḍā'il al-a'imma al-aṭhār*, ed., al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī. Qumm: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1409–12/1988–92. 3 vols; reprinted, Beirut: Dār al-Thaqalayn, 1994. 3 vols. Excerpts, ed. and English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, text pp. 1–34, translation pp. 97–122; partial ed., *al-Fuz' al-awwal min kitāb sharḥ al-akhbār*. Surat: Al Jameatus-Saifiyah, n.d. [1960s]. pp. 49.

A collection of non-legal traditions (*ḥadīths*) compiled during the reign of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (341–365/953–975); it was revised and approved by the Fatimid caliph-imam himself. Divided into 16 parts, it contains about 1460 traditions, all of which, according to al-Nu'mān, were well-known and authentic. Two-thirds of this work is related to the Imam 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, with the remaining portion dealing with the *faḍā'il* or virtues of the *ahl al-bayt* and the early imams up to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). The final parts (15–16) relate to the beginning of the Ismaili *da'wa* in North Africa and the appearance of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī there. Many of the sources used by al-Nu'mān in producing this compendium are no longer extant.

- *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im*, (also known as *Tarbiyat al-mu'minīn*), ed., Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A'zamī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1967–72. 3 vols.; ed., 'Arif Tāmir. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1415/1995. 3 vols. Selection, entitled *Tarbiyat al-mu'minīn*, ed., 'Ādil al-'Awwā, in his *Muntakhabāt Ismā'īliyya*, pp. 3–85.

This is the esoteric counterpart to the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, based on al-Nu'mān's weekly lectures delivered as the *majālis al-ḥikma*. Divided into 12 parts (*juz's*), each subdivided into 10 lectures (*majālis*), al-Nu'mān here provides esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of *walāya*, *tahāra*, *ṣalāt* and other acts of worship (*'ibādāt*).

- *al-Urjūza al-mukhtāra*, ed., Ismā‘īl Qurbān Ḥusayn Pūnāwālā (Ismail K. Poonawala). Montreal: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1970. pp. 10 (English) + 357 (Arabic); ed., Yūsuf al-Biqā‘ī, with an introduction by ‘Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1419/1999. pp. 181.

Written in the time of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Qā‘im (322–334/934–946) and dealing with the issue of the imamate, this versified treatise defends the rights of the Fatimids against the arguments forwarded by their Muslim opponents, including the Sunnis, the Mu‘tazila, the Khārijīs, the Zaydīs and several other Shi‘ī groups. With 2375 verses, this work is one of the longest *arājiz* in the history of Arabic literature.

**Raqqāmī Khurāsānī, ‘Alī Qulī b. Imām Qulī Khākī Khurāsānī  
(fl. 11th/17th century), Persian Nizārī poet**

- *Qaṣīda-yi dhurriyya*, ed. and Russian trans., Aleksandr S. Semenov, in his “Ismailitskaya oda, posvyashchennaya voploshcheniyam ‘Aliyaboga” [An Ismaili Ode dedicated to ‘Ali], *Iran* (Leningrad), 2 (1928), pp. 1–24; partial ed. and English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismailitica*, pp. 73–76.

In some manuscripts, this *Qaṣīda*, comprised of a versified list of Nizārī imams, is attributed to Raqqāmī’s father Khākī Khurāsānī. It seems that a later poet has continued the list of the Nizārī imams beyond those living in the 11th/17th century, as the enumeration ends with Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (1877–1957), who succeeded to the imamate in 1302/1885.

**Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān b. Salmān (or Sulaymān)  
(d. 589/1193), Nizārī chief *dā‘ī* in Syria**

- *Faṣl min al-lafz al-sharīf, hādhihi manāqib al-mawlā Rāshid al-Dīn*, ed. and French trans., Stanislas Guyard, in his “Un grand maître des Assassins”, pp. 387–489; ed., Mehmet Şerefeddin (Yaltkaya), in *Darül-fünun İlâhiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Istanbul), 2, no. 7 (1928), pp. 45–71; ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, in his *Sinān Rāshid al-Dīn*, pp. 163–214. Excerpt, from another text with the same title, ed. with French trans., S. Guyard, in his *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, fragment I, Arabic text pp. 193–195, translation pp. 275–284; an earlier French

translation of this excerpt, fragment I, may be found in Jean Baptiste L.J. Rousseau's "Extraits d'un Livre qui contient la doctrine des Ismaélis" (1812), pp. 226–234.

This hagiographic text attributed to Sinān may have been compiled by the Syrian Nizārī *dā'ī* Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530 or 947/1540), or possibly by another Abū Firās who lived earlier. One of the earliest Ismaili works studied by the orientalists, the manuscript of this text (dated 724/1324) was discovered in Syria by Joseph Catafago, a dragoman at the Prussian consulate in Syria; see his "Lettre de M. Catafago à M. Mohl", pp. 485–493.

**al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān  
(d. 322/934), Qarmaṭī (Ismaili) *dā'ī* in Persia**

- *A'lām al-nubuwwa*, ed., Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣāwī and Ghulām Riḍā A'vānī, with an English introduction by S. Hossein Nasr. Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Publication no. 33. Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1397/1977. pp. xxxii + 353. Urdu trans., 'Azīz Allāh Najīb. Karachi: Iqbal Brothers, 1998. pp. 551. Selections: Paul Kraus, in his "Raziana II", *Orientalia*, NS, 5 (1936), pp. 35–56, 358–378; also in *Rasā'il falsafīyya li-Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī*, ed., P. Kraus. Universitatis Fouadi I Litterarum Facultatis Publicationum, Fasc. XXII. Cairo: n.p., 1939, pp. 291–313; and in 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-'Abd, *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī li-Abī Bakr al-Rāzī*. Cairo: n.p., Maktabat al-Naḥḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1978, pp. 125–147. Partial French trans., Fabienne Brion, in his "Philosophie et révélation. Traduction annotée de six extraits du *Kitāb A'lām al-Nubuwwa* d'Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī", *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale*, 28 (1986), pp. 134–162, and in Fabienne Brion, "Le temps, l'espace et la genèse du monde selon Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. Présentation et traduction des chapitres 1, 3–4 du *Kitāb A'lām al-Nubuwwa* d'Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī", *Revue Philosophique de Louvain*, 87 (1989), pp. 139–164. Excerpt, English trans., Everett K. Rowson as *A'lām al-nubuwwah*, *Science of Prophecy*, in *APP*, pp. 140–172.

A work in defence of revelation and prophethood, and in refutation of the physician-philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), the *A'lām* is essentially a record of the disputation (*munāzarāt*) held between the two Rhazes in Rayy in the presence of that city's governor and other notables. This disputation is also reported in al-Kirmānī's *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya*, which states (pp. 2–3)

that it took place in the presence of Mardāwīj (d. 323/935), the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty of northern Persia with their capital at Rayy.

- *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ*, ed., Ḥasan Mīnūchihr and Maḥdī Muḥaqqiq, with an English introduction by Shin Nomoto. *Wisdom of Persia*, 42. Tehran: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch; Tehran University, 1377 Sh./1998. pp. 34 (English) + 49 (Persian) + 350 (Arabic). Selection, English trans., Shin Nomoto, in his "An Ismā'īlī Thinker on the Prophets in the Cosmic Correspondence: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī I", in *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies*, 34 (2002), pp. 97–152.

This book was composed to correct certain ideas expressed in the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* written by the Central Asian Qarmaṭī *dā'ī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī who was executed by the Sāmānids in 332/943. The *dā'ī* al-Kirmānī defends Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's corrections of al-Nasafī's views in his own *Kitāb al-riyād*, which also contains fragments of al-Rāzī's *al-Iṣlāḥ*. This work deals mainly with prophethood, specifically with the *nuṭqaqā'*, from Adam to Jesus, and the laws enunciated by them; al-Rāzī also discusses the nature of the soul (*naḥs*), cosmogony, types of matter, etc. This is one of the earliest extant Ismaili works manifesting Neoplatonic influences.

- *Kitāb al-zīna fi'l-kalimāt al-Islāmiyya al-'Arabiyya*, part 1 (pp. 152) and part 2 (pp. 235), ed., Ḥusayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī. Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī bi-Miṣr, 1956–58; part 3, ed., 'Abd Allāh Sallūm al-Sāmarrā'ī, in his *al-Ghuluww wa'l-firaq al-ghāliya fi'l-haḍāra'l-Islāmiyya*. Baghdad: Dār Wāsiṭ li'l-Nashr, 1392/1972, pp. 225–312; excerpt, French trans., in Louis Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam Iranien*. Publications de la Société des Études Iraniennes, 7. Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1934, pp. 43–44; reprinted in L. Massignon, *Opera Minora*, ed., Youakim Moubarac. Beirut: Dar al-Maarif, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 475–476; reprinted, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 475–476.

This is a lexicographical work on religious terms for the attributes of God, rituals, etc. The final section of this dictionary of Islamic technical terms deals with Muslim sects and schools of thought. As a rare instance of its kind in Ismaili literature, *al-Zīna* is mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist* and in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, reflecting its ready availability to non-Ismaili milieus.

**Şadr al-Dīn, Pīr (fl. end of 8th/14th century),  
Satpanth Nizārī preacher-saint in India**

- *Bāvan Bodh; Sō Kriyā, Sahi Samrani*, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his “Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature”, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 115–122, also in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 63–67.
- *Būjh Nirañjan*, ed. and English trans., Ali S. Asani, in his *The Būjh Nirañjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem*, pp. 120–193.  
Professor A. Asani has refuted the traditional attribution of this lengthy poem of the *ginān* literature on the mystical path to Pīr Şadr al-Dīn, considering it rather as an anonymous composition in Hindu-stani emanating from the Qādirī Sufi circles of South Asia.
- *Dasa Avatāra*, excerpt, covering the tenth *avatāra*, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his “Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature”, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 112–115.
- *Saloko Nāno*, selections, English trans., A. Esmail, in his *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 151–179, in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 76–79.
- *Gināns*, selections, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his “Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature”, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 104–109; in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 69, 71, 85, 87, 89, 91, 101, 107, 109, 111, 113, 119, 121, 123; in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 79, 81–82, 83, 85–86, 90–91, 92, 93–94, 95–96, 101, 104–105, 108–109, 110–112, 113, 114, 119–120, 132, 136, 137, 141–145, 146, 147, and in A.S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 159–161, 167.

**al-Shādili al-Yamānī, Abū Manşūr,  
Syrian Nizārī author**

- *Kitāb al-bayān li-mabāḥith al-ikhwān*, ed., Muşţafā Ghālib. Silsilat al-dirāsāt al-Ismaʿīliyya, 4. Salamīyya: n. p., 1375/1956. pp. 112.

Divided into seven sections (*mabāḥith*), this work deals with *tawḥīd*, the creation, imamate, ranks of the Ismaili hierarchy, etc. According to I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 297, it is a plagiarized version of Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī’s *Risālat maṭālī’ al-shumūs*. No biographical details are available on this author.



**al-Shahrastānī, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm  
(d. 548/1153), Ash'arī (Ismaili?) theologian and heresiographer**

- *Majlis-i maktūb Shahrastānī mun'aqid dar Khwārazm*, ed., Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā'inī, in his *Sharḥ-i ḥāl va āthār-i ḥujjat al-ḥaqq Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Shahrastānī*. Tehran: Chāp-i Tābān, 1343 Sh./1964, pp. 1–38; also in al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-nihal*, Persian trans., Afḍal al-Dīn Ṣadr Turka-yi Iṣfahānī (d. 850/1446), ed., Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā'inī. Tehran: Iqbāl, 1350 Sh./1971, pp. 111–161. Reprinted with French trans., Diane Steigerwald as *Majlis: Discours sur l'Ordre et la création*. Saint-Nicolas, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998. pp. 168.

The *Majlis*, al-Shahrastānī's only extant treatise in Persian, was originally delivered as a sermon to a Twelver Shī'i audience in Khwārazm around the year 540/1145. This work on the two worlds of order (*amr*) and creation (*khalq*), clearly reflects Ismaili perspectives, including the Neoplatonized Ismaili cosmology propounded by Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī and other Ismaili *dā'īs* operating in Khurāsān and Transoxania during the Fatimid period. This brief text of some thirty printed pages is also permeated with Qur'anic verses and *ḥadīths* for which al-Shahrastānī provides esoteric interpretations through the methodology of *ta'wīl*.

- *Kitāb al-muṣāra'a*, ed., Suhayr Muḥammad Mukhtār as *Kitāb muṣāra'at al-falāsifa*. Cairo, 1396/1976; ed., Ḥasan al-Mu'izzī, together with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Maṣārī' al-muṣārī'*. Makhṭūṭāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashī al-'amma, 11. Qumm: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashī, 1405/1984–85, pp. 1–127; ed., Muwaffaq Fawzī al-Jabr as *Muṣāra'at al-falāsifa*. Silsilat turāthunā. Damascus: Dār al-Ma'add and Dār al-Namīr, 1997. pp. 128, ed. and English trans., Wilferd Madelung and Toby Mayer as *Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics*. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 2. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001. pp. 105 (English) + 135 (Arabic).

This book represents an intellectual wrestling match (*muṣāra'a*) with Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), whose concept of the 'necessary being' (*wājib al-wujūd*) is refuted here on the basis of Ismaili ideas, especially the absolute transcendence of God beyond existence and comprehension by human reason. Al-Shahrastānī's Ismaili thought is investigated in D. Steigerwald, *La pensée philosophique et théologique de Shahrastānī*.

- *Tafsīr al-Shahrestānī al-musammā Maḡāṭih al-asrār wa-maṣābih al-abrār*, facsimile edition of the unique manuscript at the Library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Tehran, with introduction by ‘Abd al-Husayn Ḥā’irī. Tehran: Center for the Publication of Manuscripts, 1368 Sh./1989. 2 vols; ed., Muḡammad ‘Alī Ādharshab. Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr-i Mirath-i Maktūb and Iḡyā-i Kitāb, 1417–/1997–.

A partial Qur’an commentary bearing an Ismaili imprint. In this work, produced a few years before 540/1145, al-Shahrestānī fully employs the methodology of Ismaili *ta’wīl*.

### Shahriyār b. al-Ḥasan

(fl. 5th/11th century), Ismaili *dā’ī* in Persia and Yaman

- *Risāla fi’l-radd ‘alā man yunkir al-‘ālam al-rūḡānī*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū‘at rasā’il*, pp. 183–189.

This epistle on the spiritual world, written as a reply to al-Sulṡān ‘Āmir b. Sulaymān al-Zawāḡī (d. 492/1099), a tribal leader in Yaman, is commonly but wrongly included in the collection of thirteen *Rasā’il* attributed to Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. After his initial career as a *dā’ī* in Persia, Shahriyār settled in Yaman serving the Ismaili Ṣulayḡids who recognized the suzerainty of the Fatimids.

### Shams al-Dīn, Pīr (fl. 7th/13th century),

Satpanth Nizārī preacher-saint in India

- *Garbī*, a collection of 28 poems, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his “Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature”, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 55–85.
- *Gināns*, selections, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his “Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature”, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, p. 103; an anthology of Pīr Shams’s *Gināns*, including the 28 *Garbīs*, translated by Tazim R. Kassam, in her *Songs of Wisdom*, pp. 165–370; selections also in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 73, 91, 93, 103, 104, 109, 111, 113, 117, 119, 129, 131, 133; in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 80, 89, 102–103, 116–117, 118, 130–131, 138, 139–140, 148–149, and in A.S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 166–167.

**Shams al-Dīn b. Aḥmad (or Muḥammad) al-Ṭayyibī**  
**(d. 652/1254), Nizārī poet and *dāʿī* in Syria**

- *Risālat al-dustūr wa-daʿwat al-muʿminīn liʾl-ḥudūr*, ed., ʿĀrif Tāmīr, in his *Arbaʿ rasāʾil Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 67–101.

A treatise on the rules for entering the Ismaili *daʿwa* and the attributes of the master (*murshid*) and disciple (*mustajīb*), dedicated to the penultimate ruler of Alamūt, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (618–653/1221–1255). The author evidently spent some time in Alamūt at the court of this Nizārī imam.

**Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, Pīr**  
**(d. 1302/1884), Persian Nizārī author**

- *Kitāb-i khiṭābāt-i ʿāliya*, ed., Hūshang Ujāqī, with an English Foreword by W. Ivanow. Ismaili Society Series A, no. 14. Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1963. pp. xv (English) + 82 (Persian).

The writings of Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, the eldest son of Āqā ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1302/1885), Āghā Khān II, the forty-seventh (Qāsim-Shāhī) Nizārī imam, represent the earliest examples of a modern revival in Nizārī Ismaili literary activities in Persian. In these sixty-four *khiṭābāt* or sermons written before 1298/1881, the author discusses *tawḥīd*, the attributes of God, prophethood, imamate, the origin of the Khoja community, esoteric interpretation (*taʿwīl*) of prayer, fasting, *ḥajj*, *jihād*, etc., the Nizārī-Mustaʿlī schism, imams of the Alamūt and post-Alamūt periods, genealogy of the Nizārī imams, virtues of a true believer (*muʿmin*), etc.

- *Risāla dar ḥaqīqat-i dīn*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *True Meaning of Religion (Risala dar Haqiqati Din)*. Islamic Research Association [Series], no. 3. Bombay: A.A.A. Fyzee, 1933. pp. iii + 28 (English) + 37 (Persian). Facsimile edition of the autograph copy by Wladimir Ivanow. Ismaili Society Series B, no. 1. Bombay: Published for the Ismaili Society by Thacker and Co., 1947. pp. xi + 75; reprinted, Ismaili Society Series B, no. 8, Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1955. pp. xv + 75. English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *True Meaning of Religion, or Risala dar Haqiqat-i Din*. Ismaili Society Series B, no. 2. 2nd ed., Bombay: Published for the Ismaili Society by Thacker and Co., 1947. pp. xiv + 51; 3rd ed., Ismaili Society Series B, no. 9. Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1956. pp. xix + 52. Urdu trans., ʿAbbās Sabzavārī, *Risāla dar ḥaqīqat-i*

*dīn*. Karachi: Ismailia Association Pakistan, [1950]. pp. 106.

Intended for the general reader, this incomplete treatise contains a summary exposition of certain Ismaili teachings, with special reference to the doctrine of the imamate as well as ethical and mystical aspects of Ismailism.

**al-Sijistānī (al-Sijzī), Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq b. Aḥmad  
(d. after 361/971), Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Khurāsān and Transoxania**

- *Ithbāt al-nubū’āt* (or *al-nubuwwāt*), ed., ‘Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1966. pp. xiv + 201.

In this work, comprising seven sections (*maqālas*), al-Sijistānī puts forward a variety of proofs for the necessity of prophecy (*nubuwwa*), also explaining different prophetic eras.

- *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, ed., Henry Corbin. Bibliothèque Iranienne, 1. Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1949. pp. 24 (French) + 114 (Persian). Excerpt, in Mahdī Bayānī, *Namūna-yi sukhan-i Fārsī*. Tehran: Shirkat-i Chāp-i Khudkār, 1317 Sh./1938, pp. 226–232. French trans., Henry Corbin as *Le dévoilement des choses cachées: Kashf al-Maḥjūb, Recherches de philosophie Ismaélienne*. Collection «Islam spirituel». Lagrasse: Verdier, 1988. pp. 139. Partial English trans., Hermann Landolt as *Kashf al-maḥjūb, Unveiling of the Hidden*, in *APP*, pp. 71–124.

Originally written in Arabic, only this Persian paraphrase or translation of the text has survived. The Persian version, perhaps produced by Nāṣir-i Khusraw or the commentator of Abū’l-Haytham Jurjānī’s *Qaṣīda*, has been dated to the 5th/11th century for linguistic reasons. The *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (*The Unveiling of the Hidden*) comprises seven chapters or discourses (*maqālāt*), each one subdivided into seven parts (*jastārs*), which are to be regarded as the most important sources of divine knowledge, or gnosis, which the book seeks to unveil. These discourses deal with *tawḥīd* and the stages of creation, namely, intellect, soul and nature as well as prophethood and resurrection (*qiyāmat*).

- *Kitāb al-iftikhār*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1980. pp. 132; ed., Ismail K. Poonawala. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000. pp. xxviii (English) + 497 (Arabic).

Composed in 17 chapters toward the end of his life, around 361/971, this is a polemical work which also presents a summary exposition of

Ismaili doctrine and preserves remnants of the mythological cosmology propounded by the early Ismailis, including the spiritual beings called *jadd*, *fath* and *khayāl* which mediated between the spiritual and the physical worlds.

- *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*, ed. and French trans., Henry Corbin, in his *Trilogie Ismaélienne*. Bibliothèque Iranienne, 9. Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1961, Arabic text pp. 1–97, translation as *Le livre des sources*, pp. 5–127; ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijārī, 1965. pp. 174. English trans., Paul E. Walker as *The Book of Wellsprings*, in his *The Wellsprings of Wisdom*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994. pp. 37–111. Excerpt, English trans., Latimah Parvin Peerwani as *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*, *The Book of Wellsprings*, in *APP*, pp. 124–138.

Composed around 350/961 and later paraphrased extensively in Nāṣiri Khusraw's *Khwān al-ikhwān*, this is an advanced text containing a corpus of philosophical and doctrinal material. It is organized as a collection of themes, each one being the subject of a separate section called *yanbūʿ* (plural, *yanābīʿ*), meaning wellspring or source. Some forty such themes are covered here, ranging from metaphysical proofs of the universal intellect and the universal soul, the transcendence of God and the nature of the creation, to religious doctrines concerning prophethood, angels, resurrection, and eternal reward and punishment. The primary theme of the *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ* is, however, the wellsprings of human knowledge and spiritual life in each era of religious history. Al-Sijistānī's metaphysical system is investigated extensively by P.E. Walker in his *Early Philosophical Shiism* and other publications.

- *al-Risāla al-bāhira fi'l-ma'ād*, ed., Bustān Hirjī (Boustan Hirji), in *Tahqīqāt-i Islāmī*, 7 (1371 Sh./1992), pp. 21–50. Persian trans., 'Abd Allāh Nūrānī, in *Tahqīqāt-i Islāmī*, 7 (1371 Sh./1992), pp. 51–62. English trans., in B. Hirji's doctoral thesis "A Study of *al-Risālah al-Bāhira*", pp. 60–75.

A short epistle revolving around eschatology (*ma'ād*) and salvation.

- *Sullam al-najāt*, ed., Muhtadī Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Salamīyya: Dār al-Ghadīr, 2002. pp. 119.

Here, al-Sijistānī expounds in summary form the doctrines that are essential for achieving salvation, including beliefs in God, His angels, books, messengers, the Last Day, resurrection, etc.

- *Tuḥfat al-mustajībīn*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmir, in his *Khams rasā’il Ismā‘īliyya*, pp. 145–155; reprinted in *al-Mashriq*, 61 (March–April, 1967), pp. 136–146; reprinted in his *Thalāth rasā’il Ismā‘īliyya*, pp. 5–20.

A short treatise on numerous Ismaili concepts and terms such as intellect (‘*aql*), soul (*nafs*), *jadd*, *fath*, *khayāl*, preceptor and followers (*sābiq* and *tālī*), the seven letters (*al-ḥurūf al-sab‘a*), etc.

**al-Sijzī, Abū Ya‘qūb, see al-Sijstānī, Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq**

**Sinān, Rāshid al-Dīn, see Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān b. Salmān**

**Sulaymān b. Ḥaydar, al-Shaykh (d. 1210/1795), Muḥammad-Shāhī, Nizārī *dā‘ī* in Syria**

- *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥaydariyya*, ed., ‘Ārif Tāmir, in his *Murāja‘āt Ismā‘īliyya*. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1415/1994, pp. 5–20.

In this *Qaṣīda* the imams of the Muḥammad-Shāhī (Mu‘minī) branch of Nizārī Ismailism are listed until Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Bāqir, the last known imam of this branch who lived in Awrangābād and was contemporary with the author. Subsequently, the bulk of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs switched their allegiance to the Qāsim-Shāhī line of Nizārī imams then represented by the Āghā Khāns. At present, the remnants of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs living in Maṣyāf, Qadmūs and a few surrounding villages in central Syria, are evidently awaiting the reappearance of their last known imam as the Mahdi.

**al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī’l-Ḥifāz al-Ḥajūrī al-Hamdānī (d. 533/1138), Ṭayyibī Musta‘lī *dā‘ī* and poet in Yaman**

- *Dīwān al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb*, ed., Ismā‘īl Qurbān Ḥusayn (Ismail K. Poonawala), in his *al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb: ḥayātuhu wa-shi‘ruhu*. Maktabat al-dirāsāt al-‘Arabiyya, 42. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif bi-Miṣr, 1967. pp. 97–241; 2nd ed., *al-Dirāsāt al-Fāṭimiyya*. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islamī, 1999, pp. 183–489.

In two parts, of which the first contains 26 poems in praise of the Fatimid imams and high dignitaries of the Ismaili *da‘wa* as well as theological and philosophical themes. The second part of the *Dīwān*,

recovered recently, has 31 poems in praise of the Şulayḥid queen, al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra (d. 532/1138), the Banū Ḥāshim and various tribes, also containing biographical details on al-Khaṭṭāb himself.

- *Risāla fī bayān i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, ed., Ismail K. Poonawala, in his "Al-Sulṭān al-Ḥaṭṭāb's Treatise on the *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*", *Arabica*, 41 (1994), pp. 84–126.

This is the only work in Ismaili literature dealing with the important Islamic dogma of the inimitability (*i'jāz*) of the Qur'an, defended here primarily on the basis of the Ismaili views on prophethood. In the second part of this *Risāla* the author refutes the arguments of those who allege that the religious commandments of the *sharī'a* are burdensome, affirming the Ismaili position of the Fatimid times that the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspects of religion and the *sharī'a* are complementary, and that both are indispensable.

**al-Şūrī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī**  
(fl. 5th/11th century), Syrian Ismaili poet

- *al-Qaṣīda al-Şūriyya*, ed., 'Arif Tāmir. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1955. pp. 74.

A poem on *tawḥīd*, the creation, spiritual hierarchies, the prophets from Ādam to Muḥammad, etc.

**Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn**  
(d. 1385/1965), Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī *dā'ī muṭlaq* in India

- *al-Risāla al-Ramaḍāniyya*. Bombay, 1337–75/1918–55. 40 vols. The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library has various volumes, ending in vol. 40.

In addition to the extensive corpus of the writings of Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, who led the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibīs for half a century (1333–1385/1915–1965) as their fifty-first *dā'ī muṭlaq*, this vast chrestomathy contains fragments and quotations from earlier Ismaili works.

**Tamīm b. al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh, Amīr Abū ‘Alī  
(d. 375/985), Fatimid prince and poet**

- *Dīwān Tamīm b. al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh al-Fāṭimī*, ed., Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A‘zamī, Aḥmad Yūsuf Najātī, Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Najjār and Muḥammad Kāmīl Ḥusayn. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1377/1957. pp. 476; 2nd ed., prepared by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A‘zamī. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1970. pp. 63 + 476; partial edition by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A‘zamī, in his *‘Abqariyyat al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, pp. 141–209.

A collection of poems on love, gardens, enjoyments of life, etc. Many of the poems are in praise of the imams, especially the poet’s father al-Mu‘izz (d. 365/975) and his younger brother al-‘Azīz (d. 386/996), who succeeded to the Ismaili imamate and Fatimid caliphate. Occasionally, Tamīm’s panegyrics also contain references to Ismaili teachings under the Fatimids. Tamīm’s poems belong to different genres, including *marthiyas* or elegies on the premature deaths of his brothers, and on the violent deaths of some of his ‘Alid ancestors.

**al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad  
(d. 672/1274), Shi‘i theologian, philosopher and scientist**

- *Āghāz va anjām* (or *Tadhkira*), ed., Īraj Afshār. Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 301. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1335 Sh./1956. pp. 50; facsimile ed., in Abū’l-Majd Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd Tabrīzī (fl. 8th/14th century), *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*. Tehran: Iran University Press, 1381 Sh./2002, pp. 352–357.

Divided into 20 chapters (*faṣls*), this is a work on eschatology and the origin and return of the human soul. Here, al-Ṭūsī elucidates the esoteric meanings and ethical underpinnings of eschatology as depicted in the Qur’an from Ismaili perspectives. The treatise was originally lithographed with some of al-Ṭūsī’s other works in Tehran in 1313/1895, and again in 1324/1906.

- *Maṭlūb al-mu‘minīn*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow, in his *Two Early Ismaili Treatises*. Bombay: A.A.A. Fyze, 1933, pp. 43–55.

This short treatise was written at the fortress of Alamūt, or Maymūndiz, at the request of a noble lady (*ḥaḍrat-i ‘ulyā*), from the household of the Nizārī Imam ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 653/1255), who wanted the author to compile a summary of the *Fuṣūl-i mubārak*, or epistles of an earlier Nizārī imam, and other Ismaili works. The four chapters



(*faşls*) of this brief and elementary treatise deal with eschatology, attributes of an Ismaili *mu'min* or believer, doctrine of solidarity and dissociation (*tawallā* and *tabarrā*), and the seven pillars of the *sharī'a* and their esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*) for the Ismailis.

- *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, ed. and English trans., Wladimir Ivanow as *The Rawdatu't-Taslim commonly called Taşawwurāt*. Ismaili Society Series A, no. 4. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1950. pp. lxxxviii (English) + 249 (English) + 160 (Persian); ed. and English trans., S. Jalal Badakhchani as *Paradise of Submission*, with an introduction by Hermann Landolt and analytical commentary by Christian Jambet. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 5. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, forthcoming. French trans., Christian Jambet as *La Convocation d'Alamūt. Somme de philosophie Ismaélienne*. Collection 'Islam spirituel'. Lagrasse: Verdier, 1996. pp. 374. Excerpt, English trans., based on the edition of the Persian text in S.J. Hosseini Badakhchani's doctoral thesis, "The Paradise of Submission", pp. 20–33, 35–59, 46–51, by Latimah Parvin Peerwani as *Rawḍat al-taslīm or Taşawwurāt, The Garden of Submission, or Notions*, in *APP*, pp. 357–378.

A comprehensive treatise expounding the Nizārī teachings of the Alamūt period, especially following the declaration of *qiyāma* in 559/1164. Here, the author also elaborates the new doctrine of *satr* or concealment of the spiritual truth (*ḥaqīqa*) under the veil of the *sharī'a*. Divided into 28 chapters or representations (*taşawwurāt*), it deals with a variety of themes such as the Creator, cosmogony, nature of human existence, ethics, eschatology, prophethood and imamate.

- *Risāla dar tawallā wa-tabarrā*, in Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashamī*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh. Silsila-yi intishārāt-i Mu'assasa-yi Va'z va Tablīgh-i Islāmī. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1339 Sh./1960, pp. 561–570; 2nd ed., Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1811. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1361 Sh./1982, pp. 561–570.

The Qur'anic concept of *tawallā wa-tabarrā*, or solidarity and dissociation, occupied an important place in the Nizārī teachings of the Alamūt period. Al-Ṭūsī elaborates the doctrine in this short treatise, composed around 633/1235 for his patron Nāşīr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Maṅşūr (d. 655/1257), the Nizārī *muḥtasham* or governor in Quhistān.

- *Sayr va sulūk*, lithographed, Tehran, n.d.; also in Naşīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī,

*Majmū‘a-yi rasā‘il-i Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Raḍavī. Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 308. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1335 Sh./1956, pp. 36–55; ed. and English trans., S. Jalal Badakhchani as *Contemplation and Action: The Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar*. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1998. pp. xiii + 86 (English) + 22 (Persian). Excerpt (pp. 26–47), reprinted as *Sayr wa Sulūk, Contemplation and Action*, in APP, pp. 344–356; excerpt, in M.T. Dānishpazhūh’s “Guftārī az Khwāja-yi Ṭūsī bi ravish-i Bāṭiniyān”, pp. 82–88.

This is al-Ṭūsī’s spiritual autobiography in which he explains his conversion to Ismailism as well as the Nizārī Ismaili doctrine of *ta‘lim*, or authoritative teaching by the imam. Composed in the Nizārī strongholds of Quhistān, the work takes the form of an extended letter addressed to the chief of the *dā‘īs*, a dignitary called Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad. Al-Ṭūsī spent some three decades, from around 624/1227 to 654/1256, in the Nizārī fortress communities of Persia.

**al-Yamānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad**  
(fl. 4th/10th century), Ismaili author

- *Sīrat al-ḥāḥib Ja‘far b. ‘Alī wa-khurūj al-Mahdī min Salamiyya*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow, in *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, al-Jāmi‘a al-Miṣriyya/Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt*, 4, part 2 (1936), pp. 107–133. English trans., W. Ivanow, in his *Ismaili Tradition*, pp. 184–223. French trans., M. Canard, in his “L’autobiographie d’un chambellan du Mahdī ‘Obeidallāh le Fāṭimide”, *Hespéris*, 39 (1952), pp. 279–324; reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1973, article V.

The autobiography of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī, chamberlain to the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mahdī (d. 322/934) that was compiled during the caliphate of al-‘Azīz (365–386/975–996) by a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī. It contains valuable details on al-Mahdī’s long journey (289–297/902–909) from Salamiyya in Syria to North Africa and his stay in Sijilmāsa, from where he was rescued by the *dā‘ī* Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī and taken to Raqqāda to be installed to the Fatimid caliphate. Ja‘far b. ‘Alī had accompanied al-Mahdī on this fateful journey. Born in 260/874–75, Ja‘far was an eyewitness to many important events in early Ismaili history.

## B. Collective Ismaili Works

- *Ta'rikh akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla and Dār al-Amāna, 1391/1971. pp. 127; 2nd ed., as *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*. Damascus: Dār Ḥassān, 1402/1982. pp. 77 + 483. Includes works by non-Ismaili authors, such as Thābit b. Sinān, al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Ibn Mālik al-Ḥammādī, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Zāfir and Ibn al-'Adīm. Our references to this book are to the second edition.
  - *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia: Volume II, Ismā'īlī and Hermetic-Pythagorean Philosophy*, ed., Seyyed Hossein Nasr with Mehdi Aminrazavi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. pp. xiii + 400.
  - *Arba' kutub ḥaqqāniyya*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Jāmi'iyya li'l-Dirāsāt wa'l-Nashr wa'l-Tawzī', 1403/1983. pp. 142.
  - *Arba' rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmir. Salamiyya: Dār al-Kashshāf, 1953. pp. 133.
  - *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, with the Arabic title as *Arba'a kutub Ismā'īliyya*, ed., Rudolf Strothmann. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 28. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943. pp. 61 (German) + 215 (Arabic).
  - Hooda, Vali Mahomed Nanji (1889–1959) (ed. and tr.), "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*: Vol. 1. Ismaili Society Series A, no. 2. Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1948, pp. 55–137.
  - *Khams rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmir. Salamiyya: Dār al-Inṣāf, 1375/1956. pp. 179.
  - *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed., Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl. al-Wathā'iq al-ta'rikiyya li-Miṣr al-Islāmiyya, 1. Cairo: al-Jam'iyya al-Miṣriyya li'l-Dirāsāt al-Ta'rikiyya, 1958. pp. 492.
- A collection of 23 documents issued by the Fatimid chancery of state (*dīwān al-inshā'*) on behalf of various Fatimid caliph-imams; the majority having been preserved in Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo, 1332–38/1914–20). The Arabic texts and English translations of another ten Fatimid documents are contained in S.M. Stern's *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery*.
- *Muntakhabāt Ismā'īliyya*, ed., 'Ādil al-'Awwā. Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Jāmi'a al-Sūriyya, 1378/1958. pp. 272.

- *Thalāth rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmir. Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1403/1983. pp. 52.
- *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, with the Persian title as *Īrān va Yaman: ya'nī sih risāla-yi Ismā'īlī*, ed. and French trans., Henry Corbin. Bibliothèque Iranienne, 9. Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1340 Sh./1961. pp. 200 (French) + 196 (French) + 184 (Arabic and Persian); reprinted, without the Arabic and Persian texts and with Christian Jambet's new introduction. Collection "Islam spirituel". Lagrasse: Verdier, 1994. pp. xvi + 460.
- *Two Early Ismaili Treatises: Haft babi Baba Sayyid-na and Matlubu'l-mu'minin*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow. Islamic Research Association [Series], no. 2. Bombay: A.A.A. Fyzee, 1933. pp. 9 (English) + 64 (Persian).

### C. Anonymous Ismaili and Pseudo-Ismaili Works

This section also includes a selection of non-Ismaili works preserved and used by the Ismailis of Syria, India, Central Asia and elsewhere.

- *Āfāq-nāma*, in two parts, ed., A.E. Bertel's, in *Panj risāla*, pp. 1–24.  
Contains ideas on the elements, senses, the creation, etc., attributed to Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw.
- *Ba'dī az ta'wīlāt-i gulshan-i rāz*, ed. and French trans., Henry Corbin, in his *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, Persian text pp. 131–161, translation as *Symboles choisis de la "Roseaie du Mystère"*, pp. 1–174.  
This may be identical with a work entitled *Sharḥ-i gulshan-i rāz*, attributed to Shāh Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī al-Dakkanī (d. ca. 956/1549), the thirty-first imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī (or Mu'minī) Nizārī Ismailis; see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 274. A partial commentary, it comprises esoteric interpretations (*ta'wīlāt*) of selected passages of the celebrated Sufi *mathnawī*, *Gulshan-i rāz*, composed by Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī (d. after 740/1339).
- *Bilawhar wa-Būdḥāsf*, Arabic version, lithographed by Nūr al-Dīn b. Jīwā Khān. Bombay, 1306/1888–89. pp. 288; ed., Daniel Gimaret as *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdḥāsf*. Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Série 1: Pensée Arabe et Musulmane, VI. Beirut: Dar al-Mashriq, 1972. pp. xx + 202. French trans., Daniel Gimaret, *Le Livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsf selon la version*

*Arabe Ismaélienne*. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philosophie de la IV<sup>e</sup> section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Hautes études Islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée, 3. Paris and Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1971. pp. xii + 216. Russian trans., V. Rosen, *Povest' o Varlaame i Iosafa*, ed., Ignace Kratchkovsky (1883–1951). Leningrad, 1947. Urdu trans., Mawlavi Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghanī, *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsf*. Hyderabad: Maṭba' Shams, n.d. Excerpts, as preserved by Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991), ed. and tr., Samuel M. Stern and Sofie Walzer as *Three Unknown Buddhist Stories in an Arabic Version*. Oxford: Cassirer, 1971. pp. 38.

A form of the legendary biography of the Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Middle Persian and then rendered into Arabic, probably in early Abbasid times. The Arabic version of Bilawhar and Būdhāsf, heroes of the story, provided the source for all other versions, including the Greek and the Christian legend of Barlaam and Joasaph (Josephat), (see Ernst Kuhn's *Barlaam und Joasaph. Eine bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie*, in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-philologische Klasse, Band XX, Munich, 1893. pp. 88). The full Arabic version of this work has been preserved by the Ṭayyibī Ismaili Bohras of South Asia and used in their curriculum on ethics; see al-Majdū', *Fihrist*, pp. 11–15.

- *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, ed. and French trans., Stanislas Guyard, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 22 (1874), pp. 177–428 (text pp. 193–274, translation pp. 275–428); also published separately, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874. pp. 253.

These fragments on Ismaili doctrines contained in a manuscript recovered around 1809 from Maṣyāf in Syria by Jean Baptiste L.J. Rousseau (1780–1831), the French consul general in Aleppo, represent the earliest Ismaili source materials used by orientalists in Europe. Initially, French translations of some of the fragments were published, through the efforts of Silvestre de Sacy, in J.B.L.J. Rousseau's "Extraits d'un Livre qui contient la doctrine des Ismaélis" (1812), pp. 222–249.

- *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow, in his *Two Early Ismaili Treatises*. Islamic Research Association [Series], no. 2. Bombay: A.A.A. Fyzee, 1933, pp. 4–42. English trans., Marshall Hodgson as *The Popular Appeal of the Qiyāma*, in his *The Order of Assassins*, pp. 279–324.

A treatise on the declaration of the *qiyāma* in 559/1164 at Alamūt, evidently witnessed by the author, as well as Nizārī teachings of the *qiyāma* times, wrongly attributed to Bābā Sayyidnā, viz., Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ (d. 518/1124).

- *Kitāb al-ḥaft wa'l-aẓilla*, attributed to al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, ed., 'Arif Tāmīr and I.'A. Khalīfa. Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Série 1: Pensée Arabe et Musulmane, XVIII. Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1960. pp. 19 (French) + 153 (Arabic); 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1970. pp. 24 (French) + 220 (Arabic); 3rd ed., Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1981. pp. 222; ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib as *Kitāb al-ḥaft al-sharīf min faḍā'il mawlānā Ja'far al-Šādiq*. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1964. pp. 232; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1403/1983. pp. 198. Partial German trans., H. Halm, in his *Die islamische Gnosis*, pp. 240–274.

An eminent *ghālī*, al-Mufaḍḍal was a follower of the Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq (d. 148/765) who later became an adherent of the Twelver Imāmī Imam, Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799), during whose imamate he died. This is the most famous of the works attributed to al-Mufaḍḍal. Reporting certain views of Ja'far al-Šādiq, the *Kitāb al-ḥaft* is essentially a Mufaḍḍalī-Nuṣayrī text which found its way to the Syrian Nizārī Ismailis who seized the Nuṣayrī fortresses of central Syria in the 6th/12th century. Subsequently, this book, also known to the Ṭayyibīs, came to be regarded by the Ismailis as belonging to their literature, even though it does not contain any Ismaili ideas.

- *Khazā'in al-adilla*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmū'at rasā'il al-Kirmānī*, pp. 190–209.

An anonymous work, on cosmology, theology and imamate that has been incorrectly attributed to al-Kirmānī and, as such, included in the collection of the thirteen *Rasā'il* by him.

- *Kitāb al-tarātīb*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 133–141.

This is a chapter on early Ismaili history from an anonymous work, acquired in Syria, on seven stages of attainment in Ismailism.

- *Masā'il majmū'a min al-ḥaqā'iq al-'āliya* (also as *Majmū' al-masā'il fi'l-ḥaqā'iq*), ed., R. Strothmann, in *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 4–136.

A compendium of several *masā'il* dealing with the creation, *qā'im*, eschatology, etc. Several of the *masā'il* are drawn from Muḥammad

b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī's (d. 584/1188) well-known *al-Anwār al-laṭīfa*, a treatise on the Ṭayyibī *ḥaqā'iq*.

- *Mir'āt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, lithographed by Sayyid Munir Badakhshānī, together with Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Rawshanā'ī-nāma* and Khayrkhwāh-i Harāṭī's *Risāla*. Bombay, 1333/1915; ed., A.E. Bertel's, in *Panj risāla*, pp. 25–89.

A treatise on intelligible beings, the soul (*nafs*), and the knowledge of self and God.

- *Panj risāla dar bayān-i āfāq va anfus ya'ni barābari-yi Ādam va 'ālam*, ed., Andrey Evgenëvich Bertel's, supervised by Bobodzhon G. Gafurov and A.M. Mirzoev. Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedeniya; Akademiya Nauk Tadzhiskoy SSR, Institut Vostokovedeniya. Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literaturī, 1970. pp. 148 (Russian) + 511 (Persian).

Five Persian treatises, permeated with Sufi ideas, preserved by the Nizāri Ismailis of Badakhshān in Central Asia. The manuscripts of the works, dated to the 7th/13th and later centuries and included in this collection, were for the most part acquired during 1959–63 from Tajik Badakhshān, where they are preserved in private libraries; see A. Bertel's and M. Bokoev, *Alfavitniy katalog rukopisey*.

- *al-Qaṣīda al-shāfiya*, ed. and English trans., Sami Nassib Makarem as *Ash-Shāfiya (The Healer): An Ismā'īli Poem attributed to Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū Firās*. American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series, no. 48. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1966. pp. 260; ed., 'Ārif Tāmir. Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Série 1: Pensée Arabe et Musulmane, XXXVI. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1967. pp. xxii (French) + 99 (Arabic).

This versified work attributed in one of its Syrian manuscripts to Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530 or ten years later), may have been originally composed by a Ḥāfiẓī Musta'li poet and then revised by a Nizāri author; see W. Madelung's reviews, in *ZDMG*, 118 (1968), pp. 423–427 and *Oriens*, 23–24 (1974), pp. 517–518. The *qaṣā'id* deal with *tawḥīd*, God's command (*amr*), the creation, cyclical conception of history and eras of different prophets from Ādam to Muḥammad, the hierarchy of ranks in the Ismaili *da'wa*, etc. In verses 704–733 (ed. Makarem), 617–635 (ed. Tāmir) the names of different imams recognized by the Ḥāfiẓīs and the Nizāris are enumerated,

indicating different Ismaili origins and authorships of the work.

- *Risālat al-ism al-aʿẓam*, ed., Rudolf Strothmann, in *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 171–177.
- Salisbury, Edward E., “Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents, Relating to the Doctrines of the Ismāʿīlis and other Bāṭinian Sects”, *JAOS*, 2 (1851), pp. 259–324.

The manuscript of these anonymous fragments on Neoplatonized cosmology and other Ismaili doctrines, preserved by the Syrian Nizārīs, was acquired by an American missionary in Syria, Dr. Henry W. de Forest, and sent to Salisbury who translated them into English for the American Oriental Society.

- *Umm al-khiṭāb*, ed., A.E. Bertel’s, in *Panj risāla*, pp. 209–300.

On the creation of man, the apparent and hidden attributes and functions of various parts of the human body, and the requirements for an ethical life.

- *Umm al-kitāb*, ed., Wladimir Ivanow, in *Der Islam*, 23 (1936), pp. 132. Italian trans., Pio Filippini-Ronconi, *Ummu’l-Kitāb*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1966. pp. lv + 301. Partial German trans., E.F. Tjijdens, in his “Der mythologisch-gnostische Hintergrund der Umm al-Kitāb”, pp. 241–526. Partial German trans., H. Halm, in his *Die islamische Gnosis*, pp. 113–198. Excerpt, English trans., Latimah Parvin Peerwani as *Umm al-kitāb, The Mother of Books*, in *APP*, pp. 17–32.

Written in archaic Persian and preserved by the Nizārī Ismailis of Central Asia, this work was originally produced in the 2nd/8th century in Arabic by the Mukhammisa, an early group of Shīʿī *ghulāt*; see W. Madelung’s review, in *Oriens*, 25–26 (1976), pp. 352–358, and H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīliya*, pp. 142–168. It contains the discourses of the Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca. 114/732) in response to questions posed by an anachronistic group of disciples, including Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, Jābir al-Juʿfī and Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal. The *Umm al-kitāb*, which does not contain any Ismaili doctrines, was at some point adopted into Ismaili literature and found its way into private libraries of the Nizārīs of Badakhshān.

- *Uṣūl-i ādāb*, ed., A.E. Bertel’s, in *Panj risāla*, pp. 301–381.

Emphasizing the necessity of knowing the imam of the time (*imām-i zamān*) and expounding the esoteric interpretation (*taʿwīl*) of



certain religious duties, this treatise contains separate sections on *tawhīd*, prophethood (*nubuwwat*), imamate, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, and solidarity (*tawallā*) with the prophet and the imams and dissociation (*tabarrā*) from their enemies and unbelievers.

- *Zubdat al-ḥaqāʾiq*, lithographed, Tehran, 1320/1902; ed., A.E. Bertel's, in *Panj risāla*, pp. 91–207.

A treatise on origination (*mabdaʿ*) and destination (*maʿād*) and the hierarchies of creation written by ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. ca. 661/1262) who, in line with the general Sufi tendencies of the period, dealt with metaphysical and cosmological teachings of various schools of Sufism and philosophy in a popular manner. In particular, Nasafī popularized some of the esoteric teachings of his Sufi master, Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥammūʿī (d. ca. 650/1252), who himself was a disciple of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221). The treatise, in two sections (*bābs*), opens with a discussion of three categories of people, *ahl-i sharīʿat*, *ahl-i ḥikmat* or *bāṭinīs*, and *ahl-i waḥdat* who profess the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), a central idea in this treatise. The Nizārī Ismailis of Central Asia regard this Sufi work as belonging to their literature as they consider ʿAzīz Nasafī a co-religionist.

#### **D. *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, by an Anonymous Group of Authors**

Much controversy has surrounded the identity of the authors who have become famous as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, usually translated as the “Sincere Brethren” or “Brethren of Purity”, and produced their encyclopedic work in Arabic entitled *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, comprised of fifty-two epistles as well as their abridged versions. At any rate, modern scholarship has acknowledged the Ismaili affiliation of this group of learned authors who probably lived in Baṣra in the middle of the 4th/10th century. However, Professor Abbas Hamdani dates the composition of the *Rasāʾil* to the final decades of the 3rd/9th century, shortly before the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate in 297/909. The secondary literature on the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and their *Rasāʾil* is rather extensive; see especially the publications of C. Baffioni, A. Hamdani, Y. Marquet, A.L. Tibawi and other relevant entries in Chapter 4: Studies.

### Complete editions of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*

- *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*. Bombay: Maṭba'at Nukhbat al-Akhbār, 1305–6/1887–89. 4 vols.; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*, ed., Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, with introductions by Ṭahā Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Zakī Pasha. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Arabiyya bi-Miṣr, 1347/1928. 4 vols.; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*, with an introduction by Buṭrūs al-Bustānī. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir and Dār Beirut, 1376/1957. 4 vols; reprinted, Beirut: Dār Bayrūt, 1403/1983. 4 vols; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut and Paris: Manshūrāt 'Uwaydāt, 1415/1995. 5 vols. See also D.R. Blumenthal, "A Comparative Table of the Bombay, Cairo and Beirut Editions of the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'*."

The *Rasā'il*, numbering 52 and representing a compendium of a variety of sciences known at the time of their composition, are divided into four books or sections dealing with mathematical sciences (geometry, astronomy, music, logic, etc.), bodily and natural sciences, physical and intellectual sciences (cosmology, eschatology, etc.), and theological sciences. The authors of the *Rasā'il* drew on diverse schools of Hellenistic wisdom, notably Neoplatonism, and a variety of other pre-Islamic sources and traditions, which they combined with Islamic teachings. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' attempted in an original manner to harmonize religion and philosophy for the ultimate purpose of guiding mankind to purify their soul and achieve salvation.

### Original summaries of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*

- *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a, tāj Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*, ed., Jamīl Ṣalībā. Damascus: al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq, 1949–51. 2 vols.; ed., M. Ghālib. Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, 1394/1974. pp. 551; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1404/1984. pp. 551.

An abridged version of selected portions of the *Rasā'il*, produced by the same original *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. The *Jāmi'a* was intended for more advanced readers.

- *Risālat Jāmi'at al-jāmi'a li-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*, ed., 'Ārif Tāmīr. Beirut: Dār al-Nashr li'l-Jāmi'iyyīn, 1378/1959, pp. 222; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1970, pp. 239.

A further abridgement of *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a* produced by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.

### Partial editions of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*

- *Tuḥfat Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, revised and edited by Schuekh Ahmud-bin-Moohummud Schurwan-ool-Yummunee. Calcutta: Hindoostanee Press, 1812. pp. viii + 442; ed., Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Shīrwānī. Calcutta: n. p., 1263/1847. pp. 400.
- *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, ed., Ghulām Ḥaydar. Calcutta: Maṭba'at al-Ṭibī, 1846. pp. 400.
- *al-Ḥayawān wa'l-insān*, lithographed in Calcutta, 1263/1847; also lithographed in Lucknow, 1316/1899.
- *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Lahore: Maṭba'a-i Sarkārī, 1866. pp. 288.
- *The Ikhwan-us-Safa*, revised and corrected by William Nassau Lees. Calcutta: College Press, 1867. pp. 158.
- *Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien. Ein arabisches Märchen aus den Schriften der Lautern Brüder in Basra*, ed., Friedrich Dieterici. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1879–81. pp. 148. Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke, X. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969.
- *Khulāṣat al-Wafā' bi-ikhtiṣār Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā': Die Abhandlungen der Ichwān es-Safā' in Auswahl. Zum ersten Mal aus arabischen Handschriften*, ed., Friedrich Dieterici. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1883–86. 3 vols. (with continuous pagination) pp. xix (German) + 637 (Arabic). Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke, XIII, XIV. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969. 2 vols.
- *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*. Bombay: Mīrẓā Muḥammad Shīrāzī, 1884. pp. 167.
- *al-Ḥayawān wa'l-insān, wa-hiya khātimat wa-zubdat Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Cairo: Dār al-Taraqī, 1900. pp. 168; Cairo: Maktabat al-Ma'arif, 1331/1913. pp. 176.
- *Tadā'ī al-ḥayawānāt 'alā'l-insān*, ed., Fārūq Sa'd. Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadida, 1977. pp. 269; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadida, 1980. pp. 269.
- *Sirr al-asrār li-ta'sīs al-siyāsa wa-tartīb al-riyāsa li-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*, ed., Aḥmad al-Turaykī (Ahmed Triki). Beirut: Dār al-Kalima al-'Arabiyya, 1983. pp. 152; ed., Sāmī Salmān al-A'war as *Sirr al-asrār: al-siyāsa wa'l-farāsa fī tadbīr al-ri'āsa*. Beirut: Dār

al-Kātib al-‘Arabī, 1980. pp. 171; Beirut: Dār al-Kātib li’l-Jamī‘, 1986. pp. 174; Beirut: Dār al-‘Ulūm al-‘Arabiyya, 1995. pp. 170 (questionable attribution).

### Partial translations of the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*

Some of the following translations also include partial editions, in Arabic, of sections of the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*.

#### English:

- Cavendish, A. C. *Studies in Hindustanee: Ikhwan us Safa*. Cottayam: Church Missionary Society’s Press, 1885. pp. vi + 193 + iii.
- Dowson, John. *Ikhwānu-s Safā; or, Brothers of Purity*. London: Trübner & Co, 1869. pp. viii + 156 (based on the Urdu rendering from the Arabic by Ikrām ‘Alī).
- Goldstein, Bernard R. “A Treatise on the Number Theory from a Tenth-century Arabic Source”, *Centaurus*, 10 (1964), pp. 129–160; reprinted as *A Theory of Numbers*, in *APP*, pp. 225–245.
- Goodman, Lenn Evan. *The Case of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn: A Tenth-century Ecological Fable of the Pure Brethren of Basra*. Library of Classical Arabic Literature, vol. 3. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978. pp. xi + 271. Excerpt, pp. 51–77, 198–202, reprinted as *Man and Animals*, in *APP*, pp. 246–278.
- Johnson-Davis, Denys. *The Island of Animals*. London: Quartet Books, 1994. pp. xix + 76.
- Manuel, Thomas Philip. *The Ikhwan-oos-suffa*. Calcutta: D’Rozario & Co, 1860. pp. 42.
- Peerwani, Latimah Parvin. *Microcosm and Macrocosm*, in *APP*, pp. 202–225.
- Platts, John. *Ikhwanu-ṣ-ṣafā; or, Brothers of Purity*. London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1869. pp. xii + 234; reprinted, carried through the press by Edward B. Eastwick. London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1875. pp. xii + 234 (based on the Urdu translation of Ikrām ‘Alī).
- Shiloah, Amnon. *The Epistle on Music of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ (Baghdad, 10th Century)*. Tel-Aviv University, Documentation and Studies, 3. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1978. pp. 73.

- van Reijn, Eric. *The Epistles of the Sincere Brethren (Rasā'il Ikhwan al-Şafa')*: An Annotated Translation of Epistles 43 to 47. Montreux, etc.: Minerva Press, 1995. pp. 137 + x.
- Wall, Joseph. *The Ikhwan-us-suffa: A Translation into English*. Lucknow: Printed at the Oudh Gazette Press, 1863. pp. 113 (Hindustani and English on opposite pages); reprinted, Lucknow: Newul Kishore Press, 1889. pp. 141.
- Yusufji, D.H. "The Forty-third Treatise of the Ikhwān al-Şafā'", *MW*, 33 (1943), pp. 39–49; reprinted in *RIS*, vol. 2, pp. 225–235.

*French:*

- Callataÿ, Godefroid de. *Ikwān al-Şafā'*. *Les révolutions et les cycles (Épîtres des Frères de la Pureté, XXXVI)*. Sagesses Musulmanes, 3. Beirut: al-Bouraq; Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-Bruylant, 1996. pp. 207.
- Callataÿ, Godefroid de. "Ikhwān al-Şafā': des arts scientifiques et de leur objectif", *Le Muséon*, 116 (2003), pp. 231–258.
- Marquet, Yves. *La philosophie des Ihwān al-Şafā'* (1975), pp. 41–584; revised ed. (1999), pp. 41–584. For Y. Marquet's other partial French translations of the *Rasā'il*; see his entries listed in Chapter 4: Studies.
- Michot, Jean. "L'épître de la résurrection des Ikhwān al-Şafā'", *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale*, 16–17 (1974–75), pp. 114–148.
- Shiloah, Amnon. "L'épître sur la musique des Ikhwān al-Şafa'", *REI*, 32 (1964), pp. 125–162; 34 (1966), pp. 159–193.
- Shiloah, Amnon (ed. and tr.) "Deux textes Arabes inédits sur la musique", in Israë'l Adler et al., ed., *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1968, pp. 221–248.
- Tassy, Garcin de. *Les Animeaux: extrait du Tuhfat Ikwān Ussafa (Cadeau des Frères de la Pureté)*. Paris: Benjamin Duprat, 1864. pp. 118.

*German:*

- Dieterici, Friedrich. *Die Propaeldeutik der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert*. Berlin: E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1865. pp. ix + 201. Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke*, III. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969.

- Dieterici, Friedrich. *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1868. pp. ix + 196. Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke, IV. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969 (translation of treatises 7–13).
- Dieterici, Friedrich. *Die Naturanschauung und Naturphilosophie der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert.* Aus den Schriften der lautern Brüder. Berlin: Nicolai, 1861; Posen: Jagielski, 1864; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1876. pp. xvi + 216. Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke, V. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969 (translation of treatises 14–21).
- Dieterici, Friedrich. *Die Anthropologie der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1871. pp. viii + 221. Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke, VI. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969 (translation of treatises 22–30).
- Dieterici, Friedrich. *Die Lehre von der Weltseele bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: Hinrich, 1872. pp. xi + 196. Reprinted, as *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Gesamtdarstellung und Quellenwerke, VIII. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969.
- Diwald, Susanne. *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie Kitāb Ihwān aṣ-ṣafāʾ (III): Die Lehre von Seele und Intellekt.* Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1975. pp. xi + 641.
- Giese, Alma. *Ihwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ: Mensch und Tier vor dem König der Dschinnen.* Philosophische Bibliothek, Band 433. Hamburg: F. Meiner, 1990. pp. xlviii + 231.
- Landsberger, Julius. *Iggereth Baale Chajim: Abhandlung über die Thiere von Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, oder Rechtsstreit zwischen Mensch und Their vor dem Gerichtshofe des Königs der Genien. Ein arabisches Märchen.* Darmstadt: G. Jonghaus, 1882. pp xxxiv + 284.
- Nauwerck, Karl. *Notiz über das arabische Buch: Tuḥfat Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, d.h. Gabe der aufrichtigen Freunde, nebst Proben desselben, Arabisch und Deutsch.* Berlin: G. Reimer, 1837. pp. 99 (German) + 55 (Arabic); reprinted in *RIS*, vol. 1, pp. 35–192.

*Italian:*

- Baffioni, Carmela. *L'Epistola degli Ihwān al-Ṣafā'* "Sulle opinioni e le religioni". Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, 1989. pp. 268. For Carmela Baffioni's other partial Italian translations of the *Rasā'il*, see her entries listed in Chapter 4: Studies.
- Bausani, Alessandro. *L'Enciclopedia dei Fratelli della Purità*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor, IV. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1978. pp. 284.

*Persian:*

- Ḥalabī, 'Alī Aṣghar. *Guzīda-yi matn-i Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'*. Tehran: Zavvār, 1360 Sh./1981. pp. viii + 223.
- *Mujmal al-ḥikma, tarjama gūna'i kuhan az Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Īraj Afshār. Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insāni va Muṭāla'āt-i Farhangī, 1375 Sh./1996. pp. xxvii + 414.
- Zangī Bukharī, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. *Bustān al-'uqūl fī tarjumān al-manqūl*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Īraj Afshār. Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insāni va Muṭāla'āt-i Farhangī, 1374 Sh./1995. pp. 235.

*Spanish:*

- Ricardo-Felipe, Albert Reyna. "La 'Risāla fī māhiyyat al-'iṣq' de las *Rasā'il Ijwān al-Ṣafā'*", *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 6 (1995), pp. 185–207.
- Tornero Poveda, Emilio. *La Disputa de los Animales contra el Hombre (Traducción del Original Árabe de La Disputa del Asno Contra Fray Anselmo Turmeda)*. Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1984. pp. 234.

*Urdu:*

- Abū al-Ṭayyib Afaḍ al-Dīn Aḥmad, al-Mawlawī. *Hādhihi Risāla min Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā' qad ishtamalat 'alā mā*

*dāra bayna al-ins wa'l-ḥayawānāt*. Lithographed, Kānfūr: Maṭba‘at al-Majīdiyya, 1913 (partial edition with Urdu translation).

- Ikrām ‘Alī, Maulavī. *The Ikhwan-oos-safa. Hindustani text of Animals vs. Man*. Reprinted for the use of the College of Fort William by W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta: Printed at W.N. Lees’ Press, 1859. pp. 153 (in Hindustani, the Hindi-Urdu of the time).
- Ikrām ‘Alī, Maulavī. *Ikhwānu-ṣ-Ṣafā*, ed., Duncan Forbes and Charles Rieu. London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1861 [1873?]. pp. vi (English) + 176 (Urdu).

#### *Other languages:*

- Bauwens, Jan. “Zeventiende Zendbrief van de Rasā’il Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā’. Over de fysische lichamen”, *Orientalia Gandensia*, 1 (1964), pp. 171–185 (in Dutch).
- Gautier Dalché, Patrick. “Epistola fraterum sincerorum in cosmographia: une traduction Latine inédite de la quatrième Risāla des Iḥwān al-Ṣafā’”, *Revue d’Histoire des Textes*, 18 (1988), pp. 137–167 (in Latin).
- Karić, Enes. *Rasprava čovjeka sa životinjama*. Sarajevo: Mešihat Islamske Zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine, 1991. pp. 361 (in Serbo-Croatian).

### **E. Selected Works by Non-Ismaili Muslim Authors**

‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī al-Asadābādī, al-Qāḍī (d. 415/1024–25), Mu‘tazilī theologian and chief *qāḍī* in Ray

- *Fī aḥwāl al-Bāṭiniyya*, an excerpt from *Tathbīt dalā’il nubuwwat Sayyidnā Muḥammad*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 143–191.

The most prominent theologian of the late Mu‘tazilī school, ‘Abd al-Jabbār wrote his *Tathbīt*, on the miraculous proofs of Muḥammad’s prophethood, in 385/995; it also contains polemical refutations of other religions as well as Ismaili and Imāmī Shi‘ism. This section contains his refutation of the Ismailis, an extract from the *Tathbīt dalā’il nubuwwat Sayyidnā Muḥammad*, ed., ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Uthmān (Beirut: Dār al-‘Arabiyya, 1966–69), vol. 2, pp. 376–399, 594–609, as



well as valuable information on Ismaili *dā'īs* and their activities in the author's lifetime.

**‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-‘Alawī  
(fl. 3rd/9th century), Yamanī historian**

- *Sirat al-Hādī ilā'l-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 85–110.

This biography of the first Zaydī imam of Yaman, the Ḥasanid Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā'l-Ḥaqq (d. 298/911), composed by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, contains excerpts on the Ismailis of Yaman.

**al-Anṭākī, Abu'l-Faraj Yahyā b. Sa‘īd  
(d. 458/1066), Melkite Christian physician and historian**

- *Ta'riḫ Yahyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṭākī*, ed., Louis Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux and Habib Zayyat. *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium, Scriptores arabici*, series III, vol. VII. Paris and Beirut: Maṭba‘at al-Ābā' al-Yasū'īyyīn, 1909, pp. 91–273; partial ed. and French trans., Ignace Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev as *Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Sa‘īd d’Antioche, continuateur de Sa‘īd-Ibn-Bitriq*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 18 (1924), pp. 699–833; 23 (1932), pp. 347–520 (ending with the events of the year 404/1013); ed., ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī as *Ta'riḫ al-Anṭākī, al-ma‘rūf bi-ṣilat ta'riḫ Ūtikhā*. Tripoli, Lebanon: Jarrūs Press, 1990. pp. 582. Partial ed. and French trans., *Histoire de Yahyā ibn Sa‘īd d’Antioche*, ed., Ignace Kratchkovsky and trans. into French by Françoise Micheau and Gérard Troupeau. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997. pp. 191; being, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 47 (1997), pp. 373–559. Italian trans., Bartolomeo Pirone as *Cronache dell’Egitto Fātimide e dell’impero Bizantino 937–1033*. Biblioteca del Vicino Oriente. Patrimonio Culturale Arabo Cristiano, 3. Milan: Jaca Book, 1998. pp. 399.

The only extant contemporary account of the Fatimids is contained in the *Ta'riḫ* of al-Anṭākī, an Arab-Melkite Christian who spent the earlier part of his life in Fatimid Egypt and then migrated, in 405/1014 in the reign of al-Ḥākim, to Antioch where he composed his history of the Abbasid, Fatimid and Byzantine empires, covering the period 326–425/937–1033, as a continuation of Ibn al-Baṭriq's history.

**al-Baghdādī, Abū Manṣūr ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir**  
(d. 429/1037), **Sunni theologian, jurist and heresiographer**

- *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed., Muḥammad Badr. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif, 1328/1910, pp. 265–299; ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Cairo: Maktab Nashr al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya, 1367/1948. pp. 271; ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi’ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo: Maktabat Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣabīḥ, [1964], pp. 281–312. English trans., Abraham S. Halkin as *Moslem Schisms and Sects (Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq)*; being, *the History of the Various Philosophic Systems Developed in Islam*, part II. Tel-Aviv: Palestine Publishing Co., 1935, pp. 107–157. Persian trans., Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr as *Tarjama-yi al-Farq bayn al-firaq dar ta’riḥ-i madhāhib-i Islām*. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1344 Sh./1965, pp. 201–225.

This chapter on the Bāṭiniyya from al-Baghdādī’s well-known heresiographical work, written in the 420s/1030s, contains typical anti-Ismaili polemics. Al-Baghdādī had access to the anti-Ismaili treatises of Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin and also claims to have used an Ismaili book entitled *Kitāb al-siyāsa wa’l-balāgh*, which modern scholarship has shown to have been a cleverly produced travesty against the Ismailis. In line with a tradition established by anti-Ismaili polemicists, al-Baghdādī portrays Ismailism as a heretical movement designed to destroy Islam.

**al-Bustī, Abu’l-Qāsim Ismā‘il b. Aḥmad al-Jīlī**  
(d. 420/1029), **Mu‘tazilī Zaydī author**

- *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa-‘iwār* (or *ghawār*) *madhhabihim*, ed., ‘Adil Sālim al-‘Abd al-Jādir, in his *al-Ismā‘īliyyūn: kashf al-asrār wa-naqd al-afkār*, pp. 187–369. Extract, on the origins of Ismailism, in S.M. Stern, “Abu’l-Qasim al-Bustī and his Refutation of Ismā‘ilism”, pp. 14–35; reprinted in his *Studies in Early Ismā‘ilism*, pp. 299–320.

This is only a fragment of a work devoted entirely to refutation of the Ismailis. Written around 400/1009, it contains valuable quotations from Ismaili works, notably the lost *al-Maḥṣūl* of the *dā‘ī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 332/943). The author is also familiar with the writings of Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sijistānī (d. after 361/971), referred to as Khayshafūj, and several other Ismailis. A student of the Mu‘tazilī al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024–25), al-Bustī also had access to Ibn

Rizām's anti-Ismaili polemic and argues for a Qaddāhid ancestry for the Fatimids in addition to tracing Ismailism to Iranian dualistic and Zoroastrian origins.

**al-Daylamī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan**  
(d. after 707/1308), Zaydī author in Yaman

- *Bayān madhhab al-Bāṭiniyya wa-buṭlānih, manqūl min Kitāb qawā'id Āl Muḥammad*, with the German title as *Die Geheimlehre der Batiniten nach der Apologie Dogmatik des Hauses Muhammad*, ed., Rudolf Strothmann. Bibliotheca Islamica, 11. Istanbul: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1939. pp. xiii + 137.

A portion of a larger work, *Kitāb qawā'id Āl Muḥammad*, written against the Ismailis.

- *Qawā'id 'aqā'id Āl Muḥammad fi'l-radd 'alā'l-Bāṭiniyya*, ed., Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Cairo: 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, 1950. pp. 157; reprinted, Sanaa: Maktabat al-Yaman al-Kubrā, 1987. pp. 157.

A polemical work written in 707/1308 by this relatively unknown Zaydī author against the Ismailis. Here, the origins of Ismailism are traced to Iranian and other non-Islamic sources while the Ismaili beliefs are refuted on the basis of a travesty called *Kitāb al-balāgh*, etc.

**al-Fazārī, Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad**  
(d. 345/956), Sunni poet of Qayrawān

- *al-Qaṣīda al-Fazāriyya fi madh al-khalīfa al-Fāṭimī al-Manṣūr*, ed., Mustapha Zmerli, presented by Ḥammādī al-Sahlī and Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1995. pp. 266. This *Qaṣīda* is also found in M. al-Ya'lāwī, *al-Adab bi-Ifriqiya fi'l-'ahd al-Fāṭimī*, pp. 221–235.

A minor Mālīkī poet from Qayrawān, al-Fazārī wrote this poem in celebration of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Manṣūr's victory over the Nukkārī Ibādī Khārijī leader Abū Yazīd (d. 336/947), who revolted in North Africa with much initial success against the Fatimids. On other occasions, however, al-Fazārī composed verses against the Fatimids.

**al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī**  
(d. 505/1111), Sunni theologian, jurist and mystic

- *Faḍā'ih al-Bāṭiniyya wa-faḍā'il al-Mustazhiriyya*, ed., 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī. al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 7. Cairo: al-Dār al-Qawmiyya, 1383/1964. pp. 236. Selections, in Ignaz Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*. Veröffentlichungen der de Goeje-Stiftung, 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1916, Arabic text pp. 1–81, German translation pp. 36–112. English trans., Richard J. McCarthy (1913–1981), in his *Freedom and Fulfillment*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980, pp. 175–286. Turkish trans., Avni İlhan, *Fedâihu'l-Bâtiniyye: Bâtinîlîgin iç Yüzü*. Ankara, 1993.

This work, written shortly before 488/1095 and commonly known as *al-Mustazhiri* after the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir (487–512/1094–1118) who commissioned it, is al-Ghazālī's major polemical treatise against the Ismailis (Bāṭiniyya), especially arguing against the doctrine of *ta'lim* propagated by Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) and the early Nizārī Ismailis. This refutation has been studied in F. Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis*.

- *Kitāb qawāşim al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. and Turkish trans., Ahmed Ateş as "Gazālī'nin 'Bâtinîlerin belini kıran deliller' i. 'Kitāb Qavâşim al-Bâtiniyya'", in *İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara University*, 3, nos. 1–2 (1954), 23–54.

Another short anti-Ismaili tract.

- *al-Qiştās al-mustaqīm*, ed., Victor Chelhot. Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1959. pp. 104. English trans., D.B. Brewster as *The Just Balance*. Lahore: Sh. Muhammd Ashraf, 1978. pp. xxiii + 142. English trans., Richard J. McCarthy, in his *Freedom and Fulfillment*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980, pp. 287–332. French trans., Victor Chelhot, in his "Al-Qiştās al-Mustaqīm et la connaissance rationnelle chez Ghazālī", pp. 43–88.

Yet another polemical tract against the Ta'limiyya or Bāṭiniyya, as al-Ghazālī referred to the Ismailis.

**Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ‘Abd Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh al-Bihdādīnī**  
(d. 833/1430), Persian historian

- *Majma‘ al-tawārīkh al-sultāniyya: qismat-i khulafā‘-i ‘Alawiyya-yi Maghrib va Miṣr va Nizāriyān va rafīqān*, ed., Muḥammad Mudarrisi Zanjānī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Iṭṭilā‘āt, 1364 Sh./1985. pp. 288.

In the Ismaili section of his universal history to the year 830/1426, written for the Tīmūrid prince Bāysunghur (799–837/1397–1433), Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū draws extensively on the Ismaili history of Rashīd al-Dīn, adding nothing to the account of his predecessor; see F. Daftary’s review in *Nashr-i Dānish*, 6 (June–July, 1986), pp. 34–37. This edition includes parallel texts of the corresponding Ismaili sections from Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* and Kāshānī’s *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*.

**al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī, Muḥammad b. Mālik**  
(d. ca. 470/1077), Yamanī Sunni jurist and historian

- *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa-akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed., Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Cairo: ‘Izzat al-‘Aṭṭār, 1357/1939. pp. 44; ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 201–251; French trans., A. Batal as *Dévoilement des secrets de la Bāṭiniyya et chroniques de la Qāramiṭa*. Aldoha: n.p., 2002. pp. 120; English trans., Muhtar Holland as *Disclosure of the Secrets of the Bāṭiniyya and the Annals of the Qarāmiṭa*. Aldoha: n.p., n.d. [2003]. pp. 128.

An anti-Ismaili polemical work written by someone, perhaps a brother of the Ismaili *dā‘ī* Lamak b. Mālik (d. ca. 491/1098), who temporarily became an Ismaili, but later abjured. This work apparently served as a primary source for subsequent Yamanī Sunni historians, such as al-Janādī, writing on the Ismailis.

**Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, Muḥyi’l-Dīn Abu’l-Faḍl ‘Abd Allāh**  
(d. 692/1293), private secretary to Mamlūk sultans in Cairo

- *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya al-Zāhira fī khiṭaṭ al-Mu‘izziyya al-Qāhira*, ed., Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid. Cairo: al-Dār al-‘Arabiyya li’l-Kitāb, 1996. pp. 185.

The earliest work in the topographical *khiṭaṭ* genre specifically on Cairo as opposed to *Fuṣṭāṭ*, with much on the Fatimid period, *al-Rawḍa* inspired al-Maqrīzī’s later work (*al-Khiṭaṭ*) on the subject.

**Ibn al-‘Adīm Kamāl al-Dīn Abu’l-Qāsīm ‘Umar  
(d. 660/1262), historian of Aleppo and vizier to Ayyūbids**

- *al-Qarmaṭī ṣāhib al-khāl*, an excerpt from *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī ta’rīkh Ḥalab*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 273–300.

Part of an extensive biographical dictionary of men connected with Aleppo. This extract is devoted to al-Ḥusayn, known as Ṣāhib al-Khāl, one of the *dā’ī* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh’s sons who led the Qarmaṭī movement in the Syrian desert from 288/901 until 291/903.

**Ibn al-Dawādārī, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh  
(d. after 736/1335), Egyptian historian**

- *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi‘ al-ghurar: al-juz’ al-sādis, al-durra al-muḍiyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed., Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munjjid. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Quellen zur Geschichte des Islamischen Ägyptens, 1f. Cairo: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1961, pp. 44–156.

Ibn al-Dawādārī has devoted, in this sixth volume of his universal history, completed in 736/1335, large sections to the Fatimids in addition to preserving quotations and paraphrases from the lost anti-Ismaili treatise of the Sharīf Abu’l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, better known as Akhū Muḥsin (d. after 372/982).

**Ibn Ḥammād (Ḥamādu) al-Ṣanhājī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad  
b. ‘Alī (d. 628/1231), Berber *qāḍī* and historian**

- *Akhbār mulūk Banī ‘Ubayd wa-sīratuhum*, ed. and French trans., M. Vonderheyden as *Histoire des Rois ‘Obaïdides (Les Califes Fatimides)*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d’Alger, III<sup>e</sup> série, Textes relatifs à l’histoire de l’Afrique du Nord, fascicule II. Algiers: J. Carbonel; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927. pp. xii + 100 (French) + 64 (Arabic); ed., ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm ‘Uways and al-Tihāmī Naqra. Cairo: Dār al-Saḥwa; Riyadh: Dār al-‘Ulūm, [1401/1980]. pp. 114; ed., Jallūl Aḥmad al-Badawī. [Algiers]: al-Mu’assasa al-Waṭaniyya li’l-Kitāb, 1984. pp. 137.

Ibn Ḥammād wrote this brief history of the Fatimids, referred to as the ‘Ubaydids, in 617/1220.

**Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī, Abu’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad  
(d. after 712/1312), Maghribī historian**

- *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa’l-Maghrib*, ed., George S. Colin and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (1894–1956) as *Histoire de l’Afrique du Nord et de l’Espagne Musulmane intitulée Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*. New ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948–51. 2 vols; reprinted, Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1400/1980. 4 vols. (vol. 4, ed., Iḥsān ‘Abbās).

The first part of this work is a comprehensive history of Islamic Ifrīqiya from earliest times until 602/1205. A major source on the history of the Fatimids in North Africa, this work is based on a number of earlier sources, notably the chronicle of ‘Arīb b. Sa’d (d. ca. 370/980), an Andalusian who wrote his own history of the Maghrib for the Umayyads of Spain.

**Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī  
(d. 597/1200), Sunni jurist and historian**

- *al-Qarāmiṭa*, an excerpt from *Kitāb al-muntaẓam fī ta’rikh al-mulūk wa’l-umam*, ed., Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāgh. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1388/1968. pp. 79; ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 253–268; excerpt with English trans., in J. de Somogyi’s “A Treatise on the Qarmaṭians”, pp. 248–265.

A portion of this Ḥanbalī jurist and anti-Shi‘i author’s universal history. Ibn al-Jawzī, too, used the Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin anti-Isma‘ili accounts.

**Ibn Mālīk al-Ḥammādī, see al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī, Muḥammad  
b. Mālīk**

**Ibn al-Ma’mūn al-Baṭā’ihī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī Mūsā  
(d. 588/1192), Egyptian historian**

- *Nuṣūṣ min Akhbār Miṣr*, ed., Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid. Textes Arabes et études Islamiques, XXI. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1983. pp. vii (French) + 157 (Arabic).

Written by the son of the Fatimid vizier al-Ma’mūn (d. 519/1125), who succeeded al-Afḍal (d. 515/1121), this is a major source on the Fatimid

ceremonials and the caliph-imam al-Āmir's reign (495–524/1101–1130). The fragments edited here are based mainly on later quotations of this lost history by al-Maqrīzī and al-Nuwayrī.

**Ibn Munqidh, Usāma**  
(d. 584/1188), Syrian author and poet

- *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, ed., Hartwig Derenbourg, in vol. 2 (pp. 183) of his *Ousāma Ibn Mounqidh. Un émir Syrien au premier siècle des Croisades (1095–1188)*. Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 2<sup>e</sup> série, XII. Paris: E. Leroux, 1886–93. 2 vols.; Derenbourg's French trans. of this work originally appeared as *Autobiographie d'Ousāma*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 2 (1894), pp. 327–565; published separately, Paris: E. Leroux, 1895. pp. vi + 238; ed., Philip K. Hitti. Princeton Oriental Texts, 1. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1930. pp. 306. English trans., Philip K. Hitti as *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh (Kitāb al-I'tibār)*. Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. pp. x + 265. English trans., George Richard Potter as *The Autobiography of Ousāma*. Broadway Medieval Library. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929. pp. xii + 301; ed. and French trans., André Miquel as *Kitāb al-I'tibār. Des enseignements de la vie, souvenirs d'un gentilhomme Syrien du temps des Croisades*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1983. pp. 444. German trans., Georg Schumann as *Memoiren eines syrischen Emirs aus der Zeit der Kreuzzüge*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1905. pp. xii + 299. German trans., Gernot Rotter as *Ein Leben im Kampf gegen Kreuzritterheere*. Bibliothek Arabischer Klassiker, 4. Tübingen and Basel: H. Erdmann, 1978. pp. 260. German trans., Holger Preissler as *Die Erlebnisse des syrischen Ritters Usāma ibn Munqid: Unterhaltsames und Belehrendes aus der Zeit der Kreuzzüge*. Orientalische Bibliothek. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985. pp. 315. Russian trans., M.A. Sa'le, *Kniga nazidaniya*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoy Literaturi, 1958. pp. 326.

The famous memoirs of Usāma Ibn Munqidh, who personally knew the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 544/1149) and the later Fatimid viziers Ibn al-Salār and 'Abbās, contain important details on the closing phase of the Fatimid dynasty. Composed in 579/1183, the memoirs (which were discovered by H. Derenbourg in 1880 at the Escorial Library, Madrid) contain important information on the author's stay



in Fatimid Cairo during 539–549/1144–1154. In 549/1154, Usāma fled back to his native Syria in the aftermath of the Fatimid caliph al-Zāfir's murder.

**Ibn Muyassar, Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī  
(d. 677/1278), Egyptian historian**

- *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed., Henri Massé as *Annales d'Égypte (Les khalifes Fāṭimides)*. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Textes Arabes, I.Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919. pp. xxxii (French) + 140 (Arabic); ed., Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid as *al-Muntaqā min Akhbār Miṣr*. Textes Arabes et études Islamiques, XVII. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1981. pp. vii (French) + 221 (Arabic).

A history of Egypt, covering portions of the events of the Fatimid caliphate during the period 439–553/1047–1158, with two fragments on the years 362–365 and 381–387 A.H. It is preserved in a unique and incomplete manuscript derived from a copy made by al-Maqrizī in 814/1411 and now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Ibn Muyassar drew on earlier sources, like the histories of Ibn Zūlāq (d. 386/996) and al-Muḥannak (d. 549/1154), in addition to that of al-Musabbihī (d. 420/1030), which have not survived.

**Ibn al-Nadīm, Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 380/990), Imāmī Shī'ī author in Baghdad**

- *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed., Gustav Flügel. Leipzig: Vogel, 1871–72, vol. 1, pp. 139, 186–190; reprinted (with the same pagination), Rawā'i' al-turāth al-ʿArabī. Beirut: Maktabat Khayyāt, 1964; ed., M. Riḍā Tajaddud as *Kitāb al-fihrist li'l-Nadīm*. 2nd ed., Tehran: Marvī, 1973, pp. 154, 238–241. English trans., Bayard Dodge as *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 306, 462–473. Persian trans., M. Riḍā Tajaddud as *Kitāb-i fihrist*. 2nd ed., Tehran: Bānk-i Bāzargānī-yi Irān, 1967, pp. 230, 348–355.

This famous catalogue (*fihrist*) of Arabic books, completed in 377/987–88 with much encyclopedic information on the culture of medieval Islam and Muslim literary figures, contains valuable details on early Ismaili *da'wa* and *dā'īs*, including direct quotations from Ibn

Rizām's lost anti-Ismaili polemical treatise, entitled perhaps *Kitāb radd 'alā'l-Ismā'īliyya*.

**Ibn Qalāqīs, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh  
(d. 567/1172), Egyptian author under the later Fatimids**

- *Dīwān*, ed., Khalīl Muṭrān. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib, 1905. pp. 120; ed., Sihām al-Furayḥ. Kuwait: Maktabat al-Mu'allā, 1988. pp. 730.

Ibn Qalāqīs, who travelled extensively in Sicily and Yaman, praises numerous rulers and dignitaries in his collected poems, notably the later Fatimid caliph-imams and several of their viziers such as Ibn Maṣāl and Shāwar.

- *Tarassul Ibn Qalāqīs al-Iskandarī*, ed., 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Naṣir al-Mānī'. Riyadh: Jāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd, 1984. pp. 171.

Collection of letters written by Ibn Qalāqīs to some of his friends and Fatimid officials in Egypt and Yaman.

**Ibn Ruzzīk, Ṭalā'ī', see Ṭalā'ī' b. Ruzzīk**

**Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, Tāj al-Ri'āsa Amīn al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Munjib  
(d. 542/1147), Egyptian author and administrator under the  
Fatimids**

- *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wizāra*, ed., 'Abd Allāh Mukhliṣ, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 49–112; 26 (1925), pp. 49–70; reprinted, Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, [1964]; ed., Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (together with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *al-Qānūn*). Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1410/1990, pp. 43–107.

A short history of the Fatimid viziers from Ibn Killis (d. 380/991) to al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī (d. 519/1125).

- *al-Qānūn*, ed., 'Alī Bahjat. Cairo: 'Alī Bahjat, 1905. pp. 168; ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid as *al-Qānūn fī dīwān al-rasā'il wa'l-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wizāra*. Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1410/1990. pp. 148. French trans., Henri Massé, in his "Ibn Ḥārafī, Code de la chancellerie d'État (Période Fāṭimide)", *BIFAO*, 11 (1914), pp. 65–120.

A guide to chancery practices under the Fatimids dedicated to the Fatimid vizier Abū 'Alī Aḥmad Kutayfāt (d. 526/1131). Ibn al-Ṣayrafī,

who may have been an Ismaili himself, worked in the Fatimid chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʿ*), also heading it from 495/1102 until his death in 542/1147.

**Ibn Taghrībirdī, Abuʾl-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf  
(d. 874/1470), Egyptian historian**

- *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr waʾl-Qāhira*, ed., William W. Popper as *Abūʾl-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Annals*. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology. Berkeley: University Press, 1909–29, vol. 2, part 2; vol. 3, part 1, etc.; ed., Cairo: al-Muʾassasa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma, 1348–92/1929–72, vols. 4–5.

These parts cover the Fatimids in Ibn Taghrībirdī's vast history of Egypt from 20/641 to his own times. Ibn Taghrībirdī manifests the anti-Fatimid biases of some of his sources, notably Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256).

**Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, al-Murtaḍā ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ḥasan al-Qaysarānī  
(d. 617/1220), Egyptian historian and official under the later  
Fatimids**

- *Nuzhat al-muq̄latayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed., Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid. Bibliotheca Islamica, 39. Stuttgart and Beirut: F. Steiner, 1412/1992. pp 290.

This portion of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's history of the Fatimids and the Ayyūbids, which has not survived directly, deals with aspects of Fatimid history, ceremonies and administration. It has been reconstructed by Professor Sayyid on the basis of later quotations, such as those in Ibn Khaldūn, al-Qalqashandī, al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī.

**Ibn Zāfir, Jamāl al-Dīn Abuʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Azdī  
(d. 613/1216), Egyptian historian and administrator under the  
Ayyūbids**

- *Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭiʿa*, ed., André Ferré. Textes Arabes et études Islamiques, XII. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1972. pp. 37 (French) + 133 (Arabic). Excerpt, as *al-Dawla al-ʿAlawiyya bi-Ifriqiya wa-Miṣr waʾl-Shām*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 269–272.

This extant portion of Ibn Zāfir's history relates to the Fatimid dynasty, from al-Mahdī to al-ʿĀḍid.

**Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad  
(d. after 461/1069)**

- *Kitāb al-hadāyā* (or *al-dhakhā'ir*) *wa'l-tuḥaf*, ed., Muḥammad Ḥamid Allāh. Wizārat al-I'lām fi'l-Kuwayt, al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt, 1959. pp. 367+14 plates; reprinted, Kuwait, 1984. English trans., Ghāda al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī as *Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf): Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures*. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, XXIX. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996. pp. xv+544.

A unique source on the material culture of Islamic history that contains details on gifts (*hadāyā*) and related correspondence exchanged between Muslim rulers, descriptions of celebrations, diplomatic visits and other special occasions as well as information on elaborate feasts, etc. The Fatimids of Egypt are treated extensively in this work. Most of the paragraphs on the Fatimids relate to their treasures, including especially the treasures taken from the Fatimid palace in Cairo during the rebellion of the Turkish soldiers in 460–61/1068–69 (paragraphs 372–414). The treasures of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu'izz's daughters ʿAbda and Rāshida (paragraphs 355, 357), al-Mustanṣir's mother (paragraphs 96, 100, 262, 391) as well as those of other female members of the Fatimid house are also discussed. No biographical details are available on the author of this book.

**al-Janadī, Bahā' al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf  
(d. 732/1332), Sunni jurist and historian of Yaman**

- *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa bi'l-Yaman*, extract from his *Kitāb al-sulūk fi ṭabaqāt al-ʿulamā' wa'l-mulūk*, ed. and English trans., Henry C. Kay, in his *Yaman, its Early Mediaeval History*. London: E. Arnold, 1892, text pp. 139–152, translation as *Account of the Karmathians in Yaman*, pp. 191–212.

The *Kitāb al-sulūk* is al-Janadī's only known extant work, which is an important biographical dictionary of the learned men of Yaman, preceded by a long introduction on the history of Yaman from early

Islamic times until 724/1323. The *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa* is a portion of this historical introduction covering the activities of the Ismaili *dā'ī* Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. 302/914) and his collaborator 'Alī b. al-Faḍl (d. 303/915), who later turned against the central leadership of the Ismaili *da'wa* and started an abortive Qarmaṭī movement in Yaman. Al-Janadī reiterates the anti-Ismaili polemics and names Maymūn al-Qaddāh as the progenitor of the Fatimids.

**Juwaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik b. Muḥammad  
(d. 681/1283), Persian historian and administrator under the  
Īlhānīd Mongols**

- *Ta'riḫ-i jahān-gushā*, volume 3, facsimile ed., Edward Denison Ross (1871–1940). James G. Forlong Fund, X. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1931. pp. ii (English) + 108 (Persian); ed., Muḥammad Qazwīnī. E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, Old Series, XVI, 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1937, vol. 3, pp. 106–278. English trans., John Andrew Boyle as *The History of the World-Conqueror*. UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Persian Series. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 618–725; reprinted, with an introduction by David O. Morgan. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1997, pp. 618–725; ed. and rewritten in contemporary Persian by Maṣṣūr Tharvat as *Tahrīr-i nuvīn-i ta'riḫ-i jahān-gushā*. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1362 Sh./1983, pp. 329–392. Partial Arabic trans., Muḥammad al-Sa'īd Jamāl al-Dīn, in his *Dawlat al-Ismā'īliyya fī Īrān*, pp. 150–255.

Juwaynī composed his history of the Ismailis and included it in the third volume of his *Ta'riḫ-i jahān-gushā*, on the basis of the official Nizārī chronicles and other documents which he found in the famous library at Alamūt, shortly before its destruction by the Mongols in 654/1256. Juwaynī's Ismaili history comprises parts devoted to early Ismailis, the Fatimids and the “new *da'wa*” of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) and his successors at Alamūt, a model adopted later by Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī as well. The most valuable parts of all three histories, however, relate to the Nizārī Ismaili state of Persia, as all three historians of the Īlhānīd period made independent use of contemporary Nizārī source materials which have not survived.

**Kāshānī (al-Qāshānī), Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī  
(d. ca. 738/1337), Persian historian and administrator under the  
Īlkhānid Mongols**

- *Zubdat al-tawārikh: ta'rīkh-i Ismā'īliyya va Nizāriyya va malāhida*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, in *Nashriyya-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt, Dānishgāh-i Tabrīz, ḍamīma-yi 9/Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Tabriz, Supplément no. 9* (1343 Sh./1964), pp. 1–218; 2nd ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh as *Zubdat al-tawārikh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyyān va Nizāriyyān*. Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Muṭāla'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1366 Sh./1987. pp. xxxi + 262 + facsimile text (Tehran University, MS 9067).

Kāshānī, an Imāmī Shī'ī historian who participated in the compilation of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, had independent access to the Nizārī sources of the Alamūt period which have not survived; and his account of the Nizārī Ismaili state of Persia is more detailed than those produced by Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn; see F. Daftary's review in *Nashr-i Dānish*, 8 (February-March, 1988), pp. 28–30. Kāshānī's section on the Ismailis is contained in his *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, a general history of the Muslim world dedicated to Öljeytü (703–716/1304–1316), the Mongol Īlkhānid ruler of Persia.

**al-Khazrajī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan  
(d. 812/1410), Yamanī historian**

- *al-'Asjad al-masbūk fī-man waliya al-Yaman min al-mulūk: al-faṣl al-sādis fī dhikr al-Qarāmiṭa bi'l-Yaman*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 411–431.

Drawing on earlier sources such as 'Umāra al-Yamanī and al-Janadī, al-Khazrajī produced three historical works on Yaman, including this annalistic chronicle. The sixth chapter of *al-'Asjad*, edited here by S. Zakkār, deals with 'Alī b. al-Faḍl (d. 303/915) and his Qarmaṭī movement in Yaman, closely following al-Janadī's account.

**al-Maqrizī, Taqī al-Dīn Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī  
(d. 845/1442), Egyptian historian**

- *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, ed., Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad.

United Arab Republic, al-Majlis al-A'la li'l-Shu'un al-Islāmiyya, Lajnat iḥyā' al-turāth al-Islāmī, al-Kitāb, 12. Cairo: Lajnat iḥyā' al-turāth al-Islāmī, 1387–93/1967–73. 3 vols. Partial edition of volume one by Hugo Bunz as *Kitāb Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'emma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-hulafā'* (*Fatimidengeschichte*). Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1909. pp. viii (German) + 151 (Arabic); partial edition of vol. 1, by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl as *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'emma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*. Maktabat al-Maqrīzī al-ṣaghīra, 2. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1367/1948. pp. 390 (corresponding to J. al-Shayyāl, 1967 ed., vol. 1, pp. 1–200); excerpt, *Min akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 323–389.

This is a comprehensive and only independent history of the Fatimids by a Sunni author, who may have claimed Fatimid ancestry from Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz. Al-Maqrīzī, too, had access to the anti-Ismaili treatise of Akhū Muḥsin and identified Ibn Rizām as its source. The *Itti'āz* has survived only in the form of a *musawwada*, or first draft, in a single complete manuscript preserved in Istanbul.

- *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, lithographed, Būlāq, 1270/1853–54. 2 vols.; reprinted, Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, n.d. 2 vols., and other reprints; edition of the *musawwada* (autograph copy) by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid. London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1416/1995. pp. 106 (introduction) + 534; critical ed., Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid. London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1422–24/2003. 4 vols. Partial ed., Gaston Wiet (1887–1971), in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 30, 33, 46, 49, 53. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1911–27. 5 vols. (corresponding to vol. 1, pp. 1–322 of the Būlāq edition). Partial French trans., U. Bouriant (1849–1903) as *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, 17, fascicules 1–2. Cairo: E. Leroux, 1895–1900. 2 vols. (covering vol. 1, pp. 2–250 of the Būlāq edition). Partial French trans., Paul Casanova (1861–1926) as *Livre des admonitions et de l'observation pour l'histoire des quartiers et des monuments ou Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte*, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 3, 4. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1906–20. 2 vols. (covering vol. 1, pp. 250–397 of the Būlāq edition). This French translation was never completed.

Generally known as the *Khiṭaṭ*, this is the most important medieval text of its genre on the history and historical geography of Islamic Egypt and topography of Cairo, with its palaces, mosques, convents, town quarters (*akhtāṭ*), baths, etc. Much of it deals with Fatimid Cairo as well as Fatimid history and institutions, in addition to containing accounts of the Ismaili *da'wa* drawn evidently from genuine Ismaili works; see P. Casanova, "La doctrine secrète des Fatimides d'Égypte". In addition to personal observations, the *Khiṭaṭ* is based on a variety of sources, such as histories of al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, which are otherwise lost. A comparison of the *musawwada*, or initial draft preserved at Khazīna Library attached to the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, with later manuscripts of the *Khiṭaṭ* reveals how al-Maqrīzī greatly expanded this work over time. Some 170 manuscript copies of the *Khiṭaṭ* are known to exist.

- *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed., Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Mohammed Yalaoui). Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1991. 8 vols.; abridged ed., Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1407/1987. pp. 486; excerpt, on *al-Ḥasan al-Aṣam al-Qarmaṭī*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 391–409.

A biographical work containing about four hundred entries on individuals connected in various ways to the Fatimid state.

### **Mīrkhwānd, Muḥammad b. Khwāndshāh (d. 903/1498), Persian historian**

- *Histoire de la dynastie des Ismaéliens de Perse*, excerpt from *Rawḍat al-ṣafā' fi sīrat al-anbiyā' wa'l-mulūk wa'l-khulafā'*, ed. and French trans., Am. Jourdain, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques*, 9 (1813), translation pp. 143–182, Persian text pp. 192–248; also in the complete edition of the Persian text of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'* (Tehran, 1338–39 Sh./1960), vol. 4, pp. 181–235.

Mīrkhwānd included a relatively detailed account of the Fatimids and the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period in his history, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*. In this section, devoted to the lords of Alamūt, from Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, the author also recounts a version of the tale of the three schoolfellows (Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Nizām al-Mulk and 'Umar Khayyām), based on a spurious work, the *Waṣāya*, attributed to the Saljūq vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092).



**al-Musabbiḥī, al-Mukhtār ‘Izz al-Mulk Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 420/1030), Fatimid historian and official**

- *Akḥbār Miṣr*, ed., Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, Thierry Bianquis and Ḥusayn Naṣṣār. *Textes Arabes et études Islamiques*, XIII, 1–2. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1978–84. 2 vols. (historical and literary parts); partial edition of part 1 (*al-qism al-ta’rikhī*) by W.G. Millward. Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1980. pp. 16 (English) + 289 (Arabic).

The amir al-Musabbiḥī, who may have been an Ismaili, produced a major history of Fatimid Egypt, covering the period 365–415/975–1025, of which only this small portion of the 40th volume (relating to 414–415 A.H.) has survived in a unique manuscript held at the Escorial Library, Madrid. The work has separate historical and literary parts. Later historians, such as Ibn Muyassar, Ibn Zāfir and al-Maqrīzī, have quoted from sections of this history which have not survived directly.

**Nizām al-Mulk, Abū ‘Alī Ḥasan b. ‘Alī Ṭūsī (d. 485/1092), Saljūq vizier**

- *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. and French trans., Charles Schefer as *Siasset Namèh, traité de gouvernement*. Publications de l’École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 3<sup>e</sup> série, VII–VIII. Paris: E. Leroux, 1891–93. 2 vols. (Persian text, vol. 1, pp. 183–199; French trans., vol. 2, pp. 268–284, 285–291); lithographed, Allahabad, 1931, pp. 184–200; ed., ‘A.R. Khalkhālī. Tehran: Mu’assasa-yi Khurshīd, 1310 Sh./1931, pp. 157–168, 169–73; ed., ‘Abbās Iqbāl. Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Majlis, 1320 Sh./1941, pp. 260–274, 277–282; ed., Muḥammad Qazwīnī and Murtaḍā Mudarrīsī Chahārdihī. *Zabān va farhang-i Īrān*, 14. Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1334 Sh./1955, pp. 215–229, 232–236; ed., Hubert Darke as *Siyar al-mulūk (Siyāsat-nāma)*. *Majmū‘a-yi mutūn-i Fārsī*, 8. 2nd ed., Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjama va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1347 Sh./1968, pp. 282–305, 306–311; ed., Ja‘far Shu‘ār. *Majmū‘a-yi sukhan-i Pārsī*, 2. Tehran: Kitābhā-yi Jībī, 1348 Sh./1969, pp. 322–358; ed., Mehmet Altay Köymen. *Dil ve Tarih-Çografya Fakültesi Yayinlari*, 268. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1976, pp. 227–240, 248–252; ed., ‘Aṭā Allāh Tadayyun. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tehran, 1373 Sh./1994, pp. 219–228, 230–233. English trans., Hubert Darke as *The Book of Government; or, Rules for Kings: The Siyāsat-nāma or Siyar al-mulūk*. UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Persian Series. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1960, pp. 213–238; 2nd

ed., Persian Heritage Series, 32. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1978, pp. 208–231. German trans., Karl Emil Schabinger von Schowingen as *Siyāsatnāma: Gedanken und Geschichten*. Freiburg and Munich: K. Alber, 1960, pp. 306–324. Russian trans., B.N. Zakhoder as *Siaset-Name, kniga o pravlenii*. Moscow and Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1949, pp. 207–224. Turkish trans., M. Şerif Çavdaroğlu as *Siya-setname*. Istanbul Üniversitesi, Hukuk Fakültesi, Idare Hukuku ve Idare İlimleri Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1. Istanbul: Sermet Matbaası, 1954, pp. 219–228, 230–234.

The *Siyāsat-nāma*, also known as *Siyar al-mulūk*, completed in 484/1091 with additions of eleven chapters (including that on the Ismailis) in the following year, comprises fifty chapters of advice to the Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh (465–485/1073–1092). The last eleven chapters, added shortly before the vizier's assassination in 485/1092, focus on dangers which threatened the Saljūq state at the time, notably those emanating from certain Iranian movements and from the Ismailis in particular who are discussed in chapter 46. This chapter in the *Siyāsat-nāma* provides an important source on the history of the early Ismaili (Qarmaṭi) *da'wa* and *dā'īs* in Persia and Central Asia, even though Nizām al-Mulūk was extremely hostile toward the Ismailis.

**al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb  
(d. 733/1333), Egyptian historian**

- *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, volume 25, ed., Muḥammad Jābir 'Abd al-'Āl al-Ḥinī and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī. Cairo: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1404/1984, pp. 187–317; excerpts, *Dhikr akhbār al-dawla al-'Ubaydiyya*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 301–321. French trans., in Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 73–238, 430–453.

Like Ibn al-Dawādārī and al-Maqrīzī, but more extensively, al-Nuwayrī has preserved in this volume of his encyclopedic work substantial selections from the anti-Ismaili treatise of Akhū Muḥsin, who drew on Ibn Rizām.

- *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, volume 28, ed., Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad. Cairo: Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li'l-Kitāb, 1992, pp. 63–350; excerpt, ed., Muṣṭafā Abū Ḍayf Aḥmad as *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab: al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya bi-bilād al-Maghrib*. Casablanca: Maṭba'at al-

Najāh al-Jadīda, 1988. pp. 85.

This volume of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab* contains a long section on the Fatimids.

**al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī  
(d. 821/1418), Sunni legal scholar and secretary in the Mamlūk  
chancery**

- *Tartīb mamlakat al-Fāṭimiyyīn fī Miṣr, ma’khūdh min Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-a’shā fī ṣinā’at al-inshā’ (al-juz’ al-thālith)*, ed., Marius Canard. Bibliothèque de l’Institut d’Études Supérieures Islamiques d’Alger, XII. Algiers: La Maison des Livres, 1957. pp. 64.

Completed in 814/1412, al-Qalqashandī has preserved in his encyclopedic secretarial manual, *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā*, the texts of numerous Fatimid decrees of different kinds, including caliphal edicts and diplomas of investiture. As such, the *Ṣubḥ* is a major source of information on Fatimid administration, institutions and documents. This extract, on Fatimid administration, comes from the published edition of the *Ṣubḥ* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1332–38/1914–20), vol. 3, pp. 468–528.

**Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, Faḍl Allāh b. ‘Imād al-Dawla  
(d. 718/1318), Persian historian and vizier to İlkhānid Mongols**

- *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh: qismat-i Ismā‘īliyyān va Fāṭimiyyān va Nizāriyyān va dā‘īyyān va rafīqān*, ed., Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Muḥammad Mudarrisi Zanjānī. Majmū‘a-yi mutūn-i Fārsī, 3. Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjama va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1338 Sh./1959. pp. 16 + 241; partial ed., Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī as *Faṣlī az Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh: ta’rikh-i firqa-yi rafīqān va Ismā‘īliyyān-i Alamūt*. Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1337 Sh./1958. pp. 160.

Rashīd al-Dīn made independent use of the Nizārī sources of the Alamūt period as well as Juwaynī’s history of the Ismailis. However, Rashīd al-Dīn’s own history of the Ismailis is fuller than that produced by Juwaynī; he is also more objective than his predecessor. Rashīd al-Dīn’s section on the Ismailis is contained in the second volume of his *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh* completed in 710/1310. By contrast to Dabīr Siyāqī’s edition, which relates only to the history of the Nizārī Ismaili state in

Persia, Dānīshpazhūh and Mudarrīsī's edition covers the earlier history of the Ismailis as well.

**al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr**  
(d. 310/923), Sunni historian

- *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed., Michael Jan de Goeje et al., as *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879–1901, third series, vol. 4, pp. 2124–2130 (and in later editions). English trans., Philip M. Fields as *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Volume XXXVII, The 'Abbāsīd Recovery*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, pp. 169–175. Persian trans., Abū'l-Qāsim Pāyanda as *Ta'riḫ-i Ṭabarī yā "Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk"*. Majmu'a-yi ta'riḫ-i Īrān, 20. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭīr, 1364 Sh./1985, vol. 15, pp. 6642–6648.

Al-Ṭabarī's narrative of the opening phase of the Qarmaṭī (Ismaili) *da'wa* in Iraq, cited here, is based on information supplied by Ismaili informants. Subsequent to this section, al-Ṭabarī provides further valuable details on early Ismaili activities in Iraq, Baḥrayn and Syria, including those of the *dā'i* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh (d. 294/907) and his sons.

**Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk, al-Malik al-Ṣālīḥ**  
(d. 556/1161), Fatimid vizier and poet of Armenian origins

- *Dīwān*, ed., Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī. Cairo: Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr, [1958]. pp. 116; ed., Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī. Najaf: al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya, 1383/1964. pp. 191.
- Collection of poems in praise of the Imams 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and their descendants by a Fatimid vizier who adhered to Twelver or possibly Nuṣayrī Shi'ism. Ṭalā'i' was also a patron of poets and his retinue included 'Umāra al-Yamanī amongst others.

**Thābit b. Sinān**  
(d. 365/975–76), Sabean historian

- *Ta'riḫ akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār, in his *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 1–84.

Thābit and several of his relatives, all belonging to the learned Sabean

(Şābi'a) family of scholars and secretaries in the service of the Abbāsids in Baghdad, produced supplementary continuations of al-Ṭabarī's history. Thābit continued the narrative until the year 362/973 in his own universal history which seems to be almost completely lost. In this extant fragment, Thābit discusses the opening phase of the Ismaili (Qarmaṭi) *da'wa* in Kūfa, under the leadership of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, the activities of Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, as well as those of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn.

**‘Umāra al-Yamanī, Abū Ḥamza Najm al-Dīn b. ‘Alī  
(d. 569/1174), Yamanī historian and poet**

- *Ta'riḫ al-Yaman*, ed. and English trans., Henry C. Kay, in his *Yaman, its Early Mediaeval History*. London: E. Arnold, 1892, text pp. 1–102, translation as *The History of Yaman*, pp. 1–137; reprinted (with the same pagination), Farnborough, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1968; ed., Ḥasan Sulaymān Maḥmūd. Cairo: Maktabat Miṣr, 1957, pp. 34–130; 2nd ed., Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1976; ed., Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī. Sanaa: al-Maktaba al-Yamaniyya, 1985. pp. 344.

Produced in 563/1167–68, at the instigation of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil who was at the time chief secretary to the Fatimid caliph al-‘Āḍid and subsequently a close companion of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 589/1193), founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty, ‘Umāra's *Ta'riḫ* covers the events in both northern and southern Yaman during the Fatimid period. It is a major and the earliest source on the Ṣulayḥids, an Ismaili dynasty ruling over extensive parts of Yaman during 439–532/1047–1138, and on the south Arabian (Ḥāfiẓī) Ismaili dynasty of the Zuray'ids of ‘Adan (473–569/1080–1173). Later Yamanī historians, like al-Khazraǰī (d. 812/1410), add very little to ‘Umāra's account of the Zuray'ids, some of whom were personally known to him.

- *Dīwān* and *Memoirs* entitled *al-Nukat al-‘aṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā' al-Miṣriyya*, ed., Hartwig Derenbourg, in his *Oumāra du Yémen, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 4<sup>e</sup> série, X–XI. Paris: E. Leroux, 1897–1902. 2 vols.

Much information on ‘Umāra's contemporaries, notably several Fatimid viziers, and on Fatimid court life, may be obtained from ‘Umāra's poems and *Memoirs (al-Nukat al-‘aṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā' al-Miṣriyya)*, covering the period 558–564/1162–1169. Adhering

nominally to the Shāfi'ī Sunni *madhhab*, this Yamanī historian and poet emigrated to Egypt in 552/1157 and became an ardent supporter of the Fatimids, whom he eulogizes in his poetry in addition to the *ahl-al bayt*. 'Umāra's outward Shi'ī sympathies eventually endangered him; he was executed on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's order in Cairo in 569/1174, on charges of involvement in a plot to restore the Fatimids to power.

**Umayya b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abu'l-Ṣalt al-Ishbīlī**  
(d. 528/1134), Spanish Muslim scholar at the Fatimid court

- *al-Risāla al-Miṣriyya*, ed., 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*. Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa'l-Tarjama wa'l-Nashr, 1951, vol. 1, pp. 5–56. Partial French trans., Alfred Luis de Prémare as “Un Andalou en Égypte à la fin du XIe siècle: Abu l-Ṣalt Omayya de Denia et son Épître Égyptienne”, in *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, 3(1964–66), pp. 179–208.

A poet and also a writer on medicine, astronomy, music, philosophy and literature, in this historical work Abu'l-Ṣalt describes his eyewitness observations for the years 489–506/1096–1112 in Fatimid Cairo, including the poets and scholars he saw there. Belonging to the circle of scholars under the Fatimid vizier al-Afḍal's patronage, Abu'l-Ṣalt later joined the Zīrid court where he dedicated his *al-Risāla al-Miṣriyya* to the Zīrid prince Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (501–509/1108–1116).

**Usāma b. Munqidh, see Ibn Munqidh, Usāma**

**Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Ḥasanī al-'Alawī, al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh**  
(d. 749/1348), Zaydi imam and scholar in Yaman

- *al-Iḥām li-afīdat al-Bāṭiniyya al-ṭaghām*, ed., Fayṣal Budayr 'Awn. Maktabat 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn, 3. Alexandria: Mansha'at al-Ma'arif, n.d. pp. 133.
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## Selected Theses

In this chapter are listed a selection of theses on Ismaili, or Ismaili-related, topics submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for doctoral, masters' and other types of higher degrees, to American, Canadian, British, French and Italian universities, as well as higher institutions of learning in Iran and a few other countries. The theses published subsequently as books are indicated with PB.

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## Appendix

# Genealogical Tables and Lists



## **I**

**Early Imāmī and Ismaili Imams**

## **II**

**The Fatimid Ismaili Caliph-Imams**



**III**  
**Nizārī Ismaili Imams**  
**Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī Imams**

19. Nizār b. al-Mustanşir bi'llāh (d. 488/1095)
20. al-Hādī
21. al-Muhtadī
22. al-Qāhir
23. Ḥasan II *'alā dhikrihi'l-salām* (d. 561/1166)
24. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II (d. 607/1210)
25. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III (d. 618/1221)
26. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III (d. 653/1255)
27. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh (d. 655/1257)
28. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. ca. 710/1310)
29. Qāsim Shāh
30. Islām Shāh
31. Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh
32. Mustanşir bi'llāh II (d. 885/1480)
33. 'Abd al-Salām Shāh
34. Gharīb Mīrzā (Mustanşir bi'llāh III) (d. 904/1498)
35. Abū Dharr 'Alī (Nūr al-Dīn)
36. Murād Mīrzā (d. 981/1574)
37. Dhu'l-Faqār 'Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634)
38. Nūr al-Dahr (Nūr al-Dīn) 'Alī (d. 1082/1671)
39. Khalīl Allāh II 'Alī (d. 1090/1680)
40. Shāh Nizār II (d. 1134/1722)
41. Sayyid 'Alī (d. 1167/1754)
42. Ḥasan 'Alī
43. Qāsim 'Alī (Sayyid Ja'far)
44. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (Bāqir Shāh) (d. 1206/1792)
45. Shāh Khalīl Allāh III (d. 1232/1817)
46. Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, Āghā Khān I (d. 1298/1881)
47. Āqā 'Alī Shāh, Āghā Khān II (d. 1302/1885)
48. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (d. 1376/1957)
49. H.H. Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan IV, the present *ḥādīr* imam



### Muḥammad-Shāhī (Muʿminī) Nizārī Imams

19. Nizār b. al-Mustanşir bi'llāh (d. 488/1095)
20. Ḥasan b. Nizār (d. 534/1139)
21. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 590/1194)
22. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 618/1221)
23. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 653/1255)
24. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (d. 655/1257)
25. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (d. ca. 710/1310)\*
26. 'Alā' al-Dīn Mu'min Shāh b. Muḥammad
27. Muḥammad Shāh b. Mu'min Shāh
28. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Shāh
29. Ṭāhir b. Raḍī al-Dīn
30. Raḍī al-Dīn II b. Ṭāhir (d. 915/1509)
31. Shāh Ṭāhir b. Raḍī al-Dīn II al-Ḥusaynī al-Dakkanī (d. ca. 956/1549)
32. Ḥaydar b. Shāh Ṭāhir (d. 994/1586)
33. Şadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar (d. 1032/1622)
34. Mu'in al-Dīn b. Şadr al-Dīn (d. 1054/1644)
35. 'Aṭīyyat Allāh b. Mu'in al-Dīn (Khudāybakhsh) (d. 1074/1663)
36. 'Azīz Shāh b. 'Aṭīyyat Allāh (d. 1103/1691)
37. Mu'in al-Dīn II b. 'Azīz Shāh (d. 1127/1715)
38. Amīr Muḥammad b. Mu'in al-Dīn II al-Musharraf (d. 1178/1764)
39. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Muṭahhar (d. 1201/1786)
40. Amīr Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Bāqir, the final imam of this line

Some Muḥammad-Shāhī sources add the name of Aḥmad al-Qā'im between the 24th and 25th imams.

## IV Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlī Dāʿīs

### In Yaman

1. al-Dhuʿayb b. Mūsā al-Wādīʿī (d. 546/1151)
2. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162)
3. Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199)
4. ʿAlī b. Ḥātīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 605/1209)
5. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215)
6. ʿAlī b. Ḥanzala al-Wādīʿī (d. 626/1229)
7. Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 627/1230)
8. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 667/1268)
9. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 682/1284)
10. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥanzala (d. 686/1287)
11. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 728/1328)
12. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 729/1329)
13. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 746/1345)
14. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. al-Walīd (d. 755/1354)
15. ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. al-Walīd (d. 779/1378)
16. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 809/1407)
17. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 821/1418)
18. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 832/1428)
19. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Walīd (d. 872/1468)
20. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 918/1512)
21. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 933/1527)
22. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. al-Walīd (d. 933/1527)
23. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (al-Ḥusayn) b. Idrīs b. al-Walīd (d. 946/1539)

### In India

24. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (d. 974/1567)
25. Jalāl b. Ḥasan (d. 975/1567)
26. Dāʿūd b. ʿAjabshāh (d. 997/1589 or 999/1591)

## After the Dā'ūdī-Sulaymānī Schism

### Dā'ūdī Dā'īs: In India

27. Dā'ūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612)
28. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Ṭayyibshāh (d. 1030/1621)
29. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Dā'ūd b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1041/1631)
30. 'Alī Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. al-Walīd (d. 1042/1632)
31. Qāsim Zayn al-Dīn b. Pīrkhān (d. 1054/1644)
32. Quṭbkhān Quṭb al-Dīn b. Dā'ūd (d. 1056/1646)
33. Pīrkhān Shujā' al-Dīn b. Aḥmadjī (d. 1065/1655)
34. Ismā'īl Badr al-Dīn b. Mullā Rāj b. Ādam (d. 1085/1674)
35. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Ismā'īl Badr al-Dīn (d. 1110/1699)
36. Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1122/1710)
37. Nūr Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn b. Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn (d. 1130/1718)
38. Ismā'īl Badr al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1150/1737)
39. Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754)
40. Hibat Allāh al-Mu'ayyad fī'l-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 1193/1779)
41. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Ismā'īl Badr al-Dīn (d. 1200/1785)
42. Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1213/1798)
43. 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817)
44. Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shaykh Jīwanjī Awrangābādī (d. 1236/1821)
45. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn b. Shaykh Jīwanjī Awrangābādī (d. 1252/1837)
46. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn b. 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1256/1840)
47. 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn b. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1302/1885)
48. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusam al-Dīn b. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1308/1891)
49. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (d. 1323/1906)
50. 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusam al-Dīn (d. 1333/1915)
51. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965)
52. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn b. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, the present *dā'ī*

### Sulaymānī Dā'īs: In India and Yaman

27. Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597)

28. Ja'far b. Sulaymān (d. 1050/1640)
29. 'Alī b. Sulaymān (d. 1088/1677)
30. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī (d. 1094/1683)
31. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (d. 1109/1697)
32. Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1160/1747)
33. Ismā'īl b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1184/1770)
34. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775)
35. 'Abd al-'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1195/1781)
36. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī (d. 1225/1810)
37. Yūsuf b. 'Alī (d. 1234/1819)
38. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 1241/1826)
39. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad (d. 1256/1840)
40. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 1262/1846)
41. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl (d. 1289/1872)
42. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl (d. 1306/1889)
43. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī (d. 1323/1905)
44. 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1331/1913)
45. 'Alī b. Muḥsin (d. 1355/1936)
46. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥājī Ghulām Ḥusayn (d. 1357/1938)
47. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Makramī (d. 1358/1939)
48. Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī (d. 1395/1975)
49. al-Sharafī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī (d. 1413/1992)
50. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Makramī, the present *dā'ī*

### 'Alawī ('Alawiyya) *Dā'īs*: In India

27. Dā'ūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612)
28. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Ṭayyibshāh (d. 1030/1621)
29. Shams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1046/1637)
30. Zakī al-Dīn Ṭayyib b. Shaykh Ādam (d. 1047/1638)
31. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Walī (d. 1090/1679)
32. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Jiwābhā'ī b. Nūḥ (d. 1130/1718)
33. Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn (d. 1151/1738)
34. Shihāb al-Dīn Jalāl b. Nūḥ (d. 1158/1745)
35. Nūr al-Dīn Nūrbhā'ī b. Shaykh 'Alī (d. 1178/1764)
36. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Shams al-Dīn b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775)
37. Shams al-Dīn Shaykh 'Alī b. Shams al-Dīn (d. 1248/1832)
38. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Shams al-Dīn b. Shaykh 'Alī (d. 1252/1836)

39. Mufid al-Dīn Najm al-Dīn b. Shaykh ‘Alī (d. 1282/1865)
40. Amīn al-Dīn Amīr al-Dīn b. Najm al-Dīn (d. 1296/1879)
41. Fakhr al-Dīn Jīwābhā’ī b. Amīr al-Dīn (d. 1347/1929)
42. Badr al-Dīn Fidā ‘Alī b. Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1377/1958)
43. Nūr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 1394/1974)
44. Abū Ḥātim Ṭayyib Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn b. Nūr al-Dīn Yūsuf, the present *dā’ī*

The list of the ‘Alawī *dā’īs* was supplied to the author by their *da’wa* headquarters in Vadodara, Gujarāt.

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