

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY *of the*

ISMAILIS



FARHAD DAFTARY

HID HISTORICAL DICTIONARY

The historical dictionaries present essential information on a broad range of subjects, including American and world history, art, business, cities, countries, cultures, customs, film, global conflicts, international relations, literature, music, philosophy, religion, sports, and theater. Written by experts, all contain highly informative introductory essays of the topic and detailed chronologies that, in some cases, cover vast historical time periods but still manage to heavily feature more recent events.

Brief A–Z entries describe the main people, events, politics, social issues, institutions, and policies that make the topic unique, and entries are cross-referenced for ease of browsing. Extensive bibliographies are divided into several general subject areas, providing excellent access points for students, researchers, and anyone wanting to know more. Additionally, maps, photographs, and appendixes of supplemental information aid high school and college students doing term papers or introductory research projects. In short, the historical dictionaries are the perfect starting point for anyone looking to research in these fields.

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Historical Dictionary of the Ismailis

Farhad Daftary



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Editor's Foreword

The Ismailis are the second largest branch of Shi'a Islam, which itself is smaller than the total communities of Sunni Islam. This makes the Ismailis a minority within a minority. But they have always been a significant component of what is gradually becoming the largest world religion and, for this reason alone, it is worthwhile learning more about them. This is particularly so since they have not always been a small community; among other things, they established the Fatimid empire during the 10th through 12th centuries while the Aga Khans are known worldwide. Moreover, size has hardly constrained the influence of Ismaili Islam, and its contribution to Islam has always been substantial and it is probably the most internationalist branch of the religion. Still, being a minority and on the defensive has not helped outsiders to know its major beliefs, institutions, and leaders. Worse, over the centuries, its enemies have repeatedly heaped abuse on them while its adherents found that secrecy was the wisest, or at least safest, policy. Thus, a clear and enlightened study is particularly necessary.

This is provided, in its own way, by *Historical Dictionary of the Ismailis*. And it has its work cut out for it. First of all, the chronology has to cover one and a half millennia of history, this being particularly rich in details and many of these only recently elucidated. Next, the introduction has to provide a broad overview, this being partially historical and partially conceptual, again a very difficult task. But the bulk of the material takes the form of concise but comprehensive entries in the dictionary section. These include topics like all the major branches of the Ismailis, as well as the numerous subgroupings of one sort or another, some based on history, others on theology, and yet others on location. Then, there are the countless battles and conflicts, external and internal. While those on significant persons are most numerous, in some ways those on institutions, traditions, and concepts are even more important. Indeed, the latter not only merit but require a special glossary, which the reader should keep handy while consulting other works. And the easiest path to further reading is clearly the extensive bibliography.

This book was written by Farhad Daftary who is far and away the best known and also the most accomplished authority on the topic. Dr. Daftary studied economics for many years in the United States before shifting his specialization to Ismaili studies, to which he has contributed more than any other scholar. This has also taken the form of teaching, especially at The Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, where he is now the codirector and head of the Department of Academic Research and Publications. But he is best known for countless articles and a dozen outstanding books, some written and others edited by him, including *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, and *A Modern History of the Ismailis*. On top of this, he is a consulting editor of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* and coeditor of the *Encyclopaedia Islamica* as well as the general editor of the Ismaili Heritage Series and the Ismaili Texts and Translations Series. The historical dictionary thus has a very solid foundation, the sort of thing that is needed in such a controversial area, but also benefits from Dr. Daftary's experience and ability in imparting his knowledge to others.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

In recent times, few fields of Islamic studies have witnessed as drastic a change as Ismaili studies. This change, and indeed complete reevaluation, has resulted from the discovery and study of a large number of Ismaili texts, manuscript sources that have been preserved secretly in numerous private collections in Yaman (Yemen), Syria, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and India. These primary sources, written mainly in Arabic and Persian during various phases of Ismaili history, provided the foundation for modern scholarship in Ismaili studies, which was initiated in the 1940s. Over the last few decades many of these texts have been published and studied closely by relatively small groups of scholars. As a result, a completely new picture has emerged of Ismaili history, traditions, and the different dimensions of Ismaili thought, as well as the contributions of this minoritarian Shi‘i Muslim community to Islamic thought and culture.

The present dictionary, the first of its kind, presents in summary form the findings of modern scholarship on the Ismailis and different facets of their heritage. It covers all the major phases of Ismaili history and thought, from its origins in the second/eighth century until our day, also covering the main regions of the world inhabited by the Ismailis. There are entries also on all the major and minor divisions and subgroupings of the Ismaili community. The main theological and doctrinal concepts are also covered here. Designed as a mini-encyclopedia, this dictionary might hopefully serve as a first point of reference for information on all the key Ismaili figures, concepts, institutions, and traditions, as well as regions in Ismaili history. Major Ismaili texts are also cited in the dictionary. In addition, numerous Muslim dynasties and figures with whom the Ismailis came into contact are included. Key non-Ismaili Muslims who wrote on the Ismailis, and some of their polemical writings, in addition to some orientalist who did pioneering work in the field, are also represented.

It remains for me to thank Jon Woronoff, this series editor, who kindly invited me to contribute this dictionary on the Ismailis to this illustrious series of publications. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to Nadia Holmes who meticulously prepared the typescript for publication.

F. D.
May 2011
London

Reader's Note

This dictionary, the first of its kind on the Ismailis, is comprised of a chronology, an introduction, the dictionary itself, genealogical tables and lists, a glossary, and a bibliography. An extensive chronological table provides a running listing of major events and personalities in Ismaili history within the broader context of Islamic history from its formative period until the present times. In the introduction, a brief survey of Ismaili history, in terms of all its phases and major divisions, provides a historical context for the dictionary and for purposes of broader contextualization of the events, personalities, concepts, doctrines, and practices covered in the dictionary's entries. In selecting the entries of the dictionary, an attempt has been made to be as comprehensive as possible. All major personalities and events stretching over the entire spectrum of the long and eventful phases of Ismaili history are covered, as well as the various geographical regions with significant Ismaili presence throughout the centuries. Ismaili teachings have often represented complex doctrinal systems, which themselves have witnessed various degrees of further elaboration or even change over time. As a result, it is not always possible to explain the doctrines upheld uniformly by all Ismaili communities and at all times. Variations, both geographically and intercommunally, have often had lasting impacts on the teachings and practices of any one Ismaili group. However, an attempt was made to include some of the most important, and indeed central, teachings and rituals of the Ismailis. Special entries, such as "education," "jurisprudence," and "women," among others, have been included to shed light on the social conditions of the Ismailis.

A number of genealogical tables and lists offer ready information on the leadership of the Ismaili communities throughout the ages, covering both their imams or spiritual leaders and, as in the case of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis whose imams have remained hidden since 524/1130, their *dā'īs* who have operated with full authority as representatives of the hidden Ṭayyibī imams. The glossary contains a listing of the selected terms and names, chiefly of Arabic and Persian origin, which appear frequently in the dictionary. The bibliography of the sources and studies is preceded by an introductory section explaining its organization and coverage. As noted there, full bibliographical references to Ismaili-related publications of various types (published before 2004) can be found in my *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies* (2004).

The system of transliteration used in this dictionary for the Arabic and Persian scripts, such as for transliterating names and technical terms from those languages, is essentially that of the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with three modifications, namely, *ch* for *č*, *j* for *dj*, and *q* for *k*. Diacritical marks are omitted for some of the dynastic and community names that are treated as common English words in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*. Similarly, common geographical names that have acquired standard usage in the English language have not been transliterated.

A note on the dating system used in this dictionary is also in order here. The lunar years of the Islamic calendar are generally followed by the corresponding solar years of the Common

Era (for example 148/765). The years of the Islamic era, initiated by the emigration (*hijra*) of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in July 622, have been converted to the corresponding dates of the Christian era on the basis of the conversion tables given in Greville S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Islamic and Christian Calendars* (2nd ed., Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1995). In Iran (formerly known as Persia), a solar Islamic calendar was officially adopted in the 1920s. The Islamic dates of the sources published in modern Iran (and also in Afghanistan) are, therefore, solar (in Persian, *shamsī*; abbreviated to Sh. in the bibliography), coinciding with the corresponding Christian years starting on 21 March (marking the Persian new year).

To facilitate the rapid and efficient location of information and to make this book as useful a reference tool as possible, extensive cross-references have been provided. Within individual dictionary entries, terms that have their own entries in the dictionary are in **boldface type** the first time they appear. Further cross-referencing in the dictionary section is provided through *see* and *see also*.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

The following acronyms and abbreviations are used in this book for certain frequently cited words and organizations:

AD	<i>Anno Domini</i> (=CE, Common Era)
AH	<i>Anno Hegirae</i> (=After Hijra, initiated by the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina)
AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
AKES	Aga Khan Education Services
AKF	Aga Khan Foundation
AKTC	Aga Khan Trust for Culture
AKU	Aga Khan University
b.	for <i>ibn</i> , son of
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
c.	<i>circa</i>
d.	death, died in
D. Phil.	Doctor of Philosophy (=Ph.D.)
DARP	Department of Academic Research and Publications, at the IIS
HCP	Historic Cities Programme
IIS	The Institute of Ismaili Studies
ITREB	Ismaili Tariqah and Religious Education Board
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
r.	reigned
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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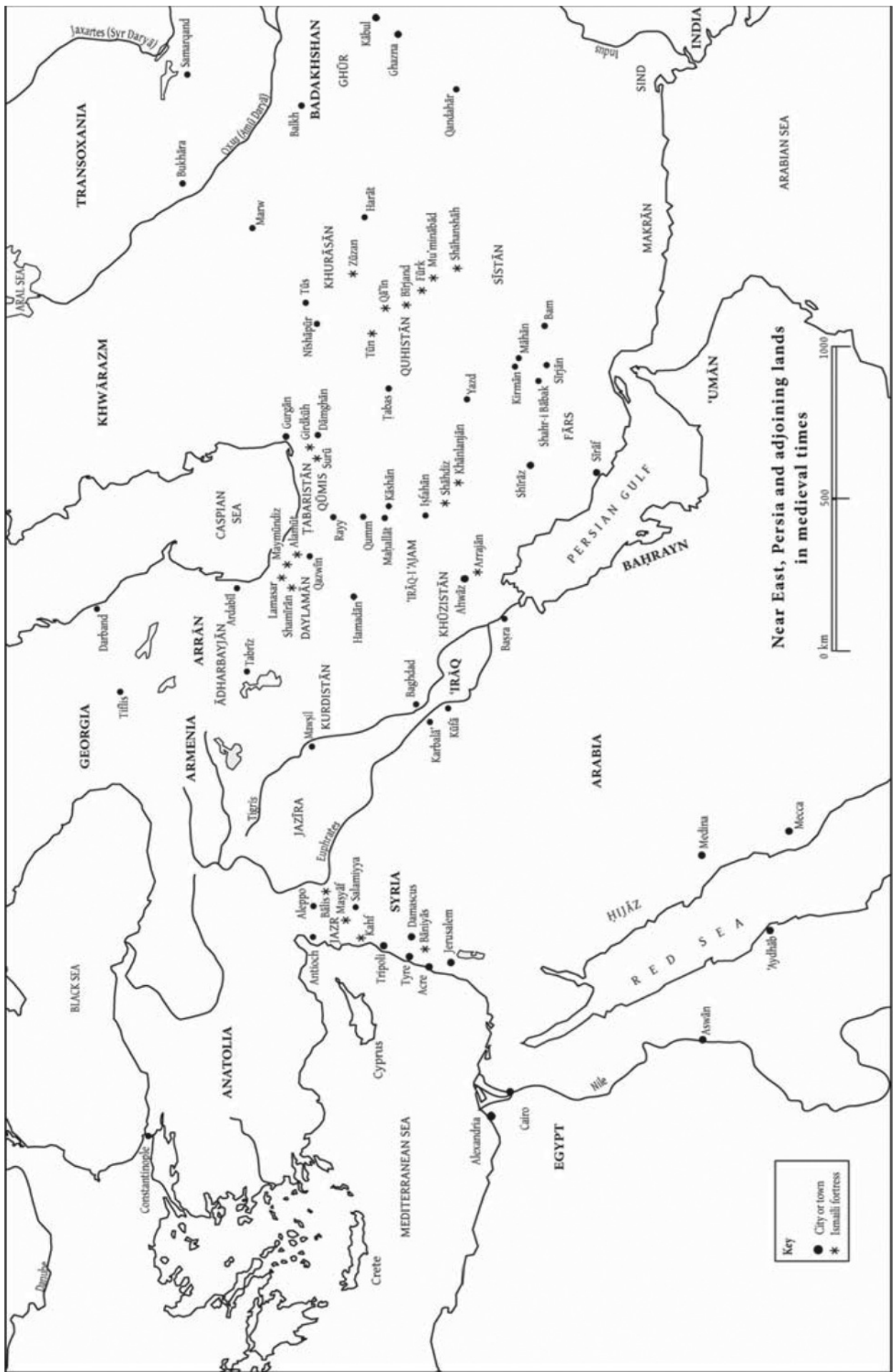
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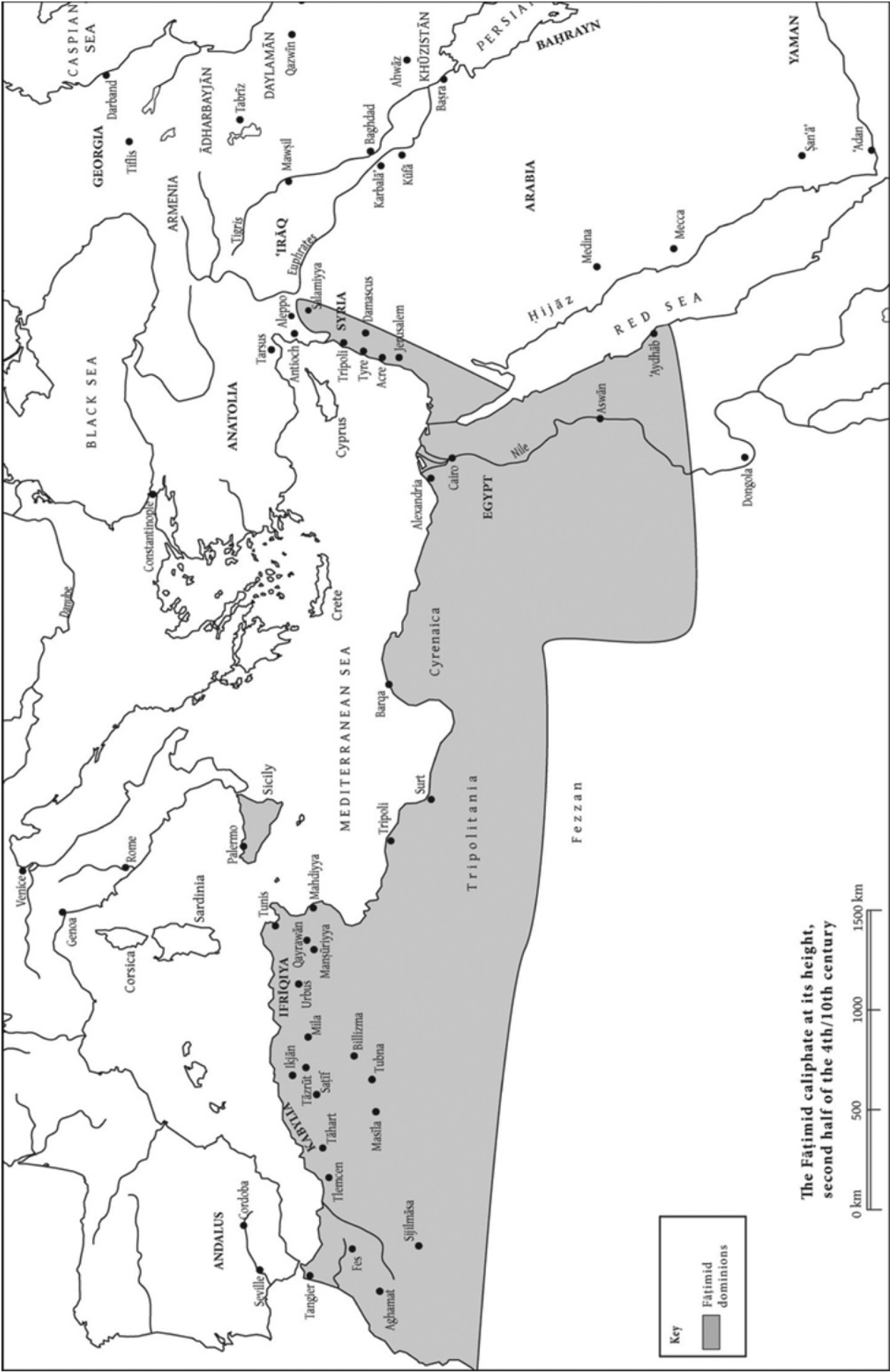
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Maps



Map 1. Near East, Persia, and adjoining lands in medieval times.



Map 2. The Fatimid caliphate at its height, second half of fourth/10th century.



Map 3. Central Asia in medieval times (used by permission of UNESCO).



Map 4. Northern and central India under the Delhi Sultans and the western Himalayan states (used by permission of UNESCO).

Chronology

570 AD	Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (Year of the Elephant).
595	Muḥammad marries Khadīja.
605	Birth of Fāṭima, Muḥammad's daughter.
610	Muḥammad receives the first revelation.
1 AH/622 AD	The <i>hijra</i> ; Muḥammad emigrates from Mecca to Yathrib (later called Medina); base year of the Muslim calendar.
11/632	Muḥammad's Farewell Pilgrimage and his death; appointment of Abū Bakr as the first caliph.
13/634	Accession of 'Umar as the second caliph.
23/644	Murder of 'Umar; accession of 'Uthmān as caliph.
35/656	Murder of 'Uthmān; accession of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law) as caliph; beginning of first civil war.
37/657	'Alī transfers his capital from Medina to Kūfa; Mu'āwiya challenges 'Alī's authority leading to the prolonged Battle of Ṣiffīn.
40/661	Murder of 'Alī, fourth caliph and first Shi'i imam.
41/661	Accession of Mu'āwiya; establishment of the Umayyadcaliphate.
49/669	Death of the second Shi'i imam, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.
61/680	al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's grandson and the third Shi'i imam, together with his family and companions, are massacred at Karbalā' on the order of Yazīd, the second Umayyad caliph; martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn is commemorated annually on the 10th of MuUarram.
66/685	Shi'i revolt of al-Mukhtār in Kūfa.
95/714	Death of the fourth Shi'i imam, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn; the Imāmī Shi'is now recognize the latter's son Muḥammad al-Bāqir as their new imam.
114/732	Death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir; his son Ja'far al-Ṣādiq succeeds to the imamate of the Imāmī Shi'is.
120/738	Birth of the seventh imam of the Ismailis, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl.
122/740	Abortive revolt of Muḥammad al-Bāqir's half-brother Zayd b. 'Alī in Kūfa; Zayd's movement initiates the Zaydī branch of Shi'ism.
132/750	Fall of the Umayyads; establishment of the Abbasid dynasty.

- 138/755 Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, the eponymous founder of the extremist Shi'ī sect of Khaṭṭābiyya, and a group of his early supporters are massacred in Kūfa.
- 145/762 Foundation of Baghdad as capital of the Abbasids.
- 148/765 Death of Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; the Imāmī Shi'īs split into several groups; emergence of the earliest Ismailis; commencement of *dawr al-satr* (period of concealment) in early Ismaili history.
- 170–193/786–809 Reign of the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd; death of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl succeeds to the leadership of the earliest Ismailis.
- 183/799 Death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm, seventh imam of the Ithnā'ashariyya (Twelver Shi'īs).
- 184/800 Rise of the Aghlabids in North Africa.
- 204/819 Rise of the Sāmānids of Central Asia and Persia.
- 259/873 Birth of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, future founder of the Fatimid caliphate.
- 260/874 Death of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, 11th imam of the Twelver Shi'īs and commencement of the occultation (*ghayba*) of his son, Muḥammad al-Mahdī; the *dā'ī* al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī converts Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, marking the commencement of the Ismaili *da'wa* in southern Iraq; the *da'wa* also starts in the Jibāl.
- 268/881 Ibn Ḥawshab (Maṣṣūr al-Yaman) arrives in Yaman (Yemen) to initiate the Ismaili *da'wa* there.
- 270/883 Ibn Ḥawshab's nephew al-Haytham is dispatched to Sind to initiate the Ismaili *da'wa* in the Indian subcontinent.
- 277/890 Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ founds a fortified *dār al-hijra*, or abode of emigration, near Kūfa for his Qarmaṭī supporters.
- 279/892 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī commences his *da'wa* activities among the Kutāma Berbers of the Maghrib.
- 280/893 Zaydīs establish a state in northern Yaman.
- 281/894 Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī arrives in Bahrayn, eastern Arabia, to commence the Ismaili *da'wa* there.
- 284/897 Qarmaṭīs stage their first anti-Abbasid protest in Iraq.
- 286/899 Doctrinal reform of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī; split of Ismailism into Qarmaṭī and loyal Ismaili factions; murder of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ's chief assistant 'Abdān; establishment of the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn.
- 289/902 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī embarks on his fateful journey from Salamiyya to North Africa; commencement of a five-year period of rebellious activities of the *dā'ī* Zikrawayh and his sons in

- Syria and Iraq.
- 290–300/903–913** Establishment of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in Khurāsān.
- 290/903** Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī commences his military conquest of Ifrīqiya.
- 292/905** ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī arrives in Sijilmāsa.
- 296/909** Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī uproots the Aghlabids and enters their capital city, Qayrawān.
- 297/909** ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī is declared caliph in Qayrawān; establishment of the Fatimid *dawla* or state in North Africa.
- 301/913** Murder of Abū Sa‘īd al-Jannābī, Qarmaṭī ruler of Bahrayn.
- 308/921** Transference of the Fatimid capital to the newly founded city of Mahdiyya on the coast of Ifrīqiya.
- 310/923** Death of the historian and Qur’an commentator al-Ṭabarī.
- 311/923** Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī succeeds to the leadership of the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn.
- 313/925** al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān enters the service of the Fatimids.
- 317/930** Pillaging activities of Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī in Mecca; the Black Stone of the Ka‘ba is taken to the Qarmaṭī capital, al-Aḥsā’.
- 320/932** Rise of the Būyids of Persia and Iraq.
- 322/934** Death of ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī; his son al-Qā’im succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili imamate; death of the *dā‘ī* Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī.
- 330/941** Rise of the Musāfirids of Daylam and Ādharbāyjān.
- 332/944** Commencement of Abū Yazīd’s anti-Fatimid revolt; execution of the *dā‘ī* Muḥammad al-Nasafī and his associates in Bukhārā; death of Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī.
- 334/946** Death of al-Qā’im; his son al-Manṣūr succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili imamate.
- 336/947** Defeat of Abū Yazīd and his Khārijī Berber rebels in the mountains of Kiyāna by the Fatimid al-Manṣūr.
- 337/948** Transference of the Fatimid capital to the newly founded city of Manṣūriyya.
- 339/950** Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn return the Black Stone to Mecca; death of the philosopher al-Fārābī.
- 341/953** Death of al-Manṣūr; his son al-Mu‘izz succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili imamate.
- 347/958** Ismaili principality is established in Multan.
- 358/969** Fatimid conquest of Egypt by Jawhar; foundation of the city of Cairo; fall of the Ikhshīdids.

- 359/970 Foundation of the mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo.
- 362/973 al-Mu‘izz transfers the Fatimid capital to Cairo.
- 363/974 Death of the Fatimid jurist al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān in Cairo.
- 365/975 Death of al-Mu‘izz; his son al-‘Azīz succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili imamate; initiation of the Fatimid campaigns to seize Syria.
- 367/977 Ibn Killis, a Jewish convert to Islam, becomes the first Fatimid vizier.
- 386/996 Death of al-‘Azīz; his son al-Ḥākim succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili imamate.
- 394/1004 Birth of the Persian poet, traveler, and *dā‘ī* Nāṣir-i Khusraw.
- 395/1005 Foundation of the Dār al-‘Ilm (House of Knowledge) in a section of the Fatimid palace in Cairo.
- 396/1006 Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna destroys the Ismaili principality of Multan and massacres the Ismailis there.
- 402/1011 Abbasid caliph al-Qādir sponsors an anti-Fatimid manifesto in Baghdad.
- 407/1016 Massacre of the Ismailis of Ifrīqiya by the region’s Sunni inhabitants.
- 408/1017 Initiation of the extremist movement later designated as Druze; the *dā‘ī* al-Kirmānī refutes in several works the Druze doctrine propagating the divinity of the Fatimid al-Ḥākim.
- 411/1021 Disappearance (murder) of al-Ḥākim; his son al-Zāhir succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate with al-Ḥākim’s sister Sitt al-Mulk acting as regent; *dā‘ī* al-Kirmānī completes his major treatise, *Rāḥat al-‘aql*.
- 427/1036 Death of al-Zāhir; his son al-Mustaṣir succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili imamate with his mother, Raṣad, acting as regent.
- 428/1037 Death of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), philosopher and physician.
- 431/1040 Foundation of Saljūq rule in Persia.
- 439/1047 Ismaili *dā‘ī* ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī rises in Masār establishing the Ṣulayḥid dynasty of Yaman as vassals of the Fatimids; *dā‘īs* al-Mu‘ayyad al-Shīrāzī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw arrive in Cairo.
- 444/1052 Abbasid caliph al-Qā’im sponsors another anti-Fatimid manifesto in Baghdad.
- 447/1055 Saljūq Sultan Ṭughril enters Baghdad and ends Būyid rule; consolidation of the Great Saljūq sultanate.
- 450/1058 Turkish commander al-Basāsīrī seizes Baghdad for the Fatimids;

- al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī is appointed chief *dā'ī*.
- 459/1067 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī is succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad and from around 467/1074 effective authority in Ṣulayḥid Yaman is exercised by his consort, Sayyida Arwā.
- 460/1068 The Ṣulayḥid al-Mukarram Aḥmad confers the governorship of 'Adan on the brothers al-'Abbās and al-Mas'ūd b. al-Karam, who founded the Ismaili dynasty of the Zuray'ids there.
- 461/1068 Rioting activities of Turkish troops in Cairo.
- 466/1074 Badr al-Jamālī arrives in Cairo with his Armenian troops and restores order.
- 470/1078 Death of the chief *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī; demise of the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn.
- 471/1078 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ arrives in Cairo.
- 477/1084 Death of the Ṣulayḥid al-Mukarram Aḥmad; nominal succession of his son 'Alī, while queen Arwā continues to hold real authority in Ṣulayḥid Yaman.
- 483/1090 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ establishes himself at the fortress of Alamūt, in northern Persia; foundation of the Ismaili state of Persia and Syria.
- 485/1092 Assassination of the Saljūq vizier Nizām al-Mulk; death of the Saljūq Sultan Malikshāh.
- 487/1094 Death of Badr al-Jamālī; succession of his son al-Afḍal to the Fatimid vizierate; death of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir; Nizārī–Musta'li succession dispute in Cairo; succession of al-Musta'li to the Fatimid caliphate and Musta'lian imamate; Nizār succeeds to the Nizārī imamate; split of Ismaili *da'wa* and community into Nizārī and Musta'lian factions.
- 488/1095 Abortive revolt of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir and his execution in Cairo; al-Ghazālī produces his major anti-Ismaili treatise, *al-Mustazhirī*.
- 489/1096 The fortress of Lamasar in Persia is seized for the Nizārīs by the *dā'ī* Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd; Pope Urban II launches the First Crusade to capture the Holy Land.
- 492/1099 Crusaders defeat the Fatimid army led by al-Afḍal and seize Jerusalem; end of the First Crusade.
- 494/1100 The fortress of Shāhdiz, near Iṣfahān, is seized for the Nizārīs by the *dā'ī* Aḥmad Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh; Saljūq Sultans Barkiyāruq and Sanjar agree to take joint action against the Nizārīs of Persia.
- 495/1101 Death of al-Musta'li; his son al-Āmir succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Musta'lian imamate.

- 496/1103 Death of al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim, the first Persian Nizārī *dā‘ī* active in Syria.
- 500/1107 Nizārī Ismailis lose the fortress of Shāhdiz to the Saljūqs.
- 503/1109 Prolonged siege of Alamūt by Saljūq forces led by Anūshtagīn Shīrgīr.
- 505/1111 Death of the Sunni scholar Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī.
- 507/1113 Massacre of Nizārīs in Aleppo.
- 511/1118 Death of the Saljūq Sultan Muḥammad Tapar; Sultan Sanjar emerges as head of the Saljūq family.
- 515/1121 Assassination of the Fatimid vizier al-Afḍal.
- 516/1122 Assembly at Fatimid palace to publicize the succession rights of al-Musta‘lī.
- 517/1123 Death of the Persian poet and astronomer ‘Umar Khayyām.
- 518/1124 Death of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ; Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd succeeds to the leadership of the Nizārī state and *da‘wa*.
The *dā‘ī* YaUyā b. Lamak, in consultation with Sayyida Arwā, appoints his assistant al-Dhu‘ayb as his successor, marking the foundation of the independent Ṭayyibī *da‘wa*; new Saljūq attacks against Nizārī strongholds in Persia; Nizārī activities revived in southern Syria.
- 520/1126
- 524/1130 Birth of al-Āmir’s son al-Ṭayyib; murder of al-Āmir; his cousin ‘Abd al-Majīd assumes power as regent in the Fatimid state.
‘Abd al-Majīd is proclaimed as Fatimid caliph with the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, and he is also recognized as imam by Ḥāfiẓī Ismailis; split of Musta‘lian Ismailis into Ḥāfiẓī and Ṭayyibī factions; the Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā champions the Ṭayyibī cause while the Zuray‘ids of ‘Adan lead the Ḥāfiẓī *da‘wa* in Yaman; al-Dhu‘ayb becomes the first *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in Yaman.
- 526/1132
- 532/1138 Death of the Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā; collapse of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty; death of Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd and succession of his son Muḥammad to the leadership of the Nizārī state and *da‘wa*.
- 535/1140 Nizārīs capture the castle of Maṣyāf in Syria.
- 541/1147 Rise of the Zangids of Damascus and Aleppo.
- 544/1149 Death of al-Ḥāfiẓ; his son al-Zāfir succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ḥāfiẓī imamate.
- 546/1151 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī succeeds al-Dhu‘ayb as the second *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis.
- 548/1153 Death of the theologian and heresiographer al-Shahrastānī.
Murder of al-Zāfir; his son al-Fā‘iz succeeds to the Fatimid

- 549/1154 caliphate and Ḥāfiẓī imamate.
- 552/1157 Death of the Saljūq Sultan Sanjar; breakup of the Great Saljūq sultanate.
- 555/1160 Death of al-Fā'iz; his cousin al-‘Āḍid succeeds to the Fatimid caliphate and Ḥāfiẓī imamate.
- 556/1161 Franks enter Egypt and exact tribute from the Fatimids.
Ḥatim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī becomes the third *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs; death of Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Umīd and succession of Ḥasan II (*'alā dhikrihi'l-salām*) to the leadership of the Nizārī state and *da'wa*; Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān is appointed as chief *dā'ī* of the Syrian Nizārīs.
- 559/1164 Ḥasan II declares the *qiyāma* (spiritual resurrection) at Alamūt; Ḥasan II is recognized as the Nizārī imam.
- 561/1166 Murder of Ḥasan II in the castle of Lamasar; his son Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad succeeds to the leadership of the Nizārī state and *da'wa*.
- 564/1168 The Zangid ruler of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn, sends his third military expedition to Egypt under the command of Shīrkūh accompanied by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; Shīrkūh is appointed as Fatimid vizier.
- 564/1169 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn becomes the last Fatimid vizier, after Shāwar and Shīrkūh.
- 567/1171 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn formally ends Fatimid rule by having the *khuṭba* read in Cairo in the name of the reigning Abbasid caliph; death of al-‘Āḍid, the last Fatimid caliph.
- 569/1173 Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān sends an embassy to Amalric I, Frankish king of Jerusalem, seeking rapprochement with the Crusaders.
- 570/1174 Ayyūbid conquest of Yaman; demise of the Ismaili Hamdānids of northern Yaman.
- 571/1175 Ayyūbid conquest of ‘Adan; demise of the Ismaili Zuray‘ids of ‘Adan.
- 588/1192 Assassination of Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, Frankish king of Jerusalem, in Tyre.
- 589/1193 Death of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, the greatest of the Nizārī *dā'īs* in Syria and the original ‘Old Man of the Mountain’ of the Crusader sources; death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty.
- 604/1207 The Ḥāfiẓī Imam Dā'ūd b. al-‘Āḍid dies as a prisoner in Cairo.
- 607/1210 Death of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad; his son Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III succeeds to the leadership of the Nizārī state and *da'wa*; rapprochement of the Nizārīs with the Sunni–Abbasid

- establishment.
- 618/1221** Death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan; his son ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad III succeeds to the leadership of the Nizārī state and *da‘wa*; Nizārī emissaries meet with Chingiz Khan at Balkh.
- 624/1227** Death of Chingiz Khan; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī enters the service of the Nizārī chief in Quhistān.
- 628/1231** Murder of Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazm-Shāhs.
- 630/1233** Death of the historian Ibn al-Athīr.
- 638/1240** Death of Ibn al-‘Arabī, Sufi master and philosopher, in Damascus.
- 648/1250** Syrian Nizārīs send an embassy to the French King Louis IX, better known as St. Louis, at Acre; establishment of the Mamlūk dynasty in Egypt.
- 651/1253** The Mongol conqueror Hūlāgū sets out on his westward journey toward Persia.
- 653/1255** Death of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad; his son Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh succeeds to the leadership of the Nizārīs as the last lord of Alamūt.
- 654/1256** Hūlāgū enters Persia through Khurāsān; negotiations start between the Mongol conqueror and the Nizārī Imam Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh; surrender of Alamūt; destruction of Nizārī fortresses by the Mongols; surviving Nizārīs begin to practice *taqiyya*.
- 655/1257** Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh is murdered by his Mongol guards in Mongolia; his son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad succeeds to the Nizārī imamate.
- 656/1258** Mongols enter Baghdad and uproot the Abbasid caliphate; establishment of the Mongol Īlkhānid dynasty of Persia and Iraq by Hūlāgū.
- 658/1260** Mamlūks defeat the Mongols at ‘Ayn Jālūt in Palestine.
- 663/1265** Death of Hūlāgū, the Mongol conqueror.
- 669/1270** Nizārī garrison of Girdkūh finally surrenders to its Mongol besiegers after 17 years.
- 671/1272** Members of the extended Fatimid family kept in permanent captivity since the fall of their dynasty are finally released.
- 671/1273** Kahf, the last independent Nizārī castle in Syria, falls into the hands of the Mamlūks.
- 672/1273–1274** Death of the poet and mystic Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; death of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.
- 678/1280** The Nizārī poet Nizārī Quhistānī sets off on his journey to Ādharbāyjān where he sees the Nizārī Imam Shams al-Dīn

- Muḥammad.
- 681/1283** Death of the historian and Mongol administrator ‘Aṭā Malik Juwaynī.
- 710/1310** Death of Imam Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad; dispute over his succession splits the Nizārī Ismailis into Qāsim-Shāhī and Muḥammad-Shāhī factions.
- 717/1317** Sufi *shaykh* Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī composes his famous versified treatise entitled *Gulshan-i rāz*.
- 718/1318** Execution of the Persian historian and Īlkhānid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn.
- 720/1320** Death of Nizārī Qubhistānī, first post-Alamūt Nizārī poet.
- 735/1334** Death of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, eponymous founder of the Ṣafawiyya Sufi order.
- 752/1351** Ismaili Sūmras, who ruled over Sind for three centuries, are replaced by Sunni Sammas.
- 771/1370** Foundation of the Tīmūrid dynasty of Persia and Transoxania; Islām Shāh succeeds to the imamate of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī Ismailis.
- 779/1377** Military confrontation between the Nizārī survivors in Daylamān, in northern Persia, and the forces of Sayyid ‘Alī Kiyā, founder of the local Zaydī dynasty of the Amīr Kiyā’ī Sayyids, also known as the Malāṭī Sayyids.
- 795/1393** Tīmūr personally leads an expedition against the Nizārīs of the Anjudān area in central Persia.
- 807/1404** Death of Khudāwand Muḥammad, a Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī imam who was intermittently active in Daylam for a few years with Alamūt as his seat.
- 831/1427** Death of Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī, founder of the sect of Nuṭṭawiyya influenced by Ismaili teachings.
- 832/1428** Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn succeeds to the leadership of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis as their 19th *dā’ī muṭlaq*.
- 834/1431** Death of Shāh Ni‘mat Allāh Walī, eponymous founder of the Ni‘mat Allāhī Sufi order.
- 845/1442** Death of the Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī.
- 853/1449** Earliest death date mentioned in the sources for Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, Satpanth Nizārī preacher.
- 868/1463** Mustanṣir bi’llāh (II) assumes the imamate of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs and establishes himself in Anjudān, in central Persia; initiation of the Anjudān revival in Nizārī *da‘wa* and literary activities.

- 872/1468 Death of Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn, Ṭayyibī *dā‘ī* and historian.
- 885/1480 Death of Mustanşir bi’llāh (II), 32nd imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs, in Anjudān.
- 895/1490 Rise of the Niẓām-Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan.
- 904/1498 Death of Mustanşir bi’llāh (III), also known as Gharīb Mīrzā, 34th imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs, in Anjudān.
- 907/1501 Shāh Ismā‘īl I establishes Şafawid rule over Persia and adopts Twelver Shi‘ism as the official religion of his realm.
- 915/1509 Shāh RaCī al-Dīn II, 30th imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs who ruled over a part of Badakhshān, is killed in battle.
- 919/1513 Death of Imām Shāh, eponym of the Imām-Shāhī sect.
- 932/1526 Rise of the Mughal emperors of India.
- 939/1533 Death of the Ṭayyibī Bohra author Ḥasan b. NūU al-Bharūchī.
- 940/1534 Death of Nar Muḥammad, eldest son of Imām Shāh and founder of the Imām-Shāhī sect.
- 944/1537 Twelver Shi‘ism is adopted by Burhān I Niẓām Shāh as the official religion of his state in the Deccan.
- 956/1549 Death of Shāh Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī Dakkanī, 31st imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs, who served the Niẓām-Shāhīs of the Deccan.
- 974/1567 Death of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, 24th *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of Ṭayyibīs; transfer of the central headquarters of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* from Yaman to Gujarāt in India.
- 975/1567 Sultan Muḥammad b. Jahāngīr, of the Banū Iskandar, succeeds his father as ruler of Rustamdār and spreads Nizārī Ismailism in his dominions in northern Persia.
- 981/1574 Murād Mīrzā, 36th imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs, is executed on the order of the Şafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp.
- 994/1586 Death of Shāh Ḥaydar, who succeeded his father Shāh Ṭāhir as 32nd imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs.
- 995/1587 Shāh ‘Abbās I, the greatest of the Şafawid monarchs, succeeds to the throne of Persia.
- 997/1589 Death of Dā’ūd b. ‘Ajabshāh, 26th *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs; split of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis into Dā’ūdī and Sulaymānī factions.
- 998/1589 Death of the Nizārī Ismaili Sultan Muḥammad b. Jahāngīr, of the Banū Iskandar; his son Jahāngīr, also an Ismaili, succeeds to leadership.
- 999/1590 Amrī Shīrāzī, the Sufi poet who might have been an Ismaili, is executed on the order of the Şafawids.

- 1001/1593** Death of Pīr Dādū, who reorganized the Indian Nizārī community, better known as Khojas.
- 1006/1597** Sultan Jahāngīr b. Muḥammad, of the Banū Iskandar, perhaps the last Nizārī Ismaili ruler in Daylam, is executed by the Ṣafawids; transference of the Ṣafawid capital from Qazwīn to Iṣfahān.
- 1030/1621** Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm founds the separate ‘Alawī line of the Ṭayyibī *dā’īs* in India.
- 1036/1627** Shāh ‘Abbās I exempts the Nizārī Ismaili inhabitants of Anjudān, who had successfully dissimulated as Twelver Shi‘is, from paying certain taxes.
- 1043/1634** Death of Dhu’l-Faqār ‘Alī (Khalīl Allāh I), 37th imam of the Qāsīm-Shāhī Nizārīs, at Anjudān.
- 1045/1635** Zaydīs expel the Ottoman Turks from Yaman.
- 1050/1644** Death of the Shi‘i theosopher Mullā Ṣadrā.
- 1055/1645** The Mughal ruler Awrangzīb starts his prolonged campaign in India against the Ismailis.
- 1088/1677** Leadership of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs passes to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī; establishment of the Makramī dynasty of Sulaymānī *dā’īs*.
- 1090/1680** Death of Khalīl Allāh II, 39th imam of the Qāsīm-Shāhī Nizārīs and the last imam of his line to reside at Anjudān; succession of his son Shāh Nizār to the imamate; transference of the seat of Qāsīm-Shāhī Nizārī imams from Anjudān to Kahak in central Persia.
- 1148/1736** Death of Shāh Nizār II, 40th imam of the Qāsīm-Shāhī Nizārīs; demise of the Ṣafawid dynasty; Afghan invasion of Persia.
- 1134/1722** Nādir Shāh, founder of the Afshārid dynasty, ascends to the throne of Persia.
- 1157/1744** Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd conclude an alliance marking the effective foundation of a Wahhābī state in central Arabia.
- 1164/1751** Karīm Khān Zand establishes the Zand dynasty of Persia.
- 1167/1754** Death of Sayyid ‘Alī, 41st imam of the Qāsīm-Shāhī Nizārīs, in Kahak.
- 1170/1756** Sayyid Abu’l-Ḥasan Kahakī, 44th imam of the Qāsīm-Shāhī Nizārīs, is appointed as governor of Kirmān by Karīm Khān Zand.
- 1193/1779** Death of Karīm Khān Zand; Āghā Muḥammad Khān establishes the Qājār dynasty of Persia.

- 1200/1786** Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār establishes his capital at Tehran.
- 1206/1792** Death of Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Kahakī; his son and successor as the 45th imam, Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III) transfers the seat of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imamate from Kirmān to Kahak in central Persia.
- 1209/1794** Qājārs seize Kirmān; execution of Luṭf 'Alī Khān Zand.
- 1210/1796** Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the last known Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī imam, has his final contact with his followers in Syria.
- 1212/1797** FatU 'Alī Shāh ascends the throne of Persia as the second Qājār monarch.
- 1219/1804** Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, future Aga (Āghā) Khan I, is born in Kahak to Imam Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III) and Bībī Sarkāra.
- 1232/1817** Murder of Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III) in Yazd; his son and successor as the 46th imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs, Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, receives the title of Aga (Āghā) Khān from the Qājār monarch; Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shaykh Jīwanjī Awrangābādī succeeds to the leadership of the Dā'ūdīs as their 44th *dā'ī muṭlaq*.
- 1239/1823** Death of Salīm Khān, the first *mīr* of Hunza to convert to Nizārī Ismailism.
- 1250/1834** Muḥammad Shāh succeeds his grandfather FatU 'Alī Shāh in the Qājār dynasty of Persia.
- 1251/1835** Aga Khan I is appointed to the governorship of Kirmān by the Qājār monarch of Persia.
- 1252/1837** Aga Khan I is dismissed from the governorship of Kirmān; the Nizārī imam resists the Qājār forces with the help of his brother Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān.
- 1253/1837** Death of Mast 'Alī Shāh, a Ni'mat Allāhī Sufī master and friend of Aga Khan I.
- 1254/1838** Aga Khan I retires peacefully to his estates in MaUallāt, in central Persia.
- 1256/1840** Sultan Sa'īd, of the Āl Bū Sa'īd dynasty of 'Umān and Zanzibar, transfers his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar; initiation of prolonged military encounters between Aga Khan I and the Qājār establishment in Persia; death of Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, 46th and last of the Dā'ūdī *dā'īs* belonging to the Rājputs of Gujarāt; sucession of 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn to the leadership of the Dā'ūdīs.
- 1257/1841** Aga Khan I leaves Persia permanently following his decisive defeat by the Qājār forces.
- Aga Khan I assists General Charles Napier in his campaign to

1259/1843	annex Sind to British India; Syrian Nizārīs successfully petition Ottoman authorities for settling in Salamiyya.
1260–1262/1844–1846	Sardār Abu’l-Ḥasan Khān seizes and rules over parts of Balūchistān on behalf of his brother, Aga Khan I.
1261/1845	Aga Khan I is received by his Khoja followers in Gujarāt.
1264/1848	Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār ascends to the throne of Persia.
1265/1848	Permanent settlement of Aga Khan I in Bombay.
1274/1858	Mughal rule is ended in India by the British.
1283/1866	The “Aga Khan Case” is brought before the High Court of Bombay.
1288/1871	Ottomans occupy Yaman anew.
1289/1872	Makramī <i>dā’īs</i> of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibī Ismailis are expelled from Ḥarāz in Yaman; Sulaymānī <i>dā’īs</i> are relocated to Najrān.
1294/1877	Birth of Sultan Muhammad (Mahomed) Shah, future Aga Khan III, in Karachi.
1295/1878	Death of the historian of Kirmān, Aḥmad ‘Alī Khān Vazīrī.
1297/1880	Death of Sardār Abu’l-Ḥasan Khān, brother of Aga Khan I and commander of his forces.
1298/1881	Death of Aga Khan I, 46th imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs, in Bombay; succession of his son Āqā ‘Alī Shāh (Aga Khan II) to the Nizārī imamate.
1302/1884	Death of Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, son of Aga Khan II and author of several Ismaili works.
1302/1885	Death of Aga Khan II, 47th imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs; succession of his son Sultan Muhammad (Mahomed) Shah, Aga Khan III, to the Nizārī imamate.
1313/1896	Assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār; accession of his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh to the Qājār throne of Persia.
1316/1898	Aga Khan III pays his first visit to Europe and meets Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.
1317/1899	First visit of Aga Khan III to his followers in East Africa.
1903	Fidā’ī Khurāsānī is placed in charge of the religious affairs of the Persian Nizārīs by Aga Khan III.
1905	Aga Khan III effectively issues the first constitution for his followers in East Africa.
1908	The “Ḥajjī Bībī Case” is brought before the High Court of Bombay.
1910	Aga Khan III initiates his religious and social reforms, paying particular attention to education and emancipation of women.

- 1911** Birth of Prince Aly Khan, father of Aga Khan IV.
- 1915** Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn succeeds to the leadership of the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Ismailis as their 51st *dā'ī muṭlaq*.
- 1916** Aga Khan III is accorded the status of a first-class ruling prince of the Bombay presidency.
- 1920** Nuṣayrīs ('Alawīs) attack their Nizārī neighbors in Syria for the last time; Syria and Lebanon become French mandate territories. Death of Fidā'ī Khurāsānī, the most learned contemporary Nizārī *dā'ī* in Persia; Pīr Sabz 'Alī is dispatched as Aga Khan III's emissary to the Nizārī communities of Central Asia and China.
- 1923** The Soviet government creates the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshan as a province of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tajikistan; fall of the Qājārs and establishment of the Pahlavī dynasty in Persia.
- 1925** Death of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Shīrāzī, author of the celebrated biographical work on the Sufis entitled *Ṭarā'iq al-Uaqā'iq*.
- 1926** Aga Khan III presides over the All-India Muslim Conference held at Delhi.
- 1928** Najrān, seat of the Sulaymānī *dā'īs*, is annexed to Saudi Arabia.
- 1934** Celebrations of the Golden Jubilee of Aga Khan III's imamate.
- 1935** Birth of Prince Karim, future Aga Khan IV, in Geneva.
- 1936** Election of Aga Khan III as president of the League of Nations in Geneva for a session.
- 1937** Celebrations of Aga Khan III's Diamond Jubilee with a year's delay in Bombay and Dar es Salaam; Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria obtain independence from Great Britain and France.
- 1946** Partition of British India into the independent states of India and Pakistan.
- 1947** Publication of Aga Khan III's memoirs.
- 1954** Celebrations of Aga Khan III's Platinum Jubilee in Karachi and elsewhere marking the 70th anniversary of his imamate.
- 1955** Death of Sir Sultan Muhammad (Mahomed) Shah Aga Khan III, 48th imam of Nizārī Ismailis; succession to the Nizārī Ismaili imamate by his grandson Prince Karim Aga Khan IV.
- 1957** Aga Khan IV graduates from Harvard University with a degree in Islamic history.
- 1959** Death of Prince Aly Khan, father of Aga Khan IV.
- 1960** Aga Khan IV issues a new constitution for his followers in East Africa.
- 1962**

- 1965** Succession of Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn b. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn to the leadership of the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibīs as their 52nd *dā'ī muṭlaq*.
- 1967** Establishment of the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) with headquarters in Geneva.
- 1972** Many Nizārī Ismailis emigrate from Africa to North America and Europe.
- 1974** Hunza becomes part of the federal state of Pakistan.
- 1977** The Institute of Ismaili Studies is founded in London by Aga Khan IV; Aga Khan Award for Architecture is also established.
- 1979** Establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran.
- 1985** Aga Khan University is established in Karachi by Aga Khan IV; opening of the Ismaili Centre in London.
- 1986** Aga Khan IV promulgates a document entitled “The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims” for all his followers throughout the world.
- 1988** Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) is set up in Geneva by Aga Khan IV.
- 1991** Nizārī Ismailis of Badakhshān in Tajikistan emerge from their isolation in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union.
- 1995** First visit of Aga Khan IV to his followers in Tajikistan.
- 2000** University of Central Asia is founded by Aga Khan IV in Khorog, capital of Tajik Badakhshān, with branches in other Central Asian republics.
- 2005** Succession of Sayyidnā ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makramī to the leadership of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs as their 51st *dā'ī muṭlaq*.
- 2007–2008** Celebrations of Aga Khan IV’s Golden Jubilee marking the 50th anniversary of his imamate.

Introduction

The second most important Shi‘i Muslim community after the Ithnā‘asharīs, or Twelvers, the Ismailis have had a long and eventful history dating back to the middle of the second/eighth century in the formative period of Islam. Subsequently, the Ismailis became subdivided into a number of major branches and minor groups. Since the end of the fifth/11th century, the Ismailis have existed in terms of two main communities, the Musta‘lians and the Nizārīs, who have been respectively designated as Bohras and Khojas in South Asia. Currently, the Ismailis are scattered as religious minorities in some 25 countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and North America. The largest Nizārī Ismaili communities are currently to be found in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, India, China, and Syria, with smaller communities in Iran, Bangladesh, the countries of East Africa, and the United Arab Emirates, as well as in Great Britain, France, Portugal, Canada, and the United States. Musta‘lian Ismailis are concentrated in India, Pakistan, Yaman (Yemen), and East Africa, with small groups in Europe and North America. They also represent a diversity of ethnic groups and literary traditions and speak a variety of languages and dialects, especially Arabic and Persian and including a number of Indian and European languages as well. With their emphasis on education and female emancipation, the Nizārī Ismailis today represent the most progressive transnational Muslim community.

Until the middle of the 20th century, the Ismailis were studied and judged almost exclusively on the basis of evidence collected or fabricated by their detractors. Consequently, a variety of myths and legends circulated widely, both in Muslim societies and in the West, regarding their teachings and practices. The breakthrough in the study of the Ismailis occurred with the recovery and analysis of genuine Ismaili texts on a large scale, Arabic and Persian manuscript sources that had been preserved secretly in numerous private collections in Yaman, Syria, Iran (Persia), Central Asia, and South Asia. As a result of the findings of modern scholarship, we now have a much better understanding of Ismaili history and thought. It has become increasingly known that the Ismailis elaborated a diversity of intellectual and literary traditions in different languages and made important contributions to Islamic civilization, especially during the Fatimid period of their history when they possessed a flourishing state, the Fatimid caliphate. Later, the Nizārī Ismailis founded their own state in Persia and Syria, also elaborating their teachings. The Nizārī Ismailis of Syria had numerous encounters with the Crusaders, who made the sectaries famous in Europe as the “Assassins,” the followers of a mysterious “Old Man of the Mountain.” The medieval Europeans themselves were responsible for fabricating and disseminating a number of tales, the so-called “Assassin legends,” regarding what they thought were the secret practices of the Ismailis. These tales were embellished in stages and were eventually popularized by the famous Venetian traveler Marco Polo. It is only in the last few decades that modern scholarship in the field, based on authentic Ismaili sources, has deconstructed such legends that had circulated for a millennium as accurate descriptions of secret Ismaili practices.

EARLY HISTORY AND THE FATIMID CALIPHATE

The origins of Islam's main divisions, Sunni and Shi'i, can be traced to the crisis of the succession to the Prophet Muḥammad. A successor was needed to assume his functions not as a prophet (*nabī*), but as leader of the Islamic community and state. In practice, this choice was resolved by a group of leading Muslim notables. However, upon the Prophet's death in 11/632 a group of Muslims had already held that his cousin and son-in-law, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, was better qualified than any other candidate to succeed the Prophet. This minority group in time expanded and became generally designated as the *Shī'at 'Alī*, "party of 'Alī," or simply as the Shī'a. It is, furthermore, the fundamental belief of the Shī'a, including especially the major Shi'i communities of the Twelvers and the Ismailis, that the Prophet himself had designated 'Alī as his successor, a designation or *naṣṣ* instituted through divine command and revealed by the Prophet at Ghadīr Khumm while returning from his Farewell Pilgrimage shortly before his death.

The Shī'a also held a particular conception of religious authority that set them apart from other Muslims. From early on, the partisans of 'Alī believed that the Islamic message contained inner truths that could not be grasped directly through human reasoning. Consequently, they recognized the need for a religiously authoritative guide, or imam, as the Shī'a have preferred to call their spiritual teacher and leader. Such a guide, according to the Shī'a, could belong only to the Prophet Muḥammad's family, or the *ahl al-bayt*, whose members alone could provide the legitimate channel for explaining and interpreting the teachings of Islam. Soon, the Shī'a disagreed among themselves regarding the precise definition and composition of the *ahl al-bayt*, causing internal divisions within Shi'ism. However, before long, the Shī'a held that after 'Alī the leadership of the Muslim community, or *umma*, was the prerogative of the 'Alids, the descendants of 'Alī especially through al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, his sons by the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima. The earliest Shi'i ideas and currents of thought eventually found their full formulation and consolidation in the central Shi'i doctrine of the imamate.

Initially, for some 50 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 and al-Ḥusayn as their imams. This situation changed soon after the Umayyads established their rule over the Muslims from Damascus, when the so-called *mawālī*, or non-Arab converts to Islam, were 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.

It was under such circumstances that the Shi'ism of the later Umayyad period developed mainly in terms of two branches or trends, the Kaysānīs and the Imāmīs. In time, another 'Alid movement led to the foundation of a third major Shi'i community, the Zaydīs. By the end of the Umayyad period in 132/750, the bulk of the Kaysānī Shi'is had transferred their allegiance to the Abbasids, descendants of the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās, who had been initially cleverly conducting their anti-Umayyad campaign on behalf of an anonymous member of the *ahl al-bayt*, which held broad Shi'i appeal.

Meanwhile, there had developed another major branch of Shi'ism, later designated as Imāmī. This branch, the early common heritage of the Ismailis and the Twelvers, had acknowledged a particular line of 'Alids, descendants of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, as imams and remained completely removed from any political activity. It was with their fifth imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. c. 114/732), that the Imāmī branch of Shi'ism began to acquire prominence among the early Shī'a. It was, however, during the long and eventful imamate of al-Bāqir's son and successor, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, that the Imāmī Shi'is expanded significantly and became a major religious community with a distinct identity. As a result of the intense intellectual activities of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the foremost scholar in his line of imams, and his learned 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, which was essentially retained by later Ismaili and Twelver Shi'is. The last imam recognized by both the Ismailis and the Twelvers, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, died in 148/765. The dispute over his succession led to historic divisions in Imāmī Shi'ism, also marking the emergence of the earliest Ismailis.

Soon after the death of Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, who had consolidated Imāmī Shi'ism, the majority of his followers recognized his son Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799) as their new imam. However, other Imāmī Shi'i groups acknowledged the imamate of Mūsā's older half-brother, Ismā'īl, the eponym of the Ismailis, or that of his son Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. According to some sources, Ismā'īl, the original heir-designate of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq who had been politically active against the Abbasids, had predeceased his father, while other sources relate that he had gone into hiding to escape Abbasid persecution. At any rate, he was not present in Medina at the time of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's death in 148/765. Those Imāmī Shi'is who now recognized Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's imamate were originally designated as the Mubārakiyya. Little is known about the life and career of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the seventh imam of the Ismailis, who himself went into hiding initiating the period of concealment (*dawr al-satr*) in early Ismaili history, which lasted until the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate when the Ismaili imams emerged openly as the Fatimid caliphs.

On the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, not long after 179/795, during the caliphate of the Abbasid Hārūn al-Rashīd, his followers split into two groups. A majority refused to accept his death; and they then recognized him as their seventh and last imam and awaited his return as the Mahdī, the eschatological restorer of true Islam and justice on earth. A second, smaller group, acknowledged Muḥammad's death and traced the imamate in his progeny. Almost nothing is known with certainty about the subsequent history of these earliest Ismaili groups until shortly after the middle of the third/ninth century, when a unified Ismaili movement appeared on the historical stage.

It is certain that for almost a century after Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, a group of his descendants worked secretly for the creation of a unified, revolutionary Shi'i movement against the Abbasids. The aim of this religio-political movement was to install the Ismaili imam belonging to the Prophet Muḥammad's family (*ahl al-bayt*) to a new caliphate ruling over the entire Muslim community. The message of this movement was disseminated by a network of *dā'īs*—summoners or religio-political propagandists. Observing *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissimulation, to avoid Abbasid persecution, these central leaders of the early Ismaili

movement concealed their true identity. ‘Abd Allāh al-Akbar, the first of these hidden leaders, had organized his campaign around the central doctrine of the majority of the earliest Ismailis, namely, the Mahdism of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl. Organizing a revolutionary movement in the name of a concealed imam who could not be chased by Abbasid agents represented an attractive strategy. At any rate, ‘Abd Allāh al-Akbar, who originally lived secretly in Khūzistān, in southwestern Persia, close to the cradle of Shi‘ism in southern modern-day Iraq, eventually settled in Salamiyya, central Syria, which served as the secret headquarters of the Ismaili movement for some time. The efforts of ‘Abd Allāh al-Akbar and his next two successors bore results in the 260s/870s, when numerous *dā‘īs* appeared in southern Iraq and adjacent regions around the Persian Gulf under the leadership of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and his chief assistant ‘Abdān. The Ismailis now referred to their movement simply as the *da‘wa*, the mission, or *al-da‘wa al-hādiya*, the rightly guiding mission.

Soon, the Ismaili *da‘wa* appeared in numerous other regions, notably Yaman, where Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. 302/914) acted as the chief *dā‘ī* from where he spread the *da‘wa* to Egypt, Bahrayn, and Sind, as well as remoter regions in North Africa. Centered on the expectation of the imminent return of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl as the Mahdī who would establish justice in the world, the revolutionary and Messianic Ismaili movement appealed to underprivileged groups of different social backgrounds. It achieved particular success among those Imāmī Shi‘is (later designated as Twelvers) who were disillusioned with the quietist policies of their own imams and were also left without a manifest imam after the death of their 11th Imam al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (d. 260/874).

By the early 280s/890s, a unified Ismaili movement had replaced the earlier splinter groups. But in 286/899, soon after ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, the future Fatimid caliph, had succeeded to the leadership in Salamiyya, Ismailism was rent by a major schism. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī now claimed the Ismaili imamate openly for himself and his ancestors, the same central leaders who had organized the early Ismaili *da‘wa*. He also explained the various disguising tactics adopted by the earlier central Ismaili leaders who had also preferred to assume the status of the *Uujja* (proof or full representative) of the hidden Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl. The doctrinal reform of ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī split the early Ismaili movement into two rival factions. A loyalist faction, comprised mainly of the Ismailis of Yaman, Egypt, North Africa, and Sind, continued to support the central leadership and acknowledged continuity in the Ismaili imamate, recognizing ‘Abd Allāh and his ‘Alid ancestors as their imams, which was in due course incorporated into the Fatimid Ismaili doctrine of the imamate. These Ismailis now allowed for three hidden imams between Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. On the other hand, a dissident faction, originally led by Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, retained their earlier belief in Mahdism of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl. Henceforth, the term Qarmaṭī came to be applied specifically to the dissidents, who did not acknowledge ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī as well as his predecessors and successors to the Fatimid caliphate as their imams. The dissident Qarmaṭīs acquired their most important stronghold in the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn, founded in the same eventful year 286/899 by the *dā‘ī* Abū Sa‘īd al-Jannābī who sided with Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ. The Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn eventually collapsed in 470/1077.

The early Ismailis elaborated the basic framework of a system of religious thought, which was further developed or modified in the Fatimid period of Ismaili history. Central to this

system was a fundamental distinction between the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspects of the sacred scriptures as well as religious commandments and prohibitions. Accordingly, they 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 religious laws, or the *ẓāhir* of religion, enunciated by the prophets underwent periodical changes, while the *bāṭin*, containing the spiritual truths (*ḥaqā'iq*), remained immutable and eternal. These truths, forming a gnostic system of thought and representing the message common to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, were explained through *ta'wīl*, or esoteric exegesis, which became the hallmark of Ismaili thought. The two main components of this gnostic system of thought were a cyclical history of revelations or prophetic eras and a cosmological doctrine.

The early success of the Ismaili *da'wa* culminated in the foundation of an Ismaili state or *dawla*, namely, the Fatimid caliphate, in 297/909 in North Africa, where the *dā'ī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī had been active among the Kutāma Berbers for almost 20 years. The new dynasty was named Fatimid (Fāṭimiyyūn) after the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, to whom the Fatimid caliphs traced their 'Alid ancestry. 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī (d. 322/934), the first Fatimid caliph-imam, and his successors, ruled over an important state that soon grew into an empire stretching from North Africa to Egypt, Palestine and Syria. The Fatimid period was also the "golden age" of Ismailism when Ismaili thought and literature as well as *da'wa* activities attained their summit and the Ismailis made important contributions to Islamic civilization, especially after the seat of the Fatimid caliphate was transferred to Cairo, itself founded in 358/969 by the Fatimids.

The Fatimids did not abandon the Ismaili *da'wa* upon assuming power, as they entertained universal aspirations aiming to extend their rule over the entire Muslim community. However, the early Fatimid caliph-imams, ruling from Ifrīqiya (today's Tunisia and eastern Algeria), encountered numerous difficulties while consolidating their power in a predominantly Khārijī and Sunni milieu. Fatimid rule was established firmly in North Africa only under the fourth member of the dynasty, al-Mu'izz (r. 341–365/953–975), who was also the first Fatimid caliph-imam to concern himself with the propagation of the Ismaili *da'wa* outside the Fatimid dominions, especially after he settled in his new capital city of Cairo in 362/973.

The Ismaili *da'wa* of the Fatimid times achieved its greatest success outside the territories of the Fatimid state, especially in Yaman, where the Ismaili Ṣulayḥids now ruled as vassals of the Fatimids, as well as in Iraq, Persia, and Central Asia. The *dā'īs* of the Iranian lands, such as Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, elaborated complex metaphysical systems of thought with a distinct emanational cosmology. In effect, they set about harmonizing their Ismaili Shi'i theology, revolving around the doctrine of the imamate, with Neoplatonic and other philosophical traditions, developing a unique intellectual tradition of philosophical theology in Ismailism. It was also in al-Mu'izz's time that Ismaili law was finally codified, mainly through the efforts of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974), the foremost Ismaili jurist of the Fatimid period. Ismaili law accorded special importance to the Shi'i doctrine of the imamate. Henceforth, the precepts of Ismaili law were observed by the judiciary throughout the Fatimid state.

The Ismailis had a high esteem for learning and created distinctive traditions and

institutions of learning under the Fatimids. The Fatimid *da'wa* was particularly concerned with educating the new converts in Ismaili esoteric doctrine, known as the *Uikma* or “wisdom.” As a result, a variety of lectures or “teaching sessions,” generally designated as *majālis* (singular, *majlis*), were organized. Many of these lectures, normally delivered by the chief *dā'ī* (*dā'ī al-du'āt*) who functioned as the executive head of the *da'wa* organization, were in due course collected and committed to writing. Another central institution 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 Fatimid caliph-imam al-Ḥākim (r. 386–411/996–1021), a variety of religious and nonreligious subjects were taught at this academy, which was also equipped with a major library. Many Ismaili *dā'īs* received at least part of their elaborate training at the *Dār al-'Ilm*. Al-Ḥākim's reign also coincided with the initial 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. These *dā'īs* proclaimed the end of the era of Islam and declared the divinity of al-Ḥākim.

The Ismaili *da'wa* activities outside the Fatimid dominions reached their peak in the long reign of al-Mustaṣir (r. 427–487/1036–1094), even after the Sunni Saljūqs had replaced the Shi'i Būyids as overlords of the Abbasids in 447/1055. At the same time, the Fatimid caliphate had already embarked on its decline resulting from factional fighting in the Fatimid armies and other political and economic difficulties. The unruliness of the Turkish troops in the Fatimid armies eventually obliged al-Mustaṣir to call on Badr al-Jamālī, an Armenian general in the service of the Fatimids, for help. In 466/1074, Badr arrived in Cairo with his own Armenian troops and succeeded in restoring relative peace and prosperity to Fatimid Egypt. Functioning as the vizier, Badr soon also assumed the leadership of civil, judicial, and religious administrations in addition to being “commander of the armies” (*amīr al-juyūsh*), his main source of power. Henceforth, real power in the Fatimid state remained in the hands of the Fatimid viziers who commanded the troops; they were also in charge of the *da'wa* organization and activities.

The Ismailis experienced a major schism in 487/1094, on the death of al-Mustaṣir, the eighth Fatimid caliph and the 18th Ismaili imam. Al-Mustaṣir's succession was disputed by his sons—Nizār, the original heir-designate, and al-Musta'lī, who was actually installed to the Fatimid caliphate by the all-powerful vizier al-Afdal, Badr al-Jamālī's son and his successor to the Fatimid vizierate. As a result, both the Ismaili *da'wa* and community were split into rival branches, later designated as Musta'lian (Musta'liyya) and Nizārī (Nizāriyya). The *da'wa* organization in Cairo, as well as the Ismaili communities of Egypt, Yaman, and western India, who depended on the Fatimid regime, also recognized al-Musta'lī as his father's successor to the imamate. Later, they traced the imamate in the progeny of al-Musta'lī. 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 and now recognized his imamate. The Central Asian Ismailis seem to have remained uninvolved in the Nizārī-Musta'lī schism for quite some time. Nizār himself sought to challenge al-Musta'lī, but he was defeated and killed in 488/1095. Henceforth, the Ismaili imamate was handed down in two parallel lines among the descendants of al-Musta'lī and Nizār.

MUSTA‘LIAN ISMAILIS

The Fatimid state survived for another 77 years after the Nizārī-Musta‘lī schism of 487/1094. These decades witnessed the rapid decline of the Fatimid caliphate, which was beset by continuing crises. Al-Musta‘lī and his successors on the Fatimid throne, who were mostly minors and remained powerless in the hands of their military viziers, continued to be recognized as imams by the Musta‘lian Ismailis who themselves soon split into Ḥāfiẓī and Ṭayyibī branches. On al-Musta‘lī’s premature death in 495/1101, the powerful vizier al-Afḍal placed al-Musta‘lī’s five-year-old son on the Fatimid throne with the caliphal title al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh. Al-Afḍal was murdered in 515/1121; and when al-Āmir himself was assassinated in 524/1130, the Musta‘lian 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 duly designated as al-Āmir’s 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 reemerged 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 religion of the Fatimid state.

The irregular proclamations of al-Ḥāfiẓ as imam, when his father had not been imam, led to a major split in the Musta‘lian Ismaili community. As in the earlier case of the Nizārī-Musta‘lī schism, the Musta‘lian *da‘wa* headquarters in Cairo endorsed the imamate of al-Ḥāfiẓ, who claimed al-Āmir had personally designated him. Therefore, the imamate of al-Ḥāfiẓ was also acknowledged by the Musta‘lian Ismailis of Egypt and Syria as well as a portion of the Musta‘lians of Yaman. These Ismailis, who recognized al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 544/1149) and the later Fatimid caliphs as their imams, became known as the Ḥāfiẓiyya. On the other hand, the Ṣulayḥid queen of Yaman, Sayyida Arwā, 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‘lian Ismailis of the Ṣulayḥid state, as well as those of Gujarāt, recognized al-Ṭayyib’s imamate. These Musta‘lian Ismailis became later designated as the Ṭayyibiyya.

The Ismaili traditions of the earlier times were maintained during the final decades of the Fatimid caliphate. The Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Saladin of the Crusader sources, who acted as the last Fatimid vizier, ended Fatimid rule in 567/1171, when he had the *khuṭba* read in Cairo in the name of the reigning Abbasid caliph, al-Musta‘lī. A few days later, al-‘ĀCid (r. 555–567/1160–1171), the 14th and final Fatimid caliph, died after a brief illness. The Fatimid *dawla* had, thus, ended after 262 years. On the collapse of the Fatimid caliphate, Egypt’s new Sunni Ayyūbid masters began to persecute the Ismailis, also suppressing the Ḥāfiẓī Musta‘lian *da‘wa* organization and all the Fatimid institutions. For a while longer, certain direct descendants of al-Ḥāfiẓ and al-‘ĀCid claimed the imamate of the Ḥāfiẓīs, while all members of the Fatimid family had been placed in permanent captivity in Cairo. The Ḥāfiẓī Musta‘lians had disintegrated completely in Egypt and Yaman by the end of the seventh/13th century, when the surviving Fatimid prisoners were finally released by the Mamlūks who had succeeded the

Ayyūbids. For all practical purposes, on the collapse of the Fatimid caliphate, Musta‘lian Ismailism survived only in its Ṭayyibī form.

The Ṭayyibī Ismailis found their permanent stronghold in Yaman, where they received the initial support of the Ṣulayḥid queen Sayyida Arwā, who had also been looking after the affairs of the Musta‘lian *da‘wa* in Yaman with the help of the *dā‘ī* Lamak b. Mālīk al-Ḥammādī (d. c. 491/1098) and then his son YaUyā b. Lamak (d. 520/1126). It was soon after 526/1132 that the Ṣulayḥid queen broke off relations with Cairo and declared YaUyā’s successor al-Dhu‘ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādī‘ī (d. 546/1151) as the *dā‘ī muṭlaq*, or *dā‘ī* with supreme authority, to lead the affairs of the Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian *da‘wa* on behalf of al-Ṭayyib, who was thought to be in hiding. This marked the foundation of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* independently of the Ṣulayḥid state in Yaman. The Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* spread successfully in the Ḥarāz region even though it did not receive the support of any Yamanī rulers after the death of the Ṣulayḥid queen in 532/1138.

The Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian Ismailis are of the opinion that since the time of al-Ṭayyib, their imamate has continued among his descendants to the present time. However, all these imams have remained in concealment, and in their absence the *dā‘ī muṭlaqs* lead the affairs of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* and community. As in the case of imams, every *dā‘ī muṭlaq* has appointed his successor. During the Yamanī period of their history, the Ṭayyibīs maintained their unity in Yaman and won an increasing number of converts in western India. In India, the converts to Ṭayyibī Ismailism, mostly of Hindu descent, became 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 dissimulate as Sunni Muslims. With the establishment of Mughal rule in 980/1572, the Ismaili Bohras began to enjoy a certain degree of religious freedom in India. In the doctrinal field, the Ṭayyibīs maintained the Fatimid traditions and preserved a good portion of the Ismaili texts of that period. Building particularly on Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī’s metaphysical system, they elaborated their own esoteric system of religious thought with its distinct eschatological themes. By astronomical and astrological speculations, the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman also introduced certain innovations into the earlier cyclical conception of sacred history, expressed in terms of seven prophetic eras.

On the death of the 26th *dā‘ī muṭlaq*, Dā’ūd b. ‘Ajabshāh, in 997/1589, his succession was disputed, leading to the Dā’ūdī–Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī–Musta‘lian *da‘wa* and community. The great majority of the Ṭayyibīs, then located in India, acknowledged Dā’ūd Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1021/1612) as their new *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, 27th, *dā‘ī muṭlaq*; 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* was established in Yaman. Subsequently, the Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohras were further subdivided in India due to periodic 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 Dā’ūdī splinter group, which established their own separate lines of *dā‘īs*. The present ‘Alawī *dā‘ī muṭlaq*, the 44th in the

series, is Sayyidnā Abū Ḥātim Ṭayyib Dīyā' al-Dīn ṢāUib, who succeeded his father in 1394/1974. The headquarters of the 'Alawī *da'wa* are situated in Baroda (Vadodara) in Gujarāt.

In 1200/1785, the headquarters of the main Dā'ūdī *da'wa* was transferred to Sūrāt, Gujarāt, where a seminary known as Sayfī Dars (also Jāmi'a Sayfiyya) was founded for the religious education of Dā'ūdī scholars and functionaries. This seminary, with a major library, has continued to serve as an institution of traditional 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 Jīwanjī Awrangābādī, while the community has experienced intermittent strife rooted in opposition to the authority of the *dā'ī muṭlaq*. The present *dā'ī* of the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Musta'lians, Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, succeeded his father Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (1333–1385/1915–1965) as the 52nd in the series. Since the 1920s, Bombay (Mumbai), having the largest single concentration of Dā'ūdī Bohras, has served as the permanent administrative seat of the *dā'ī muṭlaq* of this branch of Ṭayyibī Ismailism. Currently the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibīs number around one million persons, of which 80 percent reside in India. More than half of the Dā'ūdī Bohras of India live in Gujarāt, while the remainder are located in Bombay and central India.

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 northeastern Yaman, and ruled over that region with the military support of the local Banū Yām. In the 20th century, the political prominence of the Sulaymānī *dā'īs*, checked earlier by the Zaydīs and the Ottomans, was further curtailed by the Sa'ūdī family adhering to the most austere form of Islam, Wahhābī Sunnism. Najrān was, in fact, annexed to Saudi Arabia in 1934. The present *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs, the 51st in the series, Sayyidnā 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makramī, who succeeded to office in 2005, lives in Saudi Arabia under the close surveillance of the authorities there. The total Sulaymānī Ṭayyibī population of the world is currently estimated, according to official figures, at around 300,000 persons. They live mainly in the northern districts of Yaman (Yemen) and on the northern border region between Yaman and Saudi Arabia.

NIZĀRĪ ISMAILIS OF THE ALAMŪT PERIOD

By 487/1094, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who preached the Ismaili *da'wa* on behalf of the Fatimids within the Saljūq dominions in Persia, had emerged as the leader of the Persian Ismailis. However, he had already been following an independent policy, and his seizure of the mountain fortress of Alamūt in 483/1090 signaled the commencement of the Persian Ismailis' open revolt against the Saljūq Turks, as well as the foundation of what was to become the Nizārī Ismaili state of Persia and Syria. As an Ismaili Shi'i, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ could not tolerate the anti-Shi'i policies of the Saljūqs, who were then the new champions of Sunni Islam. Ḥasan's revolt was also an expression of Persian "national" sentiments, as the alien rule of the Saljūq Turks was intensely detested by the Persians of different social classes. This might

explain why he substituted Persian for Arabic as the religious language of the Ismailis of Persia. It was under such circumstances that in al-Mustaʿīr's succession dispute Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ supported Nizār's cause and severed his relations with the Fatimid establishment and the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo, which supported al-Mustaʿī. By this decision, Ḥasan had also founded the independent Nizārī Ismaili *daʿwa* on behalf of the Nizārī imam. As a result of this decision, the Nizārī *daʿwa*, too, like the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, survived the downfall of the Fatimid dynasty.

Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ did not divulge the name of Nizār's successor to the imamate. In fact, numismatic evidence shows that Nizār's name appeared on coins minted at Alamūt for about 70 years after his death in 488/1095, while his progeny were blessed anonymously. The early Nizārī Ismailis were, thus, in another period of concealment (*dawr al-satr*) without an accessible imam; and, as in the pre-Fatimid period of concealment, the absent imam was represented in the community by a *Uujja*, his chief representative. Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) and his next two successors at Alamūt as heads of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and state, Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd (r. 518–532/1124–1138) and Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Umīd (r. 532–557/1138–1162), were recognized as such *Uujjas*. The early Nizārīs were also active in the doctrinal field. Ḥasan himself reformulated the old Shiʿi doctrine of *taʿlīm*, or authoritative teaching by the imam of the time. This doctrine, emphasizing the autonomous teaching authority of each imam in his own time, became the central doctrine of the Nizārīs who, henceforth, were also designated as the Taʿlīmiyya. The intellectual challenge posed to the Sunni establishment by the doctrine of *taʿlīm*, 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 *taʿlīm*.

The early Nizārī Ismailis acquired numerous strongholds in Daylamān, the center of their power in the Alburz mountains in northern Persia, in the region known in medieval times as Daylam. Soon, they also came to possess a network of fortresses and several towns in Quhistān (Persian, Kūhistān), in southeastern Khurāsān, which remained the second most important territory of the Nizārī state in Persia. In the opening decade of the sixth/12th century, Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ extended his activities to Syria by sending Persian *dāʿīs* there from Alamūt. In Syria, it took the Nizārīs several decades before they succeeded in various ways to acquire a network of castles in the Jabal Bahrʿ (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 *dāʿī* of the Syrian Nizārīs.

In Syria, the Nizārīs confronted the enmity of various local Sunni rulers as well as the Crusaders who were active in the adjacent territories then under the Frankish states of Antioch and Tripoli. By the final years of Ḥasan's life, 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 Tapar (d. 511/1118) had failed in their prolonged military campaigns to uproot the Persian Nizārīs from their strongholds. Ismaili–Saljūq relations had now entered into a new phase of “stalemate.” The Nizārīs themselves remained highly united with a remarkable sense of mission. Being preoccupied with their struggle and survival in an extremely hostile environment, they produced military commanders rather than many learned theologians.

Consequently, the literary activities of the Nizārīs were also limited. Nevertheless, the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period did maintain a sophisticated outlook and a literary tradition, elaborating their teachings in response to changed circumstances. Alamūt and other major Nizārī fortresses in Persia and Syria were equipped with significant collections of manuscripts, documents, and scientific instruments.

Meanwhile, the Nizārīs had been eagerly expecting the appearance of their imam. The fourth lord of Alamūt, Ḥasan II, succeeded to the leadership in 557/1162, and soon after, in 559/1164, he declared the *qiyāma* or resurrection, initiating a new phase in the religious history of the Nizārī community. Ḥasan II relied heavily on Ismaili *ta'wīl* and earlier traditions, interpreting the *qiyāma* symbolically and spiritually for the Nizārīs. Accordingly, *qiyāma* meant nothing more than the manifestation of unveiled truth 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 (*Uaqīqa*), the esoteric and immutable essence of Islam. It was in this sense that Paradise was actualized for the Nizārīs in this world. Ḥasan II's son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II 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; the *qiyāma* came to imply a complete personal transformation of the Nizārīs who were expected to perceive their imam in his true spiritual reality. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad also affirmed the Fatimid 'Alid 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-Mustansir who had earlier found refuge in Alamūt. Henceforth, the Nizārīs recognized the lords of Alamūt, beginning with Ḥasan II, as their imams.

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 *dā'ī* and the original “Old Man of the Mountain” of the Crusader sources. Aiming to safeguard his community, Sinān entered into intricate and shifting alliances with the major neighboring powers and rulers, notably the Crusaders, the Zangids, and Saladin. It was also in his time that the Crusaders and their occidental observers began to circulate a number of tales about the secret practices of the Nizārīs, made famous in medieval Europe under the misnomer of “Assassins.” Sinān led the Syrian Nizārīs for almost three decades to the peak of their power and fame until his death in 589/1193.

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II's son and successor, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III (r. 607–618/1210–1221), was concerned with redressing the isolation of the Nizārīs from the larger world of Sunni Islam. Consequently, in a daring move, he ordered his followers to observe the *sharī'a* in its Sunni form. Ḥasan III was quite successful in his new policy. In 608/1211, the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir acknowledged the Nizārī imam's rapprochement with Sunni Islam and issued a decree to that effect. Henceforth, the rights of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III to Nizārī territories were officially recognized by the Abbasid caliph and other Sunni rulers. The Nizārīs themselves evidently viewed their imam's new policy as a restoration of *taqiyya*, which could imply any type of precautionary accommodation to the outside world as deemed necessary by the imam of the time. At any rate, the Nizārī imam had now achieved the much-needed peace and security for his community and state.

Under ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (r. 618–653/1221–1255), Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III’s son and successor as the penultimate lord of Alamūt, the Sunni *sharī‘a* was gradually relaxed within the Nizārī community and the earlier Nizārī teachings and traditions were once again revived. Intellectual life flourished during the long reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad III and received a special impetus from the influx of outside scholars who now fled the first waves of the Mongol invasions and found refuge in the Nizārī fortress communities of Persia. 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 Nizārī Ismaili thought of the late Alamūt period during his three decades of stay among them. As elaborated in his spiritual autobiography, entitled *Sayr va sulūk*, al-Ṭūsī in fact converted to Ismailism sometime during his prolonged association with the Nizārī Ismailis.

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 Mangū decided to complete the Mongol conquests of western Asia, he assigned first priority to the destruction of the Nizārī Ismaili state, a task achieved with some difficulty in 654/1256 by his brother Hūlāgū who led the main Mongol expedition into Persia. The youthful Nizārī imam, Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, who had succeeded his father ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad a year earlier, engaged in a complex, and ultimately futile, series of negotiations with Hūlāgū. Finally, on 29 Shawwāl 654/19 November 1256, he surrendered to the Mongols, sealing the fate of the Nizārī state. The Mongols demolished Alamūt and many other fortresses and massacred thousands of Nizārīs. In the spring of 655/1257, Khurshāh himself was murdered by his Mongol guards in Mongolia, where he had gone to meet the Great Khan. Shortly afterward, the Nizārī Ismaili castles in Syria submitted to the Mamlūks. Kahf was the last Nizārī outpost in Syria 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. Henceforth, the Nizārī Ismailis lived secretly as religious minorities in numerous communities scattered through Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and South Asia.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI COMMUNITIES

In the aftermath of the Mongol debacle, the Nizārī Ismailis of Persia survived the downfall of their state and strongholds. Many migrated to Central Asia and Sind, where Nizārī 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 and direct leadership of the Nizārī imams had now also disappeared. Under these circumstances, scattered Nizārī communities developed independently, under the leadership of local dynasties of *dā‘īs*, *pīrs*, and *mīrs*, while resorting to the strict observance of *taqiyya* and adopting different external guises. Many Nizārī groups in the Iranian world, where Sunni Islam prevailed until the advent of the Ṣafawids, 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 of the Nizārīs in 655/1257. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was taken to Ādharbāyjān, in northwestern Persia, where he and his

next few successors to the Nizārī imamate lived clandestinely.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, 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. The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams, who initially had more followers in northern 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 Qāsim-Shāhī branch has persisted to the present time, and their last four imams have enjoyed prominence under their hereditary title of Aga Khan (also Āghā Khān). It was in the early centuries after the fall of Alamūt that Persian Nizārīs, as part of their *taqiyya* practices, disguised themselves under the cover of Sufism, without establishing formal affiliation with any of the Sufi orders (*ṭarīqas*) then spreading in Persia and Central Asia. The practice soon gained wide currency also among the Nizārīs of Central Asia and Sind. In Badakhshān and other parts of Central Asia, the Ismailis had evidently acknowledged the Nizārī imamate only during the late Alamūt period as a result of the activities of *dā'īs* dispatched from Khurāsān. These *dā'īs*, known more commonly locally as *pīrs* and *mīrs*, founded their own powerful dynasties who ruled over Shughnān and other regions of Badakhshān.

By the middle of the ninth/15th century, Nizārī–Sufi relations had become well established in the Iranian world. In fact, a type of coalescence had emerged between Persian Sufism and Nizārī Ismailism, two independent esoteric traditions in Islam that shared close affinities and common doctrinal grounds. This explains why the Persian-speaking Nizārī Ismailis have regarded several of the greatest mystic poets of Persia, such as Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, as their coreligionists. The Nizārī Ismailis of Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia have continued to use verses of these and other mystical poets of the Iranian world in their religious ceremonies. The dissimulating Persian Nizārīs soon also 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*. By then, the Nizārī imams of the Qāsim-Shāhī line had established themselves in the village of Anjudān, in central Persia, initiating the so-called Anjudān revival in Nizārī *da'wa* and literary activities. The Anjudān revival lasted about two centuries from around the middle of the ninth/15th century. The imams now successfully reorganized and reinvigorated their *da'wa* activities to win new converts and reassert their central authority over various Nizārī communities, especially in Central Asia and India where the Nizārīs had been led for extended periods by independent local dynasties. The imams gradually replaced these powerful autonomous figures with their own loyal *dā'īs* who would also regularly deliver the much-needed religious dues to them.

The advent of the Ṣafawids and the proclamation of Twelver Shi'ism as the state religion of their realm in 907/1501 promised a more favorable atmosphere for the activities of the Nizārī Ismailis and other Shi'i communities in Persia. The Nizārīs did, in fact, initially reduce the intensity of their dissimulating practices. However, the new optimism was short-lived as the Ṣafawids and their juridical scholars (*'ulamā'*) soon suppressed all popular forms of Sufism and those Shi'i movements that fell outside the boundaries of Twelver Shi'ism. The Nizārīs, too, received their share of persecution. Shāh Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī (d. c. 956/1549), the

most famous imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line whose popularity had proved unacceptable to the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty, was persecuted in Shāh Ismā‘īl’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 diplomatic services to the Niẓām-Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar. It is interesting to note that from early on in India, Shāh Ṭāhir advocated Twelver Shi‘ism, which he had evidently adopted earlier in Persia as a form of disguise. He achieved his greatest success in the Deccan when Burhān I Niẓām Shāh proclaimed Twelver Shi‘ism as the official religion of his state in 944/1537. Shāh Ṭāhir’s successors as Muḥammad-Shāhī Niẓārī imams continued to observe *taqiyya* in India under the cover of Twelver Shi‘ism. By the end of the 12th/18th century, the Muḥammad-Shāhī Niẓārīs had disintegrated or were assimilated into the Twelver community of India. Only a small community has survived in Syria.

By the time of Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 995–1038/1587–1629), the greatest of the Ṣafawid monarchs, the Qāsim-Shāhī Niẓārī imams and their followers in Persia and adjacent lands had widely adopted Twelver Shi‘ism in addition to Sufism as disguising tactics. By the end of the 11th/17th century, the Qāsim-Shāhī *da‘wa*, led from Anjudān, had gained the allegiance of the bulk of the Niẓārīs at the expense of the Muḥammad-Shāhīs. The Niẓārī *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 Khojas, derived from the Persian word *khwāja*, an honorary title meaning lord or master. The Niẓārī Khojas developed a religious tradition known as Satpanth or the “true path” (to salvation), as well as a devotional literature, the *gināns*, containing a diversity of mystical, mythological, didactic, cosmological, and eschatological themes. Many *gināns* contain ethical and moral instructions for the conduct of religious life and guiding the spiritual quest of the believers. The *gināns* are composed in verse form and are meant to be sung and recited melodically. Originally transmitted orally, the *gināns* began to be collected and recorded from the 10th/16th century. The bulk of the recorded corpus of the *ginān* literature, existing in a mixture of Indian languages, has survived in the specific Khojkī script developed and used extensively by the Niẓārī Khojas. The earliest Niẓārī *pīrs*, missionaries or preacher-saints, operating in India concentrated their efforts in Sind. In India, too, the Niẓārīs developed close relations with Sufism. The Niẓārīs, together with the Ṭayyibī Musta‘liyan Bohras, were also among the earliest Asian communities to settle, during the 19th century and subsequently, in East Africa. Since the 1970s, most of the East African Ismailis have been obliged to emigrate and settle in the West and elsewhere due to the anti-Asian policies of certain African governments.

Meanwhile, with the 40th Qāsim-Shāhī Niẓārī imam, Shāh Niẓār (d. 1134/1722), the seat of this branch of the Niẓārī *da‘wa*, then representing the only branch in Persia, was transferred from Anjudān to the nearby village of Kahak, in the vicinity of Qum and MaUallāt, effectively ending the Anjudān period in Niẓārī Ismaili history. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, in the unsettled conditions of Persia after the demise of the Ṣafawids and the Afghan invasions, the Niẓārī imams moved to Shahr-i Bābak in Kirmān, a location closer to the pilgrimage route of Khojas who then regularly traveled from India to see their imam and deliver the religious dues to him. The Khojas were by then acquiring increasing importance in the Niẓārī

community, both in terms of their numbers and financial resources. Soon, the imams acquired political prominence in the affairs of the province of Kirmān. The 44th imam, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Kahakī, was appointed around 1170/1756 to the governorship of Kirmān by Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1164–1193/1751–1779), founder of the Zand dynasty in Persia. It was in his time that the Ni‘mat Allāhī Sufi order was revived in Persia. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan had close relations with the leading Ni‘mat Allāhī Sufis who were then mainly active in Kirmān.

On Abu'l-Ḥasan's death in 1206/1792, his son Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III) succeeded to the Nizārī imamate and eventually settled in Yazd. There, he was murdered in 1232/1817 in a mob attack on his house. Shāh Khalīl Allāh was succeeded by his eldest son Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh, who was later appointed to the governorship of Qum by Fatū ‘Alī Shāh Qājār (r. 1212–1250/1797–1834). In addition, the Qājār monarch gave one of his daughters in marriage to the youthful Nizārī imam and bestowed upon him the honorific title of Aga Khan (Āghā Khān), meaning lord and master; this title has remained hereditary among Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh's successors to the Nizārī imamate.

Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Aga Khan (Āghā Khān) I was appointed to the governor-ship of Kirmān in 1251/1835 by the third Qājār monarch Muḥammad Shāh. Subsequently, after some prolonged and confusing confrontations between the Nizārī imam and the Qājār establishment, Aga Khan I 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 in Nizārī history. As the spiritual leader of a Muslim community, Aga Khan I received the full protection of the British in India. The Nizārī imam now launched a widespread campaign for defining and delineating the distinct religious identity of his Khoja followers. The Nizārī Khojas 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, Aga Khan I's followers were, in due course, legally defined as Shi‘i Imami Ismailis.

Aga Khan I died in 1298/1881, and was succeeded by his son Āqā ‘Alī Shāh (Aga Khan II) who led the Nizārīs for only four years (1298–1302/1881–1885). The latter's sole surviving son and successor, Sultan Muhammad (Mahomed) Shah Aga Khan III, led the Nizārīs for 72 years, and also became internationally known as a Muslim reformer and statesman. Aga Khan III, too, made systematic efforts to set the religious identity of his followers apart from those of other religious communities, especially the Twelver Shi‘is who for long periods had provided dissimulating covers for the Nizārīs of Persia and elsewhere. The Nizārī identity was articulated periodically in constitutions that the imam promulgated for his followers in different regions. Furthermore, Aga Khan III became increasingly engaged with reform policies that would benefit not only his followers but other Muslims as well. He worked vigorously to reorganize the Nizārīs into a modern Muslim community with high standards of education, health, and social well-being, also developing a new network of councils for administering the affairs of his community. The education of women and their full participation in communal affairs received high priorities in the imam's reforms.

Aga Khan III, who had established his residence in Europe, died in 1957 and was succeeded by his grandson, who is known to his followers as Mawlana Hazar Imam Shah Karim al-Husayni, Aga Khan IV. The present, Harvard-educated Nizārī imam, the 49th in the

series, has continued and substantially expanded the modernization policies of his predecessor, also initiating numerous new programs and institutions of his own. 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, his major initiatives include the Institute of Ismaili Studies, the Aga Khan University, and the University of Central Asia. Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, as he is known internationally, has his secretariat near Paris. By 2007, when the Nizārīs celebrated the 50th 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 challenges of modernity and dedicated to promoting a better understanding of Islamic civilization with its diversity of traditions and expressions. Numbering around 10 million members, as reported unofficially, the global Nizārī Ismaili community has emerged as a progressive Muslim minority with high standards of living. The largest concentrations of the Nizārī Ismailis are currently to be found in several Asian countries, notably Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, India, and China, for which separate census figures are not available. Smaller Nizārī communities, numbering to around 500,000, are scattered in many other countries of the Middle East and Asia, including Syria, Iran, the United Arab Emirates, and various African countries as well as in European countries, North America, and Australia.

‘ABBĀS B. ABĪL-FUTŪḤ YAḤYĀ B. TAMĪM (d. 549/1154). Fatimid vizier and a descendant of the **Zīrids** of North Africa. He was born shortly before 509/1115. After Abu’l-Futūḥ’s death, his widow married **al-‘Ādil b. al-Salār**, one of the most powerful commanders of the Fatimid state. In the events that led to al-‘Ādil’s vizierate imposed upon the Fatimid caliph **al-Zāfir**, ‘Abbās sided with his step-father and was entrusted by him with the pursuit of the deposed vizier **Ibn Maṣāl** who had fled from **Cairo**. During the vizierate of Ibn al-Salār, ‘Abbās lived at the Fatimid court in Cairo and his son, Naṣr, became a favorite of the caliph. In 548/1153, ‘Abbās was made commander of the garrison of ‘Asqalān, the last Fatimid outpost in Syria. However, ‘Abbās now decided to remove his step-father and seize the vizierate for himself. Naṣr, ‘Abbās’s son, returned secretly to Cairo, obtained the consent of al-Zāfir and assassinated Ibn al-Salār in 548/1153. Thereupon, ‘Abbās himself returned to Cairo and took possession of the vizierate.

Soon after, ‘Abbās, believing that the caliph was now conspiring against him, resolved to move first with the aid of his son Naṣr and murdered al-Zāfir in 549/1154. Subsequently, ‘Abbās continued as vizier and placed al-Zāfir’s child on the Fatimid throne with the title of **al-Fā’iz** and had some Fatimids executed for the murder of the previous caliph. These events alarmed the members of the Fatimid family who now appealed for help to **Ibn Ruzzīk**, the Armenian governor of Upper Egypt. ‘Abbās and Naṣr fled to Syria, where ‘Abbās was killed by the Franks, while Naṣr was delivered to the Fatimids and executed in 550/1155. *See also* IBN MUNQIDH, USĀMA.

ABBASIDS (r. 132–656/750–1258). Descendants of the **Prophet Muḥammad**’s uncle al-‘Abbās; also the name of the Sunni Muslim dynasty that succeeded the **Umayyads** and ruled over the Islamic empire until the Mongols invaded Baghdad in 656/1258. Although the Abbasids came to power largely on the basis of a Shi‘i-related **da‘wa**, they soon turned against the Shi‘is and the **‘Alids** and became the spiritual spokesmen of Sunni Islam. The third caliph of the dynasty, al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–775), founded the city of Baghdad, which served as the capital of the Abbasids until the uprooting of the dynasty by the **Mongols**. Subsequently, in 659/1261, a puppet Abbasid dynasty was established in **Cairo** under the tutelage of the Mamlūk sultans until 923/1517. The Abbasids periodically organized anti-Ismaili literary and military campaigns, also confronting the **Qarmaṭīs** of Bahrayn on numerous occasions.

‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AFTAḤ (d. 149/766). Eldest son of Imam **Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq** and full-brother of **Ismā‘īl**, the eponym of the **Ismā‘īliyya**. A large body of the **Imāmī Shi‘is** recognized him as their new imam upon the death of Imam al-Ṣādiq in 148/765. When ‘Abd Allāh died a few months after his father, the bulk of his supporters, the **Aftā’iyya** or **Faṭ’iyya**, recognized the **imamate** of his half-brother **Mūsā al-Kāẓim**, who already had some adherents of his own. The **Imāmī Shi‘is** who continued to recognize ‘Abd Allāh al-Aftāḥ as their rightful imam

before Mūsā constituted an important sect in southern Iraq until the fourth/10th century.

‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AKBAR (d. c. 212/827). Early Ismaili imam. He succeeded his father, **Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl**, as the central leader of the Ismaili *da‘wa*, not long after 179/795. He was one of the “hidden imams” of the early Ismailis during the *dawr al-satr* or period of concealment in their pre-Fatimid history. The epithet of al-Akbar (the Elder) is added to his name to distinguish him from **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, the founder of the Fatimid dynasty. In order to escape **Abbasid** persecution, ‘Abd Allāh al-Akbar, who later received also the surname of al-RaCī, did not reveal his identity and place of residence except to a few trusted associates. He seems to have spent a good part of his life in ‘Askar Mukram near Ahwāz, in the Persian province of **Khūzistān**. He eventually settled in **Salamiyya** in central Syria, where he died and was buried. In anti-Ismaili polemics, the **‘Alid** ‘Abd Allāh al-Akbar is deliberately confused with a non-‘Alid personality, **‘Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh**. See also AL-ḤUSAYN AL-AHWĀZĪ; AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, AḤMAD B. IBRĀHĪM.

‘ABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN AL-QADDĀH. A companion of Imam **Ja‘far al-Şādiq** and a reporter (*rāwī*) of numerous *ḥadīths* from him. This respected non-‘Alid personality who was a Shi‘i traditionist from the Ḥijāz and died sometime during the second half of the second/eighth century, is introduced in anti-Ismaili polemics starting with **Ibn Rizām** as the founder of the Ismaili *da‘wa* that occurred in the third/ninth century, several decades after his death. He is also portrayed as the progenitor of the **Fatimid** caliphs. The purpose of this misrepresentation was to refute the ‘Alid genealogy of the early Ismaili imams and the Fatimid caliphs. See also ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AKBAR; MAYMŪN AL-QADDĀH.

‘ABD AL-MALIK B. ‘AṬṬĀSH. Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Persia. By the early 460s/1070s, he was the chief *dā‘ī* of the Persian Ismailis in the **Saljūq** territories. With secret headquarters at Işfahān, the main Saljūq capital, he revived the Ismaili *da‘wa* from **Kirmān** to **Ādharbāyjān** in Persia. ‘Abd al-Malik received his own instructions from the Ismaili *da‘wa* headquarters in **Fatimid Cairo**. A calligrapher and learned theologian who seems to have been respected for his learning even in Sunni circles, ‘Abd al-Malik was also responsible for launching the career of **Ḥasan-i Şabbāh**. By 487/1094, ‘Abd al-Malik had been clearly eclipsed by Ḥasan-i Şabbāh as the leader of the Persian Ismailis. ‘Abd al-Malik evidently spent his final years peacefully at **Alamūt** where he died at an unknown date. See also AḤMAD B. ‘ABD AL-MALIK B. ‘AṬṬĀSH.

‘ABDĀN, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD (d. c. 286/899). Early Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Iraq. Born probably in **Khūzistān**, ‘Abdān became the chief assistant to **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ**, the leader of the pre-Fatimid Ismaili *da‘wa* in Iraq. ‘Abdān was a learned theologian and trained numerous *dā‘īs*, including **Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī**, founder of the **Qarmaṭī** state of Bahrayn. He was murdered soon after he and Ḥamdān broke away in 286/899 from the central leadership of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in **Salamiyya**. Later dissident Qarmaṭīs of Iraq ascribed their teachings and various works to ‘Abdān. A work entitled *Kitāb shajarat al-yaqīn*, ascribed to ‘Abdān, was in fact written by **Abū Tammām**, another Qarmaṭī *dā‘ī*. See also ZIKRAWAYH B. MIHRAWAYH.

ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-KHĀDIM. Early Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Persia. He initiated the *da‘wa* in the region of **Khurāsān** around the last decade of the third century/903–913. As the first chief *dā‘ī* of Khurāsān, he established himself in Nīshāpūr where he died around 307/919.

ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪ‘Ī (d. 298/911). Ismaili *dā‘ī* who prepared the ground for **Fatimid** rule in North Africa. Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’, better known as Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī, was originally an Imāmī Shi‘i from Kūfa. Converted around 278/891, along with his elder brother **Abu’l-‘Abbās Muḥammad**, by the *dā‘ī* **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ**, identified in Fatimid sources as Abū ‘Alī, he joined the local *da‘wa* of **Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman** in Yaman in 279/892. Abū ‘Abd Allāh won the trust of a party of the **Kutāma** Berber pilgrims in Mecca and accompanied them to the Maghrib, arriving there in 280/893. From his base of operations in Īkjān, in the mountains of Lesser Kabylia, he propagated Ismailism among Berber groups. He achieved rapid success and finally with the help of his Kutāma Berber army of followers overthrew the **Aghlabids** of **Ifrīqiya** in 297/909.

Meanwhile, the contemporary Ismaili Imam ‘**Abd Allāh** had left his original headquarters in **Salamiyya**, Syria, settling in Sijilmāsa, the capital of the **Midrārīds** in southeastern Morocco. Abū ‘Abd Allāh in further military operations brought the imam from Sijilmāsa, where he had been placed under house arrest, to Raqqāda, where he was proclaimed caliph with the title of al-Mahdī bi’llāh. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī, and his brother, Abu’l-‘Abbās Muḥammad, who subsequently conspired against ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, were both executed on the order of the first Fatimid caliph. *See also* IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH JA‘FAR B. AḤMAD AL-ASWAD.

ABŪ FIRĀS, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN B. AL-QĀDĪ NAṢR AL-MAYNAQĪ. Nizārī Ismaili *dā‘ī* and author in Syria. Not much is known about the career of this *dā‘ī*, whose father emigrated from **Daylam** in northern Persia to Syria around 859/1455 and settled in the fortress of Maynaqa. There, Abū Firās was born around 872/1467. Abū Firās evidently occupied a high rank in the *da‘wa* organization in Syria and died in 937/1530, or 10 years later. A number of treatises, including a hagiographic biography of **Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān**, entitled *Faṣl min al-lafz al-sharīf*, are attributed to Abū Firās. *See also* AL-QAṢĪDA AL-SHĀFIYA.

ABU ḤĀTIM AL-RĀZĪ. *See* AL-RĀZĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM AḤMAD B. ḤAMDĀN.

ABŪ ISḤĀQ QUHISTĀNĪ (d. after 904/1498). The most prominent Nizārī Ismaili *dā‘ī* and author of the early **Anjudān** period in Nizārī history. He flourished in the second half of the ninth/15th century. Born in the district of Mu‘minābād, to the east of Bīrjand in **Quhistān**, into a non-Ismaili (probably **Twelver** Shi‘i) family, he converted to Nizārī Ismailism of the **Qāsim-Shāhī** branch in his youth. Subsequently, he was appointed to a post in the *da‘wa* organization of the Nizārīs of Quhistān by a certain Khwāja Qāsim, the region’s chief *dā‘ī*. Abū IsḤāq’s *Haft bāb* is the earliest major Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī doctrinal treatise written in Persian during the early Anjudān period. Comprised of seven chapters, this book deals with a range of subjects reflecting the Nizārī teachings of the time. The *Haft bāb* also contains a unique description of the declaration of the *qiyāma* or spiritual resurrection, which occurred at

Alamūt in 559/1164. Abū IsUāq Quhistānī died not too long after 904/1498. *See also* **KALĀM-I PĪR**; LITERATURE.

ABŪ SA‘ĪD AL-JANNĀBĪ. *See* AL-JANNĀBĪ, ABŪ SA‘ĪD AL-ḤASAN B. BAHRĀM.

ABŪ ṬĀHIR AL-JANNĀBĪ. *See* AL-JANNĀBĪ, ABŪ ṬĀHĪR SULAYMĀN.

ABŪ ṬĀHIR AL-ṢĀ’IGH (d. 507/1113). **Nizārī** Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Syria. He succeeded to the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs in 496/1103 upon the death of the *dā‘ī* **al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim**. Like his predecessor, Abū Ṭāhir was a Persian dispatched from **Alamūt**. He retained the favor of the **Saljūq** ruler of Aleppo, Riḍwān (r. 488–507/1095–1113), but attempted in vain to seize strongholds in northern Syria. Abū Ṭāhir occupied Afāmiya temporarily before he was dislodged in 500/1106 by Tancred, the Frankish prince of Antioch. With Riḍwān’s death in 507/1113, the Nizārī fortunes were reversed in Aleppo. Abū Ṭāhir and other Nizārī leaders were arrested and executed in the same year. *See also* BAHRĀM (d. 522/1128).

ABŪ TAMMĀM, YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ. Early Ismaili (**Qarmaṭī**) *dā‘ī* in **Khurāsān**. Flourishing in the fourth/10th century, Abū Tammām was a disciple of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad **al-Nasafī**. He wrote the *Kitāb al-shajara*, the first part of which is comprised of a heresiography of the 72 erring sects in Islam. *See also* ‘ABDĀN, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD.

ABŪ YAZĪD MAKHLAD B. KAYDĀD (d. 336/947). IbāCī leader of an anti-**Fatimid** revolt. Tracing his tribal origin to the Banū Īfran, the most important branch of the Zanāta Berbers in North Africa, Abū Yazīd studied and adopted the teachings of Nukkārī IbāCism, one of the main groups of the IbāCī Khārijīs. In due time, Abū Yazīd was elected the imam and *shaykh* of the Nukkārīs of the Maghrib. However, he departed from the accepted doctrines of the moderate IbāCīs and authorized the assassination of adversaries. In 316/928, he started his anti-Fatimid agitation in southern **Ifriqiya**. With Berbers swarming to his side, Abū Yazīd launched his protracted revolt against the Fatimids in 332/943–944. By 333/945, Abū Yazīd had laid siege to **Mahdiyya** itself, the Fatimid capital where the second Fatimid caliph **al-Qā’im** was then staying. Al-Qā’im’s son and successor to the Fatimid throne, **al-Manṣūr**, spent many months personally chasing the rebels. In 336/947, al-Manṣūr inflicted a final defeat on Abū Yazīd in the mountains of Kiyāna. Abū Yazīd himself was captured and died of his wounds shortly afterward.

ABU’L-‘ABBĀS MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARIYYĀ’ (d. 298/911). Ismaili *dā‘ī* in North Africa. Born in Kūfa, Iraq, he and his younger brother **Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī** were trained as *dā‘īs*. Highly educated and converted from **Imāmī** to Ismaili Shi‘ism in southern Iraq, he was linked variously with the activities of the central secret headquarters of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in **Salamiyya**, also acting as a courier between Syria and Egypt. He accompanied the Ismaili imam of the time, **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, on his eventful journey from Salamiyya to Egypt. Later, while on a secret mission to his brother in Qayrawān

he was arrested and imprisoned there. Freed from prison in 293/906, he retreated to Tripoli until 296/908. On the collapse of **Aghlabid** rule, Abu'l-'Abbās joined his brother in Qayrawān where he held disputations with the local Sunni jurists concerning the **imamate**. He was appointed to rule in Qayrawān when his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh set out in 296/909 for Sijilmāsa to free the Ismaili imam from his own captivity there. Both Abu'l-'Abbās and his brother were executed on the order of the founder of the **Fatimid** dynasty for conspiracy against him. *See also* IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH JA'FAR B. AḤMAD AL-ASWAD.

ABU'L-FAWĀRIS AḤMAD B. YA'QŪB (d. c. 411/1020). Ismaili *dā'ī* and author in Syria. Not much is known about Abu'l-Fawāris who lived in the reign of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Ḥākim**. He was dispatched by al-Ḥākim to his native Syria as a *dā'ī*. He is the author of *al-Risāla fi'l-imāma*, a theological work containing answers to 16 questions concerning various aspects of the **imamate**. *See also* LITERATURE.

ABU'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ (d. 1206/1792). The 44th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Also known as Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Kahakī, he played an active role in the political life of the province of **Kirmān** in the turbulent years when the **Qājārs** and Zands were competing for hegemony over Persia. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan had friendly relations with Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1164–1193/1751–1779) and was initially appointed to the position of *beglerbegi* or governor of the city of Kirmān before being advanced by the Zand ruler to the governorship of the entire province of Kirmān around 1170/1756. The Nizārī imam also lent his support to **Ni'mat Allāhī** Sufis who were then reviving their activities in Kirmān.

ABU'L-ḤASAN KHĀN, SARDĀR (d. 1297/1880). Younger brother of **Aga Khan I** and commander (*sardār*) of the **Nizārī** imam's forces. One of three sons of **Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III)**, the 45th Nizārī Ismaili imam, Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān was born in **Kahak** around 1221/1806. In 1252/1837, and again in 1256–1257/1840–1841, he led the imam's forces in **Kirmān** in battles against the **Qājār** armies, also conducting diplomatic missions on behalf of the imam. In 1257/1841, Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān accompanied Aga Khan I to Afghanistan, but later in 1260/1844 he returned to Persia, occupied Bampūr and won other military victories in Balūchistān. After controlling certain parts of Balūchistān on behalf of Aga Khan I for about two years, Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān was finally defeated in battle in 1262/1846 by a Qājār army sent against him, and he was taken as a prisoner to Tehran. After spending some time in detention, the new Qājār monarch, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1264–1313/1848–1896), pardoned the Sardār and received him among his court entourage, also giving him a Qājār princess in marriage. He died in Tehran and was buried in the mausoleum of his father at Najaf, Iraq.

ABU'L-HAYTHAM AḤMAD GURGĀNĪ, KHWĀJA. A relatively obscure Ismaili philosopher and poet who flourished in the fourth/10th century. A contemporary of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad **al-Nasafī** and Abū Ya'qūb **al-Sijistānī**, he is best known as the author of a long Persian *Qaṣīda* poem in the form of some 90 questions. **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** produced a commentary in his *Jāmi' al-Uikmatayn* on this *Qaṣīda*, given to him in 462/1069 by his Ismaili patron in Badakhshān, Abu'l-Ma'ālī 'Alī b. al-Asad. A somewhat earlier commentary on Abu'l-Haytham's *Qaṣīda*, using Ismaili *ta'wīl*, was produced by one of his disciples called

Muḥammad b. Surkh Nīshāpūrī.

ABU'L-KHAṬṬĀB (d. 138/755). The most prominent of all the early Shi'ī *ghulāt* and the eponym of the Khaṭṭābiyya. Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb b. Abī Zaynab Miqlāṣ al-Ajda' al-Asadī, a Kūfan and a *mawlā* of Asad, was initially a *dā'ī* of Imam **Ja'far al-Ṣādiq**. He acquired many followers of his own, who became known as the Khaṭṭābiyya, while he made exaggerated claims about Imam al-Ṣādiq, in addition to propagating other extremist doctrines. He had also found **Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq** somewhat responsive to his activist policies. Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb was eventually repudiated by Imam al-Ṣādiq for his extremist teachings.

Soon after, in 138/755, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and 70 of his supporters, who had gathered for rebellious purposes in the mosque of Kūfa, were attacked and massacred by the forces of the city's **Abbasid** governor. The early Imāmī heresiographers, and some modern authorities, identify the early Khaṭṭābīs with the nascent Ismā'īliyya. However, there were significant doctrinal differences between the two groups, although politically they all pursued an activist anti-Abbasid policy. On Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb's death, the Khaṭṭābiyya split into several subsets. One group evidently joined the followers of **Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl**, from among the earliest Ismailis. *See also MUKHAMMISA.*

ĀDHARBĀYJĀN. A northwestern region of Iran. This region was massively settled by the Turkmen tribes arriving from Central Asia during the fifth–sixth/11th–12th centuries, leading to the establishment of **Saljūq** sovereignty over Ādharbāyjān. Ādharbāyjān and the rest of Persia fell into Muslim hands during the first century of Islam. The history of this region in the first four centuries of the Islamic period remains rather obscure. The oldest surviving Islamic monuments of Ādharbāyjān date from the Saljūq period. For a few decades, from 330/941, Ādharbāyjān was ruled by the **Musāfirids** who adhered to the **Qarmaṭī** form of Ismailism and also spread Qarmaṭism throughout their dominions.

The Musāfirids were succeeded in Ādharbāyjān by the Rawwādids who ruled from Tabrīz. The **Mongol Īlkhānids**, the Tīmūrīds, and their successors also ruled over this region, with their capitals at Marāgha, Tabrīz, and Sultāniyya. For a while after the fall of **Alamūt** in 654/1256, the **Nizārī** Ismaili imams lived secretly in Ādharbāyjān. After being ruled by several regional Turkish dynasties, Ādharbāyjān eventually became an important province of the **Ṣafawid** state and the scene of numerous Ṣafawid-**Ottoman** confrontations. The Ṣafawids themselves hailed from Ardabīl in Ādharbāyjān, where the mausoleum of the dynasty's progenitor, Shaykh Ṣafī, is still preserved.

AL-'ĀDID (r. 555–567/1160–1171). The 14th **Fatimid** caliph and **Ḥāfiẓī Musta'lian** Ismaili imam. Born in 546/1151, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, a grandson of **al-Ḥāfiẓ**, succeeded to the Fatimid throne with the caliphal title of al-'Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh. Destined to be the last member of his dynasty, the Fatimid state was now effectively ruled by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ **Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk** and his successors as Fatimid viziers. Under al-'Āḍid, the Fatimid caliphate was beset by continuing crises and its decline was hastened by intermittent **Crusader** and Zangid invasions of Egypt. **Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn** (Saladin), the seal of the Fatimid viziers, finally ended Fatimid rule when in MuUarram 567/September 1171 he had the *khuṭba*, or sermon,

read in **Cairo** in the name of the reigning **Abbasid** caliph. Shortly afterward, al-‘Āḍid died following a brief illness. A few of al-‘Āḍid’s descendants continued to be acknowledged as imams by Ḥāfiẓī Musta‘lian Ismailis. *See also* DIRGHĀM; SHĀWAR, ABŪ SHUJĀ‘ B. MUJĪR AL-SA‘DI; SHĪRKŪH, ASAD AL-DĪN ABU’L-ḤĀRITH B. SHĀDĪ.

AL-‘ĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR, ABU’L-ḤASAN ‘ALĪ (d. 548/1153). **Fatimid** vizier. The son of an Artuqid officer in the service of the Fatimids, al-‘Ādil as governor of Alexandria assembled his troops and marched on **Cairo** in 544/1149. He killed the Fatimid vizier **Ibn Maṣāl** and imposed himself as vizier to the Fatimid caliph **al-Zāfir**. Al-‘Ādil b. al-Salār was murdered in 548/1153. The assassination plot, evidently approved by al-Zāfir, had been conceived by al-‘Ādil’s step-son **‘Abbās b. Abi’l-Futūḥ** and carried out by the latter’s son Naṣr. *See also* IBN MUNQIDH, USĀMA.

ADWĀR. *See* DAWR.

AL-AFDAL B. BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ, ABU’L-QĀSIM SHĀHINSHĀH (458–515/1066–1121). Military commander and vizier to three successive **Fatimid** caliphs from 487/1094 until his assassination in 515/1121. The Fatimid caliph **al-Mustaṣir** died in 487/1094 soon after al-Afḍal’s accession to the vizierate. In the succession dispute that ensued, al-Afḍal deprived **Nizār**, al-Mustaṣir’s elder son and heir-designate, from his succession rights and installed his younger brother Abu’l-Qāsim Aḥmad to the Fatimid caliphate with the title of **al-Musta‘lī bi’llāh**. By this act, al-Afḍal permanently split the Ismaili *da‘wa* and community into the rival **Musta‘lian** and **Nizārī** factions, named after al-Mustaṣir’s sons who claimed his heritage. Al-Afḍal remained the effective ruler of Fatimid Egypt during the brief reign of al-Musta‘lī and the early decades of the caliphate of the latter’s son and successor **al-Āmir**. He personally led a Fatimid army against the **Crusaders**, but lost Jerusalem to them in 492/1099. *See also* BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ; KUTAYFĀT, ABŪ ‘ALĪ AḤMAD; ALMA’MŪN AL-BAṬĀ’IḤĪ, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. FĀTIK.

AGA KHAN. A title meaning lord and master. This has been the title of the imam or spiritual leader of the **Nizārī** Ismailis since the time of their 46th imam, **Aga Khan I**, who lived in the 19th century. This title was originally bestowed in the 1240s/1820s on this Nizārī imam by FatU ‘Alī Shāh, the **Qājār** monarch of Persia.

AGA KHAN I, ḤASAN ‘ALĪ SHĀH (1219–1298/1804–1881). The 46th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Born in **Kahak**, near MaUallāt, Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh succeeded to the Nizārī **imamate** upon the death of his father, **Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III)**, in 1232/1817. His mother, Bībī Sarkāra, was the daughter of Muḥammad Ṣādiq MaUallātī (d. 1230/1815), a poet and a **Ni‘mat Allāhī** Sufi. The contemporary **Qājār** monarch of Persia, FatU ‘Alī Shāh (r. 1212–1250/1797–1834), gave one of his daughters, Sarv-i Jahān Khānum (d. 1299/1882), in marriage to Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh, also bestowing on the Nizārī imam the honorific title of Āghā Khān (later simplified in Europe to **Aga Khan**), meaning lord and master.

Under FatU ‘Alī Shāh’s grandson and successor, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (r. 1250–1264/1834–1848), Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh was appointed to the governor-ship of **Kirmān**. The Nizārī

imam also developed close ties with the leading Ni‘mat Allāh Sufis of Persia. Aga Khan I’s untimely dismissal from the governorship of Kirmān eventually led to a series of military confrontations between the forces of the Nizārī imam and the Qājār establishment in Persia, obliging the imam to leave his ancestral home in 1257/1841. These confrontations are vividly recounted in his autobiography, *‘Ibrat-afzā*. After spending various periods in Afghanistan, **Sind, Gujarāt**, and Calcutta, Aga Khan I permanently settled in Bombay in 1265/1848, among his **Khoja** followers. In British India, Aga Khan I succeeded in asserting the religious identity of his followers as “Shia Imami Ismailis” and gradually exerted his direct authority over them. He died in Bombay and was buried in that city’s Mazagaon area. *See also* ABU’L-HASAN KHĀN, SARDĀR; AGA KHAN CASE, THE.

AGA KHAN II, ĀQĀ ‘ALĪ SHĀH (1246–1302/1830–1885). The 47th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Born in MaUallāt in central Persia, he was the eldest child and only son of Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh **Aga Khan I** from his **Qājār** wife, Sarv-i Jahān Khānum (d. 1299/1882). On succeeding to the **imamate** in 1298/1881, Aga Khan II maintained the friendly relations that his father had cultivated with the British establishment in India. He was appointed to the Bombay Legislative Council and concerned himself mainly with the **educational** and welfare conditions of his **Khoja** followers and other Muslims in India. Like his father, he developed close ties with the **Ni‘mat Allāhī** Sufi order. Aga Khan II was also a sportsman and a hunter, renowned for his tiger hunting in India. He died after a brief **imamate**, and was later buried in the family mausoleum in Najaf, Iraq.

AGA KHAN III, SULTAN MUHAMMAD (MAHOMED) SHAH (1294–1376/1877–1957). The 48th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Born in Karachi, then in India, he was the only son of **Aga Khan II** from his **Qājār** wife Shams al-Mulūk (d. 1938), a granddaughter of FatU ‘Alī Shāh. He succeeded to the Nizārī **imamate** upon the death of his father in 1302/1885. From early on, Aga Khan III concerned himself with the affairs and the welfare of his followers, especially the Nizārī communities of South Asia and East Africa. In time, these concerns evolved in the form of specific modernization policies and programs. At the same time, he campaigned for a variety of **educational** reforms in India and participated in the discussions that eventually led to the partition of India.

Simultaneously with defining and delineating the distinctive religious identity of his followers, in terms of constitutions and edicts or *farmāns*, he worked vigorously for reorganizing the Nizārīs into a modern Muslim community with high standards of education and social well-being, also paying particular attention to the emancipation of **women**. In order to implement his reforms, Aga Khan III created a new communal organization in terms of a hierarchy of councils. Aga Khan III died in his villa near Geneva and was later buried in a permanent mausoleum at Aswan, overlooking the Nile, in Egypt. Aga Khan III was survived by two sons, Prince Aly Khan (1911–1960) and Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (1933–2003), but he had designated his grandson, Prince Karim, as his successor to the **imamate**. *See also* AGA KHAN IV, H. H. PRINCE KARIM; DIASPORA; HĀJJĪ BĪBĪ CASE, THE; ISMAILI SOCIETY; MARRIAGE; TITHE.

AGA KHAN IV, H. H. PRINCE KARIM (1936–). The 49th and current **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Born in Geneva, Switzerland, he is the elder son of Prince Aly Khan (1911–1960) and the Hon. Joan Yarde-Buller (1908–1997), daughter of Lord Churston. He succeeded to the **Nizārī imamate** in 1957 upon the death of his grandfather **Aga Khan III**. He attended Le Rosey, the renowned school in Switzerland, before receiving his undergraduate **education** at Harvard University. Shah Karim al-Husayni, as he is known by his followers, substantially extended the modernization policies of his grandfather, also developing a multitude of new programs and institutions of his own for the benefit of his community. At the same time, he has seriously concerned himself with a variety of social, developmental, and cultural issues that are of wider interest to Muslims and the Third World countries. To these ends, he has created a complex institutional network, generally referred to as the **Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)**.

By 2007, coinciding with the Golden Jubilee or the 50th anniversary of his accession to the imamate, Aga Khan IV had established an impressive record of achievement as a Muslim leader deeply aware of the challenges of modernity and dedicated to promoting a better understanding of Islamic civilization. Aga Khan IV closely supervises the spiritual and secular affairs of his community from his secretariat at Aiglemont outside Paris. He has paid particular attention to the **educational** standards of his community and has founded several institutions of higher education, including the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)**, the Aga Khan University in Karachi, the Global Center for Pluralism in Ottawa, Canada, and the University of Central Asia (UCA) in Tajikistan with branches in other Central Asian republics. *See also* AGA KHAN AWARD FOR ARCHITECTURE; AGA KHAN FOUNDATION; AGA KHAN TRUST FOR CULTURE; ARCHITECTURE.

AGA KHAN AWARD FOR ARCHITECTURE. Established in 1977 by **Aga Khan IV**, the present imam of the **Nizārī** Ismailis, the purpose of this award program is to enhance the understanding of Islamic culture as expressed through **architecture** and to preserve the historically significant architectural heritage of Muslims. The award is given every three years to several projects through a complex process leading to final evaluations and selections by a Steering Committee and a Master Jury. Aga Khan IV personally attends the award ceremonies, which are held in a Muslim city every three years.

AGA KHAN CASE, THE. The name of a legal suit filed against **Aga Khan I** in the Bombay High Court in 1866. The plaintiffs claimed that the **Khoja** followers of Aga Khan I had always been Sunnis and not Ismaili Shi‘is. The plaintiffs, representing a dissident Khoja group known as Barbhai, also forwarded certain demands effectively challenging the authority of Aga Khan I as the imam of the **Nizārī** Ismaili Khojas. This case, generally known as the Aga Khan Case, was heard by Sir Joseph Arnould, the presiding British judge. The hearing lasted several weeks, in the course of which the imam himself testified and produced a number of documents substantiating the legitimacy of his **imamate**. In November 1866, Justice Arnould rendered a detailed judgment against the plaintiffs and in favor of Aga Khan I and other defendants on all points. This judgment legally established the status of the **Nizārī** Khojas as a community of “Shia Imami Ismailis,” and of the **Aga Khan** himself as the leader and spiritual head of that community with full rights to all the customary dues collected from the Khojas.

AGA KHAN DEVELOPMENT NETWORK (AKDN). Refers to a group of institutions, created by **Aga Khan III** and **Aga Khan IV**, for improving the living conditions and opportunities in specific regions of the developing world. The AKDN's institutions have individual mandates that range from the fields of health and **education** to **architecture**, rural development, and the promotion of private sector enterprise and investment projects. Many of the institutions that are now part of the AKDN were originally created by Aga Khan III; and his grandson and successor to the **Nizārī** Ismaili **imamate**, Aga Khan IV, has significantly expanded the network by many institutions and initiatives of his own. There are three main spheres of activity undertaken by the AKDN covering social development, economic development, and culture. In social development, the key institutions are the **Aga Khan Foundation (AKF)**, Aga Khan University, Aga Khan Health Services, and Aga Khan Education Services. The AKDN's economic activities are carried out by the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED) and its affiliates. The network's cultural activities are coordinated by the **Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)**.

AGA KHAN FOUNDATION (AKF). A private philanthropic institution founded by **Aga Khan IV** in 1967 to provide the "Muslim ethic of care and compassion for those of the society in greatest need." The AKF was conceived as an outreach for the developing world by way of relating Islam's humanitarian philosophy to issues of modern development that arise in diverse contexts in which the Ismailis and other Muslims live. Funding for the AKF's activities is provided by Aga Khan IV, the **Nizārī** Ismaili community, international and local donor agencies, various foundations, and individuals. Since its inception, the AKF has become a recognized international development agency with programs in Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America. The AKF's headquarters are in Geneva, and its 20 branches in various countries pursue common objectives under the management of a board of directors chaired by Aga Khan IV. The AKF's activities relate to three main areas: health, **education**, and rural development.

AGA KHAN TRUST FOR CULTURE (AKTC). Set up by **Aga Khan IV** in 1988 in Geneva for promoting an awareness of the importance of the built environment in both historical and contemporary contexts, and for pursuing excellence in architecture. Aga Khan IV has devoted substantial resources to promoting a better understanding of Islam, not merely as a religion but as a major world civilization with its plurality of social, intellectual, and cultural traditions and expressions. In pursuit of these aims, he has initiated a number of innovative programs. The apex institution here is the AKTC. The AKTC's mandate covers the **Aga Khan Award for Architecture**; the Aga Khan Program for Islamic **Architecture**, established in 1979 at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) to educate architects and planners to cater for the needs of modern Muslim societies; the Historic Cities Programme (HCP), set up in 1991 to promote the conservation and restoration of buildings and public spaces in historic Muslim cities, such as Cairo, where the Azhar Park has been created; and the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. *See also* MAṢYĀF.

ĀGHĀ KHĀN. *See* AGA KHAN.

ĀGHĀ KHĀN I. *See* AGA KHAN I, ḤASAN ‘ALĪ SHĀH.

ĀGHĀ KHĀN II. *See* AGA KHAN II, ĀQĀ ‘ALĪ SHĀH.

AGHLABIDS (r. 184–296/800–909). A Sunni Muslim dynasty ruling in North Africa nominally as the vassals of the **Abbasids**. The dynasty was founded by Ibrāhīm I b. al-Aghlab in the medieval region of **Ifrīqiya**, covering today’s Tunisia and parts of Algeria. The last Aghlabid ruler, Ziyādat Allāh III (r. 290–296/903–909), was deposed by **Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī** who laid the foundation of the **Fatimid** caliphate in Ifrīqiya in 296/909. The Aghlabids ruled from Raqqāda in the outskirts of Qayrawān. *See also* KUTĀMA.

‘AHD. *See* OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

AḤMAD B. ‘ABD AL-MALIK B. ‘AṬṬĀSH (d. c. 500/1107). **Nizārī** Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Persia. The Nizārīs of the region of Iṣfahān, the main **Saljūq** capital, achieved great success under the leadership of Aḥmad, the son of **‘Abd al-Malik**, the learned chief *dā‘ī* of the Ismailis of the Saljūq lands. Adopting the cover of a schoolmaster for the children of the Saljūq garrison of **Shāhdiz**, Aḥmad gradually converted that castle’s garrison and by 494/1100 gained possession of that historic castle. Aḥmad soon began to collect taxes in districts around Shāhdiz. Aḥmad and the Nizārīs then seized a second fortress, Khānlanjān, to the south of Iṣfahān. In spite of intensive Saljūq offensives, Aḥmad managed to hold on to these fortresses. Finally, in 500/1107, the Saljūq Sultan Muḥammad Tapar personally led a large force against Shāhdiz. Aḥmad engaged the Saljūqs in a series of negotiations that ultimately proved futile. After a peace agreement, Aḥmad and a zealous band of followers declined to surrender Shāhdiz. In the final Saljūq assault, most of the Nizārīs defending the fortress were killed, but Aḥmad was captured and executed in Iṣfahān.

AKHBĀR MIṢR. Written by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn Muyassar (d. 677/1278). This is a history of Egypt covering portions of the events of the **Fatimid** caliphate during 439–553/1047–1158, with two fragments on the years 362–365/972–976 and 381–387/991–997. It is preserved in a unique and incomplete manuscript derived from a copy made in 814/1411 by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the famous Egyptian historian of the Mamlūk period and now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Ibn Muyassar drew on numerous earlier sources, such as the history of Ibn Zūlāq (d. 386/996), which have not survived. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY.

AKHLĀQ-I NĀṢIRĪ. *See* AL-ṬŪSĪ, KHWĀJA NAṢĪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD.

AKHŪ MUḤSIN (d. c. 375/985). Damascene **‘Alid** genealogist and anti-Ismaili polemicist. Sharīf Abu’l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, better known as Akhū Muḥsin, wrote a detailed work in refutation of the Ismailis around 372/982. Influenced by the anti-Ismaili polemics of **Ibn Rizām**, Akhū Muḥsin’s work, which contained historical and doctrinal parts, has not survived directly, but substantial parts of it have been preserved by later historians, notably al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1335), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). *See also*

‘**ALĀ**’ **AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD III** (r. 618–653/1221–1255). The 26th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam and the penultimate lord of **Alamūt**. The only son of **Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III**, he succeeded his father, at the age of nine, in 618/1221. Muḥammad III’s long reign was a very turbulent period for the Iranian world, which now experienced a foretaste of the **Mongol** menace. However, the **Nizārīs** extended the territories of their state in Persia in the early years of Muḥammad III’s reign. In the wake of the Mongol invasions, relations between the **Nizārī** Ismaili state, centered at **Alamūt**, and the **Khwārazm-Shāhs** who had replaced the **Saljūqs** as the **Nizārīs**’ foremost enemy, were characterized by warfare and diplomacy until the Mongols uprooted the **Khwārazmians** in 628/1231.

The Persian **Nizārīs** now directly confronted their most dangerous enemy, the **Mongols**, who were then making new efforts to conquer all of Persia. Following his abortive effort, in collaboration with the **Abbasids**, in 635/1238 to forge an alliance with the kings of France and England against the **Mongols**, Muḥammad III made one final peace overture to the new Great Khan **Güyük** in 644/1246. However, the **Nizārī** emissaries to **Mongolia** were dismissed with contempt. Henceforth, **Nizārī–Mongol** relations deteriorated beyond repair. By 651/1253, under **Güyük**’s successor **Möngke**, the **Mongols** had destroyed numerous **Nizārī** towns and strongholds in **Qūhistān** and **Qūmis**. As the **Mongols** were conducting military campaigns against the **Nizārī** Ismaili territories in Persia, ‘**Alā**’ **al-Dīn Muḥammad III** was found murdered under obscure circumstances in 653/1255. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA; RUKN AL-DĪN KHURSHĀH.

A‘LĀM AL-NUBUWWA. Written by **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī** (d. 322/934), it is a work in defense of revelation and prophethood (*nubuwwa*). It is essentially a record of the disputations (*munāzarāt*) held between the two **Rhazes**, **Abū Ḥātim** and the physician–philosopher **Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī** (d. 313/925), at **Rayy** in the presence of the city’s governor and other notables. It has also been reported that this famous disputation might have occurred in the presence of **Mardāwīj** (d. 323/935), the founder of the **Ziyārid** dynasty of northern Persia with their capital at **Rayy**.

ALAMŪT. The mountain fortress and seat of the **Nizārī** Ismaili state of Persia. It is located some 35 kilometers northeast of **Qazwīn** and near the village of **Gāzurkhān**. Situated in an area known in medieval times as **Daylamān**, in the region of **Daylam**, and later called **Rūdbār**, the fortress was erected on the summit of a high rock in the foothills of the massive **Hawdigān** range in the central **Alburz** mountains. The fortress was originally constructed in 246/860 by one of the **Justānid** rulers of **Daylam**. In 483/1090, the Ismaili **dā‘ī Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ** seized **Alamūt** and used it as the seat of what was to become the **Nizārī** Ismaili state of Persia. **Ḥasan** fortified **Alamūt** and also established a major library there. In 654/1256, **Alamūt** was surrendered to the **Mongols** who demolished the castle. Subsequently, the **Mongols** partially reconstructed **Alamūt** for their own use. Later, **Alamūt** came into the possession of the **Zaydīs** and other regional dynasties of northern Persia. The **Ṣafawids** used **Alamūt** as a state prison before the fortress was abandoned in the early 12th/18th century. **Alamūt** also signifies a

period (483–654/1090–1256) in the history of the Nizārī Ismailis when they had their own state ruled by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and seven others, collectively known as the “lords of Alamūt.” See also ARCHITECTURE; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

‘ALAWĪS, ‘ALAWIYYA. A subgroup of the **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibīs** in South Asia. Upon the death of the 28th *dā’ī muṭlaq* of the Dā’ūdīs, **Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn** in 1030/1621, ‘Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. **Dā’ūd b. Quṭbshāh** (d. 1041/1631) became the new 29th *dā’ī* of the Dā’ūdīs. Soon after, his authority was challenged by Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1046/1637), the grandson of Shaykh Ādam. Supported by a fraction of the Dā’ūdī community, ‘Alī now claimed the Dā’ūdī leadership for himself and brought his case before the **Mughal emperor** Jahāngīr, who decided in favor of the incumbent *dā’ī*. But ‘Alī seceded, with a group of his followers, from the Dā’ūdī **Bohra** community. In 1034/1624–1625, ‘Alī in fact founded a new Ṭayyibī Bohra group called ‘Alawīs (or incorrectly ‘Aliyya) after his own name. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm thus became the 29th *dā’ī muṭlaq* of the ‘Alawī Bohras, who have followed their own line of *dā’īs* (distinct from the Dā’ūdī and **Sulaymānī** lines) to the present times. The ‘Alawī Bohras are concentrated in Baroda (Vadodara), **Gujarāt**, where their *dā’īs* have also resided.

‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB (d. 40/661). Cousin and son-in-law of the **Prophet Muḥammad**, also the first Shi‘i imam and the fourth of the “rightly guided caliphs” (*al-khulafā’ al-rāshidūn*). When ‘Alī’s father Abū Ṭālib, chief of the Banū Hāshim, became impoverished, ‘Alī was adopted by the Prophet. ‘Alī grew up in the Prophet’s house and embraced Islam, as one of the earliest converts, around the age of 10. During the night when the Prophet emigrated (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina, ‘Alī risked his life by sleeping in the Prophet’s bed. Subsequently, he too left for Medina and some months later married the Prophet’s daughter **Fāṭima**. During the Prophet’s lifetime, ‘Alī participated in almost all the military expeditions. ‘Alī’s bravery in these early Islamic battles (*maghāzī*) has become legendary. According to the Shi‘is, the Prophet had nominated ‘Alī under divine command as his successor at Ghadīr Khumm while returning from his “farewell pilgrimage” to Mecca. However, at the Prophet’s death shortly afterward in 11/632, a dispute arose within the nascent Muslim community on the question of the succession to the Prophet. This dispute split the community into the factions that eventually became designated as Sunni and Shi‘i, derived from *Shī‘at ‘Alī* (“party of ‘Alī”). ‘Alī himself held firmly that he was legitimately the successor to the Prophet, and he acquired followers who regarded him more suitable than anyone else to lead the Muslims after the Prophet.

However, the Sunnis or the majority of the Muslims, maintaining that the Prophet had died without designating a successor, now recognized Abū Bakr as the first caliph or successor to the Prophet. ‘Alī withheld his oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr until after Fāṭima’s death; and he did not actively assert his own rights to the caliphate so as to avoid strife in the community. In fact, he remained aloof from communal activities during the caliphates of Abū Bakr (11–13/632–634) and his next two successors, ‘Umar (13–23/634–644) and ‘Uthmān (23–35/644–656). ‘Alī’s own caliphate (35–40/656–661) was rather brief, marked by political crisis and civil strife. However, pro-‘Alī sentiments and Shi‘i inclinations persisted in ‘Alī’s lifetime, finding a particular stronghold in the garrison town of Kūfa in southern Iraq, which served as ‘Alī’s temporary capital during his turbulent caliphate. ‘Alī’s caliphal authority was

particularly challenged by Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Syria, who eventually succeeded in installing his clan of Banū Umayya to the leadership of the Muslim community. 'Alī was murdered in Kūfa in 40/661 by a member of the Khawārij group who opposed both the Sunnis and the Shi'is. 'Alī's shrine at Najaf, Iraq, is the most important pilgrimage site for the Shi'is.

'Alī is highly revered by the Shi'is, including the Ismailis, as the *walī Allāh*, or the "friend of God," and as the Prophet's *waṣī* or legate. It is through *walāya*, or the devotion to 'Alī, that true knowledge of Islam in all its exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) dimensions can be obtained. The Prophet had brought the revelation; while 'Alī, the repository of the Prophet's knowledge, provided its interpretation (*ta'wīl*). He was divinely guided and infallible (*ma'ṣūm*), like the succeeding imams. Some extremist Shi'is (*ghulāt*) even proclaimed 'Alī's divinity. 'Alī's sermons, letters, and sayings were subsequently collected by Sharīf al-RaCī (d. 406/1015) in a work entitled *Nahj al-balāgha* (*Way of Eloquence*), with numerous commentaries on it by Sunni and Shi'i scholars. *See also* 'ALIDS; FATIMIDS; AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; IMAMATE; SHARḤ AL-AKHBĀR; Umayyads; 'UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR.

'ALĪ B. AL-FADL AL-JAYSHANĪ (d. 303/915). Early Ismaili *dā'ī* in Yaman. He was originally an **Imāmī** Shi'i from Yaman and was converted to Ismailism while on pilgrimage to the shrine of Imam **al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī** in Karbalā'. In 266/879, 'Alī b. al-FaCl, together with **Ibn Ḥawshab** Manṣūr al-Yaman, were recruited to start the Ismaili *da'wa* in Yaman. The two *dā'īs*, who collaborated for some time, reached Yaman in 268/881 and by 270/883 they were successfully preaching the *da'wa* there openly. 'Alī b. al-FaCl first established himself at Janad and founded a *dār al-hijra* there. By 293/905, when 'Alī b. al-FaCl occupied Ṣan'ā', almost all of Yaman had been brought under the control of the Ismailis. But later, the Ismailis lost the greater part of their conquests to the **Zaydis** who had established their own state in northern Yaman.

In the aftermath of the Ismaili schism of 286/899, the Ismailis of Yaman initially remained completely loyal to the central leadership of the Ismaili *da'wa*. By 291/903, 'Alī b. al-FaCl manifested signs of **Qarmaṭī** dissidence toward '**Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, the central leader of Ismailism. In 299/911, 'Alī b. al-FaCl publicly renounced his allegiance to 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, then ruling in North Africa as the first **Fatimid** caliph, and himself claimed to be the **Mahdī**. Subsequently, he attempted in vain to win the collaboration of Ibn Ḥawshab, who had remained loyal to 'Abd Allāh. After 'Alī b. al-FaCl's death, his Qarmaṭī movement in Yaman disintegrated rapidly.

'ALĪ B. ḤANZALA B. ABĪ SĀLIM AL-MAḤFŪZĪ AL-WĀDI'Ī (d. 626/1229). Ṭayyibī **Musta'lian** *dā'ī muṭlaq* in Yaman. In 612/1215, he succeeded '**Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd** as the sixth *dā'ī* of the Ṭayyibī **Musta'lians** and held that position until his death. He maintained good relations with the **Ayyūbid** and the Yāmid rulers of Yaman, enabling the *dā'ī* to protect his community. He produced a few important works on esoteric Ismaili doctrine (*Uaqā'iq*). His *Simṭ al-Uaqā'iq* is a short versified work on *tawUīd* or unicity of God, the creation, eschatology (*ma'ād*), etc. *See also* LITERATURE.

‘ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN (d. 95/714). Early Shi‘i imam, counted as the fourth in the line of the **Twelver** imams and the third in the line of the imams recognized by the Ismailis. Born around 38/658, ‘Alī was present at the massacre of his family at Karbalā’ in 61/680 and survived the event because he was ill at the time. Subsequently, he retired to Medina and adopted a quiescent attitude toward the **Umayyads** and the Zubayrids, and later toward al-Mukhtār’s Shi‘i movement and the Ḥanafid **‘Alids**, descendants of his uncle Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. He remained aloof throughout his life from all political activity.

Recognized as an imam after his father, **al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī**, by both Ismaili and Twelver Shi‘is, he evidently never acquired a large following in his own lifetime. But gradually, he began to enjoy a more influential position within the ‘Alid family, especially after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya’s death in 81/700 when he became the eldest ‘Alid. In addition, due to his renowned piety, which won him the honorific title Zayn al-‘Ābidīn or “the ornament of the pious” as well as al-Sajjād due to his devotion to praying, he had gradually come to be held in great esteem by the pious circles of Medina. Shi‘i tradition ascribes to him, besides some devotional poetry, a collection of prayers for various occasions known as *al-ṢaUīfa al-sajjādiyya*. He died in Medina and was buried next to his uncle **al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī** in the Baqī’ cemetery there. *See also* AL-BĀQIR, ABŪ JA‘FAR MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ; ZAYDĪS.

‘ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢULAYḤĪ (d. 459/1067). Ismaili *dā‘ī* and founder of the Ismaili **Ṣulayḥid** dynasty of Yaman. The son of the *qāḍī* of **Ḥarāz**, who was also an important Hamdānī chief, ‘Alī was converted to Ismailism in his youth. He studied Ismaili doctrines under Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāhī, chief *dā‘ī* of Yaman, and eventually became the assistant to that *dā‘ī*. In 439/1047, ‘Alī, who had already established contacts with the Ismaili *da‘wa* headquarters in **Cairo**, rose in Masār, in the mountainous region of Ḥarāz to the southwest of Ṣana‘ā’, where he constructed fortifications. This marked the foundation of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty. ‘Alī then started on a career of conquest, everywhere instituting the *khuṭba*, or sermon, in the name of the **Fatimids**. In 452/1060, he seized Zabīd and then proceeded to expel the **Zaydīs** from Ṣana‘ā’, which now became his own capital. By 455/1063, ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī had subjugated all of Yaman and had succeeded in forging close relations between Ṣulayḥid Yaman and Fatimid Egypt. ‘Alī was murdered while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, by sons of al-NajāU, founder of the local NajāUīd dynasty. *See also* ASMĀ’ BINT SHIHĀB; LAMAK B. MĀLIK AL-ḤAMMĀDĪ; AL-MUSTANṢIR BI’LLĀH.

‘ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-WALĪD. *See* IBN AL-WALĪD, ‘ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD.

‘ALIDS. Descendants of **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**, cousin and son-in-law of the **Prophet Muḥammad**. ‘Alī’s first spouse was **Fāṭima**, the Prophet’s daughter, and ‘Alī’s descendants by Fāṭima (the only descendants of the Prophet) are in particular called **Fāṭimids**. Descendants of ‘Alī and Fāṭima through their sons **al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī** and **al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī** are also called Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids. Descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are often also designated, respectively, as *sharīfs* and *sayyids*. The descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, son of ‘Alī and another of his spouses called Khawla (from the Banū Ḥanīfa), are designated as Ḥanafids or Ḥanafid ‘Alids. *See also* ABBASIDS; IMAMATE.

AMĪNJĪ B. JALĀL (d. 1010/1602). Ṭayyibī Ismaili **Bohra** jurist and author in India. The son of the 25th *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis, Shams al-Dīn Jalāl b. Ḥasan (d. 975/1567), Amīn al-Dīn Amīnjī lived in Aḥmadābād, **Gujarāt**. He held high ranks in the *da'wa* hierarchy of the Ṭayyibī Bohras. Amīnjī's works, still in manuscript form, deal mainly with **jurisprudence** and are highly esteemed by the **Dā'ūdī** Ṭayyibī Bohras who rank them in authority next to al-Qāḍī **al-Nu'mān**'s books on legal matters.

AL-ĀMIR (r. 495–524/1101–1130). The 10th **Fatimid** caliph and 20th **Musta'lian** Ismaili imam. Born in 490/1096, Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr succeeded to the Fatimid caliphate upon the death of his father **al-Musta'li** with the title of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh. During the first 20 years of his rule, effective authority in the Fatimid state remained in the hands of the all-powerful vizier **al-Afdal**. After al-Afdal and his successor, **al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iUī**, al-Āmir did not appoint any viziers, preferring to run the affairs of the state personally. It was in al-Āmir's time that the **Nizārī** Ismailis consolidated their power in Persia and Syria, also spreading their activities to Fatimid Egypt. In 516/1122, an official assembly was held at the Fatimid palace in **Cairo** to publicize the rights of al-Musta'li and al-Āmir to the **imamate** and to refute the claims of **Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir** and his supporters. A document issued on that occasion has been preserved under the title of *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*. Al-Āmir was becoming rapidly detested by his subjects because of his cruel acts up to the time when he was assassinated. *See also* AL-ḤĀFIZ; IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, TĀJ AL-RI'ĀSA ABU'L-QĀSIM 'ALĪ B. MUNJIB; AL-ṬAYYIB; ṬAYYIBĪS, ṬAYYIBIYYA.

ĀMIRIYYA. *See* ṬAYYIBĪS.

AMRĪ SHĪRĀZĪ (d. 999/1590). A Sufi poet with Ismaili leanings. Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Kūhpāya'ī, better known as Amrī Shīrāzī, served as a poet to the **Ṣafawid** Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 930–984/1524–1576) for 30 years before falling into disfavor. In 973/1565, he was blinded on charges of heresy. He was eventually executed in his native Shīrāz in the province of **Fārs**, as a Nuṭṭawī heretic by the order of Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 995–1038/1587–1629). Amrī might have been a **Nizārī** Ismaili, as claimed by the Persian Nizārīs. He did, indeed, eulogize his contemporary Nizārī imams, including **Murād Mīrzā**. *See also* LITERATURE.

ANJUDĀN. A village located 37 kilometers east of Arāk in central Iran. A relatively large and prosperous place in medieval times, Anjudān is chiefly associated with the revival of **Nizārī** Ismaili activities in the post-**Alamūt** period. The Nizārī imams emerged in Anjudān in the second half of the ninth/15th century, disguising themselves as Sufi *pīrs*. Subsequently, for about two centuries, from Anjudān they reinvigorated their *da'wa* activities, especially in Persia, India, and Central Asia. This period is generally known as the Anjudān revival in Nizārī history. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, the imams moved their residence and base of operations to the neighboring village of **Kahak**, and Anjudān rapidly lost its earlier importance. **Architectural** remains in Anjudān include two mosques and three mausoleums, containing the graves of several Nizārī imams and their relatives. *See also* LITERATURE; MUSTANṢIR BI'LLĀH (II).

‘**AQL**. See INTELLECT, OR UNIVERSAL INTELLECT.

ARCHITECTURE. The architectural activities of the Ismailis started under the **Fatimid** dynasty, with new capital cities, great mosques, and palaces filled with luxurious furnishings. From early on in their North African era (297–362/909–973), splendid art and architecture was created under the patronage of the Fatimid caliph-imams, who increasingly used the visual arts to assert their legitimacy in the eyes of both their subjects as well as their rivals. The Fatimids were also city builders and in North Africa, before establishing themselves in Egypt in 362/973, they founded new capital cities, such as **Mahdiyya** and **Manṣūriyya** with their defensive walls and gates as well as palaces and congregational mosques, which served as precursors for **Cairo**. However, the creation of a brilliant era of visual art dates only to the Egyptian period of Fatimid rule (362–567/973–1171).

Fatimid architecture in Egypt is characterized by the foundation of the new walled capital city of Cairo with magnificent palaces embellished with intricately carved woodwork for the ruling caliph-imams and their viziers, as well as large congregational mosques such as **al-Azhar** and **al-Ḥākim**, with beautifully worked decoration in stucco and stone, for the general public. Shrines to descendants of the **Prophet Muḥammad**, or the *ahl al-bayt*, as well as mausolea for the pious individuals also acquired an increasing importance under the Fatimids. These commemorative buildings, located mainly in Cairo, varied from simple domed cubes to multi-roomed complexes with vestibules and auxiliary chambers. The façades of the buildings, especially of the mosques, seem to have become more important during the first century of Fatimid rule in Egypt, as the stones were carefully arranged around magnificent portals often deeply carved with such architectural elements as blind arcades, inscriptions, and geometric ornaments. Fatimid architectural decoration is characterized, above all, by the extensive use of inscriptions, typically written in an elegant floriated kufic script. Carved, painted, and joined wood also plays a prominent role in Fatimid architectural decoration. All in all, Fatimid patrons of art and architecture also appear to have been more interested in projecting splendor than ideology.

From around 460s/1060s, architectural attention in Fatimid Egypt was focused either on the construction of essential public works to guarantee public safety, such as the rebuilding of the walls of Cairo by **Badr al-Jamālī**, or on building and restoration of small mosques and shrines honoring various Shi‘i personalities. The new walls of Fatimid Cairo with its gates represent one of the few surviving examples of the military architecture of the Islamic world before the **Crusades**. The al-Aqmar Mosque, built near the Fatimid palaces during 516–519/1122–1125, with its main façade containing the most beautiful ensemble of Fatimid stonework, dates to this period. Since the 1970s, the **Dā’ūdī Bohras** have been restoring and rebuilding the surviving architectural monuments of the Fatimid era in Cairo, including the mosques of al-Azhar, al-Ḥākim, and al-Aqmar, without paying much attention to modern principles of conservation and restoration. The present *dā’ī mutlaq* of the Dā’ūdīs has also built numerous mosques in a Fatimid style or using Fatimid elements for his community in Asia and several countries of the West. The Sayfī Masjid in Bombay is the largest mosque of the Dā’ūdīs in the world.

Architectural activities of the **Nizārī** Ismailis began during the **Alamūt** period of their history when they possessed a territorial state in Persia and Syria with impressive networks of

mountain castles. Outstanding examples of military architecture, the chains of formidable Nizārī castles defending the borders of their state in Persia provided the backbone of the Nizārī defense system. Several major principles were observed in the construction of the Nizārī castles. The area chosen for building a castle had to have a naturally defensive character and be sufficiently remote and inaccessible to discourage attacks by the **Saljūqs** and other enemies with superior military forces. The complex of fortresses within a chosen area were to have the ability to support one another in addition to having an efficient system of communications, whether by beacon or other means. Additionally, the area had to contain enough natural resources, especially stone and wood, to enable the construction or fortification of castles with a minimum labor force. The terrain also had to be self-sufficient in water and food supplies for the garrison of the fortress and their dependants, so as to enable them to withstand prolonged sieges. Finally, the area was to be inhabited by a significant Ismaili population or other Shi‘is with empathy toward the Ismaili cause.

The military strategy of the Nizārīs was, thus, a defensive one, and it differed from that of the Crusaders who built strong bases from which they pursued an offensive strategy. The major castles were also important administrative and cultural centers with major libraries of manuscripts and collections of scientific instruments. The Nizārīs were indeed skilled water engineers, and every castle had a large number of deep limestone-lined water storage cisterns, which were roofed over. The realization of all these required attributes would place the Nizārī fortresses in a very different category from the medieval European castles.

The Nizārī castles varied in size from the massive complex represented by the fortress of **Girdkūh** to a cluster of smaller fortified sites in **Khurāsān** or in Syria. The Nizārī castles in Syria, apart from **Maṣyāf** and **Kahf**, were not built on the same massive scale as those such as Girdkūh, Alamūt, **Lamasar**, and Qā’in, in Persia, although they too were well provisioned to withstand long sieges of several years. The Syrian castles also normally contained epigraphs, not found in the Persian ones. Maṣyāf, the largest and the best preserved of the Syrian Nizārī castles, has 13 epigraphs with the names of the chief Nizārī leaders inscribed in some of them.

In modern times, **Aga Khan IV** has launched a number of global architectural initiatives that now operate under the auspices of the **Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)**, which oversees the **Aga Khan Award for Architecture**, the world’s most prestigious architectural prize, and the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard and MIT, for educating architects and planners to cater to the needs of modern Muslim societies. The Historic Cities Programme (HCP), established in 1991, is now the implementing agency of the AKTC. With its own team of architects and conservation experts, the HCP was set up to implement a range of urban conservation and rehabilitation projects. With funding by major partners, including the Ford Foundation and the World Bank, the HCP has successfully completed a variety of projects in Egypt, Zanzibar, Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. Foremost among these projects is the construction of the Azhar Park in Cairo, completed in 2004, and the rehabilitation of the adjacent al-Darb al-Ahmar district and the restoration of its Islamic monuments and the recovered **Ayyūbid** wall.

Other projects undertaken by the AKTC include the conservation and restoration of the citadel of Aleppo and the Nizārī castle of Maṣyāf in Syria. Among AKTC’s current projects, mention can be made of the Aga Khan Museum and the Ismaili Center in Toronto. Nizārī

Ismaili congregations, or *jamā'ats*, are generally served for their religious and sociocultural activities, by special assembly buildings, or *jamā'at-khānas*, which in certain cities have in recent times taken the form of major constructions with magnificent Islamic architectural designs. These communal buildings, referred to as Ismaili Centers, are now found in London, Vancouver, Lisbon, Dubai, and Dushanbe. These centers have become also known for the promotion of cultural, **educational**, and social programs serving the Nizārī Ismailis and the wider communities among whom they live.

ARWĀ BINT AḤMAD AL-ŞULAYḤĪ (440–532/1048–1138). The celebrated queen of Yaman under the **Şulayḥid** dynasty. Born in **Ḥarāz**, Sayyida Arwā, who also carried the epithet of Ḥurra, was married to al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. **‘Alī al-Şulayḥī** in 458/1066. Arwā was the co-ruler of Şulayḥid Yaman, with her husband, from 467/1074 and the sole effective ruler from 477/1084. She exercised both political and religious authority in Yaman on behalf of the **Fatimid** caliph-imams of Egypt. She was in fact appointed as the *ḥujja* of Yaman, the highest rank in the Yamanī *da'wa*, by the Fatimid **al-Mustansir** shortly after the death of her husband in 477/1084, and also entrusted with the *da'wa* activities in western India. In the **Nizārī–Musta‘lī** dispute, Arwā championed the cause of **al-Musta‘lī** and later she founded the independent **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian** *da'wa* in Yaman. The death of Malika Sayyida Arwā bint Aḥmad al-Şulayḥī marked the effective end of the Şulayḥid dynasty. *See also* ASMĀ’ BINT SHIHĀB; AL-DHU’AYB B. MŪSĀ AL-WĀDĪ’I; GUJARĀT; LAMAK B. MĀLIK AL-ḤAMMĀDĪ; *‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR*; WOMEN.

ASĀS AL-TA’WĪL. An esoteric work written by al-Qāḍī **al-Nu‘mān** (d. 363/974). This is a classical Ismaili work in Arabic on the *ta’wīl* of Qur’anic stories of Prophets from Ādam to **Muḥammad**. This treatise was later translated into Persian by the **dā‘ī al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī** under the title of *Bunyād-i ta’wīl*, which is still in manuscript form. The only known two copies of this Persian translation, belonging to the **Zāhid ‘Alī** and Hamdānī collections of Ismaili manuscripts, are currently held in the **Institute of Ismaili Studies** Library. *See also* LITERATURE.

ASMĀ’ BINT SHIHĀB (d. 467/1074). Wife of the founder of the **Şulayḥid** dynasty, **‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Şulayḥī**. Her son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad (d. 477/1084), became the second Şulayḥid ruler in 459/1067. She was also responsible for the upbringing and early **education**, at the palace, of **Arwā bint Aḥmad al-Şulayḥī**, who was to marry al-Mukarram and then become the effective ruler of Şulayḥid Yaman. Asmā’ played an active role in the affairs of the Şulayḥid state during the reigns of both her husband and her son until her death. She is portrayed in the sources as a generous and noble lady who also patronized poets at the Şulayḥid court. *See also* WOMEN.

ASSASSIN LEGENDS. *See* ASSASSINS.

ASSASSINS. The name originally applied by the **Crusaders** and other medieval Europeans to the **Nizārī** Ismailis of the **Alamūt** period. The Crusaders had extensive military and diplomatic encounters with the Syrian Nizārī Ismailis from the opening decade of the sixth/12th century.

But it was in the time of **Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān** (d. 589/1193), the greatest of the Ismaili *dā'īs* in Syria, that occidental chroniclers and a number of European travelers began to write about this mysterious oriental group, which they designated as the “Assassins.” This term appears in medieval European sources in a variety of forms, such as Assassini and Heysessini, as well as the form Hashishin. The term was evidently based on variants of the Arabic word *Uashīshī* (plural, *Uashīshīyya*), which was applied pejoratively to the Nizārī Ismailis of Syria and Persia by other Muslims, and picked up locally in the Levant by Crusaders and transformed into different variants in French, Italian, and other European languages.

In all Muslim sources in which the Nizārīs are referred to as *Uashīshīs*, the term is used in its abusive sense of “people of lax morality,” without accusing the sectaries of actually using hashish, a hemp plant. The literal interpretation of the term for the Nizārīs as hashish-users is rooted in the fantasies of the medieval Europeans who remained ignorant of Islam and the Ismailis. In the Near East and Europe, the Crusaders and their occidental chroniclers fabricated and disseminated a number of tales about the secret practices of the Nizārī Ismailis, especially their *fidā'īs*. These imaginative tales, the so-called Assassin legends, which culminated in the version popularized by the Venetian traveler Marco Polo (1254–1324), revolved mainly around the recruitment and training of the youthful *fidā'īs* and the mischievous behavior of the Nizārī Ismaili leader, designated in the European sources as the “**Old Man of the Mountain**.” The legends were meant to provide satisfactory explanations for behavior that seemed otherwise irrational to medieval Europeans. Modern scholarship in Ismaili studies has now begun to deconstruct and dispel the medieval myths surrounding the Nizārī Ismailis and their *fidā'īs*. See also *ALHIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA*; SILVESTRE DE SACY, ANTOINE ISAAC.

ĀṬṬHIYĀ. See IMĀM-SHĀHĪS.

AYYŪBIDS. A Sunni Muslim dynasty ruling through its different lines from **Cairo**, Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā, Diyārbakr, and Yaman from 564/1169 to the end of the ninth/15th century. The dynasty was of Kurdish origins, named after Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb who, together with his brother **Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh**, were the progenitors of the Ayyūbids. However, the real founder of the dynasty was **Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn** (Saladin of medieval European sources), who uprooted the **Fatimid** caliphate in Egypt in 567/1171 and replaced Ismaili Shi'ism there with Sunni Islam. Before his death in 589/1193, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had granted out different parts of the Ayyūbid empire to various members of the family, with the supreme Ayyūbid sultan remaining in Egypt. See also ARCHITECTURE.

AL-AZHAR. Also known as al-Jāmi' al-Azhar, this is the name of the oldest academic institution in the Muslim world. Al-Azhar was founded by the **Fatimids** in **Cairo** at the same time as the foundation of that city about 2 kilometers to the north of Fuṣṭāṭ, the old capital of Egypt. Al-Azhar, meaning the “brilliant one,” a possible allusion to the **Prophet Muḥammad's** daughter **Fāṭima**, was originally founded as the principal congregational mosque of Cairo. The mosque of al-Azhar, together with the Fatimid palaces and other structures were built in the new Fatimid capital of Cairo by the conqueror of Egypt, **Jawhar**, in accordance with the detailed plans drawn by the Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Mu'izz** himself. The construction of the

mosque, in the neighborhood of the Fatimid palaces, began in 359/970 and lasted for two years; it was inaugurated in 361/972. Many Fatimid caliphs introduced changes in the mosque, also enriching al-Azhar with gifts and endowments. The mosque of al-Azhar began serving also as an academic institution in 378/988, the first university in the world; and it has remained the principal institution of religious learning in the Muslim world.

Under the Fatimids, al-Azhar played a crucial role in the dissemination of Ismaili doctrines, with numerous Ismaili scholars, jurists, and students constantly participating in its seminars. Public sessions on Ismaili law were also held there on a regular weekly basis. All this explains why al-Azhar suffered the hostility of the Sunni **Ayyūbids** after the fall of the Fatimid caliphate in 567/1171, whereupon the tradition of offering specialized lectures on Ismaili doctrines and legal precepts there was ended. Subsequently, under the Mamlūks and the **Ottomans**, al-Azhar became one of the foremost institutions of Sunni Muslim learning. It is currently a major center of traditional Islamic scholarship and teaching of Sunni law and theology with higher **educational** standards and programs and an international student body. Al-Azhar's graduates operate throughout the Islamic world as Sunni Muslim religious teachers and scholars. Female students are now admitted into al-Azhar, but they study in separate departments. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; IBN KILLIS, ABU'LFARAJ YA'QŪB B. YŪSUF.

AL-'AZĪZ (r. 365–386/975–996). The fifth **Fatimid** caliph and 15th Ismaili imam. Born in 344/955, Abū Maṣṣūr Nizār, the third son of **al-Mu'izz**, succeeded to the Fatimid caliphate with the title of al-'Azīz bi'llāh upon the death of his father. He was the first member of the Fatimid dynasty to begin his rule in Egypt. The extension of Fatimid power in Syria, at the expense of the **Abbasids** and Byzantines, was al-'Azīz's primary foreign policy objective. However, he avoided direct confrontation with the Abbasids and their overlords, the Būyids. Toward the end of al-'Azīz's reign, the Fatimid empire attained its greatest extent, with Fatimid suzerainty recognized from the Atlantic and the western Mediterranean to the Ḥijāz, Yaman, Syria, and Palestine. Al-'Azīz was an excellent administrator and utilized the services of capable men, including Christians and Jews, without much regard for their religious beliefs. Under al-'Azīz, **Ibn Killis**, a convert from Judaism, became the first Fatimid vizier. Al-'Azīz died in 386/996 in Bilbays, while personally leading the Fatimid armies toward northern Syria. *See also* AL-ḤĀKIM; AL-JAWDHARĪ, ABŪ 'ALĪ MAṢṢŪR AL-'AZĪZĪ.

BADAKHSHĀN. A mountainous region in Central Asia. Badakhshān is now divided by the Panj River, a tributary of Āmū Daryā (Oxus River) between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, with Khorog and FayCābād serving as their respective capitals. Dominated by the **Pamir** mountains, the region is situated between the upper Āmū Daryā to the north, the Hindu Kush to the south, and the Kundūz River to the west. The inhabitants of Badakhshān are mainly Persian-speaking Tajiks, where Shughnī and other East Iranian Pamiri languages are spoken in Shughnān, Rūshan, Bartang, Ishkāshim, and other districts of the region. Most Badakhshānīs adhere to the **Nizārī** branch of Ismailism, which spread to the region from the middle of the sixth/12th century by *dā‘īs* sent from **Qubistān**, while the Ismaili *da‘wa* had already appeared there from the latter decades of the third/ninth century. It was **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** who revived Ismailism in Badakhshān as the chief *dā‘ī* there during the first half of the fifth/11th century. There are also minority groups of Ḥanafī Sunnis in Badakhshān.

After various local dynasties, some with Ismaili connections, the region was incorporated into the Tīmūrid state before falling into the hands of Özbegs. From the 1860s, Badakhshān was subjected to Russian imperial hegemony, while the Anglo–Russian boundary commission of 1895 formally handed the region on the right bank of the Panj River to the Khanate of Bukhārā (then under Russian influence) and designated the left-bank region as Afghan territory (then under British influence). The Nizārīs of both parts of Badakhshān share the same religious and literary traditions, also observing similar rituals. The Nizārīs of Badakhshān have preserved a good portion of the Nizārī **literature** produced in the Persian **language** during the **Alamūt** and later periods of their history. *See also* CHIRĀGH-RAWSHAN; DIASPORA; LITERATURE; UMM AL-KITĀB; WAJH-I DĪN.

BADAKHSHĀNĪ, SAYYID SUHRĀB WALĪ. The most prominent **Nizārī** Ismaili theologian and author of **Badakhshān** during the early post-**Alamūt** centuries. Born into a non-Ismaili family, he converted soon after the age of 12 and spent his entire life in Badakhshān. He joined the regional **Muḥammad-Shāhī da‘wa** of the Nizārī Ismailis, which at the time overshadowed the **Qāsim-Shāhī da‘wa** there. Badakhshānī’s *Sī va shish ṣaḥīfa*, sometimes called *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn*, completed in 856/1452, is one of the few Nizārī Ismaili works produced during this obscure period in Nizārī history. He died at an unknown date perhaps not too long after 856/1452. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ (d. 487/1094). **Fatimid** vizier and commander of the armies. He was born in the beginning of the fifth/11th century. Originally, he was an Armenian slave of the Syrian *amīr* Jamāl al-Dawla Ibn ‘Ammār, whence his name al-Jamālī. He was twice appointed governor of Damascus, then became governor of Acre. In 466/1074, he accepted the Fatimid caliph **al-Mustanṣir**’s summons to deliver him from the rebellious Turkish soldiers and arrived in **Cairo** with his Armenian troops. Having saved al-Mustanṣir, Badr restored order to

Egypt and rapidly acquired the highest positions of the Fatimid state and *da'wa*. He became the *amīr al-juyūsh*, or “commander of the armies,” his best known title, as well as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) and chief *dā'ī* (*dā'ī al-du'āt*). He was also the first person to be designated by the Fatimids as the “vizier of the sword and of the pen” (*wazīr al-sayf wa'l-qalam*) with full delegated powers. He built Cairo's second wall and its three gates, which are still *in situ*. Before his death, Badr had arranged for his son **al-Afdal** to succeed him in all his posts. See also ARCHITECTURE.

AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR 'ABD AL-QĀHIR B. ṬĀHIR (d. 429/1037). Sunni theologian, jurist, and heresiographer. He devoted a long chapter to the refutation of the **Bāṭinīs** or Ismailis in his well-known heresiographical work, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, written in the 420s/1030s. This chapter contains typical anti-Ismaili polemics. The author clearly had access to the anti-Ismaili treatises of **Ibn Rizām** and **Akhū Muḥsin**, also claiming to have used an Ismaili book entitled *Kitāb al-siyāsa wa'l-balāgh*, which modern scholarship has shown to have been a travesty against the Ismailis. In line with a tradition established by the earliest anti-Ismaili polemicists, al-Baghdādī too portrays Ismailism as a “heretical” movement aiming to destroy Islam from within.

BAHRĀM (d. 535/1140). Christian Armenian general and **Fatimid** vizier. He followed a military career and became the commander of an Armenian corps and then governor of Gharbiyya, a province of Lower Egypt. Bahrām entered **Cairo** at the request of the Fatimid caliph **al-Ḥāfiẓ**'s son Ḥasan, who plotted a revolt. Al-Ḥāfiẓ appointed Bahrām to the vizierate in 529/1135. The pro-Armenian policies of Bahrām provoked a military revolt led by **Riḍwān**, the new governor of Gharbiyya. Bahrām was forced out of office in 531/1137, and after the failure of his own revolt in Qūṣ, he was granted permission by al-Ḥāfiẓ to retire to a monastery where he remained until 533/1139. Later, al-Ḥāfiẓ recalled Bahrām to Cairo and entrusted him with the responsibilities of the vizierate, without officially appointing him to the post, until his death.

BAHRĀM (d. 522/1128). **Nizārī** Ismaili *dā'ī* in Syria. Bahrām succeeded the *dā'ī* **Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṣā'igh** to the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs around 507/1113. Like his predecessors, Bahrām was a Persian *dā'ī* dispatched from **Alamūt**. He transferred the center of the Nizārī *da'wa* activities from Aleppo to Damascus. By 520/1126, when Bahrām appeared openly in Damascus, the Nizārī *da'wa* activities had been very successful in southern Syria. With a mission house (*dār al-da'wa*) in Damascus, and residing in the fortress of Bāniyās, Bahrām dispatched *dā'īs* in all directions and acquired an increasing number of converts. In 522/1128, the Nizārīs were defeated in a battle by some local tribesmen in Wādī al-Taym and Bahrām was killed.

AL-BĀQIR, ABŪ JA'FAR MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ (c. 57–114/c. 677–732). Early Shi'ī imam, counted as the fifth of the **Twelvers** and the fourth for the Ismailis. He was born in Medina and died there around 114/732 and was buried in the cemetery of Baqī'. Upon the death of his father, **'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn**, in 95/714, he became the imam of the Imāmī Shi'is and maintained the latter's quiescent policy. He spent his entire life in Medina,

refusing to support any of the anti-**Umayyad** revolts then organized by various Shi‘i groups in Iraq. Sunni and Shi‘i sources agree in describing him as an eminent scholar of religious sciences that were then developing. In Shi‘i tradition, al-Bāqir is also depicted as the initiator of the religious and legal teachings that were further elaborated by his son and successor to the **imamate**, **Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq**, and formed the basis of Imāmī Shi‘ism, the common heritage of the Ismailis and the Twelvers. He is also credited with introducing the principle of **taqiyya** or precautionary dissimulation into Imāmī teachings. His epithet al-Bāqir, short for *bāqir al-‘ilm*, is usually explained to mean “the one who splits knowledge open,” in reflection of his vast knowledge of the religious sciences. *See also SHARḤ AL-AKHBĀR; UMM AL-KITĀB.*

BAQLIYYA. A subgroup of the **Qarmaṭīs**. The Baqliyya, also called the Būrāniyya, grew out of the Qarmaṭī movement of **Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh**, who was killed in battle with the **Abbasids** in 294/907. Some of the surviving supporters of Zikrawayh in Kūfa denied his death and awaited his return. In 295/907, a certain Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī, who was active as a **dā‘ī** among these Qarmaṭīs, prohibited the consumption of certain vegetables and the slaughtering of animals, whence his followers were called the Baqliyya, a name subsequently applied to all the Qarmaṭīs of southern Iraq, who for the most part retained their belief in **Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl** as their final imam and the expected **Mahdī**. The Baqliyya were soon joined by the former Qarmaṭī followers of **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ**. This Qarmaṭī coalition survived for sometime in southern Iraq under leaders like ‘Īsā b. Mūsā. These Baqlīs (Qarmaṭīs) remained active in southern Iraq, where they organized several revolts, until around 316/928. Finally, a section of the Baqliyya comprised mainly of Persians, joined the forces of **Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī** in 317/929 and went to Bahrayn, where they became known as the Ajamiyyūn, the successors to the earlier Persian *mawālī* in Iraq.

BARJAWĀN, ABU’L-FUTŪḤ (d. 390/1000). A slave who was for a short while during the early years of the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Ḥākīm**’s reign (386–411/996–1021) the effective ruler of Egypt. A eunuch of uncertain origins, he was brought up at the court of the Fatimid **al-‘Azīz**. He was appointed guardian of the heir-designate al-Ḥākīm by his father al-‘Azīz. On al-Ḥākīm’s accession to the Fatimid throne in 386/996, Barjawān’s initial role was the guardianship of the youthful caliph. By 387/997, Barjawān seized power as *wāsiṭa* and retained the reins of power in the Fatimid state for four years. Barjawān was executed on the order of al-Ḥākīm who had developed a deep resentment toward him.

AL-BASĀSĪRĪ, ABU’L-ḤĀRITH ARSLĀN (d. 451/1059). Pro-Fatimid Turkish commander. Originally a Turkish slave of a master who was from Basā (Fasā) in **Fārs**, whence his *nisba* al-Basāsīrī, he became a chief military figure in Iraq during the final decade of Būyid rule there. Under the turbulent circumstances of the time, al-Basāsīrī temporarily seized Baṣra and other towns in Iraq. Al-Basāsīrī, who had Shi‘i leanings, then appealed to the Fatimid **al-Mustanshir** for assistance to conquer Baghdad in his name. The **dā‘ī al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī** played a major part in directing al-Basāsīrī’s moves. In 448/1057, after receiving a substantial gift of money and arms from **Cairo**, delivered by al-Mu’ayyad, al-Basāsīrī inflicted a heavy defeat on the **Saljūqs**, who had then just appeared on the scene. In 450/1058, al-

Basāsīrī entered Baghdad and had the *khuṭba*, or sermon, read in the name of the Fatimids. He sent the **Abbasid** caliphal regalia to Fatimid Cairo but kept the Abbasid caliph al-Qā'im in Baghdad, to the great disappointment of the Fatimids. Al-Basāsīrī was abandoned by the Fatimids when he was at the height of his success. In 451/1059, al-Basāsīrī was chased out of Baghdad and killed in battle by the Saljūqs.

BĀṬINĪS, BĀṬINIYYA. A generic designation meaning “esotericists.” The name was coined for all Muslim groups or sects that distinguished the *ẓāhir* or the apparent, literal meaning, from the *bāṭin* or the hidden, esoteric meaning, of the **Qur'an** and the *sharī'a* in Islam. This distinction was fundamental to the religious thought of a number of mainly Shi'i groups. In particular, the Ismailis from early on came to be regarded by the rest of the Muslim society as the most representative Shi'i community espousing esotericism in Islam, hence their common designation as the Bāṭiniyya.

This designation was, however, often used abusively by the detractors of the Ismailis, and by anti-Ismaili polemicists, who accused the Ismailis in general of dispensing with the *ẓāhir*, or the commandments and prohibitions of the sacred law of Islam, because they claimed to have found access to the *bāṭin*, or the spiritual essence of the Islamic message as interpreted by the Ismaili imam. The distinction between the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* was an integral part of the religious system of thought elaborated by the Ismailis of different periods. However, this distinction did not imply an automatic dispensation with the *ẓāhir*, or the letter of the law, although in certain periods, and among some Ismaili subgroups, the *bāṭin* received a greater emphasis. *See also* AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR 'ABD AL-QĀHIR B. ṬĀHIR; *FADĀ'IH AL-BĀṬINIYYA*; LITERATURE; *TA'WĪL*.

BAY'A. *See* OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

AL-BHARŪCHĪ, ḤASAN B. NŪḤ (d. 939/1533). A Ṭayyibī Musta'lian Bohra author. Born in Khambhat (modern-day Cambay), on the coast of **Gujarāt**, India, he traveled to Yaman around 904/1498 to further his Ismaili **education** under the supervision of the Ṭayyibī *dā'ī muṭlaq* residing there. He became a student of al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs al-Walīd (872–918/1468–1512), the 20th Ṭayyibī *dā'ī*. The courses of study pursued by him are described in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-azhār*, a seven-volume chrestomathy of Ismaili **literature**. He was also the mentor of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (946–974/1539–1567), the 24th *dā'ī muṭlaq*.

BĪRJANDĪ, RA'ĪS ḤASAN B. ṢALĀḤ MUNSHĪ. A Nizārī historian and poet of the **Alamūt** period. A native of Bīrjand, he flourished during the first half of the seventh/13th century in his native **Quhistān**. He spent long periods in Qā'in and other parts of Quhistān serving as court poet and scribe (*munshī*) to various Nizārī leaders or *muUtashams* of the region, especially the learned Shihāb al-Dīn Manṣūr, who died soon after 644/1246. He wrote an official Nizārī chronicle, covering the reigns of **Buzurg-Umīd** (r. 518–532/1124–1138) and later lords of Alamūt, which has not survived but was used by later Persian historians. Bīrjandī rose to a high secretarial post in Nizārī Quhistān; he is referred to as *malik al-kuttāb* or “king of the scribes” in the spiritual autobiography of **Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī**, who was Bīrjandī's contemporary and spent three decades in the Nizārī fortress communities of Quhistān and

Alamūt. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

BOHRAS. The name commonly used in reference to the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘liān** Ismailis of South Asian origin. The early history of Ismailism on the Indian subcontinent remains obscure because of a lack of reliable sources. However, the Ismaili community concentrated in western India grew steadily under the leadership of *dā‘īs* sent by the **Ṣulayḥids** of Yaman from 460/1067 onward. These *dā‘īs* preached successfully among the Hindus of **Gujarāt**, especially the urban artisans and traders, from their original base in Khambhat (modern-day Cambay). The Ismaili converts of Hindu descent in Gujarāt became known as Bohras (or Bohorās). The word *bohrā* (*bohorā*) is generally held to have been derived from the Gujarātī term *vohorvū* meaning “to trade.” In the **Nizārī–Musta‘lī** schism, the Ismaili Bohras, in line with the stance of the **Ṣulayḥids**, sided with **al-Musta‘lī**; and similarly in the **Ṭayyibī–Ḥāfizī** dispute, the Musta‘liān Bohras endorsed the **Ṭayyibī da‘wa** led by the **Ṣulayḥids**.

The **Ṭayyibī Bohras** were led by the representative (*wālī*) of the community’s *dā‘ī muṭlaq* who resided in Yaman. In the **Dā‘ūdī–Sulaymānī** schism in the **Ṭayyibī** community, the great majority of the **Ṭayyibīs**, accounting for the bulk of the Ismaili Bohra community, acknowledged the **Dā‘ūdī** line of *dā‘ī muṭlaqs*, while a minority of the **Ṭayyibī Bohras** in India recognized the **Sulaymānī dā‘īs**. Henceforth, the headquarters of the **Dā‘ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohras** were established in India. Subsequently, the **Dā‘ūdī Bohras** were themselves subdivided in India because of periodic challenges to the authority of their *dā‘ī muṭlaq*. As one such instance, in 1034/1624, the **‘Alawī Bohra** splinter group established their own line of *dā‘īs* in Baroda (Vadodara), Gujarāt. The **Ṭayyibī Bohras** were also among the earliest Asian communities to settle in East Africa. The *dā‘ī* of the main **Dā‘ūdī Bohra** community, now numbering about one million, has become practically a substitute for the hidden **Ṭayyibī imam**. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; DIASPORA; LANGUAGES; MARRIAGE; TITHE.

BŪJH NIRĀÑJAN. An anonymous Sufi work of South Asian origin. This is a lengthy didactic poem, in medieval Hindustani, about the mystical path. As shown by modern scholarship, the *Būjh Nirāñjan* (*Knowledge of the One*) actually originated in the **Qādirī** Sufi circles of **Sind** and then entered the *ginān* literature of the **Nizārī Khojas**, who attribute it to **Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn**, one of their early preacher-saints. The Khoja appropriation of this work attests to close relations that existed in medieval India between the Khojas and the Sufis and the fact that the mystical themes and idioms of this work readily lent themselves to Ismaili interpretations even though there are no specifically Ismaili doctrines in this lengthy poem. *See also* LITERATURE; SATPANTH.

BUNYĀD-I TA’WĪL. *See* ASĀS AL-TA’WĪL.

BŪRĀNIYYA. *See* BAQLIYYA.

BURHĀNPŪRĪ, QUṬB AL-DĪN SULAYMĀNJĪ (d. 1241/1826). **Dā‘ūdī Bohra** historian. He was appointed to an important post in the *da‘wa* organization of the **Dā‘ūdī Ṭayyibīs** by ‘Abd ‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn (1213–1232/1798–1817), the 43rd *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of that branch of the

Ismailis. Burhānpūrī composed an Ismaili history entitled *Muntaza‘ al-akhbār fī akhbār al-du‘āt al-akhyār* in two volumes. He died in Poona. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE.

AL-BUSTĪ, ABU’I-QĀSIM ISMĀ‘ĪL B. AḤMAD (d. 420/1029). Mu‘tazilī **Zaydī** author who wrote a polemical work against the Ismailis entitled *Min kashf asrār al-bāṭiniyya*. Written around 400/1009, this treatise, preserved only fragmentarily, contains valuable quotations from early Ismaili works, such as the *Kitāb al-maUṣūl* of the *dā‘ī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad **al-Nasafī**, which have not survived. The author was also familiar with the writings of the *dā‘ī* Abū Ya‘qūb **al-Sijistānī** and several other Ismaili authors. A student of the Mu‘tazilī theologian al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024–1025), al-Bustī also had access to **Ibn Rizām**’s anti-Ismaili treatise and, like him, argues for a non-‘**Alid** or QaddāUid ancestry for the **Fatimids**.

BUZURG-UMĪD, KIYĀ (r. 518–532/1124–1138). The second lord of **Alamūt** and leader of **Nizārī** Ismaili *da‘wa* and community. He succeeded **Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ** to the leadership of the Nizārīs in 518/1124. Not much is known about the early life of Buzurg-Umīd, who hailed from the Rūdbār district of **Daylam**. Buzurg-Umīd seized the castle of **Lamasar** for the Nizārīs in 489/1096; and thereupon he was appointed as the governor of that castle, the largest one held by the Nizārīs in northern Persia. He remained in that post for more than 20 years until he was called to Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ to succeed him.

Buzurg-Umīd maintained the policies of his predecessor and succeeded in further strengthening the Nizārī state, despite renewed **Saljūq** offensives. He, too, was a capable administrator and military strategist. By the end of Buzurg-Umīd’s rule, the Nizārīs had clearly established an independent territorial state of their own in Persia. Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd died in 532/1138 and was buried next to Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ in Alamūt, where their graves were piously visited until this Nizārī mausoleum, too, was destroyed by the invading **Mongols** in 654/1256. He was succeeded at Alamūt by his son, **Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Umīd**. *See also* BĪRJANDĪ, RA’ĪS ḤASAN B. ŠALĀḤ MUNSHĪ; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

CAIRO. The capital of Egypt, the largest city in Africa and one of the most important centers of cultural, religious, and political life in the Muslim world. The city is situated on both banks of the Nile, at about 20 kilometers south of the delta where the Muqattam hills come down to the river. In the aftermath of the Arab invasion of Egypt in 22/643, a permanent encampment (*miṣr*) was established at Fuṣṭāṭ, which served as the capital of Egypt until the arrival of the **Fatimids**. Egypt was conquered by the Fatimids in 358/969, and thereupon **Jawhar**, the Fatimid commander, camped his army about two kilometers to the northeast of Fuṣṭāṭ and immediately proceeded to build a new city there according to the detailed plans drawn by the Fatimid caliph **al-Mu‘izz**. Initially called Maṣūriyya, like its namesake in **Ifriqiya**, the future Fatimid capital was later renamed “al-Qāhira al-Mu‘izziyya” (the Victorious One of al-Mu‘izz), and Miṣr al-Qāhira (the Victorious City); al-Qāhira or Cairo for short.

The new city, which became the Fatimid capital in 362/973, like its North African predecessor, was given northern and southern gates called Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, respectively. Jawhar also marked the site of two (eastern and western) royal palaces, for the Fatimid caliph-imam and his heir-designate, separated by a wide space (*bayn al-qaṣrayn*) used for various annual ceremonial and parades. Also special buildings were erected for various government departments and the Fatimid army. In 359/970, Jawhar laid the foundations of the congregational mosque of **al-Azhar** there. Cairo gradually embraced the surrounding localities, including Fuṣṭāṭ, which became known as Old Cairo.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, founder of the **Ayyūbid** dynasty, fortified Cairo, building a new wall and the citadel there. Cairo flourished under the Mamlūks who ruled over Egypt for some three centuries until 923/1517 and erected numerous mosques and madrasas there, transforming the city into the most important center for Islamic learning in the Muslim world. Subsequently, Cairo became a provincial city in the **Ottoman** Empire until 1798, when Napoleon’s army briefly invaded Egypt, and then once again it served as Egypt’s capital. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; GENIZA.

CANARD, MARIUS (1888–1982). French orientalist and a scholar of **Fatimid** studies. Born at the small village of Dracy-Saint-Loup, in the Morvan region of central France, Canard studied at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lyon, where he earned his *licence de lettres*. It was there that attending the classes of Gaston Wiet (1887–1971), Canard became interested in oriental languages and studies. During World War I, Canard served in the French cavalry and received the *Croix de Guerre* for his bravery. Subsequently, after a brief period of teaching in Morocco, he again enrolled at the University of Lyon to study Arabic and Sanskrit under Professor Wiet. Subsequently, he continued his study of oriental languages at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris.

In 1926, Canard returned to North Africa and was soon appointed professor at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Algiers, a flourishing center of Arabic and Islamic studies

established in 1881, where he spent the remainder of his academic career. In 1934, Canard played a vital role, together with Georges Marçais (1876–1962), in the foundation of the Faculty's Institut d'Études Orientales. Many of Canard's articles on the Fatimids appeared in that Institute's *Annales*. Canard retired in 1961 and established his residence in Paris. From studying the Shi'i dynasty of the Ḥamdānids, Canard's interest widened to the Muslim west and the Fatimids, as well as Fatimid-Byzantine relations; he contributed a long entry on the "Fāṭimids" to the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Many of Canard's extensive studies of the Fatimids and their ceremonials, based on original sources, were collected in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*.

CARMATIANS. See QARMAṬĪS.

CASTLES. See ARCHITECTURE.

CHIRĀGH-RAWSHAN. Literally meaning "luminous lamp," this is the designation for a distinctive ceremony of the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Central Asia. This ceremony is performed on the basis of a text known as *Chirāgh-nāma* (*Book of Light*), comprised of poetry, supplications, and verses of the **Qur'an**. The ceremony, emphasizing the sanctity of light (*nūr*), or divine light as expressed through **prophethood** and **imamate**, entails various rites that culminate in the kindling of light. The *Chirāgh-rawshan* ceremony, traditionally performed by *khalīfas* or local religious authorities, is normally observed on the third night after a person's death; or alternatively the ceremony may be performed in response to someone's request as an expression of gratitude for certain auspicious events in that person's life. The origins of this ceremony and the authorship of the *Chirāgh-nāma* are unknown. However, the text reveals Sufi as well as **Twelver** Shi'i influences, reflecting interaction between these traditions and the teachings of the Nizārī Ismailis of Central Asia. See also BADAKHSHĀN; LITERATURE.

CORBIN, HENRY (1903–1978). French philosopher, orientalist, and scholar of modern Ismaili studies. Born in Paris, he studied with Étienne Gilson (1884–1978) at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, receiving his degree in philosophy in 1925. Meanwhile, he had started to study Arabic and Sanskrit at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris. In 1928, he became an adjunct at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In 1935–1936, he was at the Institut Français in Berlin, where he met Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) and translated one of this eminent philosopher's works into French. His encounter with German philosophical thought, especially with hermeneutics of Heidegger, equipped Corbin with the hermeneutic and phenomenological methodologies. He later applied these perspectives to his Ismaili and theosophical investigations.

The most influential event in Corbin's intellectual formation, however, was his discovery of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) through Louis Massignon (1883–1962), the doyen of modern French scholars in Shi'i and Sufi studies. In 1939, Corbin went to Istanbul in search of manuscripts of al-Suhrawardī's works held in Turkish libraries; but World War II kept him in Istanbul until 1945. Corbin returned to Paris in 1946, and his subsequent career was divided between Paris and Tehran; he headed the then newly founded Department of Iranian Studies at the Institut Français d'Iranologie until 1954, when he succeeded Massignon

in Paris in the chair of Islam in the division of religious sciences at the École Pratique. From 1955 to 1973, he also taught regular courses on Islamic philosophy at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Tehran.

Corbin was the first European orientalist to draw serious attention to Shi‘i gnosis (*‘irfān*) and the tradition of Shi‘i theosophy (*Uikmat*) in late medieval times and other areas of esoteric thought in Islam. He was responsible for critical editions and translations of numerous Arabic and Persian texts, including Ismaili texts from **Fatimid** and later periods, which appeared simultaneously in Tehran and Paris in his own Bibliothèque Iranienne series of publications. He paid particular attentions to the works of Ismaili authors **al-Sijistānī** and **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** as well as **Ṭayyibī** authors. Corbin established a close working relationship with **Wladimir Ivanow**, who provided his friend with numerous Ismaili manuscripts. Many of Corbin’s studies were later collected in book form. *See also* KRAUS, PAUL.

COSMOLOGY. Theories of the origins and structure of the universe. From early on Ismailis elaborated their cosmological doctrines, which went through four main stages of evolution. By the second half of the third/ninth century, the early Ismailis developed a cosmological myth of gnostic character, in which the letters of the Arabic alphabet played a central role. The early Ismaili cosmology was transformed and superseded by an emanational cosmology of Neoplatonic provenance, first elaborated in the fourth/10th century by the *dā‘īs* of the Iranian school of “philosophical Ismailism,” especially **al-Sijistānī**. **Intellect** (*‘aql*) and soul (*nafs*) were the original dyad of the pleroma in this Neoplatonized cosmology adopted in due course by the **Fatimid da‘wa**. The **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’**, too, were influenced by Neoplatonic philosophy in elaborating their cosmological doctrine.

A third stage in the development of Ismaili cosmology is represented in the metaphysical system of the *dā‘ī* **Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī**, expounded in his *Rāḥat al-‘aql*, which is based on Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies as well as the metaphysical systems of Muslim philosophers, especially al-Fārābī (d. 339/950). In his cosmology, the duality of intellect and soul in the spiritual world was replaced by a system of 10 separate intellects or archangelical hypostases. Al-Kirmānī’s cosmology failed to be adopted by the Fatimid Ismaili *da‘wa*. In the fourth and final stage, the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian** Ismailis of post-Fatimid Yaman elaborated a cosmological doctrine that was essentially an adoption of al-Kirmānī’s system, also introducing a mythical “drama in heaven” first elaborated by the *dā‘ī* **Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī**. The Ismaili cosmologies also had a salvational purpose in addition to being closely linked to the Ismaili cyclical interpretation of sacred history. *See also* DAWR; LITERATURE; SOTERIOLOGY.

CRUSADES. A series of military expeditions by European Christians, from 489/1096 until the seventh/13th century. Aiming to conquer the “Holy Land” of Palestine–Syria then under Muslim rule, the Crusaders readily defeated the local **Fatimid** garrison and seized Jerusalem, their main target, in July 1099. After the first Crusade (1096–1099), the Crusaders succeeded in establishing four Latin states in Palestine and the surrounding territories, centered at Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa, which lasted for some two centuries. **Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn** (Saladin of the Crusader sources) recovered Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 583/1187, but

Crusader rule in the Near East did not end until 690/1291 when the Muslims recaptured the last Crusader outpost at Acre.

The Crusaders, and their Hospitaller and Templar military orders, had numerous confrontations in Syria with the **Nizārī** Ismailis, who were incorrectly made famous in Europe by them as the **Assassins**. The Crusaders are referred to in the Muslim sources as Franks, and the Crusades more recently as the *Uurūb al-ṣalībiyya* or the “Crusader wars.” The Crusaders were never interested in collecting accurate information about the Muslims and their religion, even though they had extensive military, diplomatic, social, and commercial contacts with them for some two centuries. As a result, close proximity to the Muslims did not lead to improved European perceptions of Islam, and only in a general sense did the medieval Europeans become more aware of the presence of Islam. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN; RĀSHID AL-DĪN SINĀN.

CYCLICAL HISTORY. *See* DAWR.

DA‘Ā’IM AL-ISLĀM. Composed by al-Qāḍī **al-Nu‘mān** (d. 363/974), this work served as the Ismaili legal compendium of the **Fatimid** state. Al-Nu‘mān’s efforts to compile legal compendia, as requested by the Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Mu‘izz**, culminated in the *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, which was read carefully and endorsed by the imam as the official code of the state; it still remains the chief legal text for the **Ṭayyibīs**, including especially the Ismaili **Bohras**. The Arabic text of the *Da‘ā’im* is divided into two volumes, the first one dealing with *‘ibādāt* or acts of devotion and religious duties. The second volume of the *Da‘ā’im* deals with *mu‘āmalāt* or worldly affairs, such as food, wills and inheritance, and **marriage** and divorce. *See also* FYZEE, ASAF ALI ASGHAR; ḤADĪTH; JURISPRUDENCE; LITERATURE; TA’WĪL AL-DA‘Ā’IM.

DAH-YIK. *See* TITHE.

DĀ’Ī. Literally meaning “he who summons.” This Arabic term was used by several Muslim groups, especially the Ismailis, to designate their propagandists or missionaries. The term *dā’ī* (plural, *du‘āt*) was applied to any authorized representative of the Ismaili **da‘wa**, a religious-political missionary or propagandist responsible for spreading the Ismaili doctrine and winning followers for the imam. Different ranks of *dā’īs* emerged during the history of the Ismailis. Three different categories of *dā’īs* were distinguished in **Fatimid** times: *dā’ī albalāgh* (or *dā’ī* of initiation), *dā’ī muṭlaq* (or *dā’ī* with absolute authority), and *dā’ī maUdūd* (or *dā’ī* with limited authority). The *dā’ī* was appointed only with the imam’s permission. Only candidates possessing advanced **educational** qualifications and intellectual attributes were to be designated as *dā’īs*.

Many *dā’īs* became outstanding scholars in theology, philosophy, **jurisprudence**, and other fields of learning, and they produced the classical texts of Ismaili **literature**. In the *da‘wa* hierarchy under the Fatimids, the administrative head of the *da‘wa* organization—the highest rank after the imam—was designated as *dā’ī al-du‘āt*, or chief *dā’ī*, a term used mainly in non-Ismaili sources, the equivalent of *bāb* or *bāb al-abwāb*, the term used in Ismaili sources. In the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian** *da‘wa* organization, the administrative head of the *da‘wa*, enjoying absolute authority in the community, became designated as *dā’ī muṭlaq*. In due course, this was also adopted by the administrative heads of the **Dā’ūdī**, **Sulaymānī**, and **‘Alawī** branches of the *Ṭayyibī da‘wa*. *See also* OATH OF ALLEGIANCE; MAJĀLIS AL-ḤIKMA; AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, AḤMAD B. IBRĀHĪM.

DĀMIGH AL-BĀṬIL. Written by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad **Ibn al-Walīd** (d. 612/1215), this is a detailed refutation, produced in two volumes, of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī’s major anti-Ismaili polemical work, *FaCā’ih al-bāṭiniyya*, written around 488/1095. This treatise was written in Yaman by the fifth *dā’ī muṭlaq* of the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian** Ismailis. *See also*

BĀṬINĪS;LITERATURE.

DĀR AL-ḤIKMA. See DĀR AL-‘ILM.

DĀR AL-‘ILM (DĀR AL-ḤIKMA). Located in **Cairo**, the Dār al-‘Ilm (House of Knowledge), sometimes also called Dār al-Ḥikma (House of Wisdom), was founded in 395/1005 as a major institution of learning by the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Ḥākim** in a section of the Fatimid palace. A variety of religious and other subjects—ranging from the **Qur’an**, **ḥadīth**, and **jurisprudence** (*fiqh*) to logic, grammar, astronomy, and mathematics—were taught there. Dār al-‘Ilm was also equipped with a major library. This institution of learning was used by scholars of different religious persuasion and many Ismaili **dā’īs** received at least part of their training at Dār al-‘Ilm, which also variously served the Ismaili **da‘wa**. In later Fatimid times, Dār al-‘Ilm was moved to a new location and it more closely served the needs of the **da‘wa**. On the collapse of the Fatimid dynasty in 567/1171, the Dār al-‘Ilm was also closed down and its vast collections of manuscripts were sold or destroyed by the Sunni **Ayyūbid** successors to the Shi‘i Fatimids. See also EDUCATION.

AL-DARAZĪ (or AL-DARZĪ), MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ‘ĪL. Also known as Nashtakīn, he was a **dā’ī** of Turkish or Persian origins who operated in **Fa-timid** Egypt and became one of the founders of the **Druze** movement and religion, named after him. Initially, al-Darazī (Persian, “the tailor”) was one of the disciples of **Ḥanẓa b. ‘Alī** but in due course acted independently for winning the leadership of the Druze movement. He acquired many followers and was the first among a group of extremist **dā’īs** to declare publicly the Fatimid caliph **al-Ḥākim**’s divinity. In the ensuing revolts in **Cairo**, al-Darazī took refuge in the Fatimid palace in 410/1019 and vanished mysteriously, perhaps killed at the palace. In the Druze literature, al-Darazī is mentioned as an apostate and heretic (*mulUid*).

DARZIYYA. See DRUZES.

DASSONDH. See TITHE.

DĀ’ŪD B. ‘AJABSHĀH. The 26th **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian dā’ī muṭlaq**. Upon the death of the 25th **dā’ī**, Jalāl b. Ḥasan, in 975/1567, Dā’ūd succeeded to the leadership of the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis. In his time, the **Ṭayyibī Bohras** were subjected to new waves of persecution in India. In 981/1573, Dā’ūd went to Agra and personally presented the grievances of his community to the **Mughal emperor** Akbar. As a result, the **dā’ī** reinstated the **Ṭayyibī** practices of worship, which had been set aside previously in **Gujarāt** and elsewhere in fear of persecution. Upon the death of Dā’ūd, in 997/1589 (or in 999/1591), his succession was disputed leading to the **Dā’ūdī–Sulaymānī** schism in the **Ṭayyibī da‘wa** and community.

DĀ’ŪD BURHĀN AL-DĪN B. QUṬBSHĀH (d. 1021/1612). The 27th **dā’ī muṭlaq** of the **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibīs**. In 997/1589 (or 999/1591), Dā’ūd b. ‘Ajabshāh was succeeded as the leader of the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lians** by his deputy in India, Dā’ūd b. Quṭbshāh. But four years later, **Sulaymān b. Ḥasan**, the deceased **dā’ī**’s deputy in Yaman, claimed the succession for himself

and returned to India to establish that claim. This succession dispute led to a permanent Dā'ūdī–Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* and community. The great majority of the Ṭayyibīs acknowledged Dā'ūd as their 27th *dā'ī* and they became known as Dā'ūdīs. Henceforth, the Dā'ūdīs and the Sulaymānīs followed different lines of *dā'īs*. See also 'ALAWĪS. **DA'ŪDĪ–SULAYMĀNĪ SCHISM.** See DĀ'ŪD BURHĀN AL-DĪN B. QUṬBSHĀH; DĀ'ŪDĪS.

DĀ'ŪDĪS, DĀ'ŪDIYYA. A subdivision of the Ṭayyibī **Musta'lians**. The 26th *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs died in 997/1589 (or 999/1591) and was succeeded in India by his deputy **Dā'ūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh**. But four years later, **Sulaymān b. Ḥasan** al-Hindī, the deceased *dā'ī*'s deputy in Yaman, claimed the succession to the leadership of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* and community for himself. This heated succession dispute was brought before the **Mughal emperor** Akbar in 1005/1597. A special tribunal decided in favor of Dā'ūd b. Quṭbshāh, but the dispute, with its Indian–Yamanī dimensions, was not resolved and led to a permanent schism in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* and community.

The majority of the Ṭayyibī **Bohras**, comprising the bulk of the Ṭayyibīs, acknowledged Dā'ūd b. Quṭbshāh as their 27th *dā'ī muṭlaq* and henceforth became known as Dā'ūdīs. On the other hand, a minority of Ṭayyibīs, accounting for the bulk of the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman and a small group of Bohras, supported the succession rights of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan as their new 27th *dā'ī muṭlaq*. These Ṭayyibī **Musta'lians** became designated as **Sulaymanīs**. Thereafter, the Dā'ūdīs and Sulaymānīs followed different lines of *dā'īs*. The Dā'ūdī *dā'īs* have continued to remain in India, while the *dā'īs* of the Sulaymānīs have resided in Yaman and more recently in Saudi Arabia. See also ARCHITECTURE; DĀ'ŪD B. 'AJABSHĀH; DIASPORA; JURISPRUDENCE; MAKRAMIDS; MARRIAGE; MAWSIM-I BAHĀR; MUNTAZA' AL-AKHBĀR; TITHE.

DA'WA. An Arabic term meaning invitation or summons. In its religio-political sense, *da'wa* is the invitation or call to adopt the cause of an individual or family claiming the right to the **imamate**. It also refers to the entire hierarchy of ranks, sometimes called *Udūd*, within the particular religious organization developed for this purpose, especially among the Ismailis. The Ismailis often referred to their movement simply as *al-da'wa*, or more formally as *al-da'wa al-hādiya*, “the rightly guiding mission.” The organization and evolution of the Ismaili *da'wa*, as well as the scope and functions of various actual or potential ranks within that organization, are among the most obscure aspects of Ismailism. The *da'wa* was generally under the overall guidance of the Ismaili imam of the time, who authorized its policies and teachings. The *dā'ī al-du'āt*, or chief *dā'ī*, acting as the administrative head of the *da'wa* organization, was closely supervised by the imam and assisted by a number of subordinate *dā'īs*. See also FATIMIDS; AL-ḤĀKIM; MAJĀLIS AL-ḤIKMA; MUSTA'LIANS; NIZĀRĪS, NIZĀRĪYYA.

DAWR. Period, era, or cycle of history. This is an Arabic term used by Ismailis in connection with their conceptions of time and religious history of human-kind. From early on, the Ismailis conceived of time as a progression of cycles or eras, *dawrs* (Arabic pl., *adwār*), with a beginning and an end. They, in fact, elaborated a cyclical view of sacred history in terms of

eras or *dawrs* of different prophets recognized in the **Qur'an**. The early Ismailis believed that the religious history of humankind comprised seven prophetic eras of various durations, each inaugurated by a speaker-prophet or *nāṭiq* of a revealed message. Subsequently, the Ismailis introduced certain innovations into the earlier Ismaili interpretation of religious history. *See also* LITERATURE; *NUBUWWA*; *QIYĀMA*; *SATR*; *SOTERIOLOGY*.

DAYLAM. The medieval name for the mountainous regions situated along the littoral to the south of the Caspian Sea, in northern Persia. From early on, the inaccessible highlands of Daylam served as places of refuge for various '**Alids** who fled from **Abbasid** persecution. The region was ruled by the Justānid dynasty from the end of the second/eighth century, with their seat in the **Alamūt** valley. It was the Justānid ruler Wahsūdān b. Marzubān (d. c. 251/865) who evidently constructed the fortress of Alamūt. Later, the **Zaydī** 'Alids simultaneously established their own rule over Daylam. The Justānid dominions in Daylam subsequently came into the possession of the **Musāfirids**, who adhered to the **Qarmaṭī** form of Ismailism. Then a series of local dynasties, including the Ziyārīds of Ṭabaristān (modern-day Māzandarān) and Gurgān, ruled over various parts of Daylam, which was also infiltrated from the middle of the third/ninth century by the Ismaili *da'wa*. The Shi'i Būyids themselves hailed from Daylam.

The greater part of central Daylam, including Daylamān, later called Rūdbār (the region to the south of Lāhījān and to the east of Safīdrūd), and its Alamūt valley, was incorporated into the **Nizārī** Ismaili state of Persia, with its seat at the fortress of Alamūt. After the **Mongol** destruction of the Nizārī state in 654/1256, different parts of Daylam, including especially Gīlān and Ṭabaristān, were ruled by the Hazāraspids of Ashkawar, the Bāwandīds, the Bādūspānīds of Rūyān, a new Zaydī dynasty of Amīr Kiyā'ī Sayyīds, and other local dynasties. The Nizārīs continued to be active in Daylam during the **Īlkhānid** and Tīmūrid times. The entire region was eventually seized by the **Şafawīds**, who uprooted the various local dynasties and ended any remaining Nizārī influence in Daylam. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

DAYLAMĀN. *See* DAYLAM.

DAY OF RESURRECTION. *See* QIYĀMA.

AL-DHU'AYB B. MŪSĀ AL-WĀDĪ'Ī (d. 559/1164). The first Ṭayyibī **Musta'lian** *dā'ī* *muṭlaq* in Yaman. He hailed from the influential Banū Hamdān tribe in Yaman and rose in the ranks of the **Musta'lian** Ismaili *da'wa* there to become assistant to the *dā'ī* YaUyā b. Lamak, who eventually appointed al-Dhu'ayb as his successor. On YaUyā's death in 520/1126, al-Dhu'ayb succeeded to the leadership of the **Musta'lian** *da'wa*; it was soon after 524/1130 that the **Musta'lian** *da'wa* split into Ṭayyibī and **Hāfizī** factions. Al-Dhu'ayb, in line with the position of the **Şulayhid** queen **Arwā**, recognized the rights of **al-Ṭayyib** and thus became the first chief *dā'ī* in Yaman to propagate the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*. He was, in fact, declared by the **Şulayhid** queen as *al-dā'ī al-muṭlaq* or the *dā'ī* with full authority to conduct the *da'wa* activities on behalf of the hidden Imam al-Ṭayyib. This also marked the foundation of the independent Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yaman. *See also* AL-KHAṬṬĀB B. AL-ḤASAN B. ABI'L-ḤIFĀZ AL-HAMDĀNĪ; *MUNTAZA' AL-AKHBĀR*.

DIASPORA. The Ismailis of various branches have traditionally lived in Syria, Yaman, Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and South Asia. Ismaili communities, representing the **Nizārīs** and the **Ṭayyibīs**, are still found in these regions. The **Dā'ūdī Bohras** and the **Nizārī Khojas** were the earliest Ismaili groups to migrate from South Asia to other regions, notably different parts of East Africa. The permanent settlement of the Asian Ismaili Bohras and Khojas in East Africa was greatly encouraged from the early decades of the 19th century by Sultan Sayyid Sa'īd (r. 1220–1273/1806–1856) of the IbāCī Āl Bū Sa'īd dynasty of 'Umān and Zanzibar. In the pursuit of developing the commercial basis of his African dominions, and benefiting from British protection, Sultan Sa'īd encouraged the immigration of Indian traders, who were accorded religious freedom, to the island of Zanzibar. The Ismaili immigrants came mainly from **Gujarāt** and Bombay and constituted the largest group of Asian immigrants in Zanzibar. Waves of Ismaili immigrants intensified especially after 1258/1840 when Sultan Sa'īd transferred his own capital from Muscat to Zanzibar.

Subsequently, the Indian Ismailis moved from Zanzibar to the growing centers of the East African coastline, notably Mombasa, Tanga, and Dar es Salaam, where they became merchants and shopkeepers. By the early decades of the 20th century, the immigration of the Indian Ismailis to East Africa had practically ceased. Meanwhile, smaller Khoja and some Bohra groups had settled in Mozambique, the island of Madagascar, Congo, and other regions of southeastern and central Africa, then mainly under Portuguese and Belgian rule or French influence. From early on, all of the Ismaili Bohras of East Africa belonged to the Dā'ūdī faction with virtually no **Sulaymānīs** among them. The Bohras of each East African town lived in their own separate quarters and maintained their religious practices and social customs. The East African Khojas, too, had their own quarters and initially adopted their traditional pattern of organization and administration. However, under **Aga Khan III**, they adopted the then newly introduced council system of administration. By the early 1970s, all Ismailis of South Asian origins living in Africa numbered to around 150,000, with the Khojas accounting for more than 60 percent of the total.

In the 1970s, in the wake of anti-Asian policies of certain African countries, Ismailis immigrated on a large scale from Africa to various countries in the West. The Nizārī Khojas selected their new home countries mainly on the basis of linguistic considerations. Thus, the English-speaking Khojas of East Africa immigrated mainly from Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. On the other hand, the French-speaking and Portuguese-speaking Khojas of Africa now settled in France and Portugal, respectively, with smaller groups in Switzerland and a few other countries of western Europe. With about 40,000 persons each, the largest communities of such Nizārī expatriates are currently concentrated in Vancouver and Toronto, with smaller numbers in London, Atlanta, Houston, and a few other American cities. The Nizārī diaspora communities in Canada, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Portugal are all subject to their council system of administration, which looks after their various religious and secular needs, all reporting to a central body. The Nizārī immigrants have successfully integrated into the societies of their new host countries. Much smaller numbers of Ismaili Bohras have also emigrated from various African countries to the West, notably Great Britain and the United States.

New waves of Nizārī immigrants arrived in Russia and the West, especially Canada, in the 1990s following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Tajik Nizārīs settled mainly in Moscow, where they currently number to about 30,000, with smaller numbers in Toronto, while Afghan Nizārīs also joined the new groups of Nizārī immigrants arriving in the United States and Canada from Pakistan. All in all, the Ismaili diaspora communities in the West came predominantly from Africa or South Asia. *See also* EDUCATION; WOMEN.

DIRGHĀM (d. 559/1164). **Fatimid** vizier. Abu'l-Ashbāl al-Dirghām b. 'Āmir b. Sawwār, who also received the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr as the vizier to the Fatimid caliph **al-'Āḍid**, was of Arab origin. Dirghām received the trust of Ṭalā'i' **b. Ruzzīk**, who had succeeded to the Fatimid vizierate by overthrowing 'Abbās, and rose in hierarchy to become the lieutenant to the *ṣāUib al-bāb* or grand chamberlain, the most important office in Fatimid governmental hierarchy after the vizierate. He distinguished himself as commander of the Fatimid army sent by Ṭalā'i' against the **Crusaders**, which gained a victory in 553/1158. During the vizierate of Ruzzīk, son and successor of Ṭalā'i', Dirghām was sent with an army to stop the Frankish expedition of Amalric I, the king of the Latin state of Jerusalem, who had invaded Egypt in 557/1162. In 558/1163, **Shāwar** revolted and entered **Cairo** to assume the vizierate, also killing Ruzzīk. Dirghām now joined Shāwar's entourage and was appointed by him as the *ṣāUib al-bāb*.

In 558/1163, Dirghām revolted against Shāwar and drove him out of Cairo. Dirghām himself was now invested with the vizierate. Subsequently, there followed a protracted struggle between Dirghām and Shāwar who had taken refuge in the Zangid court in Syria where he sought the help of Nūr al-Dīn to regain the Fatimid vizierate. Nūr al-Dīn sent Shāwar back to Egypt with a force commanded by **Shīrkūh**. After several battles, Dirghām was defeated and killed in 559/1164; his vizierate had lasted only nine months during the turbulent final decade of Fatimid history.

DĪWĀN OF NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW (d. after 465/1072). This represents the collected poems of this Persian Ismaili **dā'i**, philosopher, and poet of the **Fatimid** times. Comprising more than 10,000 verses (*bayts*), these poems are primarily odes composed in the *qaṣīda* genre. They relate to a wide range of ethical, theological, and philosophical themes. Several odes are autobiographical, while numerous others are eulogies of various imams and Ismaili dignitaries, such as **al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī**. Numerous editions of this *Dīwān* have been produced since 1280/1864, evidently the date of its first lithographed edition. *See also* LITERATURE.

DIZKŪH. *See* SHĀHDIZ.

DRUZES. A religious community that arose out of Ismailism around 408/1017, the first year of the Druze era. The Druzes, who call themselves the MuwaUūdūn or Unitarians, live in various regions of Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. Smaller Druze communities are settled in the Americas, Australia, and West Africa. This religion originated in the closing years of the reign of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Ḥākīm** (r. 386–411/996–1021). A number of Ismaili leaders, starting with **al-Darazī** (or al-Darzī) after whom this religion was called al-Daraziyya (or al-

Durziyya), organized a radical movement in **Cairo** and declared the divinity of al-Ḥākim. The religion found its definitive form in the hands of another early leader, **Ḥamza b. ‘Alī**, who also succeeded in developing a *da‘wa* organization for the movement that spread rapidly, especially in Syria.

The letters of Ḥamza were eventually collected and provided the foundation of the sacred scripture of the Druzes, designated as the *Rasā’il al-Uikma* (*The Epistles of Wisdom*). Soon the Druzes became a closed religious community, not permitting conversions. The Druzes, who possess elaborate doctrines of **cosmology** and eschatology, also believe in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*). They are still awaiting the reappearance of al-Ḥākim, regarded as the last divine locus, together with Ḥamza. The Druzes guard their sacred literature and doctrines most secretly. *See also* AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ḤAMĪD AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ‘ABD ALLĀH.

EDUCATION. As a religious community, the Ismailis have always valued religious education. From early on, the *dā'īs* who were responsible for identifying and converting other Muslims as well as individuals from other faiths were also expected to act as teachers for the initiates. Under the **Fatimids**, special Ismaili “teaching sessions,” known as the *majālis al-ḥikma*, or “sessions of wisdom,” were organized for the Ismaili initiates, with different sessions for men and **women**. These teaching sessions on Ismaili doctrines were reserved only for Ismaili initiates. To control the privacy of these sessions, they were held at the Fatimid palace. The weekly lectures, normally delivered by the chief *dā'ī* (*dā'ī al-du'āt*), were approved beforehand by the Ismaili imam of the time. Only the imam was the source of the *Uikma*, the technical term for Ismaili doctrine, and the *dā'ī* was merely the imam's mouthpiece through whom the initiates received their instructions in Ismaili teachings.

These lectures gradually developed into an elaborate program of instruction for a variety of audiences. By the time of **al-Ḥākim** (r. 386–411/996–1021), different types of teaching sessions were organized for different categories of participants, including the ordinary Ismaili initiates, courtiers, high officials, and staff of the Fatimid palace. A separate session was held for women at **al-Azhar** Mosque, while the noble and royal women received their own instruction at the palace. The Ismaili *dā'īs* working within the confines of the Fatimid state, and some of the major *dā'īs* active outside Fatimid dominions, held similar sessions for the exclusive education of the Ismaili initiates. Many of the lectures on Ismaili doctrine prepared by various chief *dā'īs* were, in due course, collected and committed to writing. This all-important Ismaili tradition of learning culminated in the corpus of 800 lectures delivered by **al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī**.

In the aftermath of the **Nizārī–Musta'lian** schism of 487/1094 in the Ismaili community, the **Musta'lians**, who recognized the later Fatimids as their imams, maintained the Fatimid traditions of learning. The same traditions, on a much smaller scale, were retained by the **Ṭayyibī** **Musta'lians** who established their stronghold in Yaman and broke away from the Fatimid regime. The **Ṭayyibīs**, who were led by *dā'īs*, rather than imams (who have remained in concealment), instituted their own lecture sessions for the education of the ordinary members of their community. From early on, the Ismailis had observed a gradual pedagogical process, as the education of the adepts and the members of the *da'wa* hierarchy proceeded gradually from *zāhirī* subjects, such as history, law, etc., to the esoteric Ismaili doctrines and the so-called *Uaqā'iq* gnostic system of thought with its **cosmology**, cyclical history (*dawrs*), and **soteriology**. The **Ṭayyibī** *dā'īs* also normally operated as teachers in their community. After the **Dā'ūdī–Sulaymānī** split in the **Ṭayyibī** community, many **Dā'ūdī Bohras** normally traveled from India to Yaman to further their religious education.

For the **Ṭayyibī** community, religious education of a traditional nature remained a priority. In more recent times, the **Sayfī Dars**, a proper religious seminary for the **Dā'ūdī** community, was set up in 1229/1814 at **Sūrat, Gujarāt**. In the 20th century, this institution was renamed

Jāmi‘a Sayfiyya and transformed into a relatively modern seminary. In 1983, the *dā‘ī* of the Dā‘ūdī community, established a branch of this seminary in Karachi; and in 1998, he founded a new institution, Ma‘had al-Zahra, for the memorization and study of the **Qur’an**. By 2006, the Jāmi‘a Sayfiyya at Sūrāt had 717 students (440 male, 277 female), while its Karachi branch had 452 students (231 male, 221 female). In many towns with a Dā‘ūdī Bohra population, there are also religious schools or *madrāsas* for children. A large number of religious teachers are trained at the Jāmi‘a Sayfiyya, others are volunteers. Many Bohra adults, too, attend regular religious classes, known as *sabaq*. The leadership of the Dā‘ūdī community considers secular education as valuable but of secondary importance to religious education, which is under the strict control of the community’s central leadership in Mumbai (Bombay). The Dā‘ūdī community has not established any secular educational institutions.

Not much information is available on the educational traditions of the Nizārīs in premodern times. It is, however, known that during the **Alamūt** period of their history (483–654/1090–1256), the major Nizārī fortresses with their libraries served as centers of learning for the community. In the aftermath of the **Mongol** invasions of 654/1256, with the destruction of their fortress communities and libraries, the Nizārīs survived as scattered and dis-simulating groups in many regions of the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. Located mainly in rural and mountainous localities, the educational standards of the Nizārīs remained rather limited. It was mainly in modern times, under the leadership of their last two imams, **Aga Khan III** and his grandson **Aga Khan IV**, that systematic religious educational programs and reforms were instituted in addition to major achievements in secular education for the Nizārī Ismailis worldwide.

Sultan Muhammad Shah, Aga Khan III, made significant contributions within his broader reform policies to the debate on education in colonial India in the opening decades of the 20th century. In line with his keen interest in modernizing his community, he attempted to steer the Muslims in general, and the Nizārī Ismailis more particularly, as far as the prevailing circumstances permitted, toward educational approaches that would bridge the dichotomies between traditional Islamic and liberal modernist approaches, providing an integrated system of education best suited to preparing the Muslim youths for emerging challenges. Thus, he sought to connect, in various ways, religious and scientific forms of knowledge, to enable the Muslims to attain social progress. Above all, he avoided tendencies toward reducing education to narrow presentation of traditions, while also avoiding the rendition of tradition into an insignificant category within a liberal notion of education. With such ideas, Aga Khan III founded a network of some 200 schools in South Asia and East Africa for the education of the Nizārī pupils as well as others, while religious education of the Nizārī children was provided by volunteer teachers affiliated to Ismailia Associations in various regions. In his directives (*farmāns*), Aga Khan III urged his followers in other regions to eliminate illiteracy by building primary schools for their children. The Ismaili schools in Iran, for example, were asked to collect fees from the better-off in order to subsidize their poorer pupils. The need for free and compulsory education for all Nizārī Ismailis was stressed with the stronger emphasis on girls’ education. Aga Khan III was passionately committed to women’s education, and he built schools for girls in Ismaili villages in the Hunza and Gilgit areas, now situated in northern Pakistan. It was also largely due to his efforts that the Muhammadan Anglo–Oriental

College of Aligarh, founded in 1875, acquired university status in 1920.

Building on the foundations laid by his grandfather, Aga Khan IV has devoted a good portion of his resources to developing a wide range of educational programs and institutions of various types for his community and beyond. As part of the elaborate **Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)**, Aga Khan IV has established the Aga Khan Education Services (AKES) for overseeing now more than 250 Aga Khan Schools, serving about 60,000 boys and girls in East African countries, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh as well as in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The great majority of the pupils of these secular schools are non-Isma'ilis. Another of Aga Khan IV's educational initiatives is the Madrasa Early Childhood Program in East Africa, based on a new culturally oriented curriculum for children between three and six years of age. Special emphasis is placed on ensuring that girls participate in this program. In due course, this program, funded largely by the **Aga Khan Foundation (AKF)**, has been extended to South and Central Asia. Another initiative that is making significant contributions in many regions to raising the quality of education for the Nizārī Ismaili and other students is the network of Aga Khan Academies, established from 2003, in numerous major regions of the developing world. These secular institutions are designed to be "centers of excellence," providing outstanding education for exceptional students of all backgrounds and enhancing the quality of teaching within the region through outreach programs.

The Nizārī Ismaili children and young adults also receive religious education through special classes organized and run by the **Isma'ili Tariqah and Religious Education Board (ITREB)** in various countries. The curricula, on Islam and Ismaili teachings within a civilizational perspective, are produced in eight languages for primary (known as Talim) and secondary levels by the Department of Curriculum Studies at the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)**. While the primary teachers are mostly volunteers, the secondary education teachers are increasingly professionals who receive their training at the Institute of Ismaili Studies and the Institute of Education (University of London) and elsewhere.

In the area of higher education, too, Aga Khan IV has founded several secular institutions, including the Institute of Ismaili Studies; the Aga Khan University (AKU), established in 1985 in Karachi, initially with a teaching hospital, a school of nursing, and the Institute for Educational Development. Subsequently, the AKU established the Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations (ISMC) in London with other faculties in seven countries worldwide. In 2000, the University of Central Asia (UCA) was founded in Tajikistan with campuses in two other Central Asian countries, to foster economic and social development in the mountainous regions of Central Asia while helping the peoples of that region to preserve their cultural heritage. More recently, Aga Khan IV founded the Global Center for Pluralism in Ottawa, Canada, to promote pluralistic values and practices in culturally diverse societies worldwide. It is through such a range of institutions that the Nizārī Isma'ilis are provided with ample opportunities in many countries to acquire secular education. They also benefit from numerous doctoral scholarships awarded by several of these institutions of higher education as well as the Aga Khan Foundation. Needless to add that the Nizārī **diaspora** communities in Western countries also benefit from a variety of educational opportunities in their host countries. As a result, the Nizārī community, progressive in its outlook, is increasingly endowed with highly educated professional cadres who, despite their secular training, remain highly devoted to their

imam and his guidances. Countless Nizārī professionals, lawyers, engineers, medical doctors, etc., in fact, give freely of their time and knowledge to serve their community.

Aga Khan IV has also devoted much of his time and resources to promoting a better understanding of Islam as a major world civilization with its plurality of social, intellectual, and cultural traditions. In pursuit of these aims, he has established a number of innovative programs through the **Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)**. *See also* LITERATURE.

EPISTLES OF THE BRETHREN OF PURITY. *See* IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ’.

ESCHATOLOGY. *See* QIYĀMA.

ESOTERIC INTERPRETATION. *See* BĀṬINĪS, BĀṬINIYYA; TA’WĪL.

FADĀ'ITH AL-BĀṬINIYYA. Written by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) shortly before 488/1095, it is the earliest polemical work against the Persian Ismailis of the **Alamūt** period and their doctrine of *ta'lim*. As the foremost Sunni theologian of the time, al-Ghazālī was, in fact, commissioned by the contemporary **Abbasid** caliph al-Mustazhir (r. 487–512/1094–1118) to write this major treatise in refutation of the **Bāṭinīs**, as the Ismailis were then more generally called by the outsiders. Drawing on earlier anti-Ismaili polemics in this widely circulated book, commonly known as *al-Mustazhirī*, the author elaborated his own fanciful Ismaili system of graded initiation leading to the ultimate stage (*al-balāgh al-akbar*) of atheism. Subsequently, al-Ghazālī wrote several shorter treatises against the Ismailis. A detailed refutation of *al-Mustazhirī*, entitled **Dāmigh al-bāṭil**, was later produced in Yaman by the fifth **Ṭayyibī dā'ī muṭlaq**. See also AKHŪ MUḤSIN; IBN RIZĀM.

FAHRASAT AL-KUTUB. See AL-MAJDŪ', ISMĀ'ĪL B. 'ABD AL-RASŪL.

AL-FĀ'IZ (r. 549–555/1154–1160). The 13th and penultimate **Fatimid** caliph and **Ḥāfizī Musta'lian** Ismaili imam. After the murder of his father, **al-Zāfir**, the all-powerful vizier 'Abbās placed on the Fatimid throne his five-year-old son 'Īsā with the title of al-Fā'iz bi-Naṣr Allāh. Shortly afterward, **Ṭalā'ī b. Ruzzīk** succeeded 'Abbās to the Fatimid vizierate and became the absolute master of Egypt during the remaining years of al-Fā'iz's reign. The sickly and helpless al-Fā'iz died during an epileptic seizure in 555/1160 at the age of 11, after a nominal reign of six years spent in virtual captivity.

FĀRS. A southern province of Iran. It is bounded on the northwest by **Khūzistān**, on the east by **Kirmān**, and on the west and southwest by the Persian Gulf. The Achaemenids and Sāsānids, pre-Islamic dynasties of Persia, ruled from Fārs, which was conquered by Muslims by 28/648. The Ṣaffārids, the first Persian dynasty to challenge the **Abbasids**, established themselves in the province's capital city of Shīrāz. Later, Fārs came to be ruled by a branch of the Būyids. The Ismaili **da'wa** was established in Fārs from early on in the third/ninth century. A brother of 'Abdān, called al-Ma'mūn, was active as one of the earliest **dā'īs** there, and the contemporary Ismailis of Fārs were reportedly designated as the Ma'mūniyya after him.

In southern Persia in general, the early *da'wa* was under the overall leadership of the Ismaili leaders of Iraq. **Abū Sa'id al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī**, the future founder of **Qarmaṭī** rule in Bahrayn who was born in Jannāba (Persian, Gannāva) on the coast of Fārs, was also initially active as a *dā'ī* there. Under the **Fatimids**, too, the *da'wa* was particularly active in Fārs, where the **dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī** successfully penetrated the Būyid court of Abū Kālījār Marzubān (r. 415–440/1024–1048) in Shīrāz. Al-Mu'ayyad was, in fact, born in Shīrāz, where his father was an eminent *dā'ī* before him. The early **Nizārīs**, too, were active in Fārs, where they possessed some fortresses around Arrajān, the border area

between Fārs and Khūzistān. Scattered Nizārī groups survived in Fārs until the province was incorporated into the **Şafawid** state in 909/1503.

FAŞL MIN AL-LAFZ AL-SHARĪF. A hagiographical work attributed to **Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān**. However, the real compiler of this treatise might have been the Syrian *dā'ī* **Abū Firās** Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530 or a decade later), or possibly another Abū Firās who lived earlier. One of the earliest Ismaili works studied by the orientalist, the first manuscript of this text, dated 724/1324, was discovered in Syria in the 19th century. *See also* LITERATURE.

FASTING. *See* ŞAWM.

FĀṬĪMA. Daughter of the **Prophet Muḥammad** and his first wife Khadīja. She was particularly close to the Prophet and joined him in Medina shortly after his emigration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD, initiating the first year of the Islamic calendar (corresponding to 622 AD). She married **'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib** while still in her adolescence in the following year (623 AD). As long as she lived, Fāṭima was 'Alī's sole wife and bore him five children: **al-Ḥasan**, **al-Ḥusayn**, Muḥsin who died young, Umm Kulthūm, and Zaynab. She died in Medina in 11/633, a few months after her father's death. Three different sites are currently treated as her place of burial in Medina. Hagiographical literature on Fāṭima is rather extensive. She was included among the Prophet's household (*ahl al-bayt*). The Ismaili imams and the **Fatimid** caliph-imams traced their **'Alid** ancestry to Fāṭima and 'Alī. Fāṭima is highly revered by all Shi'ī communities.

FATIMIDS. Descendants of the **Prophet Muḥammad**'s daughter **Fāṭima** and her husband **'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**; also the name of a major Ismaili dynasty ruling over different parts of the Islamic world from 297/909 until 567/1171. Fatimid rule was founded in **Ifrīqiya**, North Africa, through the efforts of the Ismaili *dā'ī* **Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī**, who had been active in the region since 280/893. He conquered most of Ifrīqiya, then ruled by the **Aghlabids**, and made it possible for the Ismaili imam, **'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, to be installed to the new Shi'ī Fatimid caliphate, so designated because the Fatimids traced their genealogy to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the first Shi'ī imam, and his wife Fāṭima, the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter.

The Fatimids, under the fourth member of the dynasty, **al-Mu'izz**, conquered Egypt in 358/969 and then transferred their seat to their newly founded city of **Cairo**. Ismaili *dā'īs*, acting as secret emissaries of the Fatimid state, continued to successfully preach the *da'wa* in many eastern regions, notably Iraq, Persia, and Central Asia. The Fatimids founded major institutions of learning and generally adopted a tolerant policy toward other religious communities. Many Sunni Muslims as well as Christians and Jews rose to high positions in the Fatimid state. Fueled by factional fighting within the Fatimid armies, the Fatimid caliphate embarked on its decline during the long reign of **al-Mustansir**, on whose death in 487/1094 the Ismailis permanently subdivided into **Nizārī** and **Musta'lian** factions, named after two of al-Mustansir's sons who had claimed his heritage.

During its final decades, reduced to Egypt proper, the Fatimid state was beset by political and economic crises, worsened by **Crusader** and Zangid invasions. The later Fatimids

remained puppets in the hands of their powerful military viziers who also controlled the armies. Fatimid rule was ended in 567/1171, when **Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn** (Saladin), the last of the Fatimid viziers, had the *khuṭba*, or sermon, read in the name of the **Abbasid** caliph. Soon after, **al-‘Āḍid**, the 14th and final Fatimid caliph-imam, died, and Egypt was incorporated into the Sunni **Ayyūbid** state. *See also* ‘ABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN AL-QADDĀḤ; *AKHBĀR MIṢR*; ‘ALIDS; ARCHITECTURE; HISTORIOGRAPHY; *ITTI‘ĀZ AL-ḤUNAFĀ’*; LITERATURE; ‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR; ZĀHID ‘ALĪ.

FIDĀ’Ī, OR FIDĀWĪ. Literally meaning devotee. It is a term used for a person who offers his life for others or in the service of a particular cause. The term has been used of such devotees affiliated to several religious and political communities and organizations in the Islamic world. In particular, it was applied to the self-sacrificing devotees of the **Nizārī** Ismaili community of Persia and Syria during the **Alamūt** period (483–654/1090–1256) of their history. The Nizārī *fidā’īs* were sent on targeted missions to remove the prominent enemies of their community. The Ismaili sources recovered in modern times do not contain any information on the selection and training of the *fidā’īs*; and it is doubtful whether the Nizārī *fidā’īs* formed a special corps.

The Nizārīs were not the inventors of the policy of assassinating religio-political adversaries in the Islamic world, but confronted with the overwhelmingly superior military power of the **Saljūqs** and other adversaries they did assign a political role to this method of struggle. The **Crusaders** and their occidental chroniclers, impressed by the seemingly irrational behavior of the *fidā’īs*, fabricated a number of tales about these devotees of the Nizārī Ismailis who had been designated by them by variants of the term “**Assassins.**” *See also* RĀSHID AL-DĪN SINĀN.

FIDĀ’Ī KHURĀSĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN (d. 1342/1923). A prominent Persian **Nizārī** Ismaili author and poet. Born around 1266/1850 in the Ismaili village of Dīzbād, in northern **Khurāsān**, he studied the religious sciences in Mashhad. In 1321/1903, he met Sultan Muhammad Shah, **Aga Khan III**, in Bombay and was made responsible by the Nizārī imam for overseeing the religious affairs of the Persian Nizārī community. Fidā’ī composed several doctrinal works as well as a history of Ismailism entitled *Hidāyat al-mu‘minīn al-ṭālibīn*. His *dīwān* of poetry, containing some 12,000 verses, remains unpublished. Fidā’ī was buried in his native Dīzbād. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; KHĀKĪ KHURĀSĀNĪ, IMĀM QULĪ; LITERATURE.

FIQH. *See* JURISPRUDENCE.

FRANKS. *See* CRUSADES.

FREE WILL, in Ismaili thought. Free will versus predestination was an important medieval theological debate, with political implications, in Muslim society. At one extreme, a variety of Islamic movements and schools of thought, designated as Jabriyya, espoused the predestinarian view holding that man’s deeds and both good and evil resulted from God’s preordination. At the other extreme, there were those, designated as Qadariyya, who recognized the freedom of

human will and the individual's moral responsibility for his deeds. The Sunni majority eventually adopted a form of predestinarianism.

The Ismailis adopted an intermediate position in this debate, rejecting both *jabr* and *qadar*. All the major classical Ismaili authors held that man's destiny is not predestined as, in a sense, he is responsible for choosing between good and evil. However, they also refuted the Qadarī position by believing that man by himself is incapable of making the right choices rationally for knowing God and his own origins because he lacks the required knowledge. In every age, or *dawr*, man is in need of the guidance of a divinely appointed hierarchy of authoritative teachers—the prophet and after him the rightful imams of the time, who can provide the necessary spiritual guidance required for man's life in this world and for his salvation. See also *NUBUWWA*.

AL-FUṢŪL AL-ARBA‘A. Composed by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124). It is this *dā‘ī*'s major theological treatise, written originally in Persian. In this treatise, which has not been recovered, Ḥasan restated the Shi‘i doctrine of *ta‘līm*, establishing a logical and philosophical basis in four propositions for the necessity of an authoritative and trustworthy teacher (*mu‘allim-i ṣādiq*) as the spiritual guide of humankind, who would be none other than the Ismaili imam of the time. This book was seen and paraphrased by a number of Persian historians of the **Īlkhānid** period who had access to the **Nizārī** Ismaili sources of the **Alamūt** period, which have not survived. It has also been preserved fragmentarily, in Arabic translation, by Ḥasan's contemporary **al-Shahrastānī** in his heresiographical treatise (*Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niUal*) written around 521/1127. See also *HISTORIOGRAPHY*; *NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA*.

FYZEE, ASAF ALI ASGHAR (1899–1981). Indian educator and one of the leading pioneers in modern Ismaili studies. Born in Matheran, near Poona, into the prominent Tyabji-Fyzee family of Ismaili **Sulaymānī Bohras**, Asaf Fyzee (Āṣaf Fayḍī) received his early **education** in Bombay, where he later read law at St. Xavier's College leading to the L.L.B. degree. In 1922, following his family tradition, Fyzee went to England and entered St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1925, he was called to the bar from the Middle Temple and became a barrister-at-law. Fyzee embarked on his legal career in 1926, as an advocate in the High Court of Bombay, a post he held until 1938. Meanwhile, he had started teaching law at the Government Law College, Bombay, where he eventually became the principal and Perry Professor of Jurisprudence during 1938–1947. After the partition of India, he was designated as his country's first ambassador to Egypt, 1949–1951. From 1957 to 1960, he was the vice-chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir at Srinagar. Soon afterward, Fyzee retired from public life and devoted himself exclusively to teaching and writing, which took him to many academic institutions. He has to his credit some 150 published works.

Fyzee was a staunch advocate of Islamic modernism and emphasized the need for reinterpretation of Islam and Muslim law in today's world. Above all, he will be best remembered for his contributions to modern scholarship in Ismaili studies, especially in the area of Ismaili **jurisprudence**, or *madhhab*, drawing on his own family collections of manuscripts, which he eventually donated to the Library of the University of Bombay. He, in

fact, introduced the Ismaili school of jurisprudence, as reflected mainly in the work of al-Qāḍī **al-Nu‘mān**, to modern scholars. Fyzee edited, for the first time, al-Nu‘mān’s principal legal compendium, ***Da‘ā’im al-Islām***, in addition to numerous studies in this hitherto unknown branch of Islamic legal tradition. *See also* EDUCATION; AL-HAMDĀNĪ, ḤUSAYN F.; IVANOW, WLADIMIR.

GENIZA. A Hebrew term meaning a repository of discarded writings. Also known as **Cairo Geniza**, the term specifically refers to the lumber-chamber of an old synagogue in Fustāt (Old Cairo), where documents of all kinds were deposited and preserved from the fourth/10th century onward. When the Ben Ezra synagogue was renovated in 1890, the great treasure of papers and manuscripts hidden in its Geniza was recovered and dispersed to many public and private libraries throughout the world. For Islamic and **Fatimid** studies, it is mainly the Geniza's archival materials, consisting of thousands of letters, contracts, petitions, etc., concerning the Jewish and non-Jewish communities of the Muslim world, which is of particular interest.

Most of the Geniza documents, written in Arabic or more commonly in Judaeo–Arabic (Arabic language written in Hebrew characters), date from the Fatimid and **Ayyūbid** periods. Purely Muslim materials from the chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'*) of the Fatimids are also found among the Geniza papers, documents which apparently were taken into the Geniza by Jewish clerks working in the chancery. The Geniza documents provide an invaluable source of information for the economic, social, and cultural history of medieval Egypt, especially during the Fatimid times. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE.

GHĀLIB, MUṢṬAFĀ (1923–1981). Syrian scholar of modern Ismaili studies. He was born in Barrī al-Sharqī, near **Salamiyya**, into a **Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī** Ismaili family. He completed his early **education** in Salamiyya and at the Rūm Orthodox School in Homs during 1931–1940. Subsequently, he joined the army but resigned from service in 1950. Later, he obtained a diploma in journalism from the University of Cairo and then worked as a reporter for *al-Ḥaqā'iq* and *al-Jabal* journals. After a stint in publishing, he settled in Beirut in 1966 and then in 1968 obtained a doctorate degree from the Faculty of Arabic Language, Karachi University. During 1970–1974, he was a lecturer at the American University of Beirut.

Muṣṭafā Ghālib wrote a number of survey works in Arabic on the Ismailis, including *Ta'rīkh al-da'wa al-Ismā'īliyya* and *A'lām al-Ismā'īliyya*, in addition to a number of biographies of Ismaili **dā'īs**, which were often permeated with inaccuracies. His editions of Ismaili texts were also problematic. However, he rendered a valuable service to modern Ismaili studies by making these texts available to scholars, also enabling several European academic institutions, including the University of Tübingen, to acquire collections of Ismaili manuscripts.

GHARĪB MĪRZĀ. *See* MUSTANṢIR BI'LLĀH (III).

AL-GHAZĀLĪ. *See* FADĀ'IH AL-BĀṬINIYYA.

GINĀNS. Derived from the Sanskrit word *jnan* meaning meditative or contemplative

knowledge. It is a general term used for the corpus of the indigenous devotional **literature** of the **Nizārī** Ismaili **Khojas** and some related groups of South Asian origin. Composed in a number of Indian **languages** and dialects of **Sind**, Panjāb, and **Gujarāt**, these hymn-like poems, which continued to be composed and revised until the early decades of the 20th century, now amount to a corpus of about 800 separate compositions. The *gināns* were originally transmitted only orally, but starting in the 10th/16th century, they began to be collected and recorded mainly in the **Khojkī** script developed in Sind by the Nizārī Khoja community. Much controversy surrounds the authorship of the *gināns*, traditionally ascribed to a few early preacher-saints, or *pīrs* as they were called in the Indian subcontinent. *See also* *BŪJH NIRĀÑJAN*; ḤASAN KABĪR AL-DĪN, PĪR; IMĀM-SHĀHĪS; Ṣadr AL-DĪN, PĪR; *SATPANTH*; SHAMS AL-DĪN, PĪR.

GIRDKŪH. A fortress on the summit of an isolated rocky hill in the Alburz mountains, situated some 18 kilometers west of Dāmghān in the medieval region of **Qūmis** in northern Persia. In medieval times, Girdkūh was also known as Diz-i Gunbadān. Constructed in early Islamic times, or possibly earlier, the history of Girdkūh from the end of the fifth/11th century until the middle of the seventh/13th century is closely connected with the history of the **Nizārī** Ismaili state in Persia. Girdkūh served as the most important Nizārī stronghold in Qūmis, one of the main territories of the Nizārī state. Besieged for 17 years, Girdkūh became the last Nizārī stronghold in Persia to surrender to the **Mongols** in 669/1270. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

GUJARĀT. A province on the western coastland of India comprised of a mainland section lying to the east of the Rann of Cutch and the peninsula of Kathiawar. Although Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 388–421/998–1030) had marched through Gujarāt, its permanent conquest for the Muslims occurred only in 697/1298, when the armies of the Delhi Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaljī (r. 695–715/1296–1316) defeated the main local Hindu dynasty, the Vāghelās of Anahilwāra. During the eighth/14th century, Gujarāt was ruled by successive governors appointed by the Delhi sultans, belonging to the Khaljī and Tughluqid dynasties, until one of these governors, Zafar Khān, established the independent Sultanate of Gujarāt (806–980/1403–1573) in western India. In 814/1411, Aḥmad Shah I built a new capital, Aḥmadābād, which replaced Anahilwāra. After Bahādur Shah (d. 943/1537), Gujarāt witnessed dynastic quarrels leading to the annexation of the region to the **Mughal** empire in 980/1573. Mughal rule over Gujarāt and other Indian provinces ended in 1274/1858 by the British.

Fatimid trade with western India led to the extension of the Ismaili *da‘wa* to Gujarāt under the initial leadership of the **Ṣulayḥids** of Yaman. It was in 460/1067 that the first Ismaili *dā‘ī* was sent from Yaman to Khāmbāyat (modern-day Cambay) in Gujarāt, and soon he won many converts from among the local Hindus. Subsequently, the Ṣulayḥid queen **Arwā** played a key role in intensifying the *da‘wa* activities in Gujarāt. The new Ismaili community founded in Gujarāt in the second half of the fifth/11th century eventually evolved into the modern **Ṭayyibī Bohra** community.

After the collapse of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in Gujarāt remained under the

tight leadership of the Ṭayyibī *dā'ī muṭlaq* in Yaman, who selected the successive heads of the Indian community centered in Gujarāt. Gradually, the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* spread successfully among the Hindu inhabitants of numerous cities of Gujarāt, including especially Cambay, Baroda, Pātan, Sidhpūr, Sūrāt, and Aḥmadābād, where the headquarters of the Indian *da'wa* was located. The Ismailis of Gujarāt had not been persecuted by the region's Hindu rulers. But with the Muslim conquest of the region, the Ismaili activities there began to be scrutinized by Gujarāt's governors representing the Sultans of Delhi. Under Aḥmad Shāh I (r. 814–846/1411–1422), and subsequent sultans of Gujarāt, the Ismaili Bohras were severely persecuted. Later, the **Dā'ūdī** Bohra community grew and prospered under their successive *dā'īs*, residing in Aḥmadābād. The *dā'īs* were generally allowed religious freedom under the Mughal emperors of India and their governors or *ṣūbdārs* in Gujarāt.

The 42nd Dā'ūdī *dā'ī*, Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn (r. 1200–1213/1785–1798), transferred the headquarters of the *da'wa* to Sūrāt in Gujarāt, then already controlled by the British and as such a safe location for the Ismailis. It was the next *dā'ī*, 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (r. 1213–1232/1798–1817), who founded the Bohra seminary at Sūrāt, originally called **Sayfī Dars** after his name. Meanwhile, the headquarters of the '**Alawī** branch of the Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohras had been established at Baroda (now Vadodara) in Gujarāt.

The **Nizārī** Ismaili *da'wa* in India was initially established in **Sind**. It was later, perhaps in the eighth/14th century, that the Nizārī *da'wa* was extended to Gujarāt and eventually resulted in the **Satpanth** religious tradition of the **Khojas**. By the time **Aga Khan I** passed through Cutch and Kathiawar in 1261/1845, there was a substantial Khoja community in existence in Gujarāt. Nizārī Khojas, together with the Dā'ūdī Bohras, were also among the earliest Indian groups to immigrate to East Africa. *See also* DIASPORA; GINĀNS; IMĀM-SHĀHĪS; LANGUAGES; MAWSIM-I BAHĀR; NŪR SATGUR, PĪR.

GUSHĀYISH VA RAHĀYISH. Written by **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** (d. after 465/1072). It is a concise Persian work containing responses to a series of 30 questions on theological and philosophical subjects, with special reference to the human soul, its relation to the world of nature, and its quest for salvation. A critical edition of the text of this work was first produced by the Iranian scholar Sa'īd Nafīsī (1895–1966) in the series of the Ismaili Society of Bombay; a better edition together with English translation of it as prepared by Faquir M. Hunzai appeared in the series of **The Institute of Ismaili Studies(IIS)**. *See also* LITERATURE.

ḤADĪTH. A report, sometimes translated as Tradition, relating an action or saying of the **Prophet Muḥammad**, or the corpus of such reports collectively. *Ḥadīth* constitutes one of the major sources of Islamic law, *sharī‘a*, second in importance only to the **Qur’an**. For Ismailis, as with all Shi‘i communities, it also refers to the actions and sayings of their imams. The Shi‘is generally accept those *Uadīths* related from the Prophet that had been handed down or sanctioned by their imams in conjunction with those *Uadīths* related from the imams recognized by them. They also use the terms *riwāyāt* and *akhbār* as synonyms of *Uadīth*. For the Ismailis, the collection of *Uadīth* began only under the early **Fatimids** by al-Qāḍī **al-Nu‘mān**. His crowning achievement in collecting legal *Uadīths* resulted in the ***Da‘ā’im al-Islām***, while his *SharU al-akhbār* represents a collection of nonlegal *Uadīths*. Subsequently, the Ismailis did not compile any *Uadīth* collections. See also JURISPRUDENCE; LITERATURE.

AL-ḤĀFĪZ (r. as regent 524–526/1130–1132; r. as caliph 526–544/1132–1149). The 11th **Fatimid** caliph and **Ḥāfīzī Musta‘lian** Ismaili imam. Born around 466/1073, Abu’l-Maymūn ‘Abd al-Majīd, son of Abu’l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. **al-Mustanşir bi’llāh**, assumed power in the Fatimid state as regent on the murder of his cousin, **al-Āmir**, in 524/1130. Soon afterward, the all-powerful Fatimid vizier Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad **Kutayfāt** overthrew and imprisoned ‘Abd al-Majīd, also declaring the Fatimid dynasty deposed and proclaiming the sovereignty of the **Mahdī**, the hidden twelfth imam of the **Twelver** Shi‘is. In 526/1131, Kutayfāt was overthrown and killed by a faction of the Fatimid army and ‘Abd al-Majīd was restored to power. A few months later, in 526/1132, ‘Abd al-Majīd was proclaimed caliph and imam with the title of al-Ḥāfīz li-Dīn Allāh. The proclamation of al-Ḥāfīz as caliph-imam split the Musta‘lian Ismailis into Ḥāfīzī and **Ṭayyibī** factions. The Ḥāfīzīs recognized al-Ḥāfīz and the later Fatimids as their imams. Al-Ḥāfīz died after a reign of almost 18 years beset by numerous revolts and disturbances. See also AL-‘ĀDID; BAHRĀM (d. 535/1140); IBN MUNQIDH, USĀMA; RIDWĀN B. WALAKHSHĪ.

ḤĀFĪZĪS, ḤĀFĪZIYYA. A faction of **Musta‘lian** Ismailis. In 526/1132, the claims of **al-Ḥāfīz** to the **Fatimid** caliphate and the Musta‘lian Ismaili **imamate**, though he was not a direct descendant of the previous Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Āmir** (d. 524/1130), split the unified Musta‘lian **da‘wa** and community into the rival Ḥāfīzī and **Ṭayyibī** factions. The claims of al-Ḥāfīz were supported by the official Musta‘lian **da‘wa** organization in **Cairo** and by the majority of the Musta‘lian Ismailis in both Egypt and Syria, as well as some Musta‘lians in Yaman. These Musta‘lian Ismailis, who recognized al-Ḥāfīz and the later Fatimid caliphs also as their imams, became known initially as the Majīdiyya and then as the Ḥāfīziyya or Ḥāfīzīs. The **Zuray‘ids** of ‘Adan and some of the **Hamdānids** of Şan‘ā’ also supported the Ḥāfīzī **da‘wa**. Ḥāfīzīs disappeared everywhere soon after the demise of the Fatimid caliphate in

567/1171. See also AL-‘ĀDID.

HAFT BĀB-I BĀBĀ SAYYIDNĀ. An anonymous Persian treatise, wrongly attributed to **Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ**, who was designated as Bābā and Sayyidnā (our master) by the **Nizārīs** of the **Alamūt** period. Composed around 596/1200, the treatise contains an account of the declaration of the *qiyāma* by **Ḥasan II** in 559/1164 at Alamūt, which was evidently witnessed by the author. The treatise generally deals with the Nizārī teachings of the Alamūt period after the declaration of the *qiyāma* in 559/1164. See also LITERATURE.

ḤAJJ. “Pilgrimage.” It is one of the pillars of Ismaili religious practices, involving, as with other Muslims, a visit at least once in one’s lifetime to the Ka‘ba in Mecca and its environs in the official *Uajj* season during the 12th month (Dhu’l-Ḥijja) of the Muslim calendar. Ismaili communities subscribe in various degrees to this pillar of faith. While the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis of different branches generally uphold a literal interpretation of the *Uajj*, the **Nizārī** Ismailis attach a more symbolic importance to it, as for them an esoteric *Uajj* implies the recognition of, and seeing, their imam of the time. One who has performed the *Uajj* is called *Uājj* in Arabic and *Uājjī* in Persian. See also DA‘Ā’IM AL-ISLĀM; JURISPRUDENCE.

ḤĀJJĪ BĪBĪ CASE, THE. A legal suit filed in 1908 against **Aga Khan III** in the Bombay High Court. This suit was filed by certain members of his family, led by Ḥajjī Bībī, a daughter of Āqā Jangī Shāh (d. 1314/1896) and cousin of Aga Khan III, and her son Šamad Shāh. A granddaughter of **Aga Khan I**, Ḥajjī Bībī and other litigants, who professed to be **Twelver Shi‘is**, had certain financial grievances and claims to the estate of Aga Khan I, and to the current imam’s income and status. At the time, Aga Khan III was married to Ḥajjī Bībī’s sister Shahzāda Begum (d. 1934). In 1908, after lengthy hearings, Justice Coram Russell, the presiding judge, ruled against the plaintiffs, confirming the Aga Khan’s rights to the estate of his grandfather and to the offerings made to him by the **Nizārī** Ismailis. This ruling also reaffirmed that the Nizārīs were distinct from the Twelver Shi‘is.

AL-ḤĀKIM (r. 386–411/996–1021). The sixth **Fatimid** caliph and 16th Ismaili imam. Born in 375/985, Abū ‘Alī al-Manṣūr succeeded his father, **al-‘Azīz**, at the age of 11 with the caliphal title of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh. Arguably the most controversial member of the Fatimid dynasty, al-Ḥākim confronted numerous difficulties and uprisings during his reign. He maintained a keen interest in the organization and operation of the Ismaili *da‘wa* centered in **Cairo**. Under his leadership, the *da‘wa* was systematically intensified also outside the Fatimid dominions, especially in Iraq and Persia. Al-Ḥākim made the **education** of the Ismailis a priority; in his time, various study sessions, generally known as *majālis*, were established in Cairo where he also completed the construction of a mosque that still bears his name. He founded the **Dār al-‘Ilm** (House of Knowledge) in 395/1005; a wide range of subjects were taught at this institution of learning, where the *dā‘īs* also received part of their training.

This Fatimid caliph-imam also concerned himself with the moral standards of his subjects; many of his numerous edicts were of an ethico-social nature. Al-Ḥākim’s reign witnessed the genesis of what was to become known as the **Druze** religion. In the final years of his reign, al-Ḥākim displayed a growing inclination toward asceticism. He dressed simply and rode on a

donkey through the streets of Cairo, unaccompanied by guards. He also took to nocturnal excursions in the countryside. On 27 Shawwāl 411/13 February 1021, al-Ḥākim left for one of his outings but never returned. The mystery of al-Ḥākim's disappearance was never solved. *See also* BARJAWĀN, ABU'LFUTŪḤ; AL-DARAZĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'ĪL; ḤAMZA B. 'ALĪ B. AḤMAD; AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ḤAMĪD AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH; MAJĀLIS AL-HIKMA.

AL-ḤAKĪM AL-MUNAJJIM (d. 496/1103). The first **Nizārī** Ismaili *dā'ī* in Syria. Accompanied by a number of subordinate *dā'īs*, he was sent from **Alamūt** at the very beginning of the sixth/12th century. He established himself in Aleppo, where he somehow received the favor of the city's **Saljūq** ruler, Riḍwān. Al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim was succeeded as the Nizārī leader in Syria by another Persian *dā'ī*, **Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṣā'igh**.

HAMDĀNIDS. Name of three **Musta'lian** Ismaili dynasties ruling over different districts of northern Yaman from Ṣan'ā' during 492–570/1099–1174. The Hamdānids belonged to the powerful Banū Hamdān tribal confederation of Yaman. By 492/1099, when different Hamdānī clans were challenging the authority of the **Ṣulayhid** rulers of Yaman, Ḥatim b. al-Ghashīm al-Mughallasī, a Musta'lian Ismaili and a Hamdānī leader, seized control of Ṣan'ā' and its surrounding districts, founding the first Banū Ḥātīm dynasty there. Ḥātīm was succeeded by his son 'Abd Allāh (r. 502–504/1109–1111) and then by another son, Ma'n b. Ḥātīm (r. 504–510/1111–1116), who faced serious internal Hamdānī opposition and was eventually deposed. Thereupon, Hishām b. al-Qubayb, a Musta'lian Ismaili belonging to another Hamdānī clan, was set up as the new ruler in Ṣan'ā', founding the second Hamdānid dynasty there known as the Banu'l-Qubayb. On his death in 518/1124, Hishām was succeeded by his brother, Ḥimās b. al-Qubayb (r. 518–527/1124–1132), the first Hamdānid ruler to support the **Ḥāfiẓī da'wa** in Yaman. Ḥimās's son and successor, Ḥātīm (r. 527–533/1132–1139), too, adhered to Ḥāfiẓī Ismailism.

Ḥātīm b. Ḥimās's sons quarreled over his succession losing their ground to the Hamdānī house of 'Imrān who now assumed the rule in Yaman, founding the third Hamdānid dynasty and the second line of the Banū Ḥātīm there. This line was founded in 533/1139 by Ḥamīd al-Dawla Ḥātīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān. By 545/1150, Ḥātīm b. Aḥmad (r. 533–556/1139–1161) who fought the **Zaydīs**, held the whole of Yaman north of Ṣan'ā', with the exception of Ṣa'da, the traditional seat of the Zaydīs of Yaman. The second Banū Ḥātīm dynasty, too, supported the Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa*. Ḥātīm was succeeded by his son 'Alī (r. 556–570/1161–1174), the last ruling member of his dynasty. Sultan 'Alī b. Ḥātīm successfully fought the **Ṭayyibīs** of Yaman. The **Ayyūbids** entered Ṣan'ā' in 570/1174 and ended Hamdānid rule over northern Yaman, although 'Alī b. >Ḥātīm (d. 599/1202) and his relatives held on to some scattered fortresses for a while longer.

AL-HAMDĀNĪ, ḤUSAYN F. (1901–1962). One of the pioneers of modern Ismaili studies. He was born in Sūrat, **Gujarāt**, into a prominent **Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Musta'lian** Ismaili family of scholars, who originally hailed from the Ya'burī branch of the Yamanī tribe of Banū Hamdān. His ancestor 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Ya'burī al-Hamdānī (d. 1212/1798) had migrated to Sūrat from

Yaman at the invitation of the 42nd Ṭayyibī **dā'ī**, Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn (1200–1213/1785–1798). His father Shaykh FayC Allāh (1294–1388/1877–1969) was the youngest son of Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī (1249–1315/1833–1898), a scholar and collector of Ismaili manuscripts. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī was one of the first Dā'ūdī **Bohras** to receive a Western **education**. After receiving his Master's degree from Bombay University in 1927, he enrolled at the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London. He studied under Professor Hamilton A. R. Gibb (1895–1971) and received his doctorate in 1931, with a dissertation on the *Kitāb zahr al-ma'ānī* of the 19th Ṭayyibī **dā'ī** and historian **Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn**. He donated a number of Ismaili manuscripts to various libraries in London, Paris, Leiden, and Bombay, acquainting Western scholars for the first time with this rich literary heritage.

On his return to India, Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī taught Arabic and Persian at the M. T. B. College in Sūrāt, and then at Bombay University from 1932 to 1948. It was in Bombay that he made his family collection of manuscripts available to **Wladimir Ivanow** and **Asaf A. A. Fyze**, contributing significantly to the initiation of modern progress in Ismaili scholarship. After the partition of India, Ḥusayn migrated to Karachi, joined Pakistan's foreign service and was appointed in 1948 as his new country's first cultural counselor to Egypt. In 1950, he retired from diplomatic service and at the invitation of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), Egypt's minister of education, he became professor of Semitic philology and Persian at the prestigious Kulliyāt Dār al-'Ulūm affiliated to both **al-Azhar** and the Cairo Universities. He published several pioneering studies as well as a major book on the **Ṣulayhids**. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī was in the process of editing **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's** *Kitāb al-zīna* when he died of a stroke in Cairo.

ḤAMDĀN QARMAṬ B. AL-ASH'ATH. Ismaili **dā'ī** and founder of the **Qarmaṭī** movement in Iraq. Around 260/873, Ḥamdān was converted to Ismailism by the **dā'ī al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī**. Soon after, Ḥamdān began to organize the Ismaili **da'wa** in his native Sawād of Kūfa, in southern Iraq. The Ismaili converts in southern Iraq and adjacent regions became known as Qarmaṭīs (Arabic, Qarāmiṭa) named after their first local chief **dā'ī**. Ḥamdān's chief assistant was his brother-in-law **'Abdān**. At the time, Ḥamdān recognized **Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq** as imam and **Mahdī**, whose reappearance was awaited. In 286/899, when **'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, the central leader of the Ismaili **da'wa** and future founder of the **Fatimid** caliphate, openly claimed the **imamate** and denied that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl would return as the Mahdī, Ḥamdān suspended his **da'wa** activities. Soon afterward, Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ disappeared.

It seems that subsequently, Ḥamdān switched his allegiance to Imam 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. He was now given a new identity as the **dā'ī** Abū 'Alī and was sent to Egypt where he renewed his activities as a loyal Ismaili **dā'ī**. Even later, Imam 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī who had by then founded the Fatimid caliphate in 297/909, sent Ḥamdān (Abū 'Alī) to Anatolia to propagate the Ismaili **da'wa** there. Ḥamdān died in 321/933 in **Ifriqiya**; his son Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad succeeded him as **dā'ī**. *See also* BAQLIYYA.

AL-ḤĀMIDĪ, ḤĀTIM B. IBRĀHĪM (d. 596/1199). The third Ṭayyibī **Musta'lian dā'ī muṭlaq** in Yaman. Belonging to the Ḥāmidī clan of the Banū Hamdān of Yaman, Ḥātim succeeded his father as **dā'ī** in 557/1162 until his death. He was a prolific author and poet in

addition to being a warrior. He also achieved great success in spreading the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in Yaman. Early in his career, Ḥātīm made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Ṣan‘ā’ and other districts ruled by ‘Alī b. Ḥātīm al-Yāmī of the **Hamdānid** dynasty, who spread the **Ḥāfiẓī** *da‘wa* in their dominions. The *dā‘ī* eventually withdrew to **Ḥarāz**, where he converted to Ṭayyibī Ismailism many of the inhabitants of that mountainous region who had previously adhered to Ḥāfiẓī Ismailism. Ḥātīm devoted the rest of his life to learning and writing. His numerous Arabic works, including his *Majālis* and *TuUfat al-qulūb*, are extant. *See also* AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, AḤMAD B. IBRĀHĪM.

AL-ḤĀMIDĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. AL-ḤUSAYN (d. 557/1162). The second Ṭayyibī **Musta‘lian** *dā‘ī muṭlaq* in Yaman. Belonging to the Ḥāmidī clan of the Banū Hamdān of Yaman, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī was appointed by **al-Dhu‘ayb**, the first *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa*, as his *ma‘dhūn* or assistant in 533/1138. On al-Dhu‘ayb’s death in 546/1151, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī succeeded to the leadership of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* and community as the second *dā‘ī muṭlaq*, a position he held until his death. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī introduced the **Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’** into the religious **literature** of the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman. Drawing extensively on the *dā‘ī* **al-Kirmānī**’s metaphysical system and its **cosmological** doctrine, he formulated a new synthesis in the doctrinal domain. He in fact founded the distinctive Ṭayyibī system of esoteric thought (*Uaqā’iq*), as expounded in his *Kanz al-walad*, combining al-Kirmānī’s cosmological doctrine with gnostic mythical elements. *See also* AL-ḤĀRITHĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR.

ḤAMMĀDIDS. *See* ZĪRIDS.

HAMMER-PURGSTALL, JOSEPH FREIHERR VON (1774–1856). Austrian orientalist and diplomat. He wrote the first book in the West devoted exclusively to the **Nizārī** Ismaili state of Persia. He studied Arabic, Persian, and Turkish at the Oriental Academy in Vienna and became a diplomat in the Ottoman Empire. A pioneer of modern oriental studies, von Hammer produced a large number of works on the history and literature of the Orient, together with various editions and translations of texts.

By utilizing William of Tyre (d. 1184), James of Vitry (d. 1240), and other medieval chroniclers of the **Crusades**, as well as Marco Polo’s (d. 1324) travelogue, a number of earlier confused European accounts, and also Islamic manuscripts (such as Juwaynī’s **Ta’rīkh-i jahān-gushā**, al-Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ*, etc.) in the Imperial Library of Vienna or in private collections including his own, von Hammer published in 1818 a German book entitled *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*. This pioneering but very defective work on the history of the Nizārī Ismaili state of the **Alamūt** period achieved great success in Europe and was soon translated into French and English. This misrepresentation of the Nizārīs, endorsing the anti-Ismaili accusations of **Ibn Rizām** and other medieval Sunni polemicists as well as the **Assassin** legends of the Crusaders, served until the 1930s as the standard work of reference on the subject. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

ḤAMZA B. ‘ALĪ B. AḤMAD. Founder of the **Druze** religious doctrine. Of Persian origin, Ḥamza was a member of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in **Cairo** at the time of the **Fatimid al-Ḥākim**. He was associated with al-Ḥasan al-Akhrām, who as leader of an extremist Ismaili movement

proclaimed al-Ḥākim's divinity in 408/1017. After al-Akḥram's death in 408/1018, Ḥamza claimed the leadership of what was to become known as the Druze movement, in rivalry with the *dā'ī* Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl **al-Darazī**. Ḥamza succeeded in developing a strong *da'wa* organization for the movement, which spread rapidly especially in Syria. On al-Ḥākim's disappearance in 411/1021, the adherents of the Ḥākim-cult were persecuted and Ḥamza went into hiding. Later, in some letters Ḥamza promised his followers his return. The extant letters of Ḥamza were collected and incorporated into the sacred scripture of the Druzes. This canon is designated as the *Rasā'il al-Uikma (The Epistles of Wisdom)*. The Druzes are still awaiting the reappearance of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza.

ḤARĀZ. A mountain complex and district in Yaman. It is situated between the Wādī Surduḍ and the Wādī Sihām, with the Tihāma districts of Li'sān and the Banū Sa'd to the west and Ḥaymat al-Khārijīyya to the east. With Jabal Shibām of Ismaili fame in the middle, to the west of the district lies Jabal Masār and Jabal Ṣa'fān, where Ismaili communities have existed since **Fatimid** times. All of the upper reaches of Ḥarāz are inhabited and possess numerous villages and castles. The chief town of the district is Manākha, northeast of Jabal Shibām. About 3 kilometers west of Manākha lies 'Attāra, the traditional residence of the **Sulaymānī dā'ī** of Yām (Najrān).

Most tribal inhabitants of Ḥarāz are **Zaydī** Shi'is, but there are also **Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibīs** among the Banū Muqātil and on Jabal Ṣa'fān, and Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs on Jabal Maghārība, with more Ṭayyibī Ismailis in Hawzan, Lahāb, and 'Attāra. From around the middle of the 12th/18th century, Ḥarāz was ruled by the **Makramī** dynasty of Sulaymānī *dā'īs* until 1289/1872 when the Ottoman Turks destroyed the citadel of the *dā'ī* of Yām at 'Attāra and killed al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl Āl Shibām al-Makramī, the 41st Sulaymānī *dā'ī*. Subsequently, the Banū Yām and the Sulaymānī *dā'īs* retired to Najrān. *See also* ṢULAYḤIDS.

AL-ḤĀRITHĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR (d. 584/1188). Ṭayyibī **Musta'lian** author. In 554/1159, he was appointed by the second *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs, **Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī**, to assist him in the affairs of the *da'wa*. Under Ibrāhīm's son and successor, Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī (557–596/1162–1199), he was promoted to the rank of *ma'dhūn*. He compiled in two volumes a vast chrestomathy of Ismaili **literature** entitled *Mamjū' al-tarbiya*, also containing excerpts from works that have not otherwise survived. He lived and died in Ṣan'ā'.

ḤASAN II (r. 557–561/1162–1166). **Nizārī** Ismaili imam and the fourth lord of **Alamūt**. Born in 520/1126, Ḥasan II, whom the Nizārīs called '*alā dhikrihi'l-salām* (on his mention be peace), succeeded to the leadership of the Nizārī Ismaili *da'wa* and state upon the death of the third lord of Alamūt, **Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Umīd**. The most important event of Ḥasan II's brief reign was his declaration of the **qiyāma** (Resurrection) in 559/1164, which initiated a new era in the history of the Nizārīs. Using Ismaili *ta'wīl*, however, the *qiyāma* or the Last Day was interpreted symbolically and spiritually for the Nizārīs, who were now collectively admitted into a spiritual paradise on earth. He also claimed the Nizārī **imamate** for himself. In 561/1166, Ḥasan II was stabbed to death in the castle of **Lamasar**. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA; RĀSHID AL-DĪN SINĀN.

AL-ḤASAN AL-A‘ŞAM (d. 366/977). **Qarmaṭī** commander in Bahrayn. Born after 278/891 in al-AUsā, the capital of Bahrayn, his father Abū Maṣṣūr Aḥmad b. Abī Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan al-Jannābī was a brother of **Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī**. Al-Ḥasan al-A‘şam probably never held power alone, as after Abū Ṭāhir his brothers ruled collectively over the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn. However, he often commanded the Qarmaṭī armies outside of Bahrayn. In 357/968, he seized Damascus from its Ikshīdīd governor. In 360/971, he defeated the **Fatimid** commander Ja‘far b. FalāU in Syria. Subsequently, he laid siege to Fatimid **Cairo** itself, but was forced to retreat by **Jawhar**. The sources also report of the exchange of letters between the Fatimid caliph **al-Mu‘izz** and al-Ḥasan al-A‘şam. In 363/974, al-Ḥasan marched once again unsuccessfully against Fatimid Egypt. Two years later, al-Ḥasan and his allies defeated a Fa-timid force in Palestine commanded by Jawhar. On al-Ḥasan al-A‘şam’s death at Ramla, his cousin Ja‘far succeeded him as the commander of the Qarmaṭī forces. *See also* QARMAṬĪ RULERS OF BAHRAYN.

AL-ḤASAN B. ‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB (3–49/625–669). Eldest surviving grandson of the **Prophet Muḥammad** through his daughter **Fāṭima** and **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**. He is also considered as an early Shi‘i imam, counted as the second in the series for the **Twelvers** and the **Musta‘lian** Ismailis. He is not acknowledged as a permanent imam by the **Nizārī** Ismailis. Al-Ḥasan was initially brought up in the Prophet’s household. When ‘Alī was murdered in 40/661, al-Ḥasan received the support of the Kūfans as the *amīr al-mu‘minīn* or the “commander of the faithful.” According to a complex truce pact with Mu‘āwīya, al-Ḥasan surrendered the reign to the would-be founder of the **Umayyad** dynasty on the condition that Mu‘āwīya would act in accordance with the **Qur’an**, the *sunna* of the Prophet, and the tradition of the righteous caliphs; and he was not to appoint his successor.

Al-Ḥasan relinquished his control of Iraq in 41/661, after a reign of only seven months. However, upon seizing power, Mu‘āwīya disowned all his promises and al-Ḥasan returned to Medina, where he lived peacefully until his death, possibly of poisoning at Mu‘āwīya’s instigation. Al-Ḥasan’s tomb in the Baqī‘ cemetery, a place of pilgrimage for all Shi‘is, was destroyed permanently in 1927 by the Wahhābīs of Saudi Arabia. *See also* ‘ALIDS; AL-ḤUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ B. AL-WALĪD; IMAMATE; ‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR.

ḤASAN KABĪR AL-DĪN, PĪR (d. c. 875/1470). **Satpanth Nizārī** preacher-saint in India. He was the eldest son of **Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn** and succeeded his father to the leadership of the Nizārī **Khojas** around 819/1416. He traveled extensively before settling down in Uch, in **Sind** (in present-day Pakistan), which then served as the seat of the **Satpanth da‘wa** in South Asia. Pīr Ḥasan, too, converted a large number of Hindus during his tenure and developed close relations with Sufis. His shrine is located near Uch and is locally known as Ḥasan Daryā. A number of *gināns* are attributed to Pīr Ḥasan.

ḤASAN-I ŞABBĀḤ (r. 483–518/1090–1124). Prominent Ismaili *dā‘ī* and founder of the independent **Nizārī** Ismaili *da‘wa* and state. Ḥasan was born in the mid-440s/1050s in Qum into an Imāmī Shi‘i family who had migrated from Kūfa to Persia. At the age of 17, Ḥasan converted to Ismailism at Rayy, where his family had by then settled. Soon after, he was

appointed to a position in the Ismaili *da'wa* in Persia by the region's chief *dā'ī* 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Aṭṭāsh. Subsequently, Ḥasan spent three years in **Fatimid** Egypt to further his Ismaili **education**. On returning to Persia in 473/1081, Ḥasan operated as an Ismaili *dā'ī* in different parts of Persia while designing a revolutionary strategy against the **Saljūq** Turks whose alien rule was detested by the Persians of all social classes. His seizure of the fortress of **Alamūt**, in northern Persia, in 483/1090, signaled the commencement of the Persian Ismailis' open revolt against the Saljūqs and the foundation of what was to become the Nizārī Ismaili state of Persia with its scattered territories and network of mountain fortresses.

In the succession dispute following the death of the Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Mustanshir** in 487/1094, Ḥasan supported the cause of the original heir-designate **Nizār** and effectively founded the Nizārī Ismaili *da'wa* independently of the Fatimid regime. An organizer and a political strategist of the highest caliber, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was also a learned theologian and reformulated the old Shi'ī doctrine of *ta'lim* in a more vigorous manner. He adopted Persian, in preference to Arabic, as the religious **language** of the Persian-speaking Nizārīs. Ḥasan died in 518/1124 and was buried near Alamūt; the **Mongols** who demolished Alamūt in 654/1256 also destroyed his mausoleum. *See also* *AL-FUṢŪL AL-ARBA'A*; *HAFT BĀB-I BĀBĀ SAYYIDNĀ*; *JĀMI' AL-TAWĀRĪKH*; LITERATURE; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA; *SARGUDHASHT-I SAYYIDNĀ*; AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ, ABU'L-FATH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALKARĪM; *TA'RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀ*; *ZUBDAT AL-TAWĀRĪKH*.

ḤASHĪSHĪS. *See* ASSASSINS.

AL-HIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA. A polemical epistle of the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Āmir** (d. 524/1130). Based on the proceedings of a meeting held in **Cairo** at the Fatimid palace in 516/1122 and written down subsequently by **Ibn al-Ṣayrafī**, this is a brief epistle in Arabic refuting the claims of **Nizār b. al-Mustanshir** 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**. It is also the earliest source in which the Nizārīs are referred to as the *ḥashīshīs*. *See also* ASSASSINS; AL-MA'MŪN AL-BAṬĀ'IHĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. FĀTIK; MUSTA'LIANS; NIZĀRĪS, NIZĀRIYYA.

ḤIJĀB. *See* WOMEN.

HIPTIAS. *See* AL-MAJDŪ', ISMĀ'ĪL B. 'ABD AL-RASŪL.

HISTORIOGRAPHY. The tradition of Ismaili writings on history has been closely related to the very nature of the Ismaili *da'wa* and movement and the changing political fortunes of the Ismailis during the various phases of their history. The Ismailis were often persecuted by their enemies, necessitating the observance of *taqiyya* by them. Furthermore, the Ismaili *dā'īs*, who were at the same time the scholars and authors of their community, were trained generally as theologians and operated in hostile surroundings. They, too, had to observe secrecy in their activities. As a result, these *dā'ī*-authors were not particularly interested in compiling annalistic or other types of historical writings. This general lack of Ismaili interest in historiography is well attested by the fact that only a few works of historical genre, such as al-

Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān’s *Iftitāḥ al-da‘wa*, have been found in the rich corpus of Ismaili literature recovered in modern times. In later 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). There are also certain brief, but highly significant, accounts of particular events in Ismaili history, such as the *Istitār al-imām* of the *dā‘ī al-Nisābūrī*.

There were, however, two periods in Ismaili history during which the Ismailis concerned themselves with historical writings, and they produced or encouraged works that may be regarded as official chronicles. During the **Fa-timid** and **Alamūt** periods, the Ismailis possessed states of their own and dynasties of rulers whose events and achievements needed to be recorded by reliable chroniclers. In Fatimid times (297–567/909–1171), numerous histories of the Fatimid caliphate and dynasty were written by contemporary historians, both Ismaili and non-Ismaili. But with the exception of a few fragments, none of these chronicles survived the demise of the Fatimid dynasty. The Sunni **Ayyūbids** who succeeded the Ismaili Shi‘i Fatimids, systematically destroyed the renowned Fatimid libraries, also persecuting the Ismailis of Egypt and repressing their literature. The Ismailis of the Fatimid period also produced some biographical works of the *sīra* and *munāzarat* or disputation genres with great historical value.

The **Nizārī** Ismailis of the Alamūt period (483–654/1090–1256), too, maintained a historiographical tradition, which commenced with the *Sargudhasht-i sayyidnā* covering the life and career of **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ**, the first of the eight **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**. Other Persian chronicles covered the reigns of Ḥasan’s successors. But all these official chronicles, kept at the libraries of Alamūt and other Nizārī castles, perished in the **Mongol** invasions or soon afterward. However, these chronicles and other Nizārī sources were seen by a group of three Persian historians of the **Īlkhānid** period, namely **Juwaynī**, **Rashīd al-Dīn**, and **Kāshānī**, who used them extensively in their own histories of the Nizārī Ismaili state. The Syrian Nizārīs and the Nizārī **Khojas** did not elaborate any historiographical tradition. The Persian Nizārī tradition of historiography was practically discontinued after the collapse of the Nizārī state.

On the other hand, the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian** Ismailis, especially those belonging to the **Dā‘ūdī Bohra** branch, have produced a number of works in Arabic on the history of their *da‘wa* and *dā‘īs* in Yaman and India, such as the *Muntaza‘ al-akhbār*. In order to make them more accessible to the Dā‘ūdī Bohra community, some of these histories composed in early modern times were written in **Gujarātī** but transcribed in Arabic, such as the *Mawsim-i bahār*. Since the middle of the 20th century, a number of Ṭayyibī and Nizārī scholars have begun to compose historical accounts of their communities.

HISTORY. See HISTORIOGRAPHY.

ḤUJJA. An Arabic term meaning proof or the presentation of proof. Among the Ismailis, the term has been used in different technical senses. Originally, in line with its usage among the early Shi‘is, it meant the proof of God’s presence or will, and as such it referred to that person who at any given time served as evidence among humankind of God’s will. In this sense, the application of the term was systematized in Imāmī Shi‘ism, the common heritage of Ismaili and **Twelver** (Ithnā‘asharī) Shi‘ism, to designate the category of prophets and imams and, after the

Prophet Muḥammad, more particularly the imams. This original Shi‘i application of the term *Uujja* was retained by the pre-Fatimid Ismailis who also used *Uujja* in reference to a dignitary in their *da‘wa* organization or religious hierarchy—notably one through whom the concealed **Mahdī** could become accessible to his adherents. The *Uujja* was also a high rank in the *da‘wa* hierarchy of the Fatimid Ismailis; there were 12 such *Uujjas*, each one in charge of a separate *da‘wa* region called *jazīra*. In the **Nizārī** Ismaili *da‘wa*, the term generally denoted the chief representative of the imam, sometimes called *pīr*. See also IMAMATE.

AL-ḤUSAYN AL-AHWĀZĪ. Early Ismaili *dā‘ī*. He was an associate of ‘Abd Allāh al-Akbar, son of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and one of the imams of the period of concealment (*dawr al-satr*) in the pre-Fatimid phase of Ismaili history. A native of Ahwāz, in Khūzistān, al-Ḥusayn accompanied ‘Abd Allāh on his journey from ‘Askar Mukram, in Khūzistān, to Baṣra. Later, al-Ḥusayn was dispatched by the central Ismaili leadership in **Salamiyya** to southern Iraq where he converted **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ** around 260/873. Not much else is known about this early *dā‘ī*.

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB (4–61/626–680). The second surviving grandson of the **Prophet Muḥammad** through his daughter **Fāṭima** and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He is an early Shi‘i imam, counted as the third for the **Twelvers** and the second for the Ismailis of all branches. Born in Medina, he was initially brought up, together with his elder brother **al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī**, in the Prophet’s household. Al-Ḥusayn was initially opposed to his brother’s peace treaty with Mu‘āwiya, but eventually accepted it and respected the truce for as long as Mu‘āwiya was still alive. Like his father, al-Ḥusayn was firmly convinced that the Prophet’s family (*ahl al-bayt*) was divinely chosen to lead the Muslim community. Therefore, he refused to give his allegiance to Mu‘āwiya’s son Yazīd, who had succeeded his father in the **Umayyad** dynasty in 60/680, contrary to the terms of the treaty agreed between Mu‘āwiyya and al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. Soon after, the Shi‘i leaders in Kūfa wrote persistently to al-Ḥusayn inviting him to join them as their imam.

Al-Ḥusayn finally set out from the Ḥijāz for Kūfa with a small band of relatives and companions. On the route, al-Ḥusayn learned of the failure of a Shi‘i revolt in Kūfa and the desertion of his Kūfan supporters. Al-Ḥusayn was intercepted on the plain of Karbalā’ by an Umayyad army, and battle was joined on 10 MuUarram 61/10 October 680. The Prophet’s grandson and all his male relatives and companions were brutally massacred. Only his son ‘Alī (**Zayn al-‘Ābidīn**) survived because he was ill; he was later acknowledged as the fourth imam of the Shi‘is. The martyrdom of the Prophet’s grandson infused a new religious fervor in Shi‘ism and consolidated its distinct identity. This tragic event, observed annually by various Shi‘i communities, is also commemorated in elaborate mourning rituals or plays known as *ta‘ziya*. Al-Ḥusayn’s shrine in Karbalā’ has served as a major pilgrimage site for the Shi‘is. See also ‘ALIDS; IMAMATE; ‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR.

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ B. AL-WALĪD. See IBN AL-WALĪD, AL-ḤUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ.

ḤUSAYN-I QĀ’INĪ. Early **Nizārī** Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Persia. Not much is known about this early companion of **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ**. A native of Qā’in, in **Qūhistān**, Ḥusayn played an important

role as a *dā'ī* in converting the **Saljūq** garrison of **Alamūt**, preparing the ground for the seizure of that stronghold by Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ in 483/1090. Later, in 484/1091, Ḥasan dispatched Ḥusayn to his native Quhistān to organize the Ismaili *da'wa* activities there. Soon Ḥusayn met with much success in Quhistān and there the Ismailis under his leadership seized control of Qā'in, Tūn, and several other main towns. Ḥusayn-i Qā'inī was murdered under mysterious circumstances before 518/1124; the implication of Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ's son, Ustād Ḥusayn, in this murder, which led to his execution, later proved unfounded.

IBN HĀNĪ' (d. 362/973). Ismaili poet and the first great poet of the Maghrib. Born in Seville around 322/934, Muḥammad b. Hānī' b. Sa'dūn al-Andalusī was initially a court poet to the Banū Ḥamdūn of Masīla before joining in 347/958 the entourage of the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Mu'izz** at Manṣūriyya as his panegyrist. Earlier, Ibn Hānī' had also operated as an Ismaili **dā'ī** in Andalus. Ibn Hānī' distinguished himself by the zeal that he manifested in praising the merits of the Fatimids. Defending the claims of the Shi'i Fatimids against those of the Sunni **Umayyads** of Spain and the **Abbasids**, he eulogized the merits of al-Mu'izz and other Fatimid imams. He rendered a valuable service to the Fatimid cause through his poetry, which was widely read from Cordoba to Baghdad. Ibn Hānī' was murdered under mysterious circumstances while on his journey from **Ifriqiya** to Egypt. *See also* LITERATURE; ZĀHID 'ALĪ.

IBN ḤAWSHAB, ABU'L-QĀSIM AL-ḤASAN B. FARAJ AL-KŪFĪ (d. 302/914). Also known as Manṣūr al-Yaman, he was an early Ismaili **dā'ī** and founder of the **da'wa** in Yaman. Originally, he belonged to an Imāmī Shi'i family who hailed from Kūfa. After converting to Ismailism, Ibn Ḥawshab was dispatched, together with the Yamanī **'Alī b. al-FaCl al-Jayshani**, to Yaman to initiate the **da'wa** there. They arrived in Yaman in 268/881 and Ibn Ḥawshab started his operations from 'Adan. In 270/883, he began his mission, publicly proclaiming the imminent emergence of the **Mahdī** and acquired a large following. Ibn Ḥawshab sent **Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī** to the Maghrib and other **dā'īs** to **Sind**, Egypt, and other regions.

After the schism of the year 286/899 in the Ismaili movement, Ibn Ḥawshab remained loyal to the central leader of the Ismaili **da'wa**, **'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, while his former companion 'Alī b. al-FaCl publicly repudiated his allegiance to the Fatimid caliph-imam 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī after he seized Ṣan'ā' in 299/911. In the event, 'Alī b. al-FaCl led a force against Ibn Ḥawshab and besieged him for eight months in the Jabal Maswar, but eventually withdrew. Ismaili tradition ascribes to Ibn Ḥawshab the *Kitāb al-rushd wa'l-hidāya*, of which only fragments are extant, and the *Kitāb al-'ālim wa'l-ghulām*, which was more probably written by his son **Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman**. Ibn Ḥawshab's *Sīra* or autobiography has been partially preserved in later Ismaili sources.

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH JA'FAR B. AḤMAD AL-ASWAD. Ismaili **dā'ī** and scholar in North Africa. Born around 273/886 in Qayrawān into a **Zaydī** family, Ibn al-Haytham then converted to **Imāmī** Shi'ism before becoming an Ismaili and a **dā'ī**. He knew intimately the **dā'ī** **Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī** and his brother **Abu'l-'Abbās Muḥammad**, with whom he held numerous conversations. Ibn al-Haytham composed his memoirs, entitled *Kitāb al-munāẓarāt*, around 334/945, containing his much earlier disputations with the leaders of the Ismaili **da'wa** in North Africa during the initial year (296–297/909–910) of **Fatimid** rule in

Ifriqiya. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY.

IBN KILLIS, ABU'L-FARAJ YA'QŪB B. YŪSUF (318–380/930–991). The first **Fatimid** vizier. Born in Baghdad, Ibn Killis was originally a Jew who embraced Islam in 356/967 after entering the service of Kāfūr, the all-powerful Ikhshīdid regent in Egypt, as a fiscal administrator. Later, he was won over to the Fatimids and sought refuge with **al-Mu'izz** in **Ifriqiya** after Kāfūr's death in 357/968. Ibn Killis accompanied al-Mu'izz to **Cairo**, the newly built Fatimid capital, in 362/973. In 367/977, the Fatimid caliph **al-'Azīz** made Ibn Killis his vizier. Ibn Killis thus became the first vizier of the Fatimid dynasty and retained that position, except for two temporary dismissals, for over 20 years until his death. Ibn Killis was very instrumental in giving Fatimid Egypt an extended period of economic prosperity. He was also noted for his patronage of scholars, jurists, and poets. Ibn Killis himself became an expert in Ismaili **jurisprudence** and composed a legal treatise entitled *al-Risāla al-wazīriyya*, based on the pronouncements of al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz. The credit for utilizing **al-Azhar** as a university also belongs to Ibn Killis. *See also* IBN AL-ŞAYRAFĪ, TĀJ AL-RI'ĀSA ABU'L-QĀSIM 'ALĪ B. MUNJIB.

IBN MĀLIK AL-ĤAMMĀDĪ. *See* KASHF ASRĀR AL-BĀṬINIYYA.

IBN MAŞĀL, NAJM AL-DĪN SALĪM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MAGHRIBĪ (d. 544/1150). **Fatimid** vizier. Of Berber origins, from 539/1144, he was entrusted by the Fatimid caliph **al-Ḥāfiẓ** with the affairs of the Fatimid government without receiving the title of vizier. Al-Ḥāfiẓ's successor **al-Zāfir** chose Ibn Maşāl as his vizier in 544/1149, the last time a vizier was actually appointed by a Fatimid caliph. He temporarily resolved the factional disputes within the Fatimid armies. In 544/1150, Ibn Maşāl was chased and killed by the forces of **al-'Ādil b. al-Salār** who had revolted and marched on **Cairo**. Ibn Maşāl had been vizier for only about 50 days.

IBN MUNQIDH, USĀMA (d. 584/1188). Syrian poet and author of the famous memoirs entitled *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, containing important details on the closing phase of the **Fatimid** dynasty. Ibn Munqidh personally knew the Fatimid caliph **al-Ḥāfiẓ** and the later Fatimid viziers **al-'Ādil b. al-Salār** and **'Abbās**. Composed in 579/1183, his memoirs contain important information on the author's stay in Fatimid **Cairo** from 539/1144 to 549/1154 when he returned to Syria in the aftermath of the murder of the Fatimid caliph **al-Zāfir**. Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908) discovered this work in 1880 at the Escorial Library, Madrid, and published the first critical edition of its Arabic text.

IBN MUYASSAR. *See* AKHBĀR MIŞR.

IBN AL-NADĪM. *See* KITĀB AL-FIHRIST.

IBN RIZĀM. A jurist and the earliest known anti-Ismaili polemicist. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Rizām al-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī, better known as Ibn Rizām, flourished in Baghdad in the first half of the fourth/10th century. Around 340/951, he wrote a major work in refutation of the

Ismailis (**Bāṭinīs**). Ibn Rizām's original anti-Ismaili treatise, known as the *Naqḍ 'alā al-bāṭiniyya* or *al-Radd 'alā al-Ismā'īliyya* has not survived, but excerpts of it are preserved in later sources. Ibn Rizām's polemical work laid the foundations of a "black legend" and set the tone for later refutations of the Ismailis, especially that written by **Akhū Muḥsin**. In these polemics, Ismailism was depicted as an arch heresy designed to destroy Islam from within, also refuting the '**Alid** genealogy of the **Fatimids**. See also 'ABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN AL-QADDĀḤ; AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR 'ABD AL-QĀHIR B. ṬĀHIR; AL-BUSTĪ, ABU'L-QĀSIM ISMĀ'ĪL B. AḤMAD; HAMMER-PURGSTALL, JOSEPH FREIHERR VON; *KITĀB AL-FIHRIST*; MAYMŪN AL-QADDĀḤ; SILVESTRE DE SACY, ANTOINE ISAAC; *SIYĀSAT-NĀMA*.

IBN RUZZĪK. See ṬALĀ'I' B. RUZZĪK, AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ.

IBN AL-SALĀR. See AL-'ĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR, ABU'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ.

IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, TĀJ AL-RI'ĀSA ABU'L-QĀSIM 'ALĪ B. MUNJIB (463–542/1071–1147). Secretary and author under the **Fatimids**. He worked in the Fatimid chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'*), and from 495/1102 headed the chancery until his death. Perhaps an Ismaili himself, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī wrote many of the official Fatimid letters (*sijillāt*) issued from the chancery. Among his works, mention can be made of *al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, a history of the Fatimid viziers, from **Ibn Killis** to **al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iuī**, and *al-Qānūn*, a guide to chancery practices under the Fatimids dedicated to the Fatimid vizier **Kutayfāt**. See also *AL-HIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA*; HISTORIOGRAPHY.

IBN SURKH NĪSHĀPŪRĪ. See ABU'L-HAYTHAM AḤMAD GURGĀNĪ, KHWĀJA.

IBN AL-WALĪD, 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD (d. 612/1215). The fifth **Ṭayyibī Musta'lian dā'ī muṭlaq** in Yaman. Belonging to the prominent Banū al-Walīd family of Quraysh in Yaman, 'Alī served from 584/1188 as the chief assistant (*ma'dhūn*) to the fourth *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the **Ṭayyibīs**, 'Alī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī, before succeeding the latter in 605/1209 as the fifth *dā'ī* until his death. He resided at Ṣan'ā' and maintained friendly relations with the **Hamdānids** who supported the **Ḥāfizī** Musta'lian *da'wa* in Yaman. One of the most learned **Ṭayyibī dā'īs**, 'Alī produced numerous works that are essential for understanding the esoteric doctrines (*Uaqā'iq*) of **Ṭayyibī** Ismailism. He died at the old age of 90 in Ṣan'ā'. Subsequently, for some three centuries, the office of *dā'ī* of the **Ṭayyibīs** was held by his descendants. See also *DĀMIGH AL-BĀṬIL*; *FAD Ā'IḤ AL-BĀṬINIYYA*.

IBN AL-WALĪD, AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ (d. 667/1268). **Ṭayyibī Musta'lian dā'ī muṭlaq** in Yaman. Belonging to the prominent Banū al-Walīd clan of the Quraysh in Yaman, al-Ḥusayn succeeded Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak Ibn al-Walīd as the eighth *dā'ī* in 627/1230 and retained that post until his death. The son of the fifth *dā'ī*, '**Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd**, al-Ḥusayn had friendly relations with the Rasūlids and succeeded in converting several of them. An important scholar, he produced several esoteric works including *Risālat almabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, a treatise on cosmogony and eschatology. See also COSMOLOGY.

‘IBRAT-AFZĀ. A partial biography of the 46th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam, Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh, **Aga Khan I** (d. 1298/1881). Written in the manner of an autobiography, this work was evidently compiled in India by Mīrzā Aḥmad Viqār-i Shīrāzī who spent a brief period as the imam’s guest in Bombay in 1266/1850. This work is particularly valuable for details on this imam’s early life and the events leading to his conflict with the **Qājār** ruling establishment in Persia, which culminated in military confrontations and his eventual emigration from Persia in 1841. After spending some years in Afghanistan, **Sind**, **Gujarāt**, and Calcutta, the imam finally settled permanently in Bombay in 1265/1848. *See also* ABU’L-ḤASAN KHĀN, SARDĀR.

IDRĪS ‘IMĀD AL-DĪN B. AL-ḤASAN (794–872/1392–1468). The 19th **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian dā‘ī muṭlaq**, theologian, and historian who hailed from the prominent Banū al-Walīd family of the Quraysh in Yaman. He was born in the fortress of Shibām in the mountainous region of **Ḥarāz**, a stronghold of the Yamanī Ismailis. In 832/1428, Idrīs succeeded his uncle, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī, as the *dā‘ī muṭlaq*, or supreme leader, of the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis, with full authority over the affairs of their *da‘wa* in Yaman and the Indian subcontinent. He was also a statesman and warrior and participated in the political affairs of Yaman to the advantage of his community. Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn is considered the most celebrated Ismaili historian of all times. He produced three historical works, notably the **‘Uyūn al-akhbār**. After leading the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis for four decades, the *dā‘ī* Idrīs died in 872/1468 and was succeeded as the head of the **Ṭayyibī da‘wa** by his son al-Ḥasan. *See also* AL-HAMDĀNĪ, ḤUSAYN F.; LITERATURE.

IFRĪQIYA. The medieval name for the eastern part of the Maghrib in North Africa. The boundaries of this territory were never delineated precisely in geographical works, and the details recounted by various Arab Muslim geographers and historians do not always agree. The earliest sources regarded Ifrīqiya, etymologically derived from the Latin *Africa*, as comprising the whole of the Maghrib, a definition that was later modified. Starting with Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. c. 272/885), the tendency appears to limit Ifrīqiya proper only to the dominions of the **Aghlabids** in North Africa. The Aghlabid kingdom, as it is known, extended from the east of Bougie to a few kilometers from Barqa. In other words, in a broad sense, Ifrīqiya comprised the regions that are now situated in eastern Algeria and the whole of Tunisia. The region was inhabited by the **Kutāma**, Ṣanhāja, Zanāta, and other Berber tribal confederations. As successors to the Aghlabids, the **Fatimids** initially ruled for some six decades (297–362/909–973) from Ifrīqiya, where they founded **Mahdiyya** and other capital cities. After the Fatimids, the **Zirids**, the Ḥammādids, the Ḥafṣids, the Almohads, and then a number of lesser and local dynasties ruled over various parts of Ifrīqiya. *See also* IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH JA‘FAR B. AḤMAD AL-ASWAD.

IFTITĀḤ AL-DA‘WA. Written by al-Qāḍī **al-Nu‘mān** (d. 363/974), it is the earliest known historical work in Ismaili **literature**. Completed in 346/957, it covers the background to the establishment of the **Fatimid** caliphate in North Africa. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; IFRĪQIYA; KUTĀMA.

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ’. An anonymous group of authors who styled themselves as Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, generally translated as the “Brethren of Purity.” These authors composed their massive

work known as *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, or *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*. This encyclopedic work, comprised of 52 epistles (*rasā'il*), is divided into four books dealing with mathematical sciences (geometry, astronomy, music, etc.), bodily and natural sciences, psychical and intellectual sciences (**cosmology**, eschatology, etc.), and theological sciences. Connected with these epistles, which treat nearly all the sciences and intellectual traditions known at the time of their composition, there is a separate concluding summary of the Ikhwān's corpus, known as *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a*. The latter work, of which there exists yet a further condensation, was evidently intended for more advanced adepts.

The authors of these epistles drew on a wide variety of pre-Islamic sources and traditions, which they combined with Islamic teachings, especially as elaborated by the Shi'is belonging to the Ismaili movement. Much controversy has surrounded the authorship and the date of composition of these epistles, whose Ismaili connection has now been well established. On the basis of some contemporary evidence, most scholars are now agreed that the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* were secretly produced around the middle of the fourth/10th century in southern Iraq by a coterie of secretaries and men of letters who were broadly affiliated with the Ismaili movement. *See also* AL-ḤĀMIDĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. AL-ḤUSAYN; STERN, SAMUEL MIKLOS.

ĪLKHĀNIDS (r. 654–754/1256–1353). Descendants of Hūlāgū (d. 663/1265), the **Mongol** conqueror and Chinghiz Khan's grandson; also the name of a dynasty ruling over Persia, Iraq, and other parts. The dynasty was founded in 654/1256 by Hūlāgū, son of Toluy, who completed the Mongol conquests in Persia and Iraq. He achieved his objectives by destroying the **Nizārī** Ismaili state centered at **Alamūt** in 654/1256 and the **Abbasid** caliphate. In 656/1258, he murdered the last Abbasid caliph, al-Musta'ṣim, in Baghdad. After these victories, Hūlāgū assumed the Mongol title of Īl Khān, or territorial *khān*, implying subordination to the Great Khan ruling from Mongolia. Abū Sa'īd (r. 716–736/1316–1335), the first Mongol ruler with an Islamic name, was the last great Īlkhānid ruler. Ūljāytū (r. 703–716/1304–1316) converted to Shi'ism, but his son Abū Sa'īd reverted to Sunni Islam. The dynasty continued rather nominally until 754/1353, with intensive factional rivalries, when it was finally uprooted by Tīmūr who founded the Tīmūrid dynasty. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA; *TA'RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀ*.

IMAM. *See* IMAMATE.

IMAMATE. The central theological doctrine of the Ismailis. In common with all Shi'i communities, the Ismailis believe that the imamate (*imāma*) is a divinely sanctioned and permanent institution of mankind through which Muslims receive the necessary guidance. The imamate is complementary to the prophecy (*nubuwwa*) in ensuring that the divine purpose is fulfilled on earth at all times. Therefore, the earth can never be left without an "imam of the time." Indeed, there is always in existence a true imam, designated by the *naṣṣ*, or explicit designation of the previous imam, who possesses all the authority of the sole legitimate imam of the time. Furthermore, the antecedence of this imam's *naṣṣ* is traced back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the **Prophet Muḥammad**'s cousin and son-in-law and the first Shi'i imam, who is believed to have been appointed as the Prophet's *waṣī*, or successor under divine command.

And the institution of the imamate was to continue thereafter on a hereditary basis in the Ḥusaynid **‘Alid** line of imams. Each imam is also believed to have been endowed with a special *‘ilm*, or religious knowledge, which is divinely inspired and transmitted through the *naṣṣ* of the preceding imam.

The institution of the imamate is founded on the permanent need of mankind for a divinely guided, sinless, and infallible (*ma‘ṣūm*) imam who acts as the authoritative teacher and guide of Muslims in all their religious and spiritual affairs. This imam has perfect knowledge of the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspects and meanings of the **Qur’an** and the sacred law of Islam. Adherence to the doctrine of the imamate as a pillar of faith also meant devotion to the “imam of the time” as the rightful spiritual successor to the Prophet. The imamate is therefore closely linked to the concept of *walāya*, or devotion to the imams.

The two major branches of Ismailism, the **Nizārīs** and the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lians**, affirm a shared belief in the imamate but give allegiance to different lines of imams after the Fatimid **al-Mustansir** (d. 487/1094). Subsequently, the Nizārīs have always had a living imam, while for the Ṭayyibīs, their imams have all remained in concealment after **al-Āmir** (d. 524/1130), their 20th imam. The Ismailis have produced numerous treatises on the imamate and its necessity for humankind. *See also HADĪTH; JURISPRUDENCE; LITERATURE; AL-ŞĀDIQ, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD.*

IMĀMĪ SHI‘ISM. *See* TWELVERS, ITHNĀ‘ASHARIYYA.

IMĀMIYYA. *See* TWELVERS, ITHNĀ‘ASHARIYYA.

IMĀM SHĀH, IMĀM AL-DĪN ‘ABD AL-RAḤĪM (d. 919/1513). A **Khoja** leader and eponym of the **Imām-Shāhīs**. Pīr **Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn** was succeeded in the leadership of the **Nizārī Khojas** by his brother, Tāj al-Dīn. After Tāj al-Dīn, who died toward the end of the ninth/15th century, Imām Shāh, a son of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, tried in vain to succeed to the leadership of the Khojas in **Sind**. Later, he visited the Nizārī imam, perhaps Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh, in Persia, but was not designated by him to the position of *pīr*. On returning to India, Imām Shāh settled in **Gujarāt**, where he spent the remainder of his life and had much success in converting Hindus to **Satpanth** Ismailism. He died in Pīrāna, the town founded by him near Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt, where his shrine is also located.

IMĀM-SHĀHĪS. Also known as **Satpanthīs**, the Imām-Shāhīs were a group of dissenters who originally seceded from the **Nizārī Khoja** community in **Gujarāt**. **Imām Shāh**, the eponym of the Imām-Shāhī sect, had tried in vain to be appointed by the Nizārī imam as the *pīr*, or leader of the Nizārī Khojas in India. Subsequently, he settled in Gujarāt and remained faithful to the imam in Persia; he converted numerous Hindus to **Satpanth** Ismailism. However, on Imām Shāh’s death in 919/1513, his son, **Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad**, seceded from the Nizārī Khoja community and founded an independent sect known as the Imām-Shāhīs, named after his father.

Nar Muḥammad acquired many followers in Gujarāt, who also became known as Satpanthī. Soon after Nar Muḥammad’s death in 940/1533–1534, the Imām-Shāhīs, who deny any connection with Ismailism, split into various groups. Different groups followed different lines of *pīrs* from among Nar Muḥammad’s descendants. The Imām-Shāhīs, through their

various groups (including the Āṭḥṭhiyā), have tended to revert toward Hinduism. The adherents of this syncretist sect, who are now mainly located in the rural areas of Gujarāt, Khāndesh, and Madhya Pradesh, consider themselves chiefly as **Twelver** Shi‘is or Sunnis. *See also* GINĀNS.

IMMIGRATION. See DIASPORA.

INSTITUTE OF ISMAILI STUDIES, THE (IIS). An academic institution founded in London in 1977, by H. H. Prince Karim **Aga Khan IV**, the 49th imam of the **Nizārī** Ismailis. Its stated aims are to promote the investigation of Muslim cultures and societies, both of the past and the present, and to explore the interaction of religious ideas within the broader context of modern life, but to do so with special reference to often neglected fields that contain the intellectual and literary expressions of esoteric Islam, including Shi‘ism in general and Ismailism in particular.

The Institute currently operates under the guidance of a Board of Governors, chaired by H. H. the Aga Khan and managed by two directors. The IIS’s diverse constituencies include mainly the Ismaili and academic communities, as well as students of Ismaili and Islamic studies. The Institute has a fine library with major collections of Ismaili manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and **Khojkī** scripts, in addition to various series of publications of monographs and texts and translations of the classical works of Ismaili **literature**; a special series is devoted to Qur’anic studies.

The academic activities of the IIS are concentrated in its Department of Academic Research and Publications (DARP) with its faculty of scholars. The Graduate Programme in Islamic Studies and Humanities involves an interdisciplinary course taught by an international faculty of distinguished scholars. The IIS also produces a range of multimedia teaching and learning materials in eight different languages on religious and cultural **education** for the global Ismaili communities at primary and secondary educational levels, in addition to training religious teachers for secondary educational needs of Nizārī Ismaili students worldwide. *See also* ISMAILI SOCIETY; ISMAILI TARIQAH AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION BOARD (ITREB); *ITTI‘ĀZ AL-ḤUNAFĀ’*; *‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR*; *ZĀHID ‘ALĪ*.

INTELLECT, OR UNIVERSAL INTELLECT. Designated as *al-‘aql*, or *al-‘aql al-kullī* in Arabic, it occupied a central role in the doctrine of **cosmology** propounded by the Iranian **dā‘īs** of the school of “philosophical Ismailism” as part of their metaphysical systems of thought. In their cosmology, God brings creation into being through His command or volition (*amr*), or word (*kalima*), in an act of primordial, extratemporal origination (*ibdā‘*). The universal intellect (*al-‘aql al-kullī*) is the first originated being, also called simply the first (*al-awwal*) and the preponderant (*al-sābiq*). The intellect is eternal, motionless, and perfect, both potentially and actually. From the intellect proceeds, through emanation (*inbi‘āth*), the soul (*al-nafs*), or the universal soul (*al-nafs alkulliyya*), also referred to as the second (*al-thānī*) and the follower (*al-tālī*).

In this emanational cosmological doctrine, essentially based on Neoplatonic philosophy, intellect and soul are also combined together as the two roots, or principles (*al-aṣlān*), the

original dyad of the pleroma. The soul, the second hypostasis, is much more complex than the intellect, being imperfect and belonging to a different plan of existence. The deficient soul is definitely subservient to the intellect and requires the benefits of the intellect to achieve perfection. The medieval authors of this Iranian school, such as **al-Sijistānī**, continued the emanational chain of their cosmology all the way to the genesis of man, while recognizing that God had created everything in the spiritual and physical worlds all at once.

The imperfection of the soul, and its desire to attain perfection, expresses itself in movement, and this movement is a symptom of defect, just as tranquility reflects perfection. It is the soul's movement that causes all other movements. Time itself is the measure of motion, resulting from the soul's activity. The soul's defect also accounts for its descent into the depths of the physical world, which owes its existence to this very defect. From the soul, which is the source of matter (*hayūla*) and form (*ṣūra*), proceeds the seven spheres (*aflāk*) with their stars. And the process continues with the subsequent emanational phases of the creation until man. To relate more closely this Ismaili Neoplatonic cosmology to Islamic tradition, some of the concepts of the spiritual world contained in it were identified with **Qur'anic** terms. Thus, the intellect (*al-'aql*) was identified with the "pen" (*al-qalam*) and the "throne" (*al-'arsh*), while the soul (*al-nafs*) was equated with the "tablet" (*al-lawḥ*) and the "chair" (*al-kursī*). *See also* LITERATURE; SOTERIOLOGY.

ISMĀ'ĪL B. JA'FAR AL-ŞĀDIQ. The sixth Ismaili imam and the eponym of the Ismailis. Ismā'īl was the second son of Imam **Ja'far al-Şādiq** and the latter's original heir designate. Ismā'īl evidently established close relations with the radical groups on the fringes of the Imāmī Shi'i followers of his father; he was also involved in at least one anti-**Abbasid** plot. The exact date and circumstances of Ismā'īl's death remain unknown. According to the Ismaili tradition, he survived his father, who died in 148/765, but the majority of sources report that he predeceased his father in Medina. His grave at the Baqī' cemetery in Medina was destroyed, along with other graves there, in modern times by the Wahhābīs. *See also* ABU'L-KHAṬṬĀB; MUBĀRAKIYYA; MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'ĪL.

ISMAILIA ASSOCIATION. *See* ISMAILI TARIQAḤ AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION BOARD (ITREB).

ISMAILI SOCIETY. A research institution founded in Bombay in 1946 under the patronage of Sultan Muhammad (Mahomed) Shah, **Aga Khan III**, the 48th imam of the **Nizārī** Ismailis. Aiming to promote critical research in all matters related to Ismailism, the Ismaili Society grew out of the Islamic Research Association founded in Bombay in 1933. The person primarily responsible for the establishment and development of both of these institutions was **Wladimir Ivanow**.

The Ismaili Society also established a series of publications under the general editorship of Ivanow. By 1964, the society's publication series was discontinued, and the institution itself was effectively absorbed into the Ismailia Association of Pakistan in Karachi, an official Nizārī Ismaili research and publication institution. Ismaili Society was also equipped with a library and collection of Ismaili manuscripts, which were eventually integrated into the

collections of the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)** in London. *See also* EDUCATION; LITERATURE.

ISMAILI TARIQAH AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION BOARD (ITREB). A religious and **educational** entity set up in some 20 territories where **Nizārī** Ismaili communities are situated. The primary function of these boards is the provision of religious education at all levels; the training of religious teachers and preachers, or *waezeen*; the undertaking of research and publication; and any other function deemed as necessary by the Nizārī imam of the time. Each board has a chairperson, an honorary secretary, and a number of members all appointed for a term of three years by the Nizārī imam. Until around 1986, a smaller number of national Ismailia Associations discharged the basic responsibilities of the ITREBs for selected Nizārī communities, especially in India, Pakistan, and East Africa. the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)** has a number of programs for assisting these boards in their educational activities. *See also* AGA KHAN IV, H. H. PRINCE KARIM; TITHE.

ITHNĀ‘ASHARĪS. *See* TWELVERS, ITHNĀ‘ASHARIYYA.

ITTI‘ĀZ AL-ḤUNAFĀ’. Written by Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), it is a comprehensive history of the **Fatimid** dynasty. This . is the only independent history of the Fatimids, written by a Sunni author who himself claimed Fatimid ancestry and had access to numerous historical sources of the Fatimid period that are no longer extant. This history has survived only in the form of a *musawwada*, or first draft, in a single manuscript preserved in Istanbul. A complete edition of *Itti‘āz al-Uunafā bi-akhbār ala’imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā’* was produced in three volumes by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (1911–1967) and Muḥammad Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad; the Egyptian scholar Ayman F. Sayyid has now produced a better edition of this history in four volumes in the Ismaili Texts and Translations Series of the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)**. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY.

IVANOW, WLADIMIR (1886–1970). Russian orientalist and the leading pioneer in modern **Nizārī** Ismaili studies. Born in St. Petersburg, he studied Arabic and Persian history, as well as Islamic and Central Asian history, at the Faculty of Oriental Languages, University of St. Petersburg, from where he graduated in 1911. Subsequently, he conducted field research on Persian dialects and folk poetry in Iran for several years. In 1915, he joined the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg as an assistant keeper of oriental manuscripts. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Ivanow settled in India, first in Calcutta, where he catalogued the extensive Persian manuscript collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In 1931, **Aga Khan III** employed Ivanow on a permanent basis to conduct research into the **literature** and history of the Ismailis. Henceforth, Ivanow found access to Ismaili manuscripts held in numerous private collections. As a result, he identified a large number of texts of Ismaili literature, described in his *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, the first catalogue of the Ismaili sources published in modern times. Ivanow was instrumental in the creation in 1946 of the **Ismaili Society** of Bombay, under the patronage of Aga Khan III. The bulk of Ivanow’s numerous Ismaili monographs and editions and translations of Ismaili texts, especially the

Nizārī sources, appeared in the Ismaili Society's series of publications. He also established collaborative relations with **Asaf Ali Asghar Fyze**, **Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī**, **Henry Corbin**, and other scholars in the field. Ivanow spent the last decade of his life in Tehran, where he died and was buried in 1970. He stands as the unrivaled founder of modern Nizārī Ismaili studies.

JA‘FAR B. ‘ALĪ. See *SĪRA OF JA‘FAR B. ‘ALĪ*.

JA‘FAR B. MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN. Early Ismaili *dā‘ī* and author. He was the son of **Ibn Ḥawshab**, better known as Manṣūr al-Yaman, founder of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in Yaman. He went to the Maghrib in the reign of the second **Fatimid** caliph **al-Qā‘im**, and under **al-Manṣūr** in 335/947 he fought against the Khārijī rebel **Abū Yazīd**. Many of Ja‘far’s works relate to the esoteric exegesis, or *ta‘wīl*, of the **Qur’an** and the ritual duties of Islam. His *Kitāb al-kashf*, attributed to Ja‘far, contains six earlier treatises collected and redacted by him. The *Kitāb al-‘ālim wa’l-ghulām*, wrongly ascribed also to Ibn Ḥawshab, is an early source on Ismaili teachings and practices; it essentially presents a series of personal encounters between various seekers of the spiritual truth and individuals who act as their guides. Ja‘far died at an unknown date not too long after 346/957. See also LITERATURE.

JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢĀDIQ. See *AL-ṢĀDIQ, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD*.

JALĀL AL-DĪN ḤASAN III (r. 607–618/1210–1221). **Nizārī** Ismaili imam and the sixth lord of **Alamūt**. Born in 562/1166, he succeeded to the leadership of the Nizārī community and state upon the death of his father, **Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II**. Weary of the isolation of the Nizārīs, he devoted his brief reign to establishing better relations with Sunni Muslims and their rulers, especially the **Abbasid** caliph **al-Nāṣir** (r. 575–622/1180–1225). Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan’s rapprochement with Sunni Muslims had obvious advantages in terms of peace and security for his community and state. He died in 618/1221. See also ‘ALĀ’ ALDĪN MUḤAMMAD III; MONGOLS; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

JĀMI‘ AL-ḤIKMATAYN. See *ABU’L-HAYTHAM AḤMAD GURGĀNĪ, KHWĀJA*.

JĀMI‘ AL-TAWĀRĪKH. Written by, or composed under the supervision of, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318). Completed in 710/1310, this extensive work also contains an important history of the **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**. A historian, physician, and vizier to **Īlkhānid Mongols**, Rashīd al-Dīn was commissioned by Ghāzān (r. 694–703/1295–1304), the Īlkhānid ruler of Persia, to compile a detailed history of the Mongols. It was at the request of Ghāzān’s successor, Ūljāytū (r. 703–716/1304–1316), that Rashīd al-Dīn subsequently added to his work the histories of all the important Eurasian peoples with whom the Mongols had come into contact during their conquests.

Rashīd al-Dīn’s history of the Ismailis, covering the early Ismailis, **Fatimids**, and Nizārī state of Persia during the **Alamūt** period, is contained in this second volume of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*. He made independent use of the Nizārī chronicles of the Alamūt period, which have not survived, as well as Juwaynī’s *Ta’rīkh-i jahān-gushā*, but his account is more objective

and fuller than that of his predecessor. A critical edition of the Persian text of Rashīd al-Dīn's Ismaili history was produced by M. T. Dānishpazhūh (1911–1996) and M. Mudarrisī Zanjānī; a better edition was more recently produced by Muḥammad Rawshan. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; ZUBDAT AL-TAWĀRĪKH.

JĀMI‘A SAYFIYYA. Originally known as Sayfī Dars, or al-Dars al-Sayfī, this is the religious seminary of the **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibīs**, known in South Asia as **Bohras**. In 1229/1814, ‘Abd ‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn (1213–1232/1798–1817), the 43rd *dā’ī muṭlaq* of the Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibīs, founded this theological seminary at Sūrāt, **Gujarāt**, for the training of the Dā’ūdī functionaries (*‘āmil*s) and imparting higher religious **education** to the members of their community. This institution, with a major library, has continued to serve as a center of traditional Islamic and Ismaili learning for the Dā’ūdī Bohras. In 1983, a branch of Sayfī Dars was set up in Karachi by **Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn**, who also changed the name of this academy to Jāmi‘a Sayfiyya. By 2002, this seminary had a faculty of 100 instructors and 750 male and female students. The library of Jāmi‘a Sayfiyya contains vast collections of Ismaili manuscripts from the **Fatimid** and Yamanī periods of Ismaili history, which remain inaccessible to scholars and researchers. *See also* BAQLIYYA; LITERATURE; TITHE.

AL-JANNĀBĪ, ABŪ SA‘ĪD AL-ḤASAN B. BAHRĀM (d. 301/913). Founder of the **Qarmaṭī** state of Bahrayn. Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī, born in Jannāba (Persian, Gannāva) on the coast of **Fārs**, in southern Persia, received his early Ismaili training from ‘**Abdān** after settling in Kūfa. Subsequently, he operated as a *dā’ī* in the Persian Gulf coastal regions of Fārs before being dispatched to Bahrayn in 273/886. There, he received the backing of the influential Banū Sanbar and married into their family. With the allegiance of the local bedouins, Abū Sa‘īd systematically conquered the towns of Bahrayn. By 286/899, he controlled most of eastern Arabia, then known as Bahrayn. In the Ismaili schism of that year, he sided with **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ** and ‘Abdān and founded the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn. In the following years, while predicting the advent of the **Mahdī**, Abū Sa‘īd sent raiding expeditions into southern Iraq. He was murdered in his capital, al-Aḥsā’, by two slaves. *See also* QARMAṬĪ RULERS OF BAHRAYN.

AL-JANNĀBĪ, ABŪ ṬĀHĪR SULAYMĀN (d. 332/944). One of the early rulers of the **Qarmaṭī** state of Bahrayn. A son of **Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī**, in 311/923, he succeeded his brother, Abu’l-Qāsim Sa‘īd (r. 301–311/913–23), to the leadership of the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn and intensified their hostilities against the **Abbasids**, as well as their widespread pillaging activities. Abū Ṭāhir’s ravaging activities culminated in his attack on Mecca in 317/930 during the pilgrimage season. There, the Qarmaṭīs massacred the pilgrims and committed numerous desecrating acts, also dislodging the Black Stone (*al-Ujjar al-aswad*) of the Ka‘ba and carrying it to their capital, al-Aḥsā’.

Abū Ṭāhir, who in line with Qarmaṭī teachings had been predicting the emergence of the **Mahdī** and the end of the era of Islam, recognized a young Persian as the awaited Mahdī and turned over the rule to him in 319/931. The early disastrous end of this turn of affairs weakened the influence of the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn over other dissident Qarmaṭī communities.

Subsequently, Abū Ṭāhir resumed his plundering activities and once again claimed to be acting on the orders of the hidden Mahdī until his death. *See also* AL-ḤASAN AL-A‘ŞAM; QARMAṬĪ RULERS OF BAHRAYN.

AL-JARJARĀ’Ī, ‘ALĪ B. AḤMAD (d. 436/1045). **Fatimid** vizier. Of Iraqi origin, he came to Fatimid Egypt and held various offices in the provinces, where he was punished by having his hands cut off in 404/1013 on **al-Ḥākim**’s order. Under **al-Zāhir**, he became the *wāsiṭa* in 412/1021, exercising effective political authority in the Fatimid state. In 418/1027, he became vizier and retained the vizierate and his influence under **al-Mustansir** until his death.

AL-JAWDHARĪ, ABŪ ‘ALĪ MANŞŪR AL-‘AZĪZĪ (d. c. 386/996). Secretary and author under the **Fatimids**. He was named after his master, Ustādh Jawdhar, the eunuch and courtier who served the first four Fatimid caliph-imams, and was chamberlain to **al-Mu‘izz** until he died in 363/973. Al-Jawdharī served Jawdhar as his private secretary from 350/961 until the latter’s death. Subsequently, al-Jawdharī himself became chamberlain to the Fatimids. Due to his close connection to the Fatimid **al-‘Azīz**, al-Jawdharī is also known as al-‘Azīzī. He is the author of Jawdhar’s *Sīra*, or biography, which is an important source for early Fatimid history and the inner rivalries at the Fatimid court. *See also* LITERATURE.

JAWDHAR, USTĀDH. *See* SĪRA OF USTĀDH JAWDHAR.

JAWHAR AL-ŞIQILLĪ (d. 381/992). **Fatimid** commander and administrator. Jawhar b. ‘Abd Allāh, who carried the epithets of al-Şiqillī (the Sicilian), al-Şaqlabī (the Slav), and al-Rūmī (the Greek), as well as al-Qā’id (the Commander), had obscure origins. At any rate, he was a freedman of the Fatimids. In 347/958, the Fatimid caliph **al-Mu‘izz** entrusted Jawhar, who had risen in the ranks, with the task of leading military expeditions for pacifying North Africa. In 358/969, impressed by Jawhar’s victories in the Maghrib, al-Mu‘izz entrusted this able commander with a major expedition to conquer Egypt, after an elaborate ceremonial send-off from Qayrawān.

Jawhar readily entered Ikshīdid Egypt in the same year and proceeded to set up his camp to the north of Fuṣṭāṭ, where he laid the foundation of the new Fatimid capital, al-Qāhira (**Cairo**). A year later, he founded the mosque of **al-Azhar**. Having established Fatimid rule in Egypt, Jawhar governed Egypt efficiently for four years, until the arrival of al-Mu‘izz there in 362/973. Jawhar behaved diplomatically toward the Egyptians and reorganized Egypt’s finances. He participated in some campaigns against the **Qarmaṭīs** who had invaded Syria, also repelling their attacks on Cairo. After 366/977, when he was defeated by the Qarmaṭīs in Palestine and retreated to Egypt under humiliating conditions, we read no more in the sources about him until his death in 381/992. *See also* SHAMSA.

JIBĀL. Plural of the Arabic word *jabal* meaning mountain. A name given by medieval Arab geographers and authors to a region in Persia, also called ‘Irāq-i ‘Ajāmī, because it was, for the most part (except in its northeastern portion), extremely mountainous. It was bounded in the east by the great desert of **Khurāsān**, on the southeast by **Fārs**, on the south by **Khūzistān**, on the west and southwest by the Arabian Iraq, on the northwest by **Ādharbāyjān**, and on the

north by the Alburz mountains. However, the boundaries of the Jibāl were never well defined. The early Ismaili **da'wa** was initiated in the Jibāl in the 260s/870s, with its original seat in the vicinity of Rayy. The **da'wa** continued to be active in the Jibāl in the **Fatimid** and later periods in Ismaili history. Such numerous prominent Ismaili figures as **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī** hailed from the Jibāl.

JURISPRUDENCE. A distinct Ismaili system of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) was founded only after the establishment of the **Fatimid** state in 297/909. The earlier Ismailis, who normally practiced **taqiyya** and belonged to a revolutionary movement, observed the law of the land wherever they lived. The process of codifying Ismaili law started early in the Fatimid period when the precepts of Shi'ī law, with its rituals and legal practices, were adopted. Subsequently, the promulgation of Ismaili law resulted chiefly from the efforts of **al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān** (d. 363/974). He compiled several legal works based on the legal **ḥadīths** transmitted from the *ahl al-bayt* and found in various Shi'ī compilations. Al-Nu'mān's efforts culminated in the **Da'ā'im al-Islām**, which was read carefully by the fourth Fatimid caliph **al-Mu'izz** (d. 365/975) and endorsed by him as the official legal code of the Fatimid state.

Like the Sunnis and other Shi'ī communities, the Ismailis had come to possess a system of law and *madhhab*, or school of jurisprudence. The **Da'ā'im** still remains the chief legal text for the **Ṭayyibī Musta'lian** Ismailis, including the **Dā'ūdī Bohras** of South Asia, while the **Nizārīs**, since the **Alamūt** period in their history, have followed the guidance of their living imams in their legal-istic affairs and ritual practices.

The **Da'ā'im** as a law manual follows the general pattern of such manuals and is divided into two volumes. The first deals with the acts of devotion and religious observances (*'ibādāt*), while the second deals with laws or worldly affairs and human interactions (*mu'āmalāt*). Fatimid Ismaili law represents a blending of Shi'ī beliefs, especially as embodied in the doctrine of the **imamate**, with the general legal concepts of Muslims. The Ismailis, like all other Muslims, accepted the **Qur'an** and the *sunna* of the **Prophet Muḥammad** as the principal sources of law. However, in line with other Shi'īs, the Ismailis departed from the norms of the Sunni schools in acknowledging only those prophetic traditions (*Uadīths*) that were reported by their imams from the *ahl al-bayt*, in addition to the *Uadīths* transmitted from their own imams.

The fundamental difference between the Shi'ī, Ismaili, or otherwise and the Sunni schools of jurisprudence, however, centers around the doctrine of the **imamate**. For all Shi'īs, the "imam of the time" is the final authority for interpreting the ordinances of God and, after the Prophet, the sole repository of the rules of human conduct and worship. As developed by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Ismaili law accords special importance to the Shi'ī doctrine of the **imamate**, which found expression in the opening chapter of the **Da'ā'im** related to *walāya*, or devotion to the imams. Thus, for the Ismailis, the authority of their imam and his teachings became the third and most decisive principal source of law. There are also some minor points of difference between the Fatimid Ismaili and the **Twelver** Shi'ī schools of law, especially regarding the questions of inheritance and marriage. For instance, the Ismailis, similar to Sunni Muslims and **Zaydī** Shi'īs, do not permit *mut'a*, or temporary **marriage** for a stipulated duration, which is practised by the Twelvers.

In comparison with the four Sunni schools of law, as well as the Twelver Shi‘i *madhhab*, the legal **literature** of the Ismailis is extremely meager. The Ismaili system of law is almost exclusively the work of al-Nu‘mān, as few other Ismaili jurists, during or after the Fatimid period, concerned themselves with producing legal compendia. Indeed, after al-Nu‘mān there was no significant development in Ismaili law, except glosses and commentaries on the *Da‘ā’im* produced by a few Ṭayyibī authors, for example **Amīnjī b. Jalāl**. *See also* IBN KILLIS, ABU’L-FARAJ YA‘QŪB B. YŪSUF; ISMĀ‘ĪL B. JA‘FAR AL-ŞĀDIQ.

JUWAYNĪ. *See* TA’RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀ.

KAHAK. A village located about 35 kilometers northeast of **Anjudān** and northwest of MaUallāt in central Iran. An important locality in the late medieval times for the **Qāsim-Shāhī** line of the **Nizārī** Ismaili imams, Kahak is now an isolated small village with a **Twelver** Shi‘i population of some 500 people. The 40th Nizārī imam of this branch, **Shāh Nizār II**, who succeeded his father in 1090/1680, transferred the seat of the Nizārī *da‘wa* from Anjudān to Kahak during the earliest decades of his **imamate**. Shāh Nizār died in 1134/1722 and was buried in one of the chambers of the building that served as his residence and is still *in situ* in Kahak. His son and successor, Sayyid ‘Alī (d. 1167/1754), also lived in Kahak, and his grave is located in Nizār’s mausoleum. At this site and its adjacent garden, there are several tombstones with inscriptions in **Khojkī** Sindhī characters, attesting to the regular pilgrimages of the Nizārī **Khojas** to Persia to see their imam at Kahak. The Nizārī imams continued to maintain their roots in Kahak until the early decades of the 13th/19th century. *See also* AGA KHAN I, ḤASAN ‘ALĪ SHĀH; SHĀH KHALĪL ALLĀH (III).

KAHF. A major fortress of the **Nizārī** Ismailis in Syria, during the **Alamūt** period of their history. Situated in the province of Ṭarṭūs, in the medieval region of Jabal Bahrā’ (today’s Jabal Anṣāriyya), some 20 kilometers from **Qadmūs** and 14 kilometers from the village of Shaykh Badr, the castle probably dates to the fifth/11th century. In 533/1138, the Nizārīs purchased Kahf from its owner, Mūsā b. Sayf al-Mulk, and transformed it into the headquarters of their principality in Syria. **Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān** used Kahf as his headquarters for almost three decades. Kahf surrendered to the Mamlūks in 671/1273. This castle remained in the hands of the Syrian Nizārīs until 1231/1816, when it was seized by the **Ottomans**. Subsequently, Kahf was inhabited by the ‘Alawīs. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

KALĀM-I PĪR. A **Nizārī** Ismaili text in Persian attributed wrongly to **Nāṣir-i Khusraw**. *Kalām-i pīr* is in all probability a plagiarized version of the *Haft bāb* written by **Abū IsUāq Quhistānī** in the second half of the ninth/15th century. **Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī**, a later Nizārī Ismaili *dā‘ī* and author, incorporated other materials (especially from **Twelver** Shi‘i sources) into the *Haft bāb*, now calling it *Kalām-i pīr*, otherwise known as *Haft bāb-i Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir*. The false attribution of this book to Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir, viz., Nāṣir-i Khusraw, was meant to enhance the popular appeal of this text for the Nizārī Ismailis of Central Asia, who have preserved it. *See also* ANJUDĀN; LITERATURE.

KALBIDS. A Muslim dynasty of governors (*amīrs*) ruling initially as vassals of the **Fatimids** over the island of Sicily. As successors to the **Aghlabids**, the Fatimids inherited Sicily upon the establishment of their rule in 297/909 and, like their predecessors, they appointed governors there. The Kalbid dynasty started with al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Kalbī, who was appointed in 337/948 by the third Fatimid caliph **al-Manṣūr**. The disintegration of the semi-

independent Kalbid dynasty began around 436/1044, paving the way for the Norman conquest of Sicily in 463/1070 and the island's permanent incorporation into Christendom. Palermo, the Kalbid capital, with its numerous mosques, was a flourishing center of Islamic sciences, while Fatimid Sicily played an important part in the transmission of Islamic culture into medieval Europe.

KANZ AL-WALAD. See AL-ḤĀMIDĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. AL-ḤUSAYN.

KĀSHĀNĪ, ABU'L-QĀSIM. See ZUBDAT AL-TAWĀRĪKH.

KASHF ASRĀR AL-BĀṬINIYYA. An anti-Ismaili treatise written by Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī (d. c. 470/1077). A Yamānī author, perhaps a brother of the Ismaili **dā'ī Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī** (d. c. 491/1098), Muḥammad b. Mālik temporarily became an Ismaili but later abjured. This widely circulating polemical work evidently served as a reliable primary source for several generations of Sunni historians in Yaman, for example, Bahā' al-Dīn al-Janādī (d. 732/1332), writing on the Ismailis. See also HISTORIOGRAPHY.

KASHF AL-MAḤJŪB. Written by Abū Ya'qūb **al-Sijistānī** (d. after 361/971). This is an Ismaili work in Persian on *tawUīd* and the stages of creation, namely, **intellect**, soul, and nature, as well as **nubuwwa**, or prophethood and resurrection (Persian, *qiyāmat*; Arabic, *qiyāma*). Originally written in Arabic, only this Persian translation of the text, perhaps produced by **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** or another Ismaili scholar known as Muḥammad b. Surkh Nīshāpūrī, has survived in a unique manuscript held privately in Tehran. This book comprises seven chapters, or discourses (*maqālāt*), on the most important sources of divine knowledge or gnosis, which al-Sijistānī seeks to reveal (*kashf*). See also LITERATURE.

KHĀKĪ KHURĀSĀNĪ, IMĀM QULĪ (d. after 1056/1646). **Nizārī** Ismaili poet of the late **Anjudān** period in Nizārī history. He was a contemporary of the 37th and 38th **Qāsim-Shāhī** Nizārī imams, Dhu'l-Faqār 'Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634) and Nūr al-Dahr 'Alī (d. 1082/1671), and repeatedly eulogized them in his *Dīwān* of poetry. He also names Anjudān as their place of residence, which he evidently visited himself. Khākī resorted to Sufi and poetic expressions to propagate his Ismaili doctrines. His descendants, notably **Fidā'ī Khurāsānī**, continued to hold leadership positions in the Nizārī community of **Khurāsān** in northeastern Persia. Khākī lived in the village of Dīzbād, in northern Khurāsān, where his tomb is still preserved. See also LITERATURE.

AL-KHAṬṬĀB B. AL-ḤASAN B. ABI'L-ḤIFĀZ AL-HAMDĀNĪ (d. 533/1138). Ṭayyibī **Musta'lian dā'ī**, author, scholar, and poet in Yaman. He belonged to a family of chiefs of al-Ḥajūr, a clan of the Banū Hamdān in Yaman. Al-Khaṭṭāb himself was the Ḥajūrī chief, or sultan, and had been converted to Ismailism by his teacher, **al-Dhu'ayb**; he was also a warrior and fought against the Najāhids and **Zaydīs** of Yaman on behalf of the Ismaili **Ṣulayḥids** there. His loyalty to the Ṣulayḥid queen **Arwā** and his military services to the Ismaili cause were crucial to the success of the Ṭayyibī **da'wa** in Yaman during its formative years. As the first **dā'ī muṭlaq** of the Ṭayyibī **da'wa** in Yaman, al-Dhu'ayb was initially assisted by al-Khaṭṭāb.

Al-Khaṭṭāb was also involved in a prolonged family feud resulting from the murder of his sister and a rivalry with his elder brother, Sulaymān, a non-Ismaili, over the control of al-Ḥajūr. Al-Khaṭṭāb, who had succeeded in killing Sulaymān, was murdered in revenge by Sulaymān's sons.

KHAṬṬĀBIYYA. *See* ABU'L-KHAṬṬĀB.

KHAYRKHWĀH-I HARĀTĪ. Nizārī Ismaili *dā'ī* and poet. Born into a leading Nizārī Ismaili family in Ghūriyān near Harāt (in present-day Afghanistan) toward the end of the ninth/15th century, Muḥammad RiCā b. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Ghūriyānī, better known as Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, died not long after 960/1553, the latest date mentioned in his writings. He, thus, lived in the early **Anjudān** period in Nizārī history, when the Nizārī *da'wa* and literary activities were revived under the direct leadership of the **Qāsim-Shāhī** Nizārī imams themselves. Khayrkhwāh was appointed by the contemporary Nizārī Imam **Mustansir bi'llāh III** (d. 904/1498) to the position of the chief *dā'ī*, or *ḥujja*, then commonly designated as *pīr*, of **Khurāsān** and **Badakhshān**.

Khayrkhwāh was a prolific writer, and his works, all written in Persian and mainly preserved by the Nizārī Ismaili communities of Badakhshān, Hunza, and other northern areas of Pakistan, are invaluable for understanding the Nizārī doctrine of the time. Khayrkhwāh also composed poetry under the pen name of Gharībī, derived from the name of the contemporary Nizārī imam (Gharīb Mīrzā). *See also* KALĀM-I PĪR; LITERATURE.

KHOJAS. Name commonly used in reference to the **Nizārī** Ismailis of South Asian origin. The Nizārī *da'wa* was introduced into the Indian subcontinent during the first half of the seventh/13th century, if not earlier. The earliest Nizārī preacher-saints, or *pīrs*, initially concentrated their efforts in **Sind** (in modern-day Pakistan). **Pīr Shams al-Dīn** is the earliest figure, associated in the traditional *ginān* literature of the community, with the commencement of Nizārī activities in Sind. However, a later *pīr*, **Ṣadr al-Dīn**, is generally credited for having consolidated and organized the Nizārī *da'wa* in India. It was Ṣadr al-Dīn who converted large numbers of Hindus from the Lohana trading caste and gave them the name of Khoja, derived from the Persian word *khwāja*, meaning master and corresponding to the Hindu term *thākur* by which the Hindu Lohanas were addressed.

Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded by others, until the Nizārī imams of the **Anjudān** period uprooted the hereditary dynasty of *pīrs* and appointed their own local representatives as *wakīls* and *bāwās*. The particular form of Nizārī Ismailism that evolved in South Asia became designated as **Satpanth**, or “true path.” The Nizārī Khojas were also among the earliest Asian communities to migrate from India to East Africa. At present, the Nizārī Khojas of South Asian, African, and Western countries are part of the global community of Nizārī Ismailis who recognize the **Aga Khan** as their imam. *See also* AGA KHAN CASE, THE; DIASPORA; IMĀM-SHĀHĪS; LANGUAGES; LITERATURE; MARRIAGE; TITHE.

KHOJKĪ. Name of a script developed within the **Nizārī Khoja** community of South Asia. The Khojkī and its precursor, Lohānakī (the script used by the members of the Lohana caste), belong to a group of scripts commonly known in **Sind** as Banyān or Wāniko, associated

primarily with mercantile communities. Due to their poorly developed vowel system and imperfect sets of consonants, etc., these mercantile scripts are generally ill-suited for literary purposes. However, a small number of such commercial scripts, including Khojkī, were refined and developed into vehicles of literary expression. For the Khojkī script, this development was motivated by the Nizārī Ismaili Khoja community's need to preserve its corpus of religious **literature**, the *gināns*, which were in the vernaculars, in a distinctive local alphabet with which members of the community were familiar and which was easy to learn.

The study of the Khojkī script is still in its infancy primarily because the majority of the Khojkī manuscripts, our most important source of information on the subject, remain to be systematically analyzed. The task of recording religious texts in the Khojkī script was well under way by the 10th/16th century, while the script might have been in use among the Khojas much earlier. The **Institute of Ismaili Studies** Library holds a large collection of Khojkī manuscripts; a smaller collection is held at the Harvard College Library. The use of the Khojkī script in the Khoja community began to decline rapidly in the early decades of the 20th century, partly as a result of the inroads of the printing press. By the 1940s, printing of Khojkī books, as well as instruction in the Khojkī script, had ceased except in the region of Sind, its birthplace. In Sind, too, the script survived only until the 1970s, when it gave way to the Arabo-Persian alphabet, widely used in Pakistan for the Sindhī and Urdu **languages**. *See also SATPANTH.*

KHUMS. *See* TITHE.

KHURĀSĀN. A northeastern province of Iran. In medieval times, Khurāsān covered a much larger region, including parts of today's Central Asia and Afghanistan, and extending perhaps even to the Indus valley. The region was an important eastern province of the **Umayyad** and **Abbasid** caliphates, until the Ṣaffārids seized Nīshāpūr, Khurāsān's capital, in 259/873. By 287/900, Khurāsān was incorporated into the Sāmānid dominions. From the latter decades of the third/ninth century, the Ismaili *da'wa* also spread in Khurāsān and Transoxania from its different bases in Nīshāpūr, Marw al-Rūdh, and Bukhārā. Subsequently, the region passed into the hands of the Turkish Ghaznawids, who persecuted the Ismailis, but Ismailism was revived there through the efforts of **Nāṣir-i Khusraw**.

From the early 480s/1090s, the southeastern part of Khurāsān, with such major towns as Qā'in, Tūn, Ṭabas, and Zūzan, known in medieval times in Arabic as Quhistān (Persian, Kūhistān), stretching from south of Nīshāpūr as far as Sīstān (Arabic, Sijistān), became an important territory of the **Nizārī** state of Persia. The **Mongols** appeared in Khurāsān from 617/1220, ravaging the region and later destroying the Nizārī strongholds of Quhistān. Together with a large scale massacre of the inhabitants of Marw and Nīshāpūr, the Mongols also murdered substantial numbers of Nizārīs of Khurāsān in 654/1256.

Subsequently, various local dynasties, such as the Karts and the Sarbadārīds, ruled over Khurāsān until the establishment of the Tīmūrid dynasty with their capital at Samarqand in Transoxania. By 915/1510, Khurāsān was incorporated into the **Ṣafawid** dominions. In the 12th/18th century, the city of Mashhad, where the shrine of 'Alī al-RiCā (d. 203/818), the eighth imam of the **Twelver** Shi'is, is situated, became Nādir Shāh Afshār's capital. Upon the establishment of **Qājār** rule, Khurāsān became an important province of the Persian state, with

the largest concentration of Nizārī Ismailis in the country.

KHURSHĀH. See RUKN AL-DĪN KHURSHĀH.

KHŪZISTĀN. A southwestern province of Iran, situated between the Zagros mountains and the Persian Gulf. More specifically, Khūzistān is bounded on the west by the Iran–Iraq border, on the north by the province of Luristān, on the south by the Persian Gulf, and on the east by the Hindijān River. Muslim Arabs completed their conquest of the province by 19/640. By the end of the second/eighth century, **Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl**, the seventh imam of the Ismailis, seems to have been settled in Khūzistān, where he had some followers and from where he sent *dā‘īs* to adjoining areas in southern Iraq and elsewhere. His son and successor to the **imamate**, ‘**Abd Allāh al-Akbar**, too, initially organized and led the Ismaili *da‘wa* from Khūzistān. He lived in ‘Askar Mukram, near Ahwāz. Founded at the beginning of the second/eighth century, ‘Askar Mukram was a flourishing medieval town, and today its ruins to the south of Shūshtar are known as Band-i Qīr. Some of the prominent early *dā‘īs*, like **al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī** and ‘**Abdān**, hailed from Khūzistān.

During the succeeding centuries, Khūzistān was governed by Būyids, **Saljūqs**, and **Īlkhānids**. In the **Alamūt** period of **Nizārī** history, the Nizārīs, for a while, were active in the Zagros mountains, the border region between the provinces of Khūzistān and **Fārs**. In that region, the Nizārīs seized at least two fortresses near the town of Arrajān and used them as their bases of operation. In 839/1435, the Musha‘sha‘, a local Arab dynasty upholding extremist Shi‘i doctrines, established themselves at Ḥawīza in southern Khūzistān, from where they ruled independently for 70 years, until the region was absorbed into the **Ṣafawid** state in 920/1514.

Subsequently, the Musha‘sha‘ served the various Persian dynasties, until 1924, as *wālīs*, or governors. Meanwhile, various Arab tribes had settled in Khūzistān and were calling the province ‘Arabistān; their *shaykhs* virtually ruled over the region until RiCā Shāh, founder of the Pahlavī dynasty, terminated their hegemony in 1925. With the discovery of oil in Khūzistān in 1908, the province’s economic conditions started to improve.

KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS, OR KHWĀRAZMIANS. A Sunni Muslim Turkish dynasty with different branches hailing from Khwārazm, on the lower Oxus in Central Asia. Originally serving as vassals of the **Saljūqs**, these hereditary governors of Khwārazm adopted the old title of the kings (*shāhs*) of the region and called themselves the Khwārazm-Shāhs. Taking advantage of the Saljūq dissensions after Sultan Sanjar (r. 511–552/1118–1157), the Khwārazm-Shāhs asserted their independence and extended their own dominions into Persia and Iraq. Sultan Tekish (r. 567–596/1172–1200) ended Saljūq rule by defeating Ṭughril III in 590/1194. The dynasty was uprooted when the **Mongols** defeated Jalāl al-Dīn Mengūbirtī (r. 617–628/1220–1231), the last of the Khwārazm-Shāhs. As successors to the Saljūqs, the Khwārazmians, too, had extended military confrontations with the **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**.

KIRMĀN. A province of Iran situated to the southwest of the country’s central desert, Dasht-i Lūt. It is bounded on the north by Yazd and **Khurāsān**, on the east by Sīstān (Arabic, Sijistān)

and Makrān (Balūchistān), on the south by Makrān and **Fārs**, and on the west by Fārs. Kirmān is also the name of the province's capital city. The western part of the region includes the towns of Shahr-i Bābak and Sīrjān, where **Nizārī** Ismaili settlements are still found. Bam, with its ancient citadel, was the second major city of Kirmān in the early centuries. Kirmān was ruled by various dynasties of Persia until it became incorporated into the **Şafawid** dominions in 909/1503.

In medieval times, the Ismaili *da'wa* spread with some success in Kirmān. **Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī**, one of the most learned *dā'īs* of the **Fatimid** times, hailed from Kirmān. By the 460s/1070s, the Ismaili *da'wa* in Persia had successfully spread to Kirmān. Later, the Nizārīs achieved particular success, although briefly, in Kirmān and won the local **Saljūq** ruler, Bahā' al-Dawla Īrānshāh (r. 490–494/1097–1101), to their side. The Nizārīs were again successful in Kirmān during the **Anjudān** revival in Nizārī *da'wa* activities.

In the turbulent 12th/18th century, when Kirmān was the scene of constant confrontations among the Şafawids, Afghans, Afshārs, Zands, and **Qājārs**, the Nizārī imams established themselves in Shahr-i Bābak before the 44th imam, Sayyid **Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī** (d. 1206/1792), was appointed around 1170/1756 as the governor of the province by Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1164–1193/1751–1779). During 1251–1252/1835–1837, this imam's grandson, **Aga Khan I**, also governed Kirmān for the Qājārs. Subsequently, in 1256/1840, Kirmān was the scene of extended military confrontations between Aga Khan I and the Qājār armies. Currently, the Nizārī communities of Kirmān account for the second largest concentration of these communities, after Khurāsān, in Iran.

AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ḤAMĪD AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH (d. c. 411/1020). Prominent Ismaili *dā'ī* and one of the most accomplished Ismaili theologians and philosophers of the **Fatimid** period. Born in the province of **Kirmān**, in Persia, al-Kirmānī seems to have spent the greater part of his life as an Ismaili *dā'ī* in western Persia and Iraq, where he successfully concentrated his efforts on local rulers and influential tribal chiefs. Alarmed by the successes of the Ismaili *da'wa* in Iraq, the **Abbasid** caliph al-Qādir (r. 381–422/991–1031) took retaliatory measures and, in 402/1011, sponsored the so-called “Baghdad manifesto” to discredit the Fatimids.

Al-Kirmānī rose to prominence during the reign of the Fatimid **al-Ḥākim**, when he was summoned to **Cairo** to produce tracts in refutation of the extremist *dā'īs* who proclaimed al-Ḥākim's divinity and founded the **Druze** religion. A prolific scholar, al-Kirmānī also belonged to that group of Ismaili *dā'īs* of the Iranian lands who amalgamated their theology with different philosophical traditions. He was fully acquainted with Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies, as well as the metaphysical systems of the Muslim philosophers, notably al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037). Al-Kirmānī elaborated his own metaphysical system in his **Rāḥat al-'aql**, which he completed in 411/1020 shortly before his death. See also COSMOLOGY; AL-ḤĀMIDĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. AL-ḤUSAYN; KITĀB AL-RİYĀD; LITERATURE.

KITĀB AL-FIHRIST. Compiled by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990). Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. IsUāq al-Warrāq al-Nadīm, better known as Ibn al-Nadīm, lived in Baghdad and earned his

living by copying and selling books. His bookstore appears to have been a popular meeting place for the literati and scholars. An Imāmī Shi‘i himself, Ibn al-Nadīm completed his famous catalogue (*Fihrist*) of Arabic books in 377/987. His *Fihrist* contains much encyclopedic information on the culture and literary figures of medieval Islam; it also contains unique details on the early Ismaili *da‘wa* and *dā‘īs*, including direct quotations from **Ibn Rizām’s** lost anti-Ismaili treatise.

KITĀB AL-IṢLĀḤ. See AL-RĀZĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM AḤMAD B. ḤAMDĀN.

KITĀB AL-MAḤṢŪL. See AL-NASAFĪ, ABU’L-HASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD.

KITĀB AL-RIYĀD. Written by **Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī** (d. c. 411/1020). In this Arabic work, written in 10 chapters (*bābs*), the author acts as an arbiter, from the perspective of the **Fatimid** Ismaili *da‘wa*, in a controversial theological debate among the early *dā‘īs*, **Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī**, **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī**, and **Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sijistānī**, preserving unique fragments of their works. In general, 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, as expressed, respectively, in their *Kitāb al-maUṣūl* and *Kitāb al-nuṣra*, which seem to be lost. See also LITERATURE.

KRAUS, PAUL (1904–1944). Czech orientalist and a pioneer in modern Ismaili studies. Born in Prague into a Jewish family, Kraus studied oriental languages at the Deutsche Universität in his native city and then left Czechoslovakia for Palestine in 1925. Disillusioned with kibbutz life, in 1926 he proceeded to study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, initiating his lifelong interest in philology and the philological study of ancient texts. In 1927, he enrolled at the University of Berlin and completed his doctoral studies there three years later. In Berlin, Kraus had studied under Carl H. Becker (1876–1933), providing the foundation for his subsequent study of Islam. In 1929, Kraus became assistant to Julius Ruska (1867–1949), a specialist in Islamic natural sciences and founder-director of the Research Institute for the History of Natural Sciences in Berlin. It was under Ruska’s influence that Kraus became interested in the alchemist Jābir b. Ḥayyān (Geber of the Latins). He produced original studies on this enigmatic figure and his connection to Shi‘ism and Ismaili gnosis, arguing that the Jabirean corpus of texts belonged to the **Qarmaṭī**–Ismaili movement. He, thus, paved the way for later breakthroughs in our modern understanding of early Ismailism.

In 1933, Kraus went to Paris, where Louis Massignon (1883–1962) mentored this Czech refugee during his three-year sojourn there. Kraus taught courses at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and other institutions. There, Kraus also met **Henry Corbin**, with whom he worked on a text by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191). In 1937, Kraus went to Egypt as a lecturer in the Egyptian (King Fuad I) University in **Cairo** and Farouq I University in Alexandria. He edited numerous texts, including some rare works by the early Ismaili *dā‘ī* **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī**. Under mysterious circumstances, Kraus took his own life in Cairo in 1944.

KUTĀMA. Name of one of the great Berber clans of North Africa. At the time of the advent of Islam in North Africa, the Kutāma occupied the entire northern region of the Constantincis,

between the Awrās and the sea, the region containing the towns of Īkjān, Saṭif, Mīla, Billizma, and also Lesser Kabylia (in present-day eastern Algeria). The Ismaili *dā'ī* **Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī**, who settled in Īkjān, was active among the Kutāma from 280/893 and converted them. It was with the help of his Kutāma Berber Ismaili soldiers that the *dā'ī* eventually uprooted the **Aghlabids** in 296/909 and laid the foundations of the **Fatimid** caliphate. The Kutāma continued to provide the backbone of the Fatimid armies, also conquering Egypt in 358/969 for the Fatimids. It is not known how long after the departure of the Fatimid caliph **al-Mu'izz** for Egypt in 361/972 that Ismailism lost its foothold among the Kutāma. Eventually all Berber clans of the region became Sunni Muslims. *See also* IFRĪQIYA.

KUTAYFĀT, ABŪ 'ALĪ AḤMAD (d. 526/1131). **Fatimid** vizier. Son of the Fatimid vizier **al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī**, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, surnamed Kutayfāt, was raised to the vizierate shortly after the Fatimid caliph **al-Āmir**'s assassination in Dhu'l-Qa'da 524/October 1130, when he also assumed his father's title of al-Afḍal. Soon afterward, Kutayfāt declared the Fatimid dynasty deposed and imprisoned the then regent 'Abd al-Majīd (the future Fatimid caliph **al-Ḥāfiz**), also proclaiming the sovereignty of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the hidden 12th imam of the **Twelver** (Ithnā'asharī) Shi'is. An Imāmī Shi'i himself, Kutayfāt ruled briefly as a dictator. During 525 and 526/1130–1131, he issued coins bearing the name of the hidden imam with himself mentioned as his representative (*nā'ib*). On 16 MuUarram 526/8 December 1131, Kutayfāt was overthrown and killed, and the Fatimids were restored to power. *See also* IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, TĀJ AL-RI'ĀSA ABU'L-QĀSIM 'ALĪ B. MUNJIB.

LAMAK B. MĀLIK AL-ḤAMMĀDĪ (d. c. 491/1098). Chief *qāḍī* and Ismailid *dā'ī* in Yaman. He hailed from the Banū Ḥammād branch of the Banū Hamdān tribe. Lamak was sent by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, to **Cairo** on a mission to prepare for 'Alī's own visit to the **Fatimid** court. Lamak stayed in Cairo for five years and eventually had an audience with the Fatimid caliph **al-Mustanṣir**. During his stay in Cairo, Lamak stayed at the **Dār al-'Ilm** as the guest of the chief *dā'ī*, **al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī**, who furthered his knowledge of Ismaili doctrines.

Upon his return to Yaman, Lamak became the executive head of the *da'wa* there and was instrumental in establishing close relations between Ṣulayḥid Yaman and the headquarters of the *da'wa* in Cairo. Later, as the head of the *da'wa* organization in Yaman, Lamak was fully supported by the Ṣulayḥid queen **Arwā**; they both sided with **al-Musta'li** in the **Nizārī–Musta'li** schism. Lamak resided in Dhū Jibla, the Ṣulayḥid capital, and died there around 491/1098. He was succeeded in the headship of the *da'wa* in Yaman by his son YaUyā b. Lamak (d. 520/1126).

LAMASAR. Also known as Lanbasar, this was a major fortress of the **Nizārī** Ismailis in northwestern Persia during the **Alamūt** period of their history. Situated in the Rūdbār (or Daylamān) district of the upper Shāhrūd, in the medieval region of **Daylam**, the fortress of Lamasar is located some 43 kilometers northeast of the city of Qazwīn and three kilometers north of the village of Shahrīstān-i Bālā. In 489/1096 (or less possibly in 495/1102), a Nizārī force commanded by **Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd**, **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ**'s future successor, seized Lamasar by assault from some local chiefs who planned to surrender the fortress to the **Saljūqs**. Thereupon, Buzurg-Umīd was appointed as the governor of Lamasar, the largest castle held by the Nizārīs in Daylam.

Buzurg-Umīd fortified Lamasar into a major stronghold, also equipping it with ample water resources and cisterns, which are still in existence, and gardens. Lamasar's position guarded the western approaches to Alamūt from the Shāhrūd valley, and it considerably enhanced the defensive capability of the Nizārīs of the Rūdbār area. Lamasar was besieged in vain on numerous occasions by Saljūq forces. In the **Mongol** operations in 654/1256, commanded by Hūlāgū himself, against the Nizārī fortress communities of Daylamān, Lamasar held out for one year, finally surrendering at the end of 655/1257.

Subsequently, the Mongols partially reconstructed Lamasar for their own use. By the middle of the eighth/14th century, the Nizārīs of Daylamān, who had meanwhile regrouped, intermittently occupied Lamasar before finally being dislodged by local rulers. The ownership of Lamasar then changed hands frequently among various local dynasties of Daylam, including the **Zaydī** Amīr Kiyā'ī Sayyids, Hazāraspids, and Gāwbāras, until the region was added to the **Ṣafawid** dominions in the 10th/16th century. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

LANGARIDS. See MUSĀFIRIDS.

LANGUAGES. Ismailis have hailed from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds in different regions of the Muslim world. As a result, they have used a multiplicity of languages and dialects. The Ismaili scholars and authors of the early and **Fatimid** periods in Ismaili history, who for the most part also functioned as **dā'īs**, wrote almost exclusively in Arabic, the scientific language and lingua franca of all Muslims. The **Ṭayyibī–Musta'lian** Ismaili authors, who were initially based mainly in Yaman, continued to write in Arabic. But the **Nizārī** Ismaili authors of Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, produced their religious texts in Persian, adopted as the religious language of the Persian-speaking Nizārīs by **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ** (d. 518/1124) in preference to Arabic. This explains why the entire **literature** of the Nizārīs of those regions has been produced in the Persian language.

The Nizārīs of **Badakhshān** and adjacent districts also speak a number of local languages, such as those belonging to the Shughnī–Rūshanī–Bartangī group of the Pamiri family of languages (themselves belonging to the Modern Eastern Iranian languages). These languages, as well as Uighur and Chinese, are also spoken in the Sinkiang (Xinjiang) region of western China, where Nizārīs of Tajik ethnicity are situated. None of these regional languages (and dialects) has achieved the status of a written language, while Persian and Tajik Persian are generally used for writing. The Nizārīs of Hunza, Chitral, as well as Yāsīn, Ishkoman, and other districts of Gilgit, now all situated in the northern areas of Pakistan, speak a variety of their own local languages and dialects, such as Burushaskī, Wakhī, and Shīna. But the religious literature of the Nizārīs of these areas, too, has been produced in Persian. This literature had been originally made available to the Nizārīs of those northern areas by their Badakhshānī coreligionists. As an exception in Nizārī literature, the Syrian Nizārīs have always used Arabic in their writings; they have also preserved a portion of the Arabic Ismaili literature of earlier times.

In the early post–**Alamūt** centuries, after 654/1256, the Nizārī **da'wa** spread rapidly in South Asia and led to the development of an indigenous literary tradition known as **gināns**. These devotional poems were initially transmitted orally for several centuries before they began to be collected in writing from the 10th/16th century onward. Composed in several Indian languages of **Sind**, Panjāb, and **Gujarāt**, especially Gujarātī and Sindhī, the **gināns** were recorded mainly in the **Khojkī** script. In more recent times, the Nizārīs, who have emigrated from South Asia and Africa to a number of European countries, as well as North America, have used various European languages, notably English, French, and Portuguese, while the Nizārīs of Tajikistan, as well as the Tajik emigrant groups in Russia, also speak Russian. Meanwhile, the **Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohras** in India had developed a particular form of Gujarātī language permeated with Arabic and some Persian words, while using Arabic as their script. They have designated their distinctive Gujarātī–Arabic form of literary expression as the **lisān al-da'wat**, or the language of the **da'wa**. A number of historical and poetical works have been produced in this language. Dā'ūdī Bohras have also continued to copy the earlier Arabic Ismaili texts.

LAST DAY. See **QIYĀMA**.

LAW. See JURISPRUDENCE.

LEWIS, BERNARD (1916–). British orientalist and a scholar of modern Ismaili studies. Born in London, Bernard Lewis was educated at the University of London, obtaining a B.A. in history (first class honors) in 1936 and a Ph.D. in 1939. His doctoral thesis on early Ismailism was later published as *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*. In 1938, he was appointed as assistant lecturer in Islamic history at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and promoted to lecturer in 1940. Lewis spent the World War II years in the Middle East, attached to the Department of the Foreign Office. Subsequently, he resumed his academic career at SOAS and rose to become professor of the history of the Near and Middle East in 1949, at the very young age of 33.

In 1974, he left London for Princeton University, serving as Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies until his retirement in 1986. Concurrently, he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Lewis has received numerous awards and honors throughout his career. His work covers wide-ranging aspects of Islamic and Middle Eastern history and culture. But in the earlier decades of his career, he produced a number of valuable studies on the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Syria, most of which have been collected in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam*; he also wrote a monograph on the history of the Nizārīs of **Alamūt** period entitled *The Assassins*, which has been translated into numerous languages.

LITERATURE. The Ismailis have produced a relatively substantial and diversified literature, mainly in Arabic, Persian, and a number of Indian **languages**, on a multiplicity of subjects and religious themes in different periods of their long history. These texts, now preserved in numerous private and public manuscript collections, especially in Yaman, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, India, and northern areas of Pakistan, range from a few historical and biographical treatises of the *sīra* genre, legal compendia of **al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān**, and elaborate works on the central Shi'i doctrine of the **imamate**, to complex esoteric and metaphysical treatises culminating in the gnostic-esoteric (*Uaqā'iq*) system of medieval Ismaili thought with its distinctive cyclical conception of sacred history, **cosmology**, eschatology, and **soteriology**.

From early in the third/ninth century, however, a good portion of Ismaili literature related to works on **ta'wīl**, or esoteric and allegorical interpretation of passages from the **Qur'an**, as well as the commandments and prohibitions of the Islamic law. Such Ismaili authors as **Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman** and al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān made important contributions to this literary tradition. Ismaili literature is also rich in religious and devotional poetry. The bulk of the classical Ismaili literature produced mainly in **Fatimid** times by such **dā'ī**-authors as **al-Rāzī**, **al-Sijistānī**, **al-Kirmānī**, and **al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī** was written in Arabic; only **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** wrote exclusively in Persian. The **dā'īs** of the Iranian lands, starting with **al-Nasafī** and al-Rāzī, also formulated a new synthesis of reason and revelation, amalgamating their Ismaili theology (*kalām*) with Neoplatonic and other philosophical traditions. This led to the elaboration of a unique intellectual tradition, known as “philosophical theology,” within Ismailism. Another genre peculiar to Ismaili literature was that of sermons or lectures (*majālis*), prepared by the chief **dā'ī** for the exclusive **education** of the Ismailis. Two important branches of Islamic religious sciences, namely *Uadīth* and *tafsīr*, or philological

Qur'an commentaries, did not acquire any prominence in Ismaili literature. In both spheres, the Ismailis were expected to follow the teachings of their living imams, who presented the traditions of the Prophet and the earlier imams and also interpreted the Qur'an through *ta'wīl*.

The Persian Ismaili literary tradition, focusing on the doctrine of the imamate, relates to the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. The Nizārīs of these regions have produced a variety of Persian Ismaili texts during the **Alamūt** (483–654/1090–1256) and subsequent periods of their history, starting with **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ**'s reformulation of the doctrine of *ta'lim*. In the earlier post-Alamūt centuries of Nizārī history, due to close coalescence between Persian Nizārī and Sufi teachings, the relatively limited Nizārī literature became permeated with such terminologies as *pīr* and *murīd*, which are more distinctly associated with Sufism. In addition, Nizārī authors of Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, starting with **Nizārī Quhistānī**, now increasingly resorted to poetic forms of expression.

From the middle of the ninth/15th century, there appeared a renaissance, known as the **Anjudān** revival, in the literary activities of the Persian-speaking Nizārīs. **Abū Iṣḥāq Quhistānī** and **Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī** were among the pioneers of this revival. The Syrian Nizārīs elaborated their own literary tradition using the Arabic language. Unlike their Persian-speaking coreligionists, they also preserved numerous Arabic Ismaili texts of the Fatimid period. The Nizārīs of South Asia, or **Khojas**, elaborated their indigenous *Satpanth* religious tradition drawing also on Hindu idioms. They developed, in Gujarātī and other Indian languages, a distinctive literary genre in the form of hymn-like devotional poems known as *gināns*. The *gināns* have been preserved in writing mainly in the **Khojkī** script.

The **Ṭayyibī Musta'lian** Ismailis have preserved in Yaman and India numerous Arabic Ismaili texts of the Fatimid period in addition to producing a significant literature of their own in Arabic during the Yamanī period of their history. The **Dā'ūdī Bohra** libraries, in Bombay (Mumbai) and Sūrāt in **Gujarāt**, contain large collections of Arabic Ismaili manuscripts, which are generally inaccessible to scholars. The **Institute of Ismaili Studies** Library in London possesses the largest collections of Arabic and Persian as well as *ginān* manuscripts in the West and makes these resources available to scholars worldwide. *See also* CORBIN, HENRY; HISTORIOGRAPHY; IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ'; ISMAILI SOCIETY; IVANOW, WLADIMIR; JURISPRUDENCE; AL-MAJDŪ', ISMĀ'ĪL B. 'ABD AL-RASŪL.

LORDS OF ALAMŪT. *See* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

LUQMĀNJĪ B. ḤABĪB ALLĀH B. MULLĀ QĀDĪKHĀN RĀMPŪRĪ (d. 1173/1760). An eminent **Ṭayyibī** Ismaili **Bohra** scholar and author. He was the teacher of **Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Majdū'**. He wrote several historical and doctrinal works.

MAFĀTĪḤ AL-ASRĀR WA MAṢĀBĪḤ AL-ABRĀR. Written by **al-Shahrastānī** (d. 548/1153). It is a partial **Qur’an** commentary (*tafsīr*). Preserved in a single manuscript in Tehran, the *MafātīḤ* not only reflects Abu’l-FatU Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī’s vast learning in the traditional Qur’anic sciences, but also his reception of Shi’i and Sufi hermeneutics as transmitted from the family of the **Prophet Muḥammad**, or the *ahl al-bayt*, as well as reflecting more specifically the author’s original religious thought based on certain key **Nizārī** Ismaili concepts. In this work, produced shortly before 540/1145, al-Shahrastānī fully employs the methodology of Ismaili *ta’wīl*. The *MafātīḤ* represents one of the few works of *tafsīr* genre in Ismaili **literature**. See also *HADĪTH*.

MAHDĪ. An Arabic term denoting the “rightly guided one.” A name applied to the restorer of true religion and justice in Islam, who, according to a widely held belief, will appear and rule before the end of the world. This name, with its various eschatological connotations, has been applied to different individuals by Shi’is and Sunnis in the course of the centuries. However, belief in the coming of the *Mahdī* of the family of the **Prophet Muḥammad**, the *ahl al-bayt*, became a central aspect of the faith in Shi’i Islam in contrast to Sunni Islam. Also, distinctively, Shi’i was the common belief in a temporary absence or occultation (*ghayba*) of the *Mahdī* and his eventual return, *raj’a*, in glory.

In Shi’i terminology, at least from the second/eighth century, the *Mahdī* was commonly given the epithet *al-qā’im*, or “riser,” also called *qā’im āl Muḥammad*, denoting a member of the Prophet’s family who would rise and establish justice on earth. Various early Shi’i groups, including the early Ismailis (**Qarmaṭīs**), awaited the return of the last imam recognized by them in the role of the *qā’im*. The Qarmaṭīs expected the return of their seventh imam, **Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl**, as the *Mahdī*, or *qā’im*. In early Ismailism, the terms *Mahdī* and *qā’im* were both used, as in Imāmī Shi’ism, for the expected messianic imam. After the rise of the **Fatimids**, the name *Mahdī* was reserved for the first **Fatimid** caliph-imam, **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, while the eschatological imam still expected for the future was called the *qā’im* by the Ismailis. See also *HUJJA*; *KUTAYFĀT*, *ABŪ ‘ALĪ AḤMAD*; *QIYĀMA*; *SATR*; *TWELVERS*, *ITHNĀ‘ASHARIYYA*.

AL-MAHDĪ, ‘ABD ALLĀH (‘UBAYD ALLĀH) (r. 297–322/909–934). Founder of the **Fatimid** dynasty and 11th Ismaili imam. Born in 259 or 260/873–874, ‘Abd Allāh was approximately eight years old when his father, al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, died. ‘Abd Allāh spent many years under the tutelage of his paternal uncle, Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad (d. c. 286/899), also known as Sa’īd al-Khayr. ‘Abd Allāh succeeded to the **imamate** of the Ismailis shortly before 286/899. Until then, the central leaders of the Ismaili *da’wa*, residing in **Salamiyya**, had not openly claimed the **imamate**, adopting instead the rank of the *ḥujja* of the hidden imam, **Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl**. But soon after his own accession to central leadership, ‘Abd Allāh

openly claimed the imamate, which led to turmoil in the community and its permanent split into the loyal and dissident (or **Qarmaṭī**) factions, depending on whether ‘Abd Allāh’s claim was accepted. It was under such circumstances that ‘Abd Allāh embarked on a journey from Salamiyya in 289/902 that eventually took him to Sijilmāsa (in today’s Morocco), where he lived quietly for four years (292–296/905–909).

Meanwhile, the *dā’ī* **Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī’ī** had been active among the **Kutāma** tribesmen of **Ifrīqiya**. In 296/909, this able *dā’ī* uprooted the region’s **Aghlabid** dynasty and then set off for Sijilmāsa to hand over the reins of power to the Ismaili Imam ‘Abd Allāh, who made his triumphant entry into Qayrawān in 297/910, marking the foundation of Fatimid rule. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh adopted the caliphal title of al-Mahdī bi’llāh. Al-Mahdī founded the town of **Mahdiyya** and transferred his capital there in 308/921. Having laid a solid foundation for Fatimid rule in North Africa, he died in 322/934. *See also* ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AKBAR; ABU’L-‘ABBĀS MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARIYYĀ’; ‘ALĪ B. AL-FADL ALJAYSHANĪ; ḤAMDĀN QARMAṬ B. AL-ASH‘ATH; *SĪRA OF JA‘FAR B. ‘ALĪ*; ZIKRAWAYH B. MIHRAWAYH.

MAHDIYYA. A town in Tunisia (part of medieval **Ifrīqiya**) named after its founder, the **Fatimid** caliph **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**. Situated on the Mediterranean coast about 200 kilometers to the south of Tunis, it is now a small town with a population of about 30,000 people. The founder of the Fatimid dynasty initially settled in Qayrawān, the capital of the uprooted **Aghlabids**, before deciding to build a new capital on the east coast of Ifrīqiya that would offer his new Ismaili Shi‘i dynasty security from the hostile Sunni inhabitants of Qayrawān and other major cities of Ifrīqiya. The locality of Mahdiyya offered ideal security to a dynasty that also possessed a powerful naval force. Built on a spur projecting some 1,400 meters into the sea, the town was impregnable from the land. In 300/912, ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī started building his new capital, which was inaugurated in 308/921.

Mahdiyya was surrounded by a thick defensive wall, of which a section is still *in situ*. The new capital comprised a palace for the Fatimid caliph al-Mahdī and another one for his son and successor, **al-Qā’im**; administrative buildings; wells; cisterns; and one major mosque, which was restored in the 1960s. Mahdiyya was also equipped with a shipyard and an arsenal. In 337/948, the town was abandoned as the Fatimid capital by the third member of the dynasty, **al-Mansūr**, who moved into his own new capital, Mansūriyya, named after himself and built on the outskirts of Qayrawān.

Mahdiyya regained its status as a capital one last time, when the **Zirid** ruler al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs took refuge there in 449/1057. The town was seized by the Normans in 543/1148, when they defeated the Zīrids. Subsequently, Mahdiyya fell into the hands of different local dynasties and rulers, until it was incorporated in modern times into the French Protectorate of Tunisia. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

MAHR. *See* MARRIAGE.

MAJĀLIS AL-ḤIKMA. The designation for a teaching tradition elaborated by the Ismailis. The Ismailis organized a variety of the so-called *da‘wa* lectures for the exclusive benefit of the

converts to Ismailism. The teaching sessions related to *Uikma*, or the esoteric Ismaili doctrines, were designated as the *majālis al-Uikma*, or “sessions of wisdom.” Under the **Fatimids**, these private lectures gradually developed into an elaborate program of instruction for a variety of audiences. By the time of **al-Ḥākim**, different types of teaching sessions were organized for different categories of participants in **Cairo**, including the initiates, courtiers, high officials, **women**, and royal women. Many of the lectures on Ismaili doctrines prepared by, or for, various chief *dā’īs*, were eventually collected in writing. Ismaili *dā’īs* working within the Fatimid dominions, and some also in non-Fatimid regions, held similar sessions for the exclusive **education** of Ismaili initiates. This all-important Ismaili tradition of learning culminated in the *al-Majālis al-Mu’ayyadiyya*. See also LITERATURE; AL-MU’AYYAD FI’L-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ABŪ NAṢR HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABĪ ‘IMRĀN MŪSĀ; TA’WĪL AL-DA’Ā’IM.

AL-MAJĀLIS AL-MU’AYYADIYYA. Composed by **al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī** (d. 470/1078), it is a collection of eight volumes, with one hundred *majālis*, or lectures, in each volume. These lectures were delivered by al-Mu’ayyad as the Ismaili chief *dā’ī*, or *dā’ī al-du’āt*, at the *majālis al-ḥikma* at the **Dār al-‘Ilm** in **Cairo**. They deal with a wide variety of theological, philosophical, and ethical issues, as well as esoteric interpretation (*ta’wīl*) of the **Qur’an**. See also EDUCATION; LITERATURE.

AL-MAJDŪ’, ISMĀ’ĪL B. ‘ABD AL-RASŪL (d. c. 1183/1769). **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohra** author. A learned scholar, al-Majdū’ was a student of **Luqmānjī b. Ḥabīb Allāh**. In 1175/1761, al-Majdū’'s son, Hibat Allāh, claimed to have established direct contact with the concealed Ṭayyibī **Musta’lian** imam, also claiming the leadership of the Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī community. Al-Majdū’ supported the claims of his son, and they acquired some followers in Ujjain, Central India, and elsewhere in India, who became known as Hiptias, or Hibtias, after Hibat Allāh’s name. These sectarians were persecuted and chased out of Ujjain by the Dā’ūdī Bohras loyal to the *dā’ī muṭlaq*. Hibat Allāh himself was seized, and his nose was amputated as a mark of disgrace. The derogatory nickname al-Majdū’, meaning a person whose nose is cut off, was later given to Hibat Allāh’s father, Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd al-Rasūl, the author of the famous Ismaili catalogue *Fahrasat al-kutub wa’l-rasā’il*. Commonly known as the *Fihrist al-Majdū’*, this earliest known catalogue of Ismaili **literature** covers some 250 titles.

MAJĪDIYYA. See ḤĀFIZĪS, ḤĀFIZIYYA.

MAKRAMIDS. A Yamanī family that has held the leadership of the Banū Yām and the Sulaymānī **Ṭayyibī** Ismaili community in Najrān and Yaman since the 11th/17th century. The family is comprised of the Banū Makram clan of Hamdān, who had settled in villages west of Ṣan‘ā’. Later, some Makramids settled in Badr in northern Najrān. Badr served as the traditional residence of the Makramī *dā’īs* of the Sulaymānī Ismailis, who also remained politically independent as rulers of Yām until Najrān was annexed to Saudi Arabia in 1934. See also ḤARĀZ.

AL-MAKRAMĪ, Ṣafī AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. FAHD (d. 1042/1633). Progenitor of the

Makramī family of *dā'īs* who headed the Sulaymānī branch of the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis in Yaman and also enjoyed political power in Najrān. He preached the *da'wa* in Najrān, where he won the support of the influential Banū Yām tribe. With their help, he seized Badr, in Najrān, which became his residence and the future seat of the **Makramids**.

AL-MA'MŪN AL-BAṬĀ'IHĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. FĀTIK (d. 522/1128). **Fatimid** vizier. After the assassination of the all-powerful Fatimid vizier **al-Afḍal** in 515/1121, the Fatimid caliph **al-Āmir** appointed al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iūī to the vizierate. Al-Ma'mūn, who had obscure origins and was implicated in the murder of his patron, al-Afḍal, reopened the **Dār al-'Ilm**, which had been closed by his predecessor toward the end of the fifth/11th century. He was also instrumental in the construction of the mosque of al-Aqmar, near the Fatimid palace.

Al-Ma'mūn found it necessary to arrange for an official assembly at the Fatimid palace in 516/1122, to publicize the rights of **al-Musta'li** and al-Āmir to the **imamate** and to refute the claims of **Nizār** and his partisans, who were also active in Fatimid Egypt at the time. The epistle *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya* is based on the proceedings of this assembly. Al-Ma'mūn himself soon fell from al-Āmir's favor and was imprisoned in 519/1125. Three years later, he was crucified in **Cairo**, with his brothers, on charges of plotting against the Fatimid caliph. Al-Āmir did not appoint any viziers after al-Ma'mūn until the end of his reign in 524/1130. *See also* IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, TĀJ AL-RI'ĀSA ABU'L-QĀSIM 'ALĪ B. MUNJIB; MUSTA'LIANS, MUSTA'LIYYA; NIZĀRĪS, NIZĀRIYYA.

AL-MANṢŪR (r. 334–341/946–953). The third **Fatimid** caliph and 13th Ismaili imam. Born in 301/914 at Raqqāda, in **Ifrīqiya**, Abū Ṭāhir Ismā'īl succeeded his father, **al-Qā'im**, to the Fatimid caliphate with the title of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh. He came to power in the midst of the Khārijī revolt of **Abū Yazīd** and personally took the field against the rebels. In 336/947, al-Manṣūr inflicted a final defeat on the Khārijī Berbers in the mountains of Kiyāna. He built a new Fatimid capital in Ifrīqiya, named Manṣūriyya, after himself. He died in 341/953.

MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN. *See* IBN ḤAWSHAB, ABU'L-QĀSIM AL-ḤASAN B. FARAJ AL-KŪFĪ.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ. *See* ITTI'ĀZ AL-ḤUNAFĀ'.

MARRIAGE. Traditionally marriage, or *nikāh*, as a legal institution in Islam has been governed by the relevant Islamic school of **jurisprudence** applicable to the marrying couple in question, while the actual ritual and ceremonies surrounding it reflect local customs and sociocultural circumstances. For the **Nizārī** Ismailis, their constitutions containing the personal law of the community also set out the rules and conditions of marriage. It can be noted that only the Nizārī imam of the time, as in all other religious or secular matters, has the authority to determine or revise such rules.

As a result of the reforms introduced by **Aga Khan III**, Nizārī **women** have been increasingly enabled to assume their rightful place as partners with men in all matters pertaining to life, including marriage. Prevalent traditional practices among sections of the

South Asian Nizārī **Khoja** community, for instance, as well as in other tradition-oriented Nizārī communities of China, Afghanistan, and elsewhere in Asia, allowed marrying minor girls, while barring widows and divorcees from remarriage. All such practices were abolished by Aga Khan III. He also condemned polygamy and encouraged marriage between different ethnic groups among the Nizārīs of South Asia and elsewhere. Indeed, he explained to his community through his rulings and edicts (*farmāns*) that young girls and women were not to be viewed as items of exchange between men or their families, nor were they to suffer the indignity of polygyny, except in such rare cases as barrenness. Aga Khan III's reforms have been heeded by the Nizārī Ismailis, who were also advised not to stipulate a large and ostentatious *mahr*, or dower, as required by Islamic law to be paid as a gift by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of signing of the marriage contract. The Arabic text of the *nikāḥ* contract is currently the same for all Nizārī communities, and the actual ceremony is performed by the appointed Nizārī functionaries, the *mukhis* and *kamadias*. The wedding rituals of the Nizārīs reflect local customs and sociocultural practices, which might vary from region to region.

For the Ṭayyibī Ismailis, dominated by the **Dā'ūdī Bohras** of South Asia, marriage is governed by the Islamic law as articulated in **al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām***, the Ismaili legal code of the **Fatimid** state, which still serves as the authoritative legal text of the Ṭayyibīs. The marriage ceremony for the Bohras is conducted by the *'āmils*, who operate as representatives of the Dā'ūdī ***dā'ī muṭlaq*** in every Bohra community. However, the bride and the bridegroom, as well as their parents, are required to renew their **oath of allegiance** (*mīthāq*) to the *dā'ī* before the *nikāḥ* permission is granted in every instance. Thus, the dissident members of the community are denied permission to marry or have their children married. Although much more traditional than the Nizārīs in many of their religious and social practices, the Bohras, too, now rarely practice polygamy, while they still accept it in theory. Unlike the Nizārīs, the Bohras and other Ṭayyibīs do not normally marry outside their own community. The Bohras have also retained many Hindu customs in their marriage rituals. However, Ismailis of all branches, similarly to Sunnis and Zaydī Shi'is, do not permit *mut'a*, or temporary marriage for a stipulated duration, which is practiced by the **Twelver** Shi'is. See also TITHE.

AL-MARWAZĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ. Early Ismaili *dā'ī* in **Khurāsān** and Transoxania. Originally an influential *amīr* in the service of the Sāmānids, he was converted to Ismailism by the *dā'ī* Ghiyāth. During the rule of the Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl (r. 295–301/907–914), he commanded the Sāmānid forces in Sīstān (Arabic, Sijistān). Later, he rebelled at Harāt against Aḥmad's son and successor Naṣr II and was defeated in 306/918 and imprisoned in Bukhārā. After being pardoned and spending some time at the Sāmānid court, he returned to Khurāsān and subsequently became the chief Ismaili *dā'ī* there. In that capacity, he succeeded Abū Sa'īd al-Sha'rānī. Under him, the regional seat of the *da'wa* was transferred from Nīshāpūr to Marw al-Rūdh (the present-day Bālā Murghāb in northern Afghanistan). He collected around himself a circle of intellectuals of some distinction, including Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (235–322/850–934) and his own successor as chief *dā'ī* of Khurāsān, **Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī**, a brilliant philosopher.

MAŞYĀF. A fortress and town in central Syria. It is situated on the eastern side of the Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya about 54 kilometers to the east of Bāniyās and 45 kilometers to the east of Ḥamā, at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Jabal Bahrā'. The fortress is first mentioned in the Frankish accounts of the **Crusaders** for 1099. Before 521/1127, the fortress was in possession of a branch of the **Mirdāsids**, who sold it to the Banū Munqidh. Meanwhile, the **Nizārī** Ismailis were attempting to acquire a network of fortresses in the Jabal Bahrā'. In 535/1140, the Nizārīs seized the fortress of Maşyāf, their most important stronghold in Syria, from the Banū Munqidh of Shayzar. Henceforth, Maşyāf served as the main residence of the chief **dā'ī** of the Syrian Nizārīs. Maşyāf, with a number of Arabic epigraphs from the Nizārī period, is one of the best preserved castles of the medieval Nizārīs.

In 658/1260, the **Mongols** temporarily held Maşyāf. Subsequently, the Syrian Nizārīs submitted to the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars, handing over Maşyāf in 668/1270. However, the Nizārīs were permitted to stay in their Syrian castles as loyal subjects of the Mamlūks and their **Ottoman** successors. By the 12th/18th century, Maşyāf served as the residence of the Nizārī *amīrs* of Syria. In recent times, the citadel of Maşyāf has been restored and conserved through the efforts of the **Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)** in collaboration with the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

MAWSIM-I BAHĀR. Written by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Mullā Jīwābhā'ī Rāmpūrī (d. 1315/1897). This is a three-volume Ismaili history written in Gujarāṭī but in Arabic script by this **Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohra** functionary and historian in India. The first two volumes deal with the history of the prophets and the Ismaili imams until **al-Ṭayyib**. The third volume, completed in 1299/1882 and lithographed soon thereafter, contains the history of the Ismaili **da'wa** in Yaman and **Gujarāt** from its origins until the author's time, covering the careers of the Ṭayyibī **Musta'lian dā'īs** in Yaman and the Dā'ūdī **dā'īs** residing in India. This work, drawing on a number of earlier sources, is generally considered by Dā'ūdī Bohras to represent their authentic history. All three volumes were lithographed together in Bombay in 1301–1311/1884–1893. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY.

MAYMŪN. Meaning the “fortunate one” in Arabic, it was the epithet of **Muḥammad b. Ismā'il**, the seventh imam of the early Ismailis. Maymūniyya, named after this Muḥammad, was also one of the designations coined by later heresiographers for the early Ismailis. *See also* MUBĀRAKIYYA.

MAYMŪNDIZ. The name of a major **Nizārī** Ismaili fortress in northern Iran. Situated to the north of the present-day village of Shams Kilāya and westward from **Alamūt**, it was constructed between 490 and 520/1097–1126, or less possibly a century later. Modern scholars disagree on the precise location of this fortress, where the last lord of Alamūt, **Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh**, was staying at the time of the **Mongol** invasions. There, in 654/1256, Khurshāh surrendered to the Mongols, who went up to the castle and dismantled its buildings and structures. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

MAYMŪNIYYA. *See* MAYMŪN.

MAYMŪN AL-QADDĀḤ. A *mawlā* of the Banū Makhzūm and a resident of Mecca during the first half of the second/eighth century. He was a disciple of Imam **Muḥammad al-Bāqir**, from whom he reported a few *ḥadīths*. His importance in Ismaili history relates to the fact that his son, ‘**Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ**, a non-‘**Alid**, is portrayed in anti-Ismaili polemics of **Ibn Rizām** and others as the founder of Ismailism and progenitor of the **Fatimids**. See also AKHŪ MUḤSIN; *FADĀ’IH AL-BĀṬINIYYA*; *SIYĀSAT-NĀMA*.

MIDRĀRIDS (r. 208–366/823–977). A Berber dynasty ruling in southeastern Morocco from the town of Sijilmāsa. The Banū Midrār was a Berber family from the Miknāsa tribe, and the dynasty was founded by Abū Mālik al-Muntaṣir, called Midrār. Initially, the Midrārīds were nominal vassals of the **Abbasids**. In 296/909, Sijilmāsa was seized by the Ismaili *dā’ī* **Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī’ī** and his **Kutāma** army. It was at Sijilmāsa that ‘**Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, who had lived there for a few years previously, was initially proclaimed as caliph, founding the **Fatimid** caliphate. Subsequently, the Midrārīds generally remained vassals of the Fatimids. The dynasty was uprooted in 366/977 by the Maghrāwa Berbers, who were allied with the **Umayyads** of Spain.

MIRDĀSIDS (r. 415–472/1024–1080). A generally Shi‘i Muslim dynasty of northern Syria ruling from Aleppo in succession to the Ḥamdānīds. Belonging to the Arab tribe of Kilāb, the dynasty was founded by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, a previous *amīr* of Raḥba who established himself at Aleppo. The **Fatimid** governor of Damascus, Anūshtigin, occupied Aleppo during 429–433/1038–1042, and won the allegiance of the Mirdāsīds to the Fatimids. In 462/1070, the Mirdāsīds, who had accorded allegiance to the Fatimids, transferred their allegiance to the Sunni **Abbasids** and their new **Saljūq** overlords. The dynasty was uprooted when its last member, Sābiq b. Maḥmūd, surrendered Aleppo in 472/1080 to the ‘Uqaylīds.

MĪTHĀQ. See OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

MONGOLS. The recorded history of the Mongols, referred to in medieval European sources as the Tartars, began toward the end of the sixth/12th century. The Mongols appeared in history as steppe conquerors in Mongolia, moving swiftly on horseback across vast distances. Son of a minor chieftain of a Mongol clan, Chingiz, originally called Temüjin (“blacksmith”), rose to prominence in Mongolia and in 603/1206 was acclaimed as supreme chief, or *khan*, of all the Turco–Mongol peoples. Chingiz Khan started his unprecedented conquests with his campaign against China. By 615/1218, the Mongols had started their invasion of the Islamic lands, coming into contact with the **Khwārazm-Shāhs**, who as the successors to the **Saljūqs** were then the most powerful rulers of the eastern Islamic world. In 618/1221, Chingiz Khan crossed the Oxus River and then sent his youngest son, Toluy, to complete the conquest of **Khurāsān**, a task accomplished most thoroughly. By 648/1250, most of Persia and the Caucasus regions were under Mongol rule.

Before his death in 624/1227, Chingiz Khan had already allotted various parts of his territories to his four sons, who founded different Mongol dynasties. Chingiz himself had established the dynasty of the Mongol Great Khans, and it was his third son, Ögedey Khan, who succeeded him as the Great Khan in Mongolia. Upon the death of Ögedey’s son and

successor, Güyük, in 646/1248, the Mongol Khanate passed to Möngke (Mangū), son of Toluy (d. 657/1259), and the latter's descendants, who retained their capital at Qaraqorum in Mongolia. Subsequently, the Great Khans ruled in China until 770/1368.

The **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia** had complex, and ultimately unsuccessful, relations with the Mongols. **Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III** was quick to recognize the danger of the Mongols and was evidently the first Muslim ruler to come to terms with them after the Mongol armies had crossed the Oxus. It was probably in 618/1221 that his emissaries met secretly with Chingiz Khan in Balkh, informing the Mongol conqueror of the **Nizārī** imam's desire for peace. By then, many Muslim scholars who were fleeing the invading Mongols found refuge in the Nizārī strongholds of Quhistān in Khurāsān. The next ruler of **Alamūt**, '**Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad III**, failed in his own peace overtures to the Great Khan Güyük, who entrusted his brother Hülegü (Hülāgū) with a major Mongol expedition against the Nizārī stronghold and the **Abbasids**. Hülegü accomplished his mission against the Nizārīs in 654/1256 and then founded the Mongol **Īlhānid** dynasty.

MOSQUES. See ARCHITECTURE.

AL-MU'AYYAD FI'L-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ABŪ NAṢR HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABĪ 'IMRĀN MŪSĀ (d. 470/1078). Prominent Ismaili *dā'ī*, poet, and political organizer. He was born around 390/1000 in the city of Shīrāz in the Persian region of **Fārs**, where his father, belonging to a Daylamī Ismaili family, was himself a *dā'ī*. In 429/1037, al-Mu'ayyad entered the service of Abū Kālījār Marzubān (r. 415–440/1024–1048), the Būyid ruler of Fārs. He soon succeeded in converting Abū Kālījār and many of his Daylamī soldiers to Ismailism. Al-Mu'ayyad's growing influence in Fārs resulted in court intrigues and Sunni reactions against him. In 438/1046, he was obliged to leave Shīrāz for **Cairo**, where he arrived in 439/1047. He eventually gained access to the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Mustansir** and thereafter participated actively in the affairs of the Fatimid state.

Al-Mu'ayyad played a leading role as an intermediary between the Fatimids and **al-Basāsīrī**, who revolted against the **Saljūqs** and recognized Fatimid suzerainty in Baghdad. In 450/1058, he was appointed *dā'ī al-du'āt*, a post he held for almost 20 years until shortly before his death in 470/1078. As chief *dā'ī*, al-Mu'ayyad delivered the weekly lectures, known as the *majālis al-ḥikma*; these lectures, entitled *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, were compiled in due course. Al-Mu'ayyad wrote an autobiography (*sīra*), covering the events of his life until around 450/1058. See also **ASĀS AL-TA'WĪL**; **LAMAK B. MĀLIK AL-ḤAMMĀDĪ**; LITERATURE; **ṢULAYḤIDS**.

MUBĀRAK. See MUBĀRAKIYYA.

MUBĀRAKIYYA. A designation coined by medieval heresiographers in reference to some of the earliest Ismailis. A group of the Imāmī Shi'is recognized **Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl** as their new imam after his grandfather, **Ja'far al-Ṣādiq** (d. 148/765). The early Imāmī heresiographers called this group the Mubārakiyya, supposedly named after their leader, al-Mubāarak, a *mawlā* of **Ismā'īl b. Ja'far**. But modern scholarship has shown that al-Mubāarak, meaning the "blessed one," was in fact the epithet of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq himself. It,

therefore, seems likely that the Mubārakiyya were at first the upholders of Ismā‘īl’s **imamate**, and that it was after al-Şādiq’s death that the bulk of Ismā‘īl’s supporters switched their allegiance to his son, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl. The Mubārakiyya were evidently known also as the Maymūniyya. *See also* MAYMŪN.

MUGHAL EMPERORS (r. 932–1274/1526–1858). A Sunni Muslim dynasty of rulers founded in India by Bābur, who was a Chaghatay Turk from Central Asia. The Mughal emperors ruled from New Delhi and Agra. Akbar the Great (r. 963–1014/1556–1605) consolidated Mughal rule and expanded their dominions significantly. However, it was under Awrangzīb (r. 1068–1118/1658–1707) that almost all of India became incorporated into the Mughal empire. Subsequently, a series of ephemeral rulers followed, and the long reign of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1131–1161/1719–1748) did not prevent the rapid loss of Mughal territories. In 1274/1858, the last Mughal ruler, Bahādur Shāh II (r. 1253–1274/1837–1858), was deposed and exiled by the British. Generally speaking, the Mughal emperors were tolerant toward the Ismailis of their dominions. Benefiting from the general religious tolerance practiced by Mughal emperors, the Ismaili **da‘wa** spread successfully in **Sind, Gujarāt**, and other Indian dominions.

MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ AL-BĀQIR. *See* AL-BĀQIR, ABŪ JA‘FAR MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ.

MUḤAMMAD B. BUZURG-UMĪD (r. 532–557/1138–1162). The third lord of **Alamūt** and leader of **Nizārī** Ismaili **da‘wa** and community. He succeeded his father, **Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd**, to the leadership of the Nizārī Ismailis. The Nizārī–**Saljūq** stalemate continued during his long reign, while the Nizārīs remained involved in conflicts with their immediate neighbors in Qazwīn, **Daylam**, and Sīstān. Muḥammad died in 557/1162 and was buried next to **Ḥasan-i Şabbāh** and Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd near Alamūt. *See also* ḤASAN II; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ‘ĪL. The seventh imam of the Ismailis. The eldest son of **Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Şādiq**, Muḥammad was born around 120/738; upon the death of his grandfather, Imam **Ja‘far al-Şādiq**, in 148/765, he was recognized as imam by a group of the Imāmī Shi‘is, who were later designated as the **Mubārakiyya**. These Shi‘is, representing one of the earliest Ismaili groups, affirmed the death of Ismā‘īl, Muḥammad’s father, in the lifetime of Imam al-Şādiq. They further held that al-Şādiq had personally designated his grandson, Muḥammad, upon Ismā‘īl’s death. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl carried the epithet of **al-Maymūn**, the “fortunate one,” and his followers were also originally referred to as the Maymūniyya, another designation for the nascent Ismailis.

Soon after 149/766, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl permanently left Medina, the residence of the **‘Alids**, for the east and went into concealment; hence, his additional epithet of al-Maktūm, the “hidden one.” Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl maintained his secret contacts with his followers, centered in Kūfa. He evidently spent his final years in **Khūzistān**, in southwestern Persia, where he had some following. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, acknowledged by the bulk of the early Ismailis as their seventh imam, died soon after 179/795, in the caliphate of the **Abbasid** Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809). *See also* ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AKBAR; ABU’L-KHAṬṬĀB;

ḤAMDĀN QARMAṬ B. AL-ASH‘ATH; MAYMŪN; MUSĀFIRIDS; QARMAṬĪS.

MUḤAMMAD BURHĀN AL-DĪN, SAYYIDNĀ. The 52nd and current *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the **Dā‘ūdī Ṭayyibīs**. Born in 1333/1915, he succeeded his father, **Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn**, in 1965. He maintained the traditional policies of his father, while paying increasing attention to the welfare and **education** of the Dā‘ūdīs, known in South Asia as **Bohras**. In 1983, he set up a branch of the **Jāmi‘a Sayfiyya** in Karachi. In the 1970s, he received broad concessions from the Egyptian government to restore the monuments of the **Fatimid** era in **Cairo**. Subsequently, some of these monuments, including the mosques of **al-Ḥākim** and al-Aqmar, were restored, but with little attention to modern principles of conservation. The present *dā‘ī* has introduced a number of reforms; he has also built numerous mosques for the Dā‘ūdī Bohras in South Asia and in several countries of the West. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

MUḤAMMAD, PROPHET (d. 11/632). Messenger of God (*rasūl Allāh*) to whom the **Qur’an** was revealed. Muḥammad’s father, ‘Abd Allāh, died before his birth. Born in Mecca around 570 AD, and orphaned at an early age, Muḥammad was brought up by his paternal uncle, Abū Ṭālib. Muḥammad hailed from the Banū Hāshim clan of the Meccan Quraysh tribe. Details of his early life are not known with certainty. In his youth, he became involved in the Meccan caravan trade and was entrusted by Khadīja, a wealthy business-woman, to oversee her caravans of goods to Syria. Muḥammad later married her, and their marriage lasted some 25 years, until her death in 619 AD. Khadīja bore the Prophet several children; other than **Fāṭima**, the others either died in infancy or left no offspring. Muḥammad also sought a life of contemplation and spent much time in meditation in the hills around Mecca.

Growing dissatisfaction with the social conditions in Mecca, and especially the idol-worshipping beliefs of his contemporaries there, led Muḥammad to withdraw frequently to a cave on Mount Ḥīra above Mecca. It was there on one such occasion that he received his first revelation at about the age of 40, around 610 AD, when the angel Gabriel appeared and recited the *sūra* 96 of the Qur’an to him. Henceforth, he began the task of preaching and conveying the divine message of Islam as revealed continuously to him. Notwithstanding severe persecution of his family and supporters, Muḥammad continued his mission, but in 622 AD, he was eventually obliged to emigrate from Mecca to Medina, then known as Yathrib. This emigration (*hijra*), marking the beginning of the Islamic calendar, also initiated a new and successful stage in the Prophet’s career. While organizing and leading the nascent Muslim community (*umma*), he was also forced to take military action in a number of battles (*maghāzī*) against his Meccan enemies.

By the year 11/632, when Muḥammad died after a brief illness, many Arabs had converted, and Islam had become an important new faith in the Arabian Peninsula. The “seal of the prophets” (*khātam al-anbiyā’*), lawgiver, judge, teacher, statesman, and military commander, Muḥammad is held in high esteem by Muslims who attempt to follow his example in their spiritual and worldly affairs. In terms of moral excellence and other exemplary qualifications, Muḥammad serves as a unique example for other Muslims to emulate him through his *sunna*, as recorded in **ḥadīth**. All Islamic schools of law (*madhāhib*) regard the Prophetic *sunna* as one of the roots (*uṣūl*) of *fiqh*, second only to the Qur’an. *See also* ‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB;

IMAMATE; JURISPRUDENCE; *NUBUWWA*.

MUḤAMMAD-SHĀHĪS. *See* QĀSIM-SHĀHĪS.

AL-MU‘IZZ (r. 341–365/953–975). The fourth **Fatimid** caliph and 14th Ismaili imam. Born in 319/931, Abū Tamīm Ma‘add succeeded his father, **al-Mansūr**, to the Fatimid throne with the title of al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh. He was an efficient organizer and a statesman well versed in war and diplomacy. He succeeded in subduing the entire Maghrib before sending his capable commander, **Jawhar**, to conquer Egypt in 358/969. Four years later, in 362/973, al-Mu‘izz transferred the seat of the Fatimid state from **Ifrīqiya** to his newly founded capital, **Cairo**. He also pursued an active *da‘wa* policy in the eastern lands and succeeded in establishing a foothold in **Sind**. It was also in his time and under his close supervision that Ismaili law was finally codified through the efforts of **al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān b. Muḥammad**. Having transformed the Fatimid caliphate from a regional state into a flourishing empire, al-Mu‘izz died in 365/975 and was buried in the same mausoleum near the Fatimid palace in which his predecessors and successors in the Fatimid dynasty were also buried. *See also* AL-AZHAR; AL-‘AZĪZ; DA‘Ā’IM AL-ISLĀM; AL-ḤASAN AL-A‘ṢAM; IBN HĀNĪ; IBN KILLIS, ABU’L-FARAJ YA‘QŪB B. YŪSUF; JURISPRUDENCE; SHAMSA.

MUKHAMMISA. An Arabic term meaning the “Pentadists.” This name is applied to a doctrinal current, as well as a sect among the early Shi‘i *ghulāt*. The *Mukhammisa* espoused the divinity of the five members of the *ahl albayt*, **Muḥammad**, **‘Alī**, **Fāṭima**, **al-Ḥasan**, and **al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī**. This type of doctrine is reflected in the *Umm al-kitāb*, preserved by the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Central Asia and also adopted by some of the *Khattābiyya*.

MU‘MINĪS. *See* QĀSIM-SHĀHĪS.

MUNTAZA‘ AL-AKHBĀR. Written by **Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānjī Burhānpūrī** (d. 1241/1826). This is a two-volume history of the Ismaili *da‘wa* from the earliest times until 1240/1824, composed in Arabic by this **Dā‘ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohra** author. The first volume deals with the history of the 21 manifest imams recognized by the Ṭayyibī **Musta‘lian** Ismailis, while the second volume covers the history of the Ṭayyibī *dā‘īs* from the beginning until 1231/1816, the year of its initial completion. At the end of the second volume, the author continues his history to the year 1240/1824. Samer F. Traboulsi has produced a partial edition of the first part of the second volume of *Muntaza‘ al-akhbār fī akhbār al-du‘āt al-akhyār*, from the time of the first Ṭayyibī *dā‘ī*, **al-Dhu‘ayb**, to the Dā‘ūdī–Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* and community. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY.

MURĀD MĪRZĀ (d. 981/1574). The 36th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. He succeeded his father, Abu Dharr ‘Alī (Nūr al-Dīn), to the **imamate** and, like his predecessor, did not evidently live in **Anjudān**, the traditional abode of the Nizārī imams of his **Qāsim-Shāhī** line. Acquiring numerous followers in Persia and India, he was involved also in some political activity, perhaps in collaboration with the Nuṣṭawīs, outside of Anjudān in central Persia. Fleeing from **Ṣafawid** officials who were dispatched to arrest him, Murād Mīrzā proceeded to Qandahār in

Afghanistan. Subsequently, in 981/1574, he was finally captured and brought before the Šafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, who had him executed.

MUSĀFIRIDS (r. 304–483/916–1090). Also called Sallārids and Langarids, this was a local dynasty ruling over parts of **Daylam** and **Ādharbāyjān** in Persia. The eponymous founder of the dynasty was Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who built the fortress of Shamīrān, the seat of the family in Ṭārum. Muḥammad b. Musāfir was deposed in 330/941 by his sons, Marzubān and Wahsūdān. Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad (r. 330–373/941–983) remained at Shamīrān and ruled over his ancestral territories in Ṭārum, under the overall authority of his brother. But Marzubān b. Muḥammad (r. 330–346/941–957) soon occupied Ādharbāyjān and Arrān, ruling over expanding territories from his own seat at Ardabīl.

Numismatic evidence shows that these Musāfirid brothers belonged to the **Qarmaṭī** faction of Ismailism, acknowledging **Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl** as the awaited **Mahdī** rather than recognizing the **imamate** of the **Fatimid** caliphs. Under the early Musāfirids, Qarmaṭism also spread in Daylam and Ādharbāyjān. The Musāfirids eventually lost Ādharbāyjān, withdrew to Ṭārum, and survived for a short time under **Saljūq** suzerainty, before being uprooted by their neighboring **Nizārī** Ismailis, who seized Shamīrān and many other fortresses in Daylam.

MUSTA‘LAWIYYA. *See* MUSTA‘LIANS, MUSTA‘LIYYA.

MUSTA‘LIANS, MUSTA‘LIYYA. A major branch of the Ismailis. The unified Ismaili **da‘wa** and community of the **Fatimid** times split into two rival branches in 487/1094, upon the death of the Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Mustanşir**, who had originally designated his son **Nizār** as his successor. However, the all-powerful Fatimid vizier **al-Afḍal** placed on the Fatimid throne Nizār’s much younger half-brother, Abu’l-Qāsim Aḥmad, with the caliphal title of **al-Musta‘lī**. The vizier quickly obtained for al-Musta‘lī the allegiance of the leaders of the Ismaili **da‘wa** in **Cairo**. Thus, the **imamate** of al-Musta‘lī came to be recognized by the **da‘wa** establishment in Cairo, as well as most Ismailis of Egypt and Syria and the entire Ismaili community of Yaman. These Ismailis, who depended on the Fatimid regime and later traced the **imamate** in the progeny of al-Musta‘lī, became designated as the **Musta‘liyya** or **Musta‘lawiyya**, the **Musta‘lians**. The **Musta‘lian** Ismailis themselves later split into **Ḥāfizī** and **Ṭayyibī** factions. *See also* AL-HIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA; HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE; MUNTAZA‘ AL-AKHBĀR; NIZĀRĪS, NIZĀRIYYA; ‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR.

AL-MUSTA‘LĪ BI‘LLĀH (r. 487–495/1094–1101). The ninth **Fatimid** caliph and 19th **Musta‘lian** Ismaili imam. Born in 467/1074, Abu’l-Qāsim Aḥmad was placed on the Fatimid throne by the all-powerful vizier **al-Afḍal** upon the death of his father, **al-Mustanşir**. His **imamate** was also acknowledged by the Ismailis of Egypt, Yaman, and partially Syria. He remained a puppet in the hands of al-Afḍal during his short reign, when the **Crusaders** seized Jerusalem from the Fatimids in 492/1099. Al-Musta‘lī died prematurely two years later. *See also* ARWĀ BINT AḤMAD AL-ŞULAYHĪ; AL-HIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA; NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTANŞIR; NIZĀRĪS, NIZĀRIYYA.

AL-MUSTANŞIR BI‘LLĀH (r. 427–487/1036–1094). The eighth **Fatimid** caliph and 18th

Ismaili imam. Born in 420/1029, Abū Tamīm Ma‘add succeeded his father, **al-Zāhir**, to the Fatimid throne with the title of al-Mustanşir bi’llāh. In the initial decade of al-Mustanşir’s reign, real political authority remained in the hands of the vizier, **al-Jarjarā’ī**, while his mother, **Raşad**, acted as regent. In 442/1050, the vizierate was entrusted to **al-Yāzurī**, who restored some order to the state. Subsequently, the Fatimid state underwent a period of decline, culminating in 454/1062 in open warfare in **Cairo** between the Turkish and Sūdānī factions of the army. Al-Mustanşir finally appealed for help to **Badr al-Jamālī**, who arrived in Cairo with his Armenian troops in 466/1074. Badr rapidly restored order to the Fatimid state.

The Fatimid Ismaili **da‘wa** activities reached their peak in al-Mustanşir’s time. Many **dā‘īs** now operated not only inside Egypt and other Fatimid dominions, but also outside the Fatimid state. The **da‘wa** was particularly active in Yaman, where the Ismaili **Şulayhids** established their dynasty, as well as in Iraq and various parts of Persia, **Khurāsān**, and Transoxania. Among the most prominent Ismaili **dā‘īs** of this period operating in the Iranian world, mention can be made of **al-Mu‘ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī** and **Nāşir-i Khusraw**. Al-Mustanşir died in 487/1094, and the dispute over his succession permanently split the Ismaili **da‘wa** and community into **Musta‘lian** and **Nizārī** factions. *See also* AL-AFDAL B. BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ, ABU’L-QĀSIM SHĀHINSHĀH; AL-BASĀSĪRĪ, ABU’L-ĤĀRITH ARSLĀN; AL-MUSTA‘LĪ BI’LLĀH; NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTANŞIR; *AL-SIJILLĀT AL-MUSTANŞIRIYYA*; ‘*UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR*.

MUSTANŞIR BI’LLĀH (II) (d. 885/1480). The 32nd **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. ‘Alī Shāh, better known as Mustanşir bi’llāh (II), is the first imam of the **Qāsim-Shāhī** Nizārī line who settled in **Anjudān**. He succeeded to the **imamate** around 868/1463 and developed close relations with certain Sufi orders, then spreading in Persia and Central Asia. His mausoleum still stands in Anjudān and is locally referred to as Shāh Qalandar, which had been this imam’s Sufi name. This imam’s Persian sermons, containing his admonitions to the true believers, were subsequently collected under the title of **Pandiyāt-i javānmardī**. Sindhī (**Khojkī**) and **Gujarātī** versions of this book have been preserved by the Nizārī **Khojas** of India. *See also* KHAYRKHWĀH-I HARĀTĪ; LITERATURE.

MUSTANŞIR BI’LLĀH (III) (d. 904/1498). The 34th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. He succeeded his father, ‘Abd al-Salām Shāh, to the **imamate** of the **Qāsim-Shāhī** Nizārīs. Also known as Gharīb Mīrżā, this imam carried the honorific title of Mustanşir bi’llāh (III). His mausoleum in **Anjudān** is locally referred to as Shāh Gharīb. *See also* KHAYRKHWĀH-I HARĀTĪ.

AL-MUSTAZHIRĪ. *See* FADĀ’IḤ AL-BĀṬINIYYA.

MUT‘A. *See* MARRIAGE.

NAFS. See INTELLECT, OR UNIVERSAL INTELLECT.

NAR (NŪR) MUḤAMMAD (d. 940/1534). Founder of the **Imām-Shāhī** sect. A son of **Imām Shāh**, Nar Muḥammad succeeded to the leadership of a group of **Nizārī Khojas** in **Gujarāt** upon his father's death in 919/1513. Soon, he seceded from the Nizārī Khoja community and founded an independent sect known as **Imām-Shāhīs**, named after his father. He, in fact, claimed the **imamate** for himself and, retrospectively, for his father, by claiming to represent the incarnation (*avatar*) of the imam, a concept familiar to Hindu converts to **Satpanth** Ismailism. A minority of Khojas in Gujarāt accepted Nar Muḥammad's claims and formed the separate **Imām-Shāhī** sect, also known as **Satpanth**. Nar Muḥammad died in 940/1534 and was buried in his father's mausoleum in **Pīrāna**, Gujarāt.

AL-NASAFĪ, ABU'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD (d. 332/943). Ismaili philosopher and **dā'ī** in Central Asia. He hailed from the village of Bazda in the vicinity of the town of Nakhshab (Arabicized into Nasaf) in Central Asia. Al-Nasafī, who is credited with introducing a form of Neoplatonism into Ismaili thought, succeeded **al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marwazī** as the chief **dā'ī** of **Khurāsān** and Transoxania. He established himself in Transoxania and succeeded in penetrating the inner circles of the **Sāmānid** court, from around 326/937. He eventually moved to **Bukhārā** (in present-day Uzbekistan) and converted the **Sāmānid amīr** **Naṣr II b. Aḥmad** (r. 301–331/914–943) and his vizier, **Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Jayhānī**.

The Sunni scholars and Turkish guards of the **Sāmānid** state finally conspired and deposed **amīr Naṣr II**, under whose son and successor, **NūU I** (r. 331–343/943–954), the Ismailis of the **Sāmānid** dominions were severely persecuted. Al-Nasafī and his chief associates were executed at **Bukhārā** in 332/943. Al-Nasafī's major work, entitled *Kitāb al-maUṣūl* (*Book of the Yield*), written around 300/912, has not survived, but fragments have been preserved in later Ismaili works. Al-Nasafī belonged to the dissident Ismaili, or **Qarmaṭī**, camp, awaiting the reappearance of **Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl** as the **Mahdī** rather than recognizing continuity in the Ismaili **imamate** after him. See also **ABŪ TAMMĀM**, **YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ**; **AL-BUSTĪ**, **ABU'L-QĀSIM ISMĀ'ĪL B. AḤMAD**; **COSMOLOGY**; **KITĀB AL-RIYĀD**; **LITERATURE**; **AL-SIJISTĀNĪ**, **ABŪ YA'QŪB ISHĀQ B. AḤMAD**.

NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW. Persian poet, traveler, and Ismaili **dā'ī**. **Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Nāṣir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith Qubādiyānī**, better known as **Nāṣir-iKhusraw**, was born in 394/1004 in **Qubādiyān**, a district of **Balkh** in **Khurāsān**. He entered government service in his youth, found access to the **Ghaznawid** court in **Balkh**, and then served in the **Saljūq** administration. He was converted to Ismailism shortly before 437/1045, when he embarked on his long journey to **Fatimid** Egypt. **Nāṣir** entered **Cairo** in 439/1047 and spent some three years there to further his

Ismaili **education**. He returned to Balkh in 444/1052 and began to propagate Ismailism as a *dā'ī*, or, according to himself, as the *ḥujja* of Khurāsān. Nāṣir's success soon aroused the enmity of the Sunni '*ulamā*', who persecuted him severely. He eventually found refuge in the valley of Yumgān in **Badakhshān**, then ruled by an Ismaili *amīr*, Abu'l-Ma'ālī 'Alī b. al-Asad.

It was in Yumgān, his permanent abode of exile, that Nāṣir produced most of his poetry and prose, including the *Jāmi' al-Uikmatayn*, his last known work, completed in 462/1070. There, he also continued to propagate the Ismaili *da'wa*. The Ismailis of Badakhshān and their offshoot communities in the Hindu Kush region regard Nāṣir, referred to locally as Pīr or Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir, as the founder of their communities. He died at Yumgān on an unknown date after 465/1072. His mausoleum is *in situ* in Afghan Badakhshān. *See also* ABU'L-HAYTHAM AḤMAD GURGĀNĪ, KHWĀJA; CORBIN, HENRY; *DĪWĀN OF NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW*; *GUSHĀYISH VA RAHĀYISH*; *KALĀM-I PĪR*; LITERATURE; *SAFAR-NĀMA*; *WAJH-I DĪN*.

NIKĀḤ. *See* MARRIAGE.

NI'MAT ALLĀHĪS. Name of a major Sufi *ṭarīqa*, or order, with close relations with the **Nizārī** Ismailis at certain times. This Sufi order, which early on espoused Shi'ī sentiments while remaining outwardly Sunni until the advent of the **Ṣafawids**, became widespread in different parts of Persia during the lifetime of its founder, Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī (d. 834/1431). Subsequently, its influence spread to India, where the Ni'mat Allāhīs received the patronage of Bahmanid rulers of the Deccan. In fact, the *quṭbs*, or masters of this Sufi order, resided in the Deccan for more than three centuries, from the time of Shāh Khalīl Allāh, the son and successor of the order's founder.

The Ni'mat Allāhī Sufi order, which eventually embraced **Twelver** Shi'ism, was revived in Persia in the second half of the 12th/18th century. Building on earlier Nizārī–Sufi relations, close associations developed between the Ni'mat Allāhīs and the Nizārī imams from the time of Imam **Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī** (d. 1206/1792), governor of **Kirmān**, until **Aga Khan I** (d. 1298/1881). The Ni'mat Allāhīs eventually split into several branches in Persia, where they continued to be widespread. The main Ni'mat Allāhī faction, the **Nūrbakhshīs**, now has many disciples, or *murīds*, also in Western countries, where a network of *khānaqāhs* have been established. *See also* SHĀH NIZĀR II.

AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, AḤMAD B. IBRĀHĪM (d. after 386/996). Ismaili *dā'ī* and author who flourished in the fourth/10th century. Born in Nīsābūr (Nīshāpūr) in **Khurāsān**, he seems to have spent most of his life in **Fatimid** Egypt in the reigns of **al-'Azīz** and **al-Ḥākim**. His works included the important historical source entitled *Istitār al-imām*, dealing with the settlement of the early Ismaili imam '**Abd Allāh al-Akbar** in **Salamiyya** and the later journey of '**Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, founder of the Fatimid caliphate, from Syria to North Africa. He also composed the *Ithbāt al-imāma* in the reign of al-Ḥākim, arguing on various bases for the legitimacy of the **imamate** and its necessity. His *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī adab al-du'āt* is one of few Ismaili treatises on the attributes and functions of an ideal *dā'ī*. This treatise has been preserved in **Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī**'s *TuUfat al-qulūb*. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE.

NIZĀM AL-MULK. *See SIYĀSAT-NĀMA.*

NIZĀM-SHĀHĪS (r. 895–1046/1490–1636). A Shi‘i Muslim dynasty ruling from Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan, in what is now the Maharashtra state. The dynasty was founded by Aḥmad Nizām Shāh, who asserted his independence from Bahmanid rule. His son Burhān I Nizām Shāh (r. 915–961/1509–1554) was converted to **Twelver** Shi‘ism by **Shāh Ṭāhir**, who was an imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī branch of **Nizārī** Ismailism. In 944/1537, Burhān I also adopted Twelver Shi‘ism as the official religion of his realm. The Nizām-Shāhī dynasty was uprooted in 1046/1636, when their dominions were incorporated into those of the ‘Ādil-Shāhīs of Bījāpūr and the **Mughal emperors** of India.

NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTANŞIR (437–488/1045–1095). **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Abū Manşūr Nizār had been designated by his father, **al-Mustanşir**, as his successor to the **Fatimid** caliphate and the Ismaili **imamate**. However, upon al-Mustanşir’s death in 487/1094, the all-powerful Fatimid vizier **al-Afḍal** installed Nizār’s younger half-brother, **al-Musta‘lī**, to the Fatimid throne. The dispossessed Nizār refused to endorse al-Afḍal’s designs and fled to Alexandria, where he rose in revolt in 488/1095 with much local support. Nizār was declared as imam and caliph in Alexandria with the title of al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn Allāh. He was initially very successful and advanced to the vicinity of **Cairo**. However, al-Afḍal soon took the field against Nizār and forced him to surrender. Nizār was taken to Cairo, where he was executed in 488/1095. The Persian Ismailis, then under the overall leadership of **Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ**, upheld Nizār’s right to the **imamate** and acknowledged him as their new imam after al-Mustanşir. Nizār thus became the progenitor of the **Nizārī** Ismaili line of imams who emerged at **Alamūt**. *See also* AL-ĀMIR; ALHIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA; MUSTA‘LIANS, MUSTA‘LIYYA; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA (r. 483–654/1090–1256). Also known as “lords of **Alamūt**,” they represented a **Nizārī** dynasty ruling over scattered territories in Persia and Syria from their seat at the fortress of Alamūt. Founded by **Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ** from the time he established himself at Alamūt in 483/1090, this territorial state lasted for 166 years, until its destruction by the **Mongol** hordes. Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) and his next two successors, **Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd** (r. 518–532/1124–1138) and **Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Umīd** (r. 532–557/1138–1162), ruled as **dā‘īs** and **ḥujjas**, or full representatives of the then hidden **Nizārī** imams. Starting with the fourth lord of Alamūt, **Ḥasan II** (r. 557–561/1162–1166), the lords of Alamūt were also recognized as imams (descendants of **Nizār b. al-Mustanşir**) by the **Nizārīs**.

It was in the reign of the seventh lord of Alamūt, ‘**Alā’** **al-Dīn Muḥammad III** (r. 618–653/1221–1255), that the Mongol invasions of Persia took place, leading to the destruction of the **Nizārī** state there. The eighth and last lord of Alamūt, **Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh**, surrendered to the Mongols in 654/1256. The **Nizārīs** of Syria lost their own political independence when Kahf, their last stronghold, surrendered to the Mamlūk rulers of Syria in 671/1273.

Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ organized the **Nizārīs** into a revolutionary force with the objective of undermining the alien rule of the **Saljūq** Turks over Persia. He did not attain this objective, and the **Saljūqs**, despite their much superior military power, also failed to dislodge the **Nizārīs**

from their mountain fortresses. The Nizārī state survived despite the incessant hostilities of the Saljūqs and their successors until the arrival of the Mongols. The Nizārīs of the Alamūt period also elaborated their teachings in the light of their changing circumstances; for a while under the sixth lord of Alamūt, **Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III** (r. 607–618/1210–1221), they even attempted a daring rapprochement with the Sunni–**Abbasid** establishment. Coins of the Nizārī rulers, minted at Alamūt, are extant. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; ASSASSINS; HISTORIOGRAPHY; *JĀMI‘ AL-TAWĀRĪKH*; LITERATURE; OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN; *SARGUDHASHT-I SAYYIDNĀ*; *TA’RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀ*; *ZUBDAT AL-TAWĀRĪKH*.

NIZĀRĪ QUHISTĀNĪ (645–720/1247–1320). A **Nizārī** Ismaili poet in Persia. Ḥakīm Sa‘d al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad, better known as Nizārī Quhistānī, was born in Bīrjand, Quhistān, into a land-owning Ismaili family. In his youth, Nizārī served in the administration of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I (r. 643–676/1245–1277), founder of the Kart dynasty of **Khurāsān** and Afghanistan, and his successor. Later, Nizārī served at the court and chancery of Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. 706/1306), the Mihrabānid governor of Quhistān. Nizārī panegyricized this ruler and referred to him as Shams-i Dīn Nīmruz ‘Alī.

In 678/1280, Nizārī set off on a long journey from Tūn, in Quhistān, to **Ādharbāyjān**, Georgia, Armenia, and Baku, which lasted for two years. It was during this journey that he evidently saw the Nizārī Ismaili imam of the time, **Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad**, possibly in Tabrīz in 679/1280. Nizārī eventually lost the favor of his Mihrabānid patron, who dismissed him and confiscated his properties. He died destitute in his native Bīrjand, where his mausoleum is still preserved. Nizārī might have been the first post-**Alamūt** Ismaili author to use poetic and Sufi forms of expression for expressing Ismaili ideas. His *Dīwān* of poetry contains more than 10,000 verses in *ghazal* form with numerous Sufi terminologies. *See also* LITERATURE.

NIZĀRĪS, NIZĀRIYYA. A major branch of the Ismailis. The unified Ismaili *da‘wa* and community of the **Fatimid** times split into two rival branches in 487/1094, upon the death of the Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Mustanshir**, who had originally designated his son, Abū Maṣṣūr Nizār, as his successor. But Nizār was deprived of his succession rights in favor of his younger brother, Abu’l-Qāsim Aḥmad, who was placed on the Fatimid throne with the caliphal title **al-Musta‘lī** bi’llāh by the all-powerful vizier **al-Afdal**. However, those Ismailis, especially in Persia, who continued to uphold the rights of Nizār and his descendants to the **imamate**, became designated as **Nizārīs**. It was, in fact, **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ** who founded the Nizārī *da‘wa* independently of the Fatimid establishment.

Nizārī imams, descendants of Nizār, later emerged as **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia** to take charge of the affairs of their *da‘wa*, community, and state, centered at the fortress of **Alamūt**. With the destruction of their state in Persia in 654/1256 by the **Mongols**, the Nizārīs lost their political prominence, surviving as religious minorities in Persia, Central Asia, South Asia, and Syria. In post-**Alamūt** centuries of their history, the Nizārīs split into **Qāsim-Shāhī** and Muḥammad-Shāhī branches, while observing *taqiyya* in various forms. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; ASSASSINS; DIASPORA; *AL-HIDĀYA AL-ĀMIRIYYA*; LITERATURE; *AL-MA‘MŪN AL-BAṬĀ’IḤĪ*, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. FĀTIK; MARRIAGE;

MUSTA‘LIANS, MUSTA‘LIYYA; TITHE.

NUBUWWA. “Prophecy.” The Ismailis, like other Muslims, have believed in the prophetic mission of various prophets (*anbiyā’*), ending with that of **Muḥammad**, regarded as *rasūl Allāh*, or “messenger of God” and the “seal of the prophets” (*khātam al-anbiyā’*). Muḥammad’s mission culminated in the **Qur’an**, which was conveyed to him by the archangel Gabriel through divine revelation (*waUy*). This belief was based on the assumption of the permanent need of mankind for a spiritual guide or prophet (*nabī*). It is the further belief of the Shi‘is of all communities that the world can never be left without such a spiritual guide; therefore, after the prophets recognized in the Qur’an and the Prophet Muḥammad, the responsibility for guarding the Islamic message and explaining its outer and inner dimensions was taken over by the Shi‘i imams.

While the Muslims in general, including the Shi‘is, believed that, as described in the Qur’an, various prophets periodically carried out their missions under divine command, each one revealing a new law, the Ismailis from early on developed a distinctive cyclical view of the sacred history of mankind, recognizing the *nubuwwa* of six such law-announcing prophets, referred to as the speaker-prophets, or *nāṭiqs*, namely, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, all of whom are named in the Qur’an. *See also* DAWR; LITERATURE.

AL-NU‘MĀN B. MUḤAMMAD, AL-QĀDĪ ABŪ ḤANĪFA (d. 363/974). The foremost Ismaili jurist of **Fatimid** times and founder of Ismaili **jurisprudence**. Born around 290/903 into a learned family in Qayrawān, in North Africa, he entered the service of ‘**Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, founder of the Fatimid dynasty, in 313/925. He served the first four Fatimid caliph-imams in different capacities and was finally appointed by **al-Manṣūr** in 337/948 to the position of *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, or chief judge, of the Fatimid state. The fourth Fatimid, **al-Mu‘izz**, confirmed al-Nu‘mān in that post, and, in 343/954, also entrusted him with the grievances proceedings (*mazālim*) throughout the Fatimid state. He accompanied al-Mu‘izz to **Cairo** in 362/973 and died there in 363/974. More than 40 of al-Nu‘mān’s works are extant, ranging from numerous legal compendia culminating in the *Da‘ā’im al-Islām* to collections of *ḥadīth*, works on *ta’wīl* and esoteric Ismaili doctrine, as well as **historiography**, notably the *Iftitāḥ al-da‘wa*. *See also* ASĀS AL-TA’WĪL; JURISPRUDENCE; LITERATURE; MARRIAGE; SHARḤ AL-AKHBĀR; TA’WĪL AL-DA‘Ā’IM.

NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD II (r. 561–607/1166–1210). **Nizārī** Ismaili imam and the fifth lord of **Alamūt**. Born in 542/1148, he succeeded as imam to the leadership of the Nizārī Ismaili community and state upon the death of his father, **Ḥasan II**. He devoted his long reign to managing the affairs of the Nizārī *da‘wa* and state from their central headquarters at the fortress of Alamūt. A thinker and prolific writer, he also contributed actively to the Nizārī teachings of his time. He systematically elaborated on the important doctrine of the *qiyāma*, announced by his father in 559/1164, and placed the current Nizārī imam and his autonomous teaching authority at the very center of the Nizārī doctrine. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II died, possibly of poison, in 607/1210. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

NŪR SATGUR, PĪR. A person traditionally associated with the commencement of the **Nizārī**

Ismaili *da'wa* activities in South Asia. Nūr Satgur, also called Nūr al-Dīn, was, according to the traditional account preserved in the *gināns*, the first Nizārī preacher, or *pīr*, sent from **Daylam** in Persia to **Gujarāt**. There, in Pātan, he converted the local Rājput ruler Siddharāja Jayasingha (r. 487–527/1094–1133), the same Hindu king of Gujarāt who is also alleged to have embraced **Ṭayyibī Musta'lian** Ismailism but who actually died a devout Hindu. Nūr Satgur, the community's tradition adds, soon converted all of Pātan, which became known as Pīrna Pātan, the *pīr*'s city. Nūr Satgur remains an obscure and enigmatic character shrouded in legends. Consequently, the dates mentioned for this *pīr*'s arrival in India vary widely. A shrine at Nawsarī near Sūrāt in Gujarāt, ascribed to him with a tombstone dated 487/1094, is of little help in locating him historically. *See also* KHOJAS; SATPANTH.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE. From early on, the Ismailis were expected, upon their initiation into the community, to take an oath of allegiance known as *mīthāq* (covenant), also known as ‘*ahd* (compact) or *bay‘a* (pledge of allegiance), to the Ismaili imam of the time. The initiates were also bound by this oath to keep secret the esoteric knowledge imparted to them by a hierarchy of teachers authorized by the Ismaili imam.

The Ismaili tradition of taking this oath of allegiance has been retained by various Ismaili communities. The **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī (Bohra)** community has closely preserved the text of the oath from the **Fatimid** times. Every Dā’ūdī, upon attaining the age of 15, takes this oath, or *mīthāq*, pledging allegiance to the hidden Ṭayyibī imam and his *dā’ī muṭlaq*. The text of the oath articulates the key elements of Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī doctrines and practices. In the *mīthāq* ceremony, administered by the ‘*āmil*, or representative, of the *dā’ī muṭlaq* in every Dā’ūdī congregation, the conditions for becoming a Dā’ūdī are outlined, and the text of the oath also includes a pledge of unconditional obedience to the Dā’ūdī *dā’ī muṭlaq*. Thereupon, the individual initiated into the community becomes a believer, or *mu’min*. The same covenant is required of anyone wishing to convert to the Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī branch of the Ismaili faith. Similar processes are observed in the Sulaymānī and ‘**Alawī** communities of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis. The **Nizārī** Ismailis observe a simplified version of the oath, which essentially revolves around pledging allegiance, or *bay‘a*, to the living and manifest imam of the time and following his spiritual guidance. *See also* MARRIAGE.

OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN. A title originally applied by the **Crusaders** and their European chroniclers to **Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān**, the leader of the **Nizārī** Ismailis in Syria, and then to his successors. The Nizārīs themselves referred to their leader with the common Muslim term of respect, *shaykh*, lord or master, also having a secondary meaning of “old man” or “elder.” It seems that the Crusaders misunderstood the term *shaykh* and rendered it into Latin, Old French, and Italian as *vetus*, *senex*, *veglia*, etc., on the basis of its secondary meaning, rather than by its more relevant equivalents *senior* or *dominus*, meaning chief (like *shaykh*). The meaning of this title was also linked with the mountainous fortresses in which the Syrian Nizārī leaders lived, resulting in such full titles as “Vetus de Montanis,” meaning the “Old Man of the Mountain.”

This title seems to have been used only by the Crusaders and other medieval European sources, since thus far it has not come to light in any contemporary Arabic or Persian sources. Consequently, the full Arabic equivalent of this title, *Shaykh al-Jabal*, might actually represent a later translation from the Latin forms used in European sources. The title “Old Man of the Mountain” was also later applied by the Venetian traveler Marco Polo (1254–1324) and others to the **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**, residing in the fortress of **Alamūt**. *See also* ASSASSINS; *FIDĀ’Ī*, OR *FIDĀWĪ*.

OTTOMANS. A Sunni Muslim dynasty founded by ‘Uthmān I (Turkish, Osman) in the final decades of the seventh/13th century. According to traditional accounts, the Ottomans (Turkish, Osmanlis) were originally Oghuz Turks who had migrated from Central Asia to Asia Minor. They were initially attached to the **Saljūq** rulers of Anatolia. Subsequently, in the eighth/14th century, the early Ottomans established an expanding state in the Christian Byzantine territories of southeastern Europe. The Ottomans created a vast empire that ultimately encompassed all of southeastern Europe up to the northern frontiers of Hungary, all of Anatolia, and the Middle East up to the borders of Persia, as well as the entire Mediterranean coast of North Africa. Mehmet II’s conquest of Constantinople, renamed Istanbul, in 857/1453 provided the Ottoman Empire with its magnificent capital. The golden age of the Ottoman Empire was attained in the 10th/16th century. In terms of its Islamic lands, in 922–923/1516–1517, Sultan Selim I conquered Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijāz from the weakened Mamlūks. However, further eastern expansion of the empire was checked by their chief rivals, the Shi‘i **Şafawids** of Persia.

The Ottomans ruled over a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire, and they generally maintained an attitude of detached tolerance toward various religious or ethnic minorities, known as *millets*, within their dominions. Non-Muslims, as well as the Ismailis of Syria and Yaman and other non-Sunni Muslims, benefited from this policy. Various Sufi orders also flourished under the Ottomans. In particular, the Syrian **Nizārī** Ismailis remained loyal subjects of the Ottomans, to whom they paid a special tax. The Nizārī leaders of Syria had, in fact, managed to win the friendship of the Ottoman authorities in the time of Sultan ‘Abd al-Majīd I (r. 1255–1277/1839–1861). As a result, in 1843, the Ottoman authorities permitted the Syrian Nizārīs to restore **Salamiyya** and settle there.

By 1913, the Ottomans had lost the bulk of their European territories, and their catastrophic participation in World War I caused the loss of their Arab provinces. Ottoman rule was finally abolished in 1924, when the last member of the dynasty, ‘Abd al-Majīd II, was deposed and exiled. Thereupon, Turkey began its republican era under Muşţafā Kemāl (Atatürk).

PAMIRS. The name of a mountain chain in Central Asia. Its core is located in the Gorno-**Badakhshān** region of Tajikistan, while extending into Kirghizia to the north, into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China to the east, and into Afghanistan and Pakistani Kashmir to the south. Comprised mainly of east–west running ranges, its Badakhshānī valleys are on the right bank of the upper Oxus River (Āmū Daryā), locally called the Panj River. The western Pamirs are ethnically Tajik and adhere to the **Nizārī** branch of Ismailism, while the inhabitants of the eastern Pamirs are mainly Turkish Kirghiz and Sunni Muslims. A number of eastern Iranian languages, such as Shughnī, Wakhī, and Ishkāshimī, are spoken in the region. The upper Oxus region of the Pamirs was mainly ruled by hereditary dynasties of Nizārī *mīrs* based in Shughnān, until the spread of Russian influence in Central Asia. According to the Russo–British Agreement of 1895, the Panj River delineated the Russian Central Asia from the Afghan parts of the region, which were then under British influence.

PANDIYĀT-I JAVĀNMARDĪ. Title of a book in Persian containing the sermons of **Mustanşir bi’llāh II** (d. 885/1480), the 32nd imam of the **Nizārī** Ismailis. These religious admonitions (Persian, *pandiyāt*) to the true believers and those seeking high standards of ethical behavior and spiritual chivalry (Persian, *javānmardī*) were compiled and written down by an anonymous Nizārī author during the **imamate** of Mustanşir bi’llāh’s son and successor, ‘Abd al-Salām Shāh. The Nizārī **Khojas**, who have preserved Sindhī (**Khojkī**) and **Gujarātī** versions of the *Pandiyāt*, maintain that this book was sent to India by the imam of the time for their religious guidance. Copies of the Persian version of this book are still preserved in the manuscript collections of the Nizārīs of **Badakhshān** and adjoining regions in northern areas of Pakistan and in the Sinkiang (Xinjiang) region of western China. *See also* ANJUDĀN; LITERATURE.

PILGRIMAGE. *See* ḤAJJ.

PĪR Şadr AL-DĪN. *See* Şadr AL-DĪN, PĪR.

PĪR SHAMS AL-DĪN. *See* SHAMS AL-DĪN, PĪR.

POLYGAMY. *See* MARRIAGE.

PROPHECY. *See* NUBUWWA.

PROPHETHOOD. *See* NUBUWWA.

AL-QĀDĪ AL-NU‘MĀN. See AL-NU‘MĀN B. MUḤAMMAD, AL-QĀDĪ ABŪ ḤANĪFA.

QADMŪS. Name of a major fortress of the **Nizārī** Ismailis in Syria during the **Alamūt** period of their history. It is situated in the medieval mountainous region of Jabal Bahrā’ (today’s Jabal Anṣāriyya) 30 kilometers east of Baniyās and 30 kilometers west of **Maṣyāf**. In 527/1132, Sayf al-Mulk b. ‘Amrūn, the lord of **Kahf**, sold the fortress of Qadmūs to the Nizārīs. This castle remained in the hands of the Syrian Nizārīs until it submitted to the Mamlūks in 671/1273. Qadmūs remained inhabited by Nizārīs, especially their leaders, or *amīrs*. Since the second half of the 13th/19th century, Qadmūs and a few surrounding villages have remained in the hands of the Nizārī Ismailis belonging to the Muḥammad-Shāhī (Mu’mini) branch of Nizārī Ismailism.

AL-QĀ’IM (r. 322–334/934–946). The second **Fatimid** caliph and 12th Ismaili imam. Born in **Salamiyya** in 289/902, as a child, Abu’l-Qāsim Muḥammad accompanied his father, ‘**Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, on his fateful journey from Syria to the Maghrib, where the Fatimid caliphate was later established. In the reign of his father, al-Qā’im led two unsuccessful expeditions to Egypt. He succeeded his father to the Fatimid throne with the caliphal title of al-Qā’im bi-Amr Allāh. After his accession, al-Qā’im launched a third expedition against Egypt in 323/935, again without success.

The second Fatimid caliph-imam continued his father’s policies of expansion and consolidation. It was toward the end of al-Qā’im’s reign that the protracted anti-Fatimid rebellion of the Khārijī Berbers, led by **Abū Yazīd**, commenced. This revolt almost succeeded in overthrowing the Fatimids. By 333/945, the rebels had begun their siege of **Mahdiyya**, where al-Qā’im was staying. But Mahdiyya repeatedly repelled the Khārijī attempts to seize the Fatimid capital. It was under such circumstances that al-Qā’im died in Mahdiyya in 334/946, but his death was kept a secret for some time while his son and successor, **al-Manṣūr**, was effectively subduing Abū Yazīd’s revolt.

QĀ’IM. See *MAHDĪ*.

QĀJĀRS (r. 1193–1344/1779–1925). A **Twelver** Shi‘i dynasty of Turkoman origins who ruled over Persia in modern times. Qājār rule was founded by Āghā Muḥammad Khān (d. 1212/1797), who had succeeded in defeating a variety of claimants to the throne of Persia. Tehran, Iran’s modern-day capital, was selected as such in 1200/1786. Relations with European countries expanded under Āghā Muḥammad Khān’s nephew and successor FatU ‘Alī Shāh (r. 1212–1250/1797–1834), who also bestowed the title of **Aga Khan** (Āghā Khān) on the **Nizārī** Ismaili imam of the time.

Persia remained a scene of intense rivalry between Great Britain and Imperial Russia

throughout the Qājār period, with Iran losing territories to both powers. Modern-day Iran's boundaries effectively date to the reign of the fourth monarch of the dynasty, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1264–1313/1848–1896). The declining Qājār hegemony was finally brought to an end when RiCā Khān, a colonel in the Cossack brigade of the country, in the aftermath of his earlier coup d'état of 1921, had the seventh Qājār monarch, Aḥmad Shāh (r. 1327–1344/1909–1925), deposed and established his own Pahlavī dynasty (1925–1979).

QARMAṬĪ RULERS OF BAHRAYN (r. 286–470/899–1078). A dissident Ismaili dynasty ruling over eastern Arabia. In the year 286/899, a major schism split the Ismaili movement into two rival factions. On the one side, there were the loyal Ismailis who recognized continuity in the Ismaili **imamate** from the time of **Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl**, the seventh Ismaili imam, to 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, the future founder of the **Fatimid** caliphate, and his successors. On the other side, the dissident **Qarmaṭīs** refused to acknowledge such a continuity and instead maintained their earlier belief according to which Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl remained their seventh and final imam, who was to reappear as the **Mahdī**. It was on this basis that Qarmaṭī rule was established over eastern Arabia, then known as Bahrayn, by **Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī** (d. 301/913), originally an Ismaili **dā'ī** operating under **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ**, chief **dā'ī** of Iraq and surrounding regions and the eponym of the Qarmaṭīs.

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī was succeeded by several of his seven sons, including **Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī** (d. 332/944), best known for his pillaging activities, and then several of his grandsons, known collectively as "*al-sāda al-ru'asā*." The descendants of Abū Sa'īd often ruled jointly with members of the prominent families of Bahrayn, including especially the Banū Sanbar. This Qarmaṭī ruling council in Bahrayn was known as 'Iqdāniyya. 'Abd Allāh al-'Uyūnī, a powerful local tribal chief, seized al-Aḥsā', the Qarmaṭī capital, in 469/1076, and then decisively defeated the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn in 470/1078, founding the local dynasty of the 'Uyūnids there. Qarmaṭī coins are extant from the second half of the fourth/10th century. Remaining hostile to both the **Abbasids** and the Fatimids, the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn were generally condemned by the Muslim majority as "heretics," while they also received some praise for the communal and egalitarian principles that underlined the organization of their society and state. *See also* AL-ḤASAN AL-A'ṢAM.

QARMAṬĪS. A dissident faction of the early Ismailis. The Qarmaṭīs, named after **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ**, an early **dā'ī** in southern Iraq, separated from the rest of the Ismailis in 286/899. Upholding the doctrine of the bulk of the early Ismailis, the Qarmaṭīs recognized only a line of seven 'Alid imams, ending with **Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl**, whose return as the **Mahdī** and the seventh **nāṭiq**, or speaker-prophet, was awaited by them. Qarmaṭī communities survived for more than a century in different regions of Yaman, Iraq, Persia, and Central Asia, led by various local **dā'īs**. However, the Qarmaṭīs acquired their main stronghold in eastern Arabia, then known as Bahrayn, where a state was founded in 286/899 by the **dā'ī** **Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī**. By 470/1078, when the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrayn was uprooted by local tribesmen, Qarmaṭī communities had practically disappeared everywhere. By then, all Ismailis acknowledged continuity in their **imamate**, then represented by the **Fatimids**. *See also* MUSĀFIRIDS; AL-NASAFĪ, ABU'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD; QARMAṬĪ

RULERS OF BAHRAYN; SAB'YYA; ZIKRAWAYH B. MIHRAWAYH.

AL-QAṢĪDA AL-SHĀFIYA. An anonymous Ismaili work attributed to **Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī** (d. 937/1530). This versified Arabic text might have been originally composed by a **Ḥāfizī Musta'lian** poet and then revised by a **Nizārī** author. The *Qaṣīda* deals with *tawUīd*, God's command (*amr*), the creation, cyclical history, the hierarchy of ranks in the Ismaili *da'wa*, etc.

QĀSIM-SHĀHĪS. The main subdivision of the **Nizārī** Ismailis. Upon the death of the first post-**Alamūt** Nizārī imam, **Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad**, around 710/1310, a permanent schism occurred in the Nizārī *da'wa* and community. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's succession was evidently disputed by his eldest and youngest sons, 'Alā' al-Dīn Mu'min Shāh and Qāsim Shāh. With obscure origins, this dispute split the Nizārīs into Qāsim-Shāhīs, the supporters of Qāsim Shāh, and Muḥammad-Shāhīs (or Mu'minīs), the supporters of Mu'min Shāh and his son, Muḥammad Shāh. The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams initially seem to have acquired large followings in certain regions, notably northern Persia, Central Asia, and Syria. But the Muḥammad-Shāhī line of Nizārī imams, whose most famous figure was **Shāh Ṭāhir**, was discontinued by the end of the 12th/18th century. The Qāsim-Shāhī imams, who in modern times have carried the hereditary title of **Aga Khan**, are now the sole Nizārī imams.

QIYĀMA. The Arabic term meaning "resurrection" is used in Islamic eschatology in the sense of the Last Day, or the Day of Judgment, when mankind will be judged and committed forever to either Paradise or Hell, depending on their salvational status. In Ismaili thought, it also came to be used in reference to the end of any partial cycle (*dawr*) in the history of mankind, with the implication that the entire sacred history consisted of many such partial cycles and partial *qiyāmas*, leading to the final *qiyāma*, sometimes called the *qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt*, or the Grand Resurrection. In 559/1164, the *qiyāma* was declared at **Alamūt** for the **Nizārī** community. However, on the basis of *ta'wīl*, the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period interpreted the *qiyāma* spiritually and symbolically as the manifestations of the unveiled truth, or *Uaqīqa*, in the spiritual reality of the imam of the time, who was also called the *qā'im al-qiyāma*. According to this doctrine, every Nizārī imam was potentially also a *qā'im*, capable of initiating a partial *qiyāma*. See also *HAFT BĀB-I BĀBĀ SAYYIDNĀ*; ḤASAN II; LITERATURE; *MAHDĪ*; NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD II; SOTERIOLOGY.

QUHISTĀN. See KHURĀSĀN.

QŪMIS. The medieval name of a small region in northern Persia, lying to the south of the Alburz chain of mountains and extending southward to the northern fringes of the extensive desert known as Dasht-i Kavīr. Its western boundaries extend to the eastern rural districts of Rayy, while on the east it links with **Khurāsān**. Dāmghān and Simnān, where the remains of such **Nizārī** Ismaili castles as **Girdkūh** and Sārū are to be found, are the region's major towns. By the early fourth/10th century, Qūmis had slipped away from caliphal control and was a source of contention by various **Daylamī** and other pretenders, while the Būyids, Sāmānids, and Ziyārīds engaged in their own incursions into the region. In the 480s/1090s, the Nizārī

Ismailis of Persia seized Girdkūh and other fortresses in Qūmis, and much of the region remained in their hands until the **Mongol** invasions of 654/1256. Qūmis, thus, served as the third major territory (after Daylamān and Quhistān) of the Nizārī state of the **Alamūt** period. *See also* NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA.

QUR'AN, THE. The sacred scripture of Islam. Muslims consider the Qur'an to be the literal word of God as revealed to the **Prophet Muḥammad** through the archangel Gabriel approximately during the last 22 years of his life (610–632 AD). Muslims also hold that it is the last of the revealed books delivered to humankind and the most perfect of all revelations. The Qur'an is about the same length as the New Testament of the Christians. It consists of 114 *sūras* (chapters), which vary in length from just three *āyas* (verses) to 286 *āyas*. The Qur'an has more than 6,200 *āyas*. The chapters are organized roughly by length, from longest to shortest, except the opening *sūra* (*al-fātiUa*), which is comprised of seven *āyas*. The *sūras* of the Qur'an are divided into Meccan and Medinan, depending on whether they were revealed to the Prophet when he lived in Mecca (610–622 AD) or Medina (622–632 AD).

Muslims believe that the Qur'an provides guidance on all matters of faith and behavior necessary for the attainment of eternal salvation. The Qur'an became the first source (*aṣl*) of Islamic law (*sharī'a*). The history of the written text of the scripture and its compilation and redaction after the death of the Prophet in 11/632 are still not completely clear; the issues relate to the collection and arrangement of the text from oral and written sources, the establishment of the final text, and the process by which different ways of vocalizing the text came to be accepted. On these central issues there are disagreements, not only between Muslims and non-Muslims, but also among Muslim scholars themselves. The history of the text of the Qur'an is yet to be compiled. The Ismailis have traditionally made a distinction between the literal meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the Qur'anic passages and their inner, esoteric (*bāṭin*) meaning, which can be explained through *ta'wīl* by their imams and authorized *dā'īs*. *See also* LITERATURE; *MAFĀTĪH AL-ASRĀR WA MAṢĀBĪH AL-ABRĀR*; *TA'WĪL*.

RĀḤAT AL-‘AQL. Written by **Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī** (d. c. 411/1020). This Arabic text contains this *dā‘ī*’s elaborate metaphysical system. Completed in 411/1020, this work represents a unique syncretic tradition within the Iranian school of philosophical Ismailism. In his own system, al-Kirmānī harmonized Ismaili theology with a diversity of philosophical traditions, including Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies, as well as the metaphysical system of the Muslim philosophers. Al-Kirmānī’s **cosmology**, based on a system of 10 separate **intellects**, as expressed in *Rāḥat al-‘aql*, was later adopted by the **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian da‘wa** in Yaman. *See also* AL-ḤĀMIDĪ, IBRĀHĪM B.AL-ḤUSAYN; LITERATURE.

RAMDEV PIR. A medieval preacher-saint who hailed from Rajasthan, India. He was originally serving the **Nizārī** Ismaili **Satpanth** mission in India in the ninth/15th century. Subsequently, he was viewed as the founder of a secret Hindu sect with its own shrines, rituals, and hymns and without any connections with Ismailism. The members of this sect, the **KāmāC** of Rajasthan, are comprised of the untouchable Hindu worshippers of Ramdev Pir, who is now acknowledged as a deified saint. The **KāmāC** have, thus, experienced a process of “re-Hinduization,” redefining and shifting their liminal identity. They have completely forgotten their Ismaili **Satpanth** heritage, while their devotional poems are replete with Ismaili references. *See also* KHOJAS.

RAQQĀMĪ KHURĀSĀNĪ, ‘ALĪ QULĪ B. IMĀM QULĪ KHĀKĪ KHURĀSĀNĪ. A **Nizārī** Ismaili poet in Persia. Born in the village of Dīzbād, in northern **Khurāsān**, Raqqāmī, like his more famous father, **Khākī Khurāsānī**, resorted to poetry and Sufi expressions for elaborating his Ismaili ideas. The *Dīwān* of poetry of Raqqāmī, who flourished in the 11th/17th century, has been preserved by his descendants in Persia. *See also* LITERATURE.

RAṢAD. Mother of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Mustaṣṣir**. Originally a Sudanese or Nubian slave bought by the Fatimid **al-Zāhir**, she was to exert a great deal of influence as regent in the Fatimid court during the early decades of her son’s long rule (427–487/1036–1094). In 420/1029, she gave birth to Abū Tamīm Ma‘add, who succeeded his father, al-Zāhir, as **al-Mustaṣṣir bi’llāh** in 427/1036 at the age of seven. For some time, she shared power with Abū Sa‘d al-Tustarī (d. 439/1047), a Jewish merchant who had originally brought her to Egypt. She recruited many black slaves for the Fatimid army to counterbalance the influence of the Turks, Berbers, and other ethnic factions. In the course of the anti-Fatimid revolt of the Turkish troops in 462/1070, Raṣad was temporarily arrested and her treasures pillaged. The arrival of **Badr al-Jamālī** in **Cairo** in 466/1074 marked the effective end of Raṣad’s influence at the Fatimid court, although she retained some prestige as the queen mother until the end of her life. *See also* WOMEN.

RASĀ'IL IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ'. See IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ'.

RASHĪD AL-DĪN. See *JĀMI' AL-TAWĀRĪKH*.

RĀSHID AL-DĪN SINĀN (d. 589/1193). The greatest of the medieval **Nizārī** Ismaili *dā'īs* in Syria. Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān b. Salmān b. Muḥammad Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was born into an Imāmī Shi'ī family during the 520s/1126–1135, near Baṣra, where he converted to Nizārī Ismaili Shi'ism in his youth. Subsequently, he spent some time at **Alamūt**, the central headquarters of Nizārī *da'wa* and state, to further his Ismaili **education**. Shortly after his own accession in 557/1162 to the central leadership of the Nizārī *da'wa* and state, **Ḥasan II 'alā dhikrihi'l-salām** sent Sinān to the Nizārī community in Syria, where he remained for the rest of his life. Soon, Sinān succeeded to the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs.

Sinān reorganized the Nizārī *da'wa* and community in Syria, also fortifying their castles and acquiring new ones in the Jabal Bahrā'. He also established a corps of *fidā'īs* (*fidāwīs*), the self-sacrificing devotees who would undertake dangerous missions to remove prominent enemies of their community. The absolute obedience of the *fidā'īs*, as well as the much exaggerated reports about their assassination attempts, gave rise to a number of imaginative legends, especially in the **Crusaders'** circles, regarding the secret practices of these sectaries, known to the medieval Europeans as the **Assassins**, and their chief, Sinān, the original “**Old Man of the Mountain**” of the occidental sources.

Sinān played a prominent part in the regional politics of his time, successfully resorting to diplomacy and other suitable policies in the interest of safeguarding the security and independence of the Syrian Nizārī community. To this end, he entered into a complex and shifting web of alliances with the major neighboring powers and rulers, especially the Crusaders, the Zangids, and **Şalāḥ al-Dīn** (Saladin of the European sources), founder of the **Ayyūbid** dynasty. An outstanding organizer, strategist, and statesman, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān led the Syrian Nizārīs for some three decades to the peak of their power and fame until his death. See also ABŪ FIRĀS, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN B. AL-QĀDĪ NAŞR ALMAYNAQĪ; *FAŞL MIN AL-LAFZ AL-SHARĪF*; KAHF.

RAWDAT AL-TASLĪM. Written by **Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī** (d. 672/1274) or, more probably, composed under his supervision around 640/1243. This is a comprehensive treatise expounding the **Nizārī** Ismaili teachings of the **Alamūt** period. Divided into 28 chapters, or representations (*taşawwurāt*), the work deals with such themes as the Creator, cosmogony, the nature of human existence, ethics, eschatology, prophethood, and **imamate**. Here, a new doctrine of **satr**, or concealment of the spiritual truth (*Uaqīqqa*) under the veil of the *sharī'a*, is also elaborated. See also LITERATURE.

AL-RĀZĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM AḤMAD B. ḤAMDĀN (d. 322/934). Ismaili *dā'ī* and author in Persia. Born near Rayy, he became the fifth chief *dā'ī* of the **Jibāl** and even succeeded in converting Aḥmad b. 'Alī (r. 307–311/919–924) the governor of Rayy. Later, al-Rāzī went to **Daylam**, where he acquired many converts and influential sympathizers, including several local *amīrs*, including Asfār b. Shirawayh (d. 319/931) and his lieutenant, Mardāwīj (d. 323/935), founder of the Ziyārid dynasty of northern Persia. The famous disputation between

the two Rāzīs, namely, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and the physician-philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Rāzī (Latin, Rhazes), evidently took place in Mardāwīj's presence in Rayy. Al-Rāzī's fortunes were eventually reversed in Daylam, obliging the *dā'ī* to seek refuge with Mufliḥ, a local ruler in **Ādharbāyjān**, where he remained until his death. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* is one of the oldest surviving texts of Ismaili **literature** containing a type of Neoplatonic philosophy adopted by the *dā'īs* of the eastern Iranian lands during the fourth/10th century. *See also A'LĀM AL-NUBUWWA; ALHAMDĀNĪ, ḤUSAYN F.; KITĀB AL-RİYĀD; KRAUS, PAUL.*

RELIGIOUS DUES. *See* TITHE.

RESURRECTION. *See* QIYĀMA.

REVELATION. *See* NUBUWWA.

RIDWĀN B. WALAKHSHĪ (d. 542/1147). **Fatimid** vizier. A Sunni commander in the service of the Fatimids, Riḍwān rose in rank to become the governor of Gharbiyya, a province of Lower Egypt. In 531/1137, Riḍwān rose in revolt against **Bahrām**, the Armenian vizier to **al-Ḥāfiẓ**, and forced him out of office. Riḍwān himself succeeded Bahrām in the Fatimid vizierate and began to persecute the Christians of the Fatimid state. He soon exercised full authority and adopted the title of *al-malik*, or king, a title that later passed to other Fatimid viziers and then to all members of the **Ayyūbid** dynasty. Growing wary of the influence of Riḍwān, al-Ḥāfiẓ removed him from office in 533/1139. Riḍwān was later killed in 542/1147 while attempting to overthrow the Fatimid caliph.

RŪDBĀR. *See* DAYLAM.

RUKN AL-DĪN KHURSHĀH (r. 653–654/1255–1256). **Nizārī** Ismaili imam and the last lord of **Ālamūt**. Born in 627/1230, he succeeded as imam to the leadership of the Nizārī Ismaili *da'wa*, community, and state upon the death of his father, **'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III**, in 653/1255. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh's eventful but brief one-year reign as the eighth and last of the **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia** coincided with the completion of the **Mongol** conquests of Persia. The sources are generally ambiguous on Rukn al-Dīn's policy toward the Mongol invaders, led by Hūlāgū (Hülegü). Vacillating between surrender and resistance, he was drawn into an intricate and ultimately futile web of negotiations with Hūlāgū, who had entered Persia at the head of the main Mongol expedition in the spring of 654/1256.

After the failure of a last round of Nizārī–Mongol negotiations, followed by a few more days of intense fighting, Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh finally surrendered to the Mongols in Shawwāl 654/November 1256, marking the end of the Nizārī state of Persia. Rukn al-Dīn was murdered by his Mongol guards in the spring of 655/1257 somewhere in Mongolia, where he had gone on an unsuccessful mission for seeing the Great Khan Mōngke. *See also* MAYMŪNDIZ; SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD.

RUZZĪK B. ṬALĀ'I', ABU'L-SHUJĀ' (d. 558/1163). **Fatimid** vizier. Upon the assassination of his father, **Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk**, in 556/1161, Ruzzīk succeeded to the Fatimid

vizierate. Of Armenian origin, he introduced some reforms into the affairs of the Fatimid state. Less powerful than his father, Ruzzīk was murdered by **Shāwar**, governor of Upper Egypt, who revolted and entered **Cairo** in 558/1163 to assume the vizierate. *See also* DIRGHĀM.

SAB‘IYYA. An Arabic term meaning the “seveners.” In modern times this term has been applied to various branches of Ismailism or to the entire Ismaili community. Such applications of the term *Sab‘iyya*, evidently coined in modern times, are, however, incorrect, as all contemporary branches of Ismailism recognize lines of imams in excess of seven. The term can be correctly applied only to the bulk of the early Ismailis, as well as the **Qarmaṭīs**, who acknowledged a line of seven imams, starting with **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib** and ending with **Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq**. See also *MAHDĪ*; *MUBĀRAKIYYA*.

SABZ ‘ALĪ, PĪR RAMADĀN ‘ALĪ (d. 1938). A *Nizārī* Ismaili *dā‘ī*. Born in Bombay toward the end of the 19th century, he was educated as an Ismaili religious teacher while engaged in the family business. Pīr Sabz ‘Alī later moved to Karachi in pursuit of his business activities and became prominent in the **Khoja** community there as a preacher (*wā‘iz*). In 1923, he embarked on an extensive journey as an emissary of **Aga Khan III**, the *Nizārī* imam of the time, to the *Nizārī* communities of **Badakhshān**, Hunza, and the Sinkiang (Xinjiang) region of western China. He set up *jamā‘at-khānas*, or assembly buildings, for the *Nizārīs* of some of these regions of Central Asia. He kept a diary of his travels that was later published in Gujarātī in 1968. Pīr Sabz ‘Alī was posthumously given the title of *pīr* by Aga Khan III in recognition of his services to the *Nizārī* community.

AL-ṢĀDIQ, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH JA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD (d. 148/765). Early Shi‘i imam counted as the sixth imam for the **Twelvers** and the fifth for the Ismailis. Born around 83/702 in Medina, he was the eldest son of Imam **Muḥammad al-Bāqir**, upon whose death around 114/732 he succeeded to the **imamate** of the *Imāmī* Shi‘is. His mother, Umm Farwa, was a descendant of the caliph Abū Bakr. Al-Ṣādiq’s long imamate coincided with a turbulent period in early Islamic history when numerous Shi‘i revolts occurred and the **Umayyads** were finally uprooted by the **Abbasids**. Throughout this period, Imam al-Ṣādiq maintained the politically quiescent tradition established by his father and grandfather. He also refused to be drawn into the Shi‘i revolt of his uncle Zayd b. ‘Alī, who rose unsuccessfully in Kufa in 122/740. He preferred to teach and elaborate the tenets of *Imāmī* Shi‘ism in Medina, and, as such, he acquired numerous followers and supporters.

He is respected by the Sunnis as a transmitter of **ḥadīth**, as well as a jurist, while the Shi‘is, who consider him infallible, like their other imams, record his sayings and actions in their own works of *Uadīth* and **jurisprudence** (*fiqh*). *Imāmī* Shi‘is (both Ismailis and Twelvers) have regarded al-Ṣādiq’s legal opinions as authoritative exposition of Islamic law. Indeed, *Imāmī* Shi‘i legal doctrine is designated as the Ja‘farī *madhhab*, or school of religious law, after his name. Al-Ṣādiq died in 148/765 and was buried in the cemetery of Baqī‘ in Medina. His succession was disputed, splitting the *Imāmī* Shi‘is into several groups, including the earliest Ismailis who now recognized the imamate of al-Ṣādiq’s son **Ismā‘īl** or his

grandson **Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl**. See also ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AFTAḤ; ABU’L-KHAṬṬĀB; JURISPRUDENCE; MUBĀRAKIYYA.

Ṣadr AL-DĪN, PĪR. Early *Satpanth* **Nizārī** preacher-saint in India. One of the earliest *dā‘īs*, more commonly designated as *pīrs*, in India, Ṣadr al-Dīn played a key role in the propagation and organization of the *da‘wa* in South Asia. He converted large numbers of Hindus from the Lohana trading caste and gave them the name of **Khoja**. He is also credited with the authorship of the largest number of *gināns* and building the first *jamā‘at-khāna*, or assembly building, in **Sind** for the religious and communal activities of the Khojas. The center of his activities remained in Uch, in Sind, from where he extended the *da‘wa* to **Gujarāt**. Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn is reported to have died sometime between 770/1369 and 819/1416; his shrine is located near Jetpur, in the vicinity of Uch, to the south of Multan (in today’s Pakistan). See also *BŪJH NIRĀÑJAN*.

SAFAR-NĀMA. Written by **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** (d. after 465/1072). This is a work in Persian containing the account of this *dā‘ī’s* seven-year journey (437–444/1045–1052) to many parts of Central Asia, Persia, Near East, and **Fatimid** Egypt. He presents a vivid account of the splendor of Fatimid **Cairo**, in the reign of **al-Mustansir**, with its royal palaces, gates, gardens, and shops.

ṢafAWIDS (r. 907–1135/1501–1722). A **Twelver** Shi‘i dynasty of Persia founded by Shāh Ismā‘īl I (r. 907–930/1501–1524). Originally Sunnis and *shaykhs* of the Ṣafawiyya Sufi order, after coming to power, the Ṣafawids claimed ‘**Alid** descent and adopted Twelver Shi‘ism as the religion of their realm. Ṣafawid power and patronage of arts, culture, and Islamic sciences reached its peak under Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 995–1038/1587–1629), who established the dynasty’s capital in the city of Iṣfahān. The group had intermittent confrontations with their Sunni **Ottoman** neighbors, and they also persecuted the Sufis and those Shi‘i groups who fell outside of Twelver Shi‘ism. Under Ṣafawid rule, the **Nizārī** Ismailis successfully observed *taqiyya* in the form of Twelver Shi‘ism. The Ṣafawid dynasty was uprooted by the Afghans who briefly occupied Persia from 1135/1722.

SALADIN. See ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, YŪSUF B. AYYŪB.

ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, YŪSUF B. AYYŪB (d. 589/1193). The last of the **Fatimid** viziers and founder of the **Ayyūbid** dynasty. Belonging to a Kurdish family who hailed from Dvīn, in Armenia, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin of the medieval **Crusader** sources) joined the service of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Zangid ruler of Syria, together with his own uncle, **Shīrkūh**. In the final turbulent decade of Fatimid rule, Nūr al-Dīn sent three expeditions to Egypt commanded by Shīrkūh, who was accompanied on the last two expeditions, in 562/1167 and 564/1169, by his nephew, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In the aftermath of the last expedition’s arrival in **Cairo**, Shīrkūh himself succeeded to the Fatimid vizierate. When Shīrkūh died suddenly in 564/1169, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn emerged as the commander of the Syrian forces in Egypt, forcing the Fatimid caliph **al-‘Āḍid** to appoint him as his vizier with the title of *al-malik al-nāṣir*.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn systematically consolidated his position while undermining Fatimid rule, an

objective also sought by Nūr al-Dīn. At the same time, he gradually adopted anti-Ismaili policies, including the elimination of the Shi‘i form of the *adhān*, or call to prayer, and the closing of the *majālis al-ḥikma*. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn formally ended Fatimid rule in 567/1171 by having the *khutba*, or sermon, read in Cairo in the name of the **Abbasid** caliph, signaling the return of Egypt to the fold of Sunni Islam.

Subsequently, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn confronted the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Syria, then under the leadership of **Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān**, who attempted unsuccessfully on two occasions during 570–571/1174–1176 to have the Ayyūbid ruler killed. But later, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Sinān evidently established friendly relations. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn succeeded in founding the Ayyūbid dynasty, which was to rule over Egypt, Syria, Yaman, and other parts of the Middle East. He died in 589/1193 and was eventually buried next to the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.

SALAMIYYA. A town in central Syria. It is situated in the district of Orontes (Nahr al-‘Āṣī), about 40 kilometers southeast of Ḥamā. During the second/ eighth century, a number of **Abbasids** settled there. Salamiyya played an important role in the early history of the Ismailis as the secret central headquarters of the pre-**Fatimid** Ismaili *da‘wa* during the third/ninth century. By the early decades of the 13th/19th century, Salamiyya was entirely deserted and in ruins. In 1265/1849, the **Ottoman** authorities permitted the Syrian Ismailis to settle permanently in the area. With a population of around 100,000 (in 2010), the great majority of whom are **Nizārī** Ismailis, Salamiyya currently accounts for the largest concentration of Nizārī Ismailis in Syria, also representing the largest concentration of Arabic-speaking Nizārīs in the world. *See also* ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-AKBAR; AL-MAHDĪ, ‘ABD ALLĀH; AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, AḤMAD B. IBRĀHĪM; OTTOMANS.

SALJŪQS (r. 431–590/1040–1194). A family of chieftains of the Oghuz Turks, also the name of a Sunni Muslim dynasty founded by Ṭughril Beg, who defeated the Ghaznawids and declared himself sultan at Nīshāpūr in **Khurāsān** in 431/1040. He soon conquered the greater part of Persia and then entered Baghdad in 447/1055 and had his title of sultan confirmed by the **Abbasid** caliph there; he had thus freed the Abbasids from the tutelage of the Shi‘i Būyids. The vast sultanate of the Great Saljūqs in Persia and Iraq lasted until 590/1194, when the Saljūqs were uprooted by the **Khwārazm-Shāhs**.

The Saljūqs had numerous military confrontations with the **Nizārī** Ismailis who had established their own state in the midst of the Saljūq domains in Persia. The Saljūqs also founded a short-lived line in Syria (r. 471–511/1078–1117), as well as a local dynasty in **Kirmān** (r. 440–584/1048–1188). The Saljūqs consolidated the Sunni tradition of Islam and its legal schools in regions under their control and founded a network of *madrasas*, or group of buildings used for teaching, in Iraq and Persia for that purpose. *See also* OTTOMANS; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA; *SIYĀSAT-NĀMA*.

SALLĀRIDS. *See* MUSĀFIRIDS.

SALVATION. *See* SOTERIOLOGY.

SARGUDHASHT-I SAYYIDNĀ. An anonymous Persian work on the life and career of

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124), founder of the **Nizārī** Ismaili *da'wa* and state. This biography (*sargudhasht*), the first part of which might have been autobiographical, has not survived, but it was seen and used by a number of Persian historians, notably Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Kāshānī, who paraphrased it in their own accounts of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (referred to as Sayyidnā by the Nizārīs) in their histories of the **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**. See also HISTORIOGRAPHY.

SATPANTH. “True Path.” Technical Indian designation for the indigenous Ismaili tradition of the **Nizārī Khojas** of South Asia. Drawing on a multitude of indigenous concepts and motifs prevalent in the Indo–Muslim context of India, this particular Nizārī Ismaili tradition became known as *Satpanth* (*sat panth*), or the “true path” to salvation. The eclectic Muslim–Hindu teachings of the *Satpanth* tradition are abundantly reflected in the *gināns*, the devotional literature of the Nizārī Khojas. See also IMĀM-SHĀHĪS; NAR (NŪR) MUḤAMMAD; Ṣadr AL-DĪN, PĪR; SHAMS AL-DĪN, PĪR.

SATR. “Concealment.” A technical term used in a variety of senses by the Ismailis. Originally, the Ismailis used it in reference to a period in their early history, called *dawr al-satr*, when their imams were in concealment and hidden from the eyes of their followers. In the aftermath of the **Nizārī–Musta‘lian** schism of 487/1094 in the Ismaili *da'wa* and community, the early Nizārī Ismailis experienced another period of *satr*, when their imams, descendants of **Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir**, remained hidden for several decades. Subsequently, the term *satr* acquired a new meaning for the Nizārīs. Now, it no longer referred to the physical concealment of the Nizārī imams; instead, it referred to a time when spiritual reality or the religious truths (*Uaqā’iq*) were hidden in the *bāṭin*, or esoteric meaning, of religion, requiring the observance of *taqiyya* in any form deemed necessary by the Nizārī imam of the time.

The Musta‘lian Ismailis, who survived only in the **Ṭayyibī** form after the downfall of the **Fatimid** dynasty, have also experienced a period of *satr*, in its original Ismaili sense, since their 20th imam, **al-Āmir**, was murdered in 524/1130. It is the belief of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis that all their imams, starting with al-Āmir’s son al-Ṭayyib, have remained hidden to the present day.

Satr also found expression in the Ismaili cyclical conception of religious history. The Ismailis believed from early on that the sacred history of human-kind was comprised of seven eras, or *dawrs*, all except the last one being eras of *satr*, because the inner truths of religion, or the *Uaqā’iq*, remained undis-closed. In this scheme, only in the seventh and final eschatological era initiated by the *qā’im* before the end of the physical world would the *Uaqā’iq* be fully revealed to humankind. This final age, designated as the *dawr al-kashf*, or the era of manifestation, would be an age of pure spiritual knowledge. See also LITERATURE; MAHDĪ.

ṢAWM. “Fasting.” It is one of the pillars of Ismaili religious practices. Similar to other Muslims, the Ismailis are enjoined (assuming satisfactory health) to refrain from consuming food and drink from dawn to sunset during the ninth month (*RamaCān*) of the Muslim calendar. Compared to earlier times, the Ismailis of modern times have observed this pillar to various

degrees. While the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis generally interpret this pillar in a literary sense, the **Nizārīs** have often adhered to a metaphorical interpretation. More specifically, the **Nizārīs** believe that an esoteric interpretation of fasting implies the purification of one's soul by avoiding sinful acts and undertaking good deeds. The **Nizārī Khojas** also fast on other occasions, such as a Friday that coincides with the New Moon. *See also* DA'Ā'IM AL-ISLĀM; JURISPRUDENCE.

SAYFĪ DARS. *See* JĀMI' A SAYFIYYA.

SAYR VA SULŪK. Written by **Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī** (d. 672/1274), this Persian work represents the author's spiritual autobiography. Composed in the **Nizārī** Ismaili strongholds of Quhistān, this text takes the form of an extended letter addressed to the chief **dā'ī**, a dignitary called Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad. Here, al-Ṭūsī, who spent three decades in the **Nizārī** fortress communities of Persia, explains his conversion to Ismailism, as well as the **Nizārī** doctrine of **ta'lim**, or the authoritative teaching of the **Nizārī** imam of the time. *See also* LITERATURE.

SHĀHDIZ. Also known as Dizkūh, this was a medieval mountain fortress situated in central Persia on the summit of Mount Ṣuffā, about eight kilometers south of Iṣfahān. The historical importance of Shāhdiz is particularly related to the activities of the early **Nizārī** Ismailis in Persia. The **Nizārīs** gained possession of this fortress around 494/1100, through the efforts of the **dā'ī** **Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik**. In 500/1107, the **Nizārīs** lost Shāhdiz to the **Saljūqs**, who soon afterward demolished the fortress fearing its recapture by the **Nizārīs**.

SHĀH GHARĪB. *See* MUSTANṢIR BI'LLĀH (III).

SHĀH KHALĪL ALLĀL (III) (d. 1232/1817). The 45th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. Upon the death of his father, **Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī**, in 1206/1792, **Khalīl Allāh 'Alī**, also designated as **Shāh Khalīl Allāh**, succeeded to the **imamate** of the **Qāsim-Shāhī** **Nizārīs**. Soon afterward, he transferred the seat of the **imamate** from **Kirmān** to **Kahak**, where he stayed for approximately 20 years. In 1230/1815, **Shāh Khalīl Allāh** moved to Yazd, situated between Iṣfahān and **Kirmān** on the route to **Balūchistān** and **Sind**, to be closer to his **Khoja** followers who journeyed from India to see their imam. It was in 1232/1817 at Yazd that the **Nizārī** imam became a victim of the intrigues of the local **Twelver** clerics and was murdered in the course of a dispute between some of his followers and the local shopkeepers. **Shāh Khalīl Allāh** was taken to the holy city of Najaf in Iraq for burial, where a mausoleum was constructed for this imam and some of his relatives. *See also* ABU'L-ḤASAN KHĀN, SARDĀR; AGA KHAN I, ḤASAN 'ALĪ SHĀH.

SHĀH NIZĀR II (d. 1134/1722). The 40th **Nizārī** Ismaili imam. In 1090/1680, he succeeded his father **Khalīl Allāh (II)** to the **imamate** of the **Qāsim-Shāhī** **Nizārīs**. Subsequently, he transferred his residence and headquarters of the **Nizārī da'wa** from **Anjudān** to the nearby village of **Kahak** in central Persia. This marked the end of the **Anjudān** period in **Nizārī** Ismaili history, which had lasted about two centuries. This imam evidently had close connections with the **Ni'mat Allāhī** Sufi order and adopted the *ṭarīqa*, or Sufi name of 'Aṭā'

Allāh, for himself. This also explains why his followers in certain parts of **Kirmān** came to be known as ‘Aṭā’ Allāhīs. Shāh Nizār II died, according to his tombstone, in 1134/1722. His mausoleum, part of the former residence of this imam, is still preserved at Kahak.

AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ, ABU’L-FATH MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ABD AL-KARĪM (d. 548/1153). Eminent heresiographer and theologian. Born around 479/1086 in the town of Shahrastān, in **Khurāsān**, he studied Islamic sciences in Nīshāpūr. After teaching for some three years at the Nizāmiyya Madrasa of Baghdad, he returned to Khurāsān in 514/1120. Later, he became an associate of the **Saljūq** Sultan Sanjar (d. 552/1157) at Marw. He was widely renowned as an Ash‘arī Sunni theologian and heresiographer, also noted for his interest in all religions and philosophies.

Some of his contemporaries believed that al-Shahrastānī had secretly converted to Ismailism and worked on behalf of the **Nizārī** Ismaili *da‘wa* centered at **Alamūt**. At any rate, he seems to have been well informed about Ismaili teachings, and several of his extant works bear strong Ismaili imprints and show that at least during the final decades of his life, al-Shahrastānī espoused Ismaili terminologies and methods of interpretation, even if he was not a crypto-Ismaili.

Aside from the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*, a partial **Qur’an** commentary (*tafsīr*) produced shortly before 540/1145, and the *Majlis-i maktūb*, originally delivered as a sermon in Khwārazm, al-Shahrastānī’s crypto-Ismaili works include the *Kitāb al-muṣāra‘a*, a refutation of Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 428/1037) theological doctrine on the basis of traditional Ismaili theology. He has also preserved an abridgement of **Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ**’s doctrine of *ta‘līm* from his *al-Fuṣūl al-arba‘a* in his famous heresiographical work *Kitāb al-milal wa’l-niUal*.

SHAHRIYĀR B. AL-ḤASAN. Ismaili *dā‘ī* in Persia. He lived during the reign of the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Mustansir** (427–487/1036–1094) and was originally active in the provinces of **Fārs** and **Kirmān** in Persia. Subsequently, Shahriyār immigrated to Yaman and was dispatched in the 460s/1070s by the **Šulayḥid** ruler al-Mu‘arram b. ‘Alī as his envoy to the Fatimid **Cairo**, where he became acquainted with the chief *dā‘ī* **al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī**. Shahriyār wrote a few religious treatises that were preserved by the **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis of Yaman.

SHĀH ṬĀHIR AL-ḤUSAYNĪ DAKKANĪ (d. c. 956/1549). A learned theologian and poet and accomplished diplomat, he was also the most famous imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī (Mu‘minī) branch of **Nizārī** Ismailism. Born in Persia, Shāh Ṭāhir succeeded his father, Shāh RaCī al-Dīn II b. Ṭāhir, to the **imamate** in 915/1509. From early on, as a form of *taqiyya*, Shāh Ṭāhir dis-simulated as a **Twelver** (Ithnā‘asharī) Shi‘i, which explains why he composed several commentaries on the theological and juridical treatises of well-known Twelver scholars.

In 920/1514, he was invited by Shāh Ismā‘īl, founder of the **Šafawid** dynasty, to join other Shi‘i scholars at his court. However, under obscure circumstances, Shāh Ṭāhir aroused the anger of the Šafawids, and to escape persecution he fled to India in 926/1520. There, he joined the entourage of Burhān I Nizām Shāh (r. 915–961/1509–1554) in Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan. Shāh Ṭāhir’s success in the Deccan, while concealing his Ismaili identity, culminated in his

conversion of Burhān Nizām Shāh from Sunni Islam to Twelver Shi‘ism. In 944/1537, the **Nizām-Shāhī** monarch adopted Twelver Shi‘ism as the religion of his kingdom. Shāh Ṭāhir also rendered great diplomatic services to the Nizām-Shāhīs of the Deccan. The imamate of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs continued in Shāh Ṭāhir’s progeny, who remained in Aḥmadnagar before establishing themselves in Awrangābād in India.

SHAMSA. Designation for a decorative jewel used by the **Fatimid** caliphs as one of their royal insignia. The Fatimid *shamsa* was not a sunshade, as related by some modern sources, but a sort of suspended crown made out of gold or silver and studded with pearls and precious stones and hoisted up by the aid of a chain. The original Egyptian *shamsa*, which had been made by the order of the regent Kāfūr for the youthful Ikhshīdid ruler Ūnūjūr (r. 334–349/946–961), was replaced by a greater one for the Fatimid caliph **al-Mu‘izz** on the order of his commander **Jawhar**. The new Fatimid *shamsa* was hoisted above the great hall of the Fatimid palace at **Cairo** for the first time in 362/973. Jawhar’s *shamsa* was carried away in 461/1068 during the plunder of the Fatimid palace by the rebellious Turkish soldiers.

SHAMS AL-DĪN, PĪR. Early *Satpanth* Nizārī preacher-saint in India. He seems to have flourished in the middle of the eighth/14th century. Pīr Shams al-Dīn is the main figure credited with initiating the Nizārī activities in **Sind**. He is an obscure figure surrounded by a variety of legends. In these legendary accounts, Pīr Shams, whose mausoleum is preserved in Multan (in today’s Pakistan) under the name of Shāh Shams al-Dīn Sabzawārī, is identified with Shams-i Tabrīz (d. 645/1247), the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), the celebrated Persian mystic and poet. A number of *gināns* are attributed to him. *See also* KHOJAS.

SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD (d. c. 710/1310). The first post-**Alamūt** Nizārī Ismaili imam. Born in the late 640s/1240s, he was the sole surviving son of **Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh**, the last lord of **Alamūt**. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was taken into hiding shortly before the capture of Alamūt by the **Mongols** in 654/1256, marking the end of the Nizārī Ismaili state of Persia. He succeeded to the Nizārī **imamate** upon the death of his father in 655/1257 and evidently lived his entire life clandestinely in **Ādharbāyjān** in northwestern Persia. In legendary accounts, this Nizārī imam has also been confused with Shams-i Tabrīz (d. 645/1247), the spiritual guide of the mystic poet Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad’s succession was disputed, splitting the Nizārī Ismailis and their line of imams into Muḥammad-Shāhī and **Qāsim-Shāhī** factions. *See also* NIZĀRĪ QUHISTĀNĪ.

SHARḤ AL-AKHBĀR. Compiled by **al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān** (d. 363/974), this is a collection of non-legal traditions (*ḥadīths*). Compiled in the reign of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Mu‘izz** (341–365/953–975), it contains about 1,460 traditions, all of which were reportedly well-known and authentic. About two-thirds of this work is related to Imam ‘**Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**, with the remaining part dealing with the *faCā’il*, or virtues, of the Prophet **Muḥammad**’s family, or *ahl al-bayt*, and the early Shi‘i imams up to **Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq**. The final sections cover the commencement of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in North Africa. *See also* ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪ‘Ī; *IFTITĀḤ AL-DA‘WA*; JURISPRUDENCE.

SHARĪ‘A. See JURISPRUDENCE.

SHĀWAR, ABŪ SHUJĀ‘ B. MUJĪR AL-SA‘DI (d. 564/1169). Fatimid vizier. In 555/1160, he was appointed as governor of Upper Egypt, based at Qūṣ, by the Fatimid vizier Ṭalā‘ī‘ b. Ruzzīk. Later, in 558/1163, Shāwar revolted and entered **Cairo**, where he was proclaimed as vizier with the title of *amīr aljuyūsh*, or “commander of the armies,” by the Fatimid caliph al-‘Āḍid. Nine months later, still in 558/1163, Shāwar was deposed from the vizierate by **Dirghām**. In the event, Shāwar fled to Damascus to the Zangid court of **Nūr al-Dīn**, seeking his assistance for regaining the Fatimid vizierate. Nūr al-Dīn sent Shāwar back to Egypt with an expeditionary force commanded by **Shīrkūh**.

Shāwar was restored to the vizierate in 559/1164. His second term as vizier lasted about five years, a most confusing period in the closing years of the Fatimid dynasty marked by several Frankish and Zangid invasions of Egypt with Shāwar’s vacillating alliances with these external powers. Shīrkūh, heading the third Zangid expedition, entered Cairo and had Shāwar killed in 564/1169 with al-‘Āḍid’s consent.

SHAYKH ĀDAM Ṣafī AL-DĪN B. ṬAYYIBSHĀH (d. 1030/1621). The 28th *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī** Ismailis. In 1021/1612, he succeeded **Dā’ūd Burhān al-Dīn** to the leadership of this branch of the Ṭayyibī **Musta‘lians**. He lived in Aḥmadābād, **Gujarāt**, and Yaman and studied with Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (946–974/1539–1567), the first Indian to head the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa*. In 998/1590, he was authorized by the *dā‘ī muṭlaq* to propagate the *da‘wa* in the Deccan. In the Dā’ūdī–Sulaymānī dispute, he upheld the cause of Dā’ūd Burhān al-Dīn and defended his succession to the leadership before the court of the **Mughal emperor** Akbar. He is the author of *Kitāb palī mīdū*, on the initiation of the Musta‘lian *da‘wa* and its subsequent history in India until his own time.

SHAYKH AL-JABAL. See OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN SHĀH AL-ḤUSAYNĪ (c. 1268–1302/c. 1851–1884). Nizārī Ismaili dignitary and author, also known as Pīr Khalīl Allāh. He was the eldest son of Āqā ‘Alī Shāh, **Aga Khan II**, the 47th imam of the Nizārī Ismailis, and the half-brother of **Aga Khan III**. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh was a learned member of the **Aga Khan** family and composed a few treatises in Persian on Nizārī doctrines, including especially the *Khiṭābāt-i ‘āliya*. Preserved in India and Central Asia, his works, in fact, represent the earliest examples of a literary revival, initiated in the second half of the 13th/19th century and utilizing the Persian **language** in the Nizārī Ismaili community. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh spent the greater part of his life in Bombay and Poona, where he died. He was buried in the family mausoleum at Najaf, in Iraq.

SHĪRKŪH, ASAD AL-DĪN ABU’L-ḤĀRITH B. SHĀDĪ (d. 564/1169). Zangid commander and penultimate **Fatimid** vizier. Of Kurdish origins, from 549/1154, Shīrkūh and his brother, Ayyūb, served as commanders in the army of **Nūr al-Dīn**, the Zangid ruler of Syria and Iraq. In 558/1163, **Shāwar**, the ousted Fatimid vizier, arrived in Damascus seeking aid from Nūr al-Dīn. In 559/1164, Shīrkūh headed the first of the three Zangid expeditions to Egypt, leading to

Shāwar's restoration to the Fatimid vizierate. In 562/1167, Nūr al-Dīn sanctioned the dispatch of a second expedition to Egypt that was again commanded by Shīrkūh.

Eventually, a settlement was reached with Shāwar, who had meanwhile received aid from the **Crusaders**. A year later, the Franks sent a force of their own to Egypt. Shāwar appealed again to Nūr al-Dīn for assistance. Unwilling to let Egypt fall into Frankish hands, Nūr al-Dīn responded by sending yet another military expedition to Egypt. By 564/1169, Shīrkūh entered **Cairo** again, this time with his nephew **Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn** (Saladin), and the Franks retreated to Palestine without a battle.

With **al-ʿĀḍid**'s complicity, Shīrkūh moved to eliminate Shāwar, who was led into a trap and murdered in 564/1169. The Fatimid caliph now appointed Shīrkūh as vizier with the titles of *al-malik al-manṣūr* and *amīr al-juyūsh*. Shīrkūh died suddenly two months later in 564/169, and he was succeeded in the vizierate by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. *See also* DIRGHĀM.

AL-SIJILLĀT AL-MUSTANṢIRIYYA. Documents issued on behalf of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Mustanṣir** (d. 487/1094). This is a collection of some 66 documents (*sijillāt*) issued on behalf of al-Mustanṣir by the Fatimid chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʿ*) from 445/1053 to 487/1094 (with a few later ones) and addressed mainly to the **Ṣulayḥids** who ruled over Yaman and propagated the Ismaili **daʿwa** there on behalf of the Fatimids. The Egyptian scholar ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid (1920–1990) produced an edition of the Arabic texts of *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*. Subsequently, additional documents belonging to the same corpus were identified.

AL-SIJISTĀNĪ, ABŪ YAʿQŪB ISHĀQ B. AḤMAD (d. after 361/971). Prominent Ismaili **dāʿī** and one of the early propounders of philosophical theology in Ismailism. Also designated as al-Sijzī, he carried the enigmatic sobriquet of *panba-dānā* in Persian (with its Arabic equivalent of *khashāfūj*), meaning “cottonseed.” He propagated the Ismaili **daʿwa** in his native region of Sīstān (Arabic, Sijistān), in eastern Persia, as well as in Rayy, **Khurāsān**, and Transoxania. Early in his life, when he composed his *Kitāb al-nuṣra* (*Book of the Support*), al-Sijistānī did not recognize the **imamate** of the **Fatimid** caliphs. At the time, he was a disciple of **al-Nasafī**, the Central Asian **Qarmaṭī dāʿī**. However, in the reign of the Fatimid **al-Muʿizz** (341–365/953–975), he was won over by the Fatimid Ismaili **daʿwa**.

A prolific writer, al-Sijistānī's contributions to various theological doctrines can be traced through his numerous extant treatises. He also belonged to the Iranian school of “philosophical theology” in Ismailism. In several of his works, including especially the *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*, Neoplatonism and Ismaili theology are thus amalgamated in a highly original manner. Al-Sijistānī was executed not long after 361/971 on the order of Khalaf b. Aḥmad (r. 352–393/963–1003), the Ṣaffārid ruler of Sīstān. *See also* COSMOLOGY; KASHF AL-MAḤJŪB; KITĀB AL-RİYĀD; LITERATURE; SOTERIOLOGY.

SILVESTRE DE SACY, ANTOINE ISAAC (1758–1838). French orientalist. Founder of modern orientalism in Europe, de Sacy mastered a rare combination of ancient and modern oriental **languages**, including Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian, and published pioneering studies in every aspect of the Orient, including its geography, ancient monuments, history,

religions, and **literature**. De Sacy maintained a lifelong interest in studying the religion of the **Druzes**, which kindled his interest in Ismaili history. His scholarship on the Druzes culminated in his monumental *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, which also contains extensive accounts of early Ismailism and the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Ḥākim**'s biography.

De Sacy also concerned himself with the **Nizārī** Ismailis of the **Alamūt** period and finally resolved the mystery of the name **Assassins** applied to them in the European sources of medieval times. He showed that the variants of this term appearing in medieval European sources were all connected with the Arabic word *Uashīsh*, a product of hemp. However, he subscribed to the medieval Assassin legends, holding that *Uashīsh* was in some way systematically used as part of the training and indoctrination of the Nizārī **fidā'īs**. He also endorsed the anti-Ismaili "black legend" elaborated by **Ibn Rizām** and other medieval Sunni polemicists. More recent scholarship in Ismaili studies has revealed that the Nizārīs were referred to by other Muslims as *Uashīshīs* (identified in Muslim sources by de Sacy) not because they used *Uashīsh* (as claimed in the Assassin legends) but as a term of abuse meaning "people of lax morality."

SIND. The name of a region in the northern Indian subcontinent around the lower course of the Indus River now within the state of Pakistan. During the three centuries of Arab rule in Sind, up until the fifth/11th century, the province was governed by officials sent out by the **Umayyad** and **Abbasid** caliphs, with their capital at Manṣūra. However, by the fourth/10th century, the Ismaili **da'wa** had also spread in Sind, and in the reign of the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Mu'izz**, in 347/958, an Ismaili principality was established in Multan until it was destroyed by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 396/1006, marking the end of widespread Ismailism in Multan and upper Sind. Ismailism does not seem to have acquired any stronghold in lower Sind where Sunni Islam had deep roots. Another local ruler in Sind, belonging to the Ḥabbārid dynasty centered at Manṣūra, was later converted to Fatimid Ismailism, and Ismailism survived in Sind and later became the creed of the Sūmras, who revolted against the Ghaznawids in 443/1051 and established their independent dynasty ruling from Thatta for almost three centuries.

Later, the **Nizārī** Ismaili activities in the Indian subcontinent were initially concentrated amongst the Hindus of Sind. **Shams al-Dīn**, one of the earliest Nizārī preacher-saints, was active in Multan and Uch by the middle of the eighth/14th century. In due course, when Sind was incorporated into the **Mughal** empire, a significant **Khoja** community had been established in Sind. In 1259/1843, Sind was annexed by the British, who defeated the local Tālpur *mīrs*. At present, there are important Nizārī **Khoja** communities in different districts of Sind. *See also* KHOJKĪ; Ṣadr AL-DĪN, PĪR.

SĪRA OF JA'FAR B. 'ALĪ. The biography (*sīra*) of the chamberlain (*ḥājib*) to the **Fatimid** caliph-imam 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī (d. 322/934), which was later compiled during the caliphate of the fifth Fatimid ruler, **al-'Azīz** (r. 365–386/975–996), by a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī. This Arabic work contains unique details on al-Mahdī's long journey, covering the years 289–297/902–909, from **Salamiyya** in Syria to North Africa and his detention in Sijilmāsa, from where he was rescued by the **dā'ī** Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī and taken to Qayrawān to be installed to the new Fatimid caliphate. Born in 260/874, the same year

as al-Mahdī himself, Ja‘far accompanied al-Mahdī on his fateful journey and left this eyewitness account of many important events in early Ismaili history. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE.

SĪRA OF USTĀDH JAWDHAR. The biography (*sīra*) of the eunuch (*ustādh*) and courtier Jawdhar (d. 363/973), who served the first four **Fatimid** caliph-imams. It was compiled in the reign of **al-‘Azīz** (r. 365–386/975–996) by Jawdhar’s private secretary, **Abū ‘Alī Maṣṣūr al-‘Azīzī al-Jawdhari**, who was named after his master. This Arabic book contains unique details on the early history of the Fatimid dynasty and the inner workings of the Fatimid court in North Africa. *See also* HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE.

SITT AL-MULK (359–413/970–1023). Daughter of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-‘Azīz** and half-sister of **al-Ḥākim**. She was born in Maṣṣūriyya, the then new Fatimid capital in **Ifriqiya**. Like many other daughters of Fatimid caliphs, Sitt al-Mulk never married for dynastic reasons. After al-Ḥākim’s disappearance in 411/1021, Sitt al-Mulk was instrumental in securing the succession of his youthful son (her nephew), Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī, to the Fatimid throne with the title of **al-Zāhir**, while she retained the reins of government in her own hands as regent. She had evidently eliminated al-Ḥākim’s cousin and designated heir-apparent, ‘Abd al-RaUīm b. Ilyās, who had been serving as governor of Damascus. Until her death two years later in 413/1023, Sitt al-Mulk, who is given various other names in the sources, such as *al-sayyida al-‘amma* (the “princess-aunt”), ruled efficiently to restore order to the affairs of the Fatimid state. *See also* WOMEN.

SIYĀSAT-NĀMA. Written by Niẓām al-Mulk, this is a Persian book containing a total of 50 chapters of advice to the **Saljūq** Sultan Malik Shāh (r. 465–485/1073–1092). Also known as *Siyar al-mulūk*, this work of the mirror for princes literary genre was completed in 484/1091 with 11 more chapters, including a long one on the Ismailis, added the following year. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, carrying the honorific title of Niẓām al-Mulk, was the learned and powerful vizier to sultans Alp Arslān (r. 455–465/1063–1073) and Malik Shāh and the virtual ruler of their empire for two decades. Born in 408/1018, he was assassinated in 485/1092 as he was accompanying Sultan Malik Shāh to Baghdad.

A Shāfi‘ī Sunni, Niẓām al-Mulk was a staunch enemy of the Ismailis, and his assassin, a certain Abū Ṭāhir Arrānī, is generally thought to have been dispatched by **Ḥasan-i Šabbāh**. However, contemporaries seem to have considered Malik Shāh, who had grown wary of his powerful vizier, as well as the sultan’s wife Terken Khātūn, as the real instigators of this murder, a view increasingly endorsed also by modern scholarship on the subject.

The last 11 chapters of the *Siyāsat-nāma* were added shortly before Niẓām al-Mulk’s murder, and they focus on the dangers threatening the Saljūq state at the time, including that posed by the Ismailis, discussed in chapter 46. This hostile chapter, drawing on anti-Ismaili polemics of **Ibn Rizām** and **Akhū Muḥsin**, nevertheless provides an important source on the history of the early Ismailis (**Qarmaṭīs**) in Persia and Central Asia. The French orientalist Charles Schefer (1820–1898) produced the first edition of the Persian text of the *Siyāsat-nāma* in Paris in 1891.

SOTERIOLOGY. This refers to the Ismaili doctrine of salvation in the afterlife. Soteriology was an integral component of the metaphysical systems of thought elaborated by the Ismailis with their distinct cosmological doctrines. The early Ismaili doctrine of **cosmology** had a key soteriological purpose. Man, who appears at the end of the process of creation, was found to be far removed from his origin and the Creator. This early cosmology thus also aimed to show the way for removing this distance and bringing about man's salvation. This could be attained only if man acquired knowledge of his origin and the reasons for his distance from God, a knowledge that had to be imparted only by God's messengers as recognized in the **Qur'an**.

The authors of the Iranian school of "philosophical Ismailism," who amalgamated their theology with Neoplatonic and other philosophical traditions, also propounded a doctrine of salvation as part of their cosmology. In the metaphysical systems of **al-Sijistānī** and other members of this school, man appears as a microcosm with individual human souls as parts of the universal soul (*nafs*). Drawing extensively on various Neoplatonic and gnostic motifs, they elaborated their doctrine of salvation in purely spiritual terms. Here, the ultimate goal of salvation is the human soul's progression out of a purely mundane, physical existence toward his Creator, in quest of a spiritual reward in an eternal afterlife. This so-to-speak ascending quest up a ladder of salvation involves the purification of man's soul, which depends on guidance provided in his lifetime by the terrestrial hierarchy of the Ismaili *da'wa*. This is because only the authorized members of this *da'wa* hierarchy are in a position to reveal the "right path" along which God guides those who seek the truth and whose souls on the Day of Judgment (*qiyāma*) will be rewarded spiritually.

In every era (*dawr*) of human history, the terrestrial hierarchy consists of the law-announcing prophet (*nāṭiq*) of that era and his rightful successors. In the era of Islam, the guidance required for salvation is provided by the Prophet **Muḥammad**, his *waṣī*, **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**, and the Ismaili imams. Like other Shi'is, the Ismailis also believe in the intercession of their imams on the Day of Judgment, which would guarantee their entry into spiritual Paradise. *See also* LITERATURE.

SOUL. *See* INTELLECT, OR UNIVERSAL INTELLECT.

STERN, SAMUEL MIKLOS (1920–1969). Hungarian–British orientalist and a scholar of modern Ismaili studies. Born in Tab, Hungary, where he received his early **education**, Stern began his career as a student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. There, he specialized in oriental studies. During World War II, Stern went to England and subsequently acquired British citizenship. He spent the years 1948–1951 working on his doctoral thesis at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Professor Hamilton A. R. Gibb (1895–1971).

After a period as secretary-general of the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, he joined the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford as assistant keeper in the Heberden Coin Room. Soon thereafter, he had the distinction of being elected as a fellow at All Souls College, Oxford. There, he remained as university lecturer in the history of Islamic civilization until his sudden death from an acute attack of asthma.

Stern's work on Ismailism spanned his entire scholarly life. His earliest contributions were related to identifying the authors of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Subsequently, Stern's Ismaili

interests widened, and he became the first European scholar, together with Wilferd Madelung, to recognize the nature of the early Ismaili movement and its eventual split into the loyal **Fatimid** and the dissident **Qarmaṭī** factions. He also shed light on various aspects of Ismaili **da‘wa** under the Fatimids and the eventual division of **Musta‘lian** Ismailism into **Ṭayyibī** and **Hāfizī** branches.

ŞULAYḤIDS (r. 439–532/1047–1138). An Ismaili dynasty ruling over parts of Yaman. The dynasty was founded by **‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Şulayḥī**, who had converted to Ismailism and recognized the suzerainty of the **Fatimids**. ‘Alī rose in revolt in 439/1047 and established himself in Masār, in the mountainous region of **Ḥarāz**, and, by 455/1063, he had subjugated all of Yaman. ‘Alī, who was murdered in 459/1067, was succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad (d. 477/1084), and then by other members of the Şulayḥid dynasty. From around 467/1074, by which time most of northern Yaman was lost to the **Zaydī** Qāsimī *amīrs*, effective authority in the Şulayḥid state was exercised by al-Mukarram’s consort, the celebrated queen **Arwā bint Aḥmad al-Şulayḥī**. Around 480/1087, she transferred the seat of the Şulayḥid state to Dhū Jibla, a small town founded in 459/1066 beneath the mountain of al-Ta‘kar in the southern highlands of Yaman. There, she built a new palace and transformed the old one into a mosque.

Queen Arwā maintained close relations with Imam **al-Mustansir** and his next two successors in the Fatimid dynasty, **al-Musta‘li** and **al-Āmir**, during her long rule. The queen eventually founded the independent **Ṭayyibī Musta‘lian** Ismaili **da‘wa** in Yaman, which survived the downfall of the Fatimid and Şulayḥid dynasties; she also extended the **da‘wa**, on behalf of the Fatimids, to western India. The death of Arwā in 532/1138 marked the effective end of the Şulayḥid dynasty of Yaman, which now became subject to the authority of a number of local dynasties, including the Ismaili **Zuray‘ids**. *See also* BOHRAS; AL-DHU‘AYB B. MŪSĀ AL-WĀDĪ‘Ī; AL-KHAṬṬĀB B. AL-ḤASAN B. ABĪ’L-ḤIFĀZ AL-HAMDĀNĪ; *AL-SIJILLĀT AL-MUSTANŞ -IRIYYA*; ‘UMĀRA AL-YAMANĪ, ABŪ ḤAMZA NAJM AL-DĪN B. ‘ALĪ AL-ḤAKAMĪ; *‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR*.

SULAYMĀN B. ḤASAN (d. 1005/1597). The 27th *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the Sulaymānī **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis. He was the grandson of the 24th *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (d. 974/1567), and a deputy of the 26th *dā‘ī*, **Dā‘ūd b. ‘Ajabshāh**, in Yaman. Three years after the death of Dā‘ūd and succession of **Dā‘ūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh** as the 27th *dā‘ī*, Sulaymān claimed the succession for himself and returned to India to establish his claim. This succession dispute was brought before the **Mughal emperor** Akbar at Lahore in 1005/1597. The case was decided in favor of Dā‘ūd b. Quṭbshāh. However, the dispute, with Indian versus Yamanī characters, led to a permanent **Dā‘ūdī**–Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī **Musta‘lian da‘wa** and community. A minority of the Ṭayyibīs, accounting for the bulk of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs, supported the succession rights of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan and became designated as Sulaymānīs. Sulaymān died in India and was buried in Aḥmadābād, **Gujarāt**, where his mausoleum is still visited by the Sulaymānīs.

SULAYMĀNĪS. *See* DĀ‘ŪDĪS, DĀ‘ŪDIYYA.

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH. *See* AGA KHAN III, SULTAN MUHAMMAD (MAHOMED) SHAH.

AL-ŞŪRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ. Ismaili *dā‘ī* and author in Syria. A native of Şūr (Tyre) in the Levant, al-Şūrī flourished in the reign of the **Fatimid al-Mustansir** (427–487/1036–1094) and operated as a *dā‘ī* on his behalf in Syria. The author of several works in Arabic, his well-known *al-Qaṣīda al-Şūriyya* is a long poem on *tawUīd*, the creation, spiritual hierarchies, etc. *See also* LITERATURE.

ṬĀHIR SAYF AL-DĪN, SAYYIDNĀ (1886–1965). The 51st *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the **Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibīs**, known in South Asia as **Bohras**. Born in Bombay, he assumed the leadership of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa* and community in 1915, upon the death of the 50th *dā'ī*, 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn (1323–1333/1906–1915). His own father, **Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn**, had led the Dā'ūdīs during 1308–1323/1891–1906 as their 49th *dā'ī*. In his time, the Dā'ūdīs became polarized between the *dā'ī* and his traditionally minded supporters, on the one side, and a growing opposition of several reformist groups called collectively Pragati Mandal (Progressive Group), on the other.

Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn strove persistently to acquire a firm hold over the community, while pursuing specific policies designed to ensure the unquestioning submission of the Dā'ūdīs to his authority in all matters. These policies included excommunications and social boycotts of the reformers. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn established his permanent residence and the headquarters of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa* in Bombay at the Badri Mahal. He reconstructed numerous Bohra shrines in India, also expanding the **Jāmi'a Sayfiyya** in Sūrāt, **Gujarāt**, into a large academic institution for training the Dā'ūdī community's functionaries (*'āmil*s). He also launched a reform program of his own affecting aspects of the administration, **education**, and finances of the community.

A learned scholar, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn was a prolific author and produced a vast chrestomathy, entitled *al-Risāla al-RamaCāniyya*, of his own prose and poetic compositions, as well as extracts from earlier Ismaili texts. His mausoleum in Bombay, built by his son and successor, serves as a pilgrimage site for the Dā'ūdī Bohras of the world.

ṬALĀ'I' B. RUZZĪK, AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ (495–556/1101–1161). Vizier to the later **Fatimids** from 549/1154 to 556/1161. Originally an Armenian, he later possibly became a **Twelver Shi'i**. In the aftermath of the murder of the Fatimid caliph **al-Zāfir** in 549/1154, Ṭalā'i', then governor of Uṣyūṭ in Upper Egypt, marched on **Cairo** and assumed the vizierate, becoming the absolute master of Egypt in the same year. After **al-Fā'iz**'s death in 555/1160, Ṭalā'i' placed a grandson of **al-Ḥāfiẓ** on the Fatimid throne with the title of **al-'Āḍid** li-Dīn Allāh, and he continued as the effective ruler of the Fatimid state. Ṭalā'i' further strengthened his position by marrying his daughter to al-'Āḍid. He was also a poet, and his *Dīwān* of poetry has survived. Ṭalā'i' was assassinated in his palace in 556/1161 at the instigation of one of al-'Āḍid's aunts. *See also* 'ABBĀS B. ABI'L-FUTŪḤ YAḤYĀ B. TAMĪM; DIRGHĀM; SHĀWAR, ABŪ SHUJĀ' B. MUJĪR AL-SA'DI.

TA'LĪM. An Arabic term meaning teaching or instruction. In Shi'i Islam, it denotes authoritative teaching in religion that could be carried out only by an imam in every age after the Prophet **Muḥammad**. For the Shi'is, only their divinely guided, sinless, and infallible '**Alid** imams, who possessed the special religious knowledge, or '*ilm*, were qualified to perform the spiritual functions of such guides or teachers. This doctrine was reformulated in a more

rigorous form in terms of four propositions by **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ** (d. 518/1124) in his *al-Fuṣūl al-arba‘a*. By emphasizing the autonomous teaching authority of each imam in his own time, the doctrine of *ta‘līm* became the central teaching of the **Nizārī** Ismailis of the **Alamūt** period. As a result, the Nizārīs became designated by other medieval Muslims also as the Ta‘līmiyya, or upholders, of the doctrine of *ta‘līm*. See also EDUCATION; LITERATURE; ; SARGUDHASHT-I SAYYIDNĀ; SAYR VA SULŪK; AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ, ABU’L-FATH MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ABD AL-KARĪM.

TA‘LĪMIYYA. See TA‘LĪM.

TAMĪM B. AL-MU‘IZZ, ABŪ ‘ALĪ (337–374/949–985). Fatimid prince (*amīr*) and poet. The eldest son of the fourth Fatimid caliph-imam **al-Mu‘izz**, Tamīm was born in **Mahdiyya**. He was passed over twice as heir-designate by his father, perhaps because of his association with some disloyal members of the Fatimid family. He devoted his life to literary activities and acquired some reputation as a poet. Tamīm’s poems belong to different genres, including *marthiyas*, or elegies, on the deaths of his brothers and his ‘**Alid** ancestors. He died in **Cairo** and was buried in the Fatimid mausoleum there. See also LITERATURE.

TĀMIR, ‘ĀRIF (1921–1998). Syrian scholar of modern Ismaili studies. He was born in 1921 in the province of Ṭarṭūs, Syria, into a prominent Muḥammad-Shāhī **Nizārī** Ismaili family. He lived and studied in Ṭarṭūs and Latakia until he settled in **Salamiyya** in the early 1940s. ‘Ārif Tāmīr then worked in various capacities in the Syrian and Lebanese media. Tāmīr is the earliest scholar of modern Ismaili studies to have made numerous Ismaili texts of Syrian provenance available to researchers, albeit often in defective editions and without providing the necessary academic apparatus and information on the manuscripts. He also published a large number of monographs on various **Fatimid** caliph-imams and other Ismaili personalities, again without the necessary documentation.

TAQIYYA. An Arabic term denoting precautionary dissimulation of one’s true religious beliefs, especially in time of danger. *Taqiyya* has been used especially by the **Twelver** (Ithnā‘asharī) and Ismaili Shi‘is. The practice of *taqiyya* conveniently protected these Shi‘is from persecution and frequently served to safeguard them under hostile circumstances. In particular, the **Nizārī** Ismailis have been obliged to dissimulate rather strictly to protect themselves against widespread persecution. To that end, during much of their post-**Alamūt** history, the Nizārīs not only concealed their true beliefs and religious **literature**, but they also resorted to a wide variety of Sunni, Sufi, Ithnā‘asharī, and Hindu disguises.

Long-term adoption of *taqiyya* often led to irrevocable influences on the traditions and distinctive religious identity of the dissimulating Nizārīs of particular regions, especially in the Iranian world and South Asia. As a result, many Nizārīs were eventually absorbed into the dominant Sunni, Twelver Shi‘i, or Hindu religious communities of those regions. See also AL-BĀQIR, ABŪ JA‘FAR MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ; SATR.

TA’RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀ. Written by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā-Malik Juwaynī (d. 681/1283), this historical work contains an important section on the history of the **Nizārī** Ismaili state of

Persia (483–654/1090–1256). Juwaynī joined the entourage of the **Mongol** conqueror Hūlāgū and accompanied him on his military campaigns against the Nizārī fortresses of Persia in 654/1256. Juwaynī, who began writing his history of the Mongol conquests around 650/1252 and stopped working on it in 658/1260, composed an account of the Ismailis and included it in the third volume of his *Taʾrīkh*, on the basis of the official Nizārī chronicles and other documents 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 the early Ismailis, the **Fatimids**, and a detailed history of **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ** and his seven successors as **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**, its most valuable part. The same pattern was adopted later by **Rashīd al-Dīn** and **Kāshānī**. The renowned Iranian scholar Muḥammad Qazvīnī (1877–1949) produced the critical edition of the Persian text of *Taʾrīkh-i jahān-gushā* for the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series. *See also* HAMMER-PURGSTALL, JOSEPH FREIHERR VON; HISTORIOGRAPHY; JĀMIʿ AL-TAWĀRĪKH; NIZĀRĪ ISMAILI RULERS IN PERSIA; SARGUDHASHT-I SAYYIDNĀ; ZUBDĀT AL-TAWĀRĪKH.

TAʾWĪL. A technical term denoting the educing of the inner or original meaning from the literal wording of a text, ritual, or religious prescription. As a technical term among the Shiʿis, particularly the Ismailis, it denotes the method of educing the *bāṭin* from the *ẓāhir*, or the inner meaning from the apparent wording; as such, it was used extensively by the Ismailis for the allegorical, symbolic, or esoteric interpretation of the **Qurʾan**, the *sharīʿa*, historical events and even the world of nature. Translated also as spiritual or hermeneutic exegesis, *taʾwīl* can be distinguished from *tafsīr*, the external, philological exegesis or commentary on the Qurʾan.

Taʾwīl became the hallmark of Ismaili thought and **literature**, and as practiced by the early Ismailis it often relied on the mystical properties and symbolism of letters and numbers. The purpose of *taʾwīl*, also designated as *taʾwīl al-bāṭin*, or *bāṭinī taʾwīl*, was to manifest the hidden so as to unveil the true spiritual reality only to those who were properly initiated into the Ismaili community and who acknowledged the spiritual guidance of the rightful imams of the era, the *aṣṬūb al-taʾwīl*, or the possessors of the rightful authority to interpret Islam in all its dimensions. *See also* ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; BĀṬINĪS, BĀṬINIYYA; ḤASAN II; JAʿFAR B. MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN; MAFĀTĪḤ AL-ASRĀR WA MAṢĀBĪḤ AL-ABRĀR; MAJĀLIS AL-ḤIKMA; QIYĀMA; TAʾWĪL AL-DAʿĀʾIM; WAJH-I DĪN.

TAʾWĪL AL-DAʿĀʾIM. Composed by **al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān** (d. 363/974), this work is the esoteric counterpart to his **Daʿāʾim al-Islām**. It is based on al-Nuʿmān's weekly lectures delivered at the **majālis al-ḥikma**. Divided into 12 parts, each subdivided into 10 lectures, or *majālis*, the work provides esoteric interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of acts of worship (*ibādāt*) enumerated in the first volume of the *Daʿāʾim*. *See also* LITERATURE; TAʾWĪL.

AL-ṬAYYIB. Son of the **Fatimid** caliph-imam **al-Āmir** and the 21st and final manifest imam of **Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian** Ismailis. Born a few months before his father was murdered in 524/1130, al-Ṭayyib was designated as heir-apparent to the Fatimid throne on his birth. The fate of al-Ṭayyib, who disappeared soon after his father's death, is shrouded in mystery. It is unknown

whether he died in infancy or was disposed of in some manner at the instigation of **al-Ḥāfiẓ**, who initially succeeded as regent to the Fatimid caliphate after al-Āmir.

According to a Yamanī Ṭayyibī tradition, al-Ṭayyib was concealed by some trusted *dā'īs*. It is thus the belief of the Ṭayyibīs that al-Ṭayyib survived and that the Ṭayyibī **imamate** continued in his progeny during the current period of *saṭr*, or concealment, in the history of the Ṭayyibī community initiated by al-Ṭayyib's own concealment. All of al-Ṭayyib's successors to the **imamate** from among his descendants have also remained hidden (*mastūr*) from the eyes of their followers. *See also* 'UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR.

ṬAYYIBĪS, ṬAYYIBIYYA. A faction of the **Musta'lian** Ismailis. In 526/1132, the claims of **al-Ḥāfiẓ** to the **Fatimid** caliphate and the **Musta'lian** Ismaili **imamate** split the unified **Musta'lian** *da'wa* and community into the rival **Ḥāfiẓī** and Ṭayyibī factions. The claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ were recognized by the official **Musta'lian** *da'wa* organization in **Cairo** and by the majority of the **Musta'lians** in Egypt, Syria, and some groups in Yaman. However, some **Musta'lian** groups in Egypt and Syria, as well as many in Yaman, did not recognize al-Ḥāfiẓ and the later Fatimids as their imams. By contrast to the Ḥāfiẓīs, these **Musta'lian** Ismailis acknowledged the rights of **al-Ṭayyib**, the son of the previous caliph-imam **al-Āmir** (d. 524/1130), to the **Musta'lian** **imamate**. These **Musta'lians** were initially known as the Āmiriyya but later became designated as the Ṭayyibiyya or Ṭayyibīs. The independent Ṭayyibī *da'wa* was in fact founded in Yaman under the initial leadership of the **Ṣulayhid** queen **Arwā**. Subsequently, Yaman remained the main stronghold of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*. Ṭayyibī **Musta'lians** themselves later split into **Dā'ūdī**, Sulaymānī, and 'Alawī communities. The Ṭayyibī imams have all remained concealed since al-Ṭayyib's times. In the absence of the Ṭayyibī imams, *dā'īs*, or more specifically *dā'ī muṭlaqs* with supreme authority, have looked after the affairs of the various Ṭayyibī communities. For all practical purposes, these *dā'īs* have increasingly assumed all the prerogatives and attributes of the imams. *See also* BOHRAS; DA'Ā'IM AL-ISLĀM; LITERATURE; MARRIAGE; MAWSIM-I BAHĀR; MUNTAZA' AL-AKHBĀR; TITHE; 'UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR.

TITHE. Ismailis regularly pay a variety of religious dues. The most important religious due paid by the **Nizārī** Ismailis is the tithe, which is called the *dassondh* in South Asia, the *dah-yik* in Persian, and the *'ushr* in Arabic. This normally amounts to 10 percent of the individual's annual earnings, although the *dassondh* of the **Khoja** **Nizārīs** has traditionally been set at 12.5 percent. The tithe, which is largely unenforced, is collected by the traditional functionaries of the community, namely the *mukhis* and *kamadias*, of every **Nizārī** group (*jamā'at*) for the imam of the time. These functionaries also collected certain other dues for officiating on special occasions, as well as the *mehmani*, which is a voluntary offering to the imam. The **Nizārīs** no longer pay the *khums*, amounting to 20 percent of the individual's annual earning, which they, like other Shi'i Muslims, paid until late medieval times.

In the past, the **Nizārīs** also made special offerings to their imam on the occasions of his jubilee celebrations. This practice was initiated under **Aga Khan III**, who was weighed on the occasions of his golden (1935), diamond (1946), and platinum (1955) jubilees in terms of various precious metals and stones, the equivalent values of which were then made as

offerings to him by the members of the community. These funds were placed in special accounts or deposited with special institutions and used for the implementation of a host of socio-economic projects that would directly benefit the Nizārīs of different regions. This practice of weighing has not been retained by Aga Khan III's grandson and successor, **Aga Khan IV**. However, the well-to-do Nizārīs have continued to make significant voluntary donations to their community's institutions and programs. Many Nizārīs also provide voluntary services to their community free of charge. In fact, all the main administrative posts of the community, such as the national councils and **Ismaili Tariqah and Religious Education Boards (ITREBs)** are staffed by professionals on a voluntary basis, which is an important tradition within the Nizārī Ismaili community.

The **Ṭayyibī** Ismailis, too, pay a number of dues to their **dā'ī muṭlaq**, including the semi-voluntary annual *khums*, as well as special dues paid on certain occasions. More specifically, the regular dues, especially those paid by the **Dā'ūdī Bohras**, accounting for the bulk of the Ṭayyibīs, are the *zakāt*, amounting to 2.5 percent of an individual's annual earnings, which the Bohras, like other Muslims, are required to pay. The *sila*, *fitra*, and *sabil* dues of various fixed amounts are also levied on Bohra households. In addition, the Dā'ūdī Bohras are expected to make a number of semi-voluntary contributions on certain occasions to the central treasury of their *dā'ī*. These include *Uaqq al-nafs*, a fee paid upon the burial of a relative; *nikāḥ*, a fee paid to the 'āmil for officiating at a marriage; and *salaam*, a customary cash offering made to the *dā'ī* generally on his birthday, among others. These dues, representing substantial annual payments to the central treasury of the *dā'ī*, are regularly collected on a local basis by the community's 'āmil, normally once a year during the month of RamaCān. The collections are sometimes received by a special envoy of the *dā'ī*, referred to as the *sā'ib al-da'wa*. The religious dues provide the main source of funding for a number of charitable organizations of the Dā'ūdī Bohra community and their various institutions, including the **Jāmi'a Sayfiyya** and its branch in Karachi.

AL-ṬŪSĪ, KHWĀJA NAṢĪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD (597–672/1201–1274). Prominent Shi'ī scholar who contributed to many fields of learning. Born in Ṭūs, **Khurāsān**, into a **Twelver** Shi'ī family, al-Ṭūsī studied at Nīshāpūr during 610–618/1213–1221 and later in Iraq. Around 624/1227, he entered the service of Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abd al-RaŪīm b. Abī Mansūr (d. 655/1257), the *muUtasham*, or leader, of the **Nizārī** Ismailis in Quhistān. During his long stay at Qā'in and other Nizārī fortress communities in Quhistān, al-Ṭūsī developed a close friendship with his learned Nizārī patron, to whom he dedicated both of his great works on ethics, the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, completed in 633/1235, and the *Akhlāq-i muUtashamī*. Later, he went to **Alamūt** and enjoyed the munificence of two Nizārī imams until the destruction of the Nizārī state in 654/1256 by the **Mongols**. Subsequently, he became a trusted adviser to the Mongol conqueror Hūlāgū, who built a great observatory for him at Marāgha in **Ādharbāyjān**.

During his stay with the Nizārīs, al-Ṭūsī converted to Ismailism, as explained in his spiritual autobiography, *Sayr va sulūk*, and also contributed significantly to the development of the Nizārī thought of his time. However, upon joining the entourage of Hūlāgū, he reverted back to Twelver Shi'ism. The *RawCat al-taslīm*, the major Ismaili work of the late Alamūt period,

completed in 640/1243, was compiled under al-Ṭūsī's supervision. He also made significant contributions to Twelver Shi'i theology. He died in Baghdad. *See also* BĪRJANDĪ, RA'ĪS ḤASAN B. ṢALĀḤ MUNSHĪ; LITERATURE.

TWELVERS, ITHNĀ'ASHARIYYA. The name of the major branch of Shi'i Islam that acknowledges a line of 12 (Arabic, *ithnā'ashar*) imams, beginning with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and ending with Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose reappearance as the *Mahdī* is still awaited. Originally also known as Imāmī Shi'is, this moderate branch of Shi'ism traced the **imamate** in a particular line of 'Alid imams. After 'Alī himself, the Imāmīs recognized his sons, **al-Ḥasan** and **al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī**, and then they traced the **imamate** in the Ḥusaynid 'Alid line. Upon the death of their sixth imam, **Ja'far al-Ṣādiq**, in 148/765, they acknowledged his son, Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799), as their next and seventh imam, and after the death of their 11th imam, al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, in 260/874, they recognized his son, Muḥammad, who was believed to have gone into occultation (*ghayba*) around the same time. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the 12th hidden imam, is expected to return (*raj'a*) at the end of time as the divinely guided *Mahdī*.

From the fourth/10th century onward, a number of scholars, starting with al-Kulaynī, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq (Ibn Bābawayh), Shaykh al-Mufīd, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa), began to compile and elaborate the principal doctrinal and juridical works of Twelver Shi'ism. However, Twelver theology began to be systematically elaborated by **Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī** and others. In 907/1501, the **Ṣafawids** adopted Twelver Shi'ism as the official religion of Iran, where this branch of Shi'ism still predominates. Other major Twelver communities can be found in Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bahrayn.

The religious practices of the Twelvers do not differ essentially from those of Sunni Muslims. But the Twelvers emphasize pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to the tombs of their imams and their relatives in Iraq (Najaf, Karbalā', Sāmarrā') and Iran (Mashhad, Qum). For the Twelvers, similarly to other Shi'i communities, the role of the sinless (*ma'ṣūm*) imam is also central to their theology; and in the absence of their last, hidden imam, every Twelver Shi'i is expected to follow and emulate a living jurisconsultant (*faqīh* or *mujtahid*) who is qualified to interpret the *sharī'a* according to certain rules. *See also* JURISPRUDENCE; MARRIAGE; SHĀH ṬĀHIR AL-ḤUSAYNĪ DAKKANĪ; TAQIYYA.

‘UMĀRA AL-YAMANĪ, ABŪ ḤAMZA NAJM AL-DĪN B. ‘ALĪ AL-ḤAKAMĪ (515–569/1121–1174). Yamanī poet and historian. Born in Yaman, he produced his *Ta’rīkh al-Yaman* in 563/1167, at the instigation of al-Qāḍī al-FāCil, who was then chief secretary to the **Fatimid** caliph **al-‘Āḍid**. ‘Umāra’s history covers the events in both northern and southern Yaman during the Fatimid period. It is a major early source on the Ismaili dynasty of the **Ṣulayḥids** and on the south Arabian (**Ḥāfizī** Ismaili) dynasty of the **Zuray‘ids** of ‘Adan.

Much information on several contemporary Fatimid viziers, and on Fatimid court life in general, can also be obtained from ‘Umāra’s *Dīwān* of poems and his memoirs, entitled *al-Nukat al-‘aṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā’ al-Miṣriyya*, covering the period 558–564/1162–1169. A Sunnī himself, ‘Umāra immigrated to Fatimid Egypt in 552/1157 and became an ardent supporter of the Fatimids, who were eulogized in his poetry. ‘Umāra was executed in **Cairo** in 569/1174, on **Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn**’s order, on charges of involvement in a plot to restore the Fatimids to power.

UMAYYADS (r. 41–132/661–750). Members of the Banū Umayya clan of the Quraysh tribe, and also the name of the first dynasty in Islam founded in 41/661 by Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680), the then governor of Syria who successfully challenged the authority of **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**, the fourth and last of the “rightly guided caliphs” and the first Shi‘i imam. The Umayyad dynasty ruled from Damascus through 14 caliphs over an expanding Islamic empire until it was overthrown in 132/750 by the **Abbasids**. ‘Abd al-RaUmān, one of the few Umayyads to survive the dynasty’s massacre at the hands of the Abbasids, escaped to Spain, where he founded the dynasty of the Spanish Umayyads who ruled from Cordoba in al-Andalus from 138/756 until 422/1031. The Umayyads of Spain had intermittent confrontations, through the Zanāta Berbers and other proxies, with the **Fatimids** in North Africa.

UMM AL-KITĀB. The title of an anonymous Shi‘i work preserved by the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Central Asia. Originally produced in Arabic, in the Shi‘i *ghulāt* circles of southern Iraq, only a later enlarged version of the *Umm al-kitāb* written in archaic Persian has been preserved by the Nizārī Ismaili communities of **Badakhshān** and northern areas of Pakistan. In its extant Persian version, this text contains the discourses of the Shi‘i Imam **Muḥammad al-Bāqir** on the secrets of **cosmology**, eschatology, and **soteriology** in response to questions posed by an anachronistic circle of disciples.

Modern scholarship has attributed the origin of this enigmatic work to the **Mukhammisa**, or Pentadists, one of the Kūfan-based early Shi‘i *ghulāt* groups of the second half of the second/eighth century which, like the Khaṭṭābiyya, had emerged on the fringes of Imāmī Shi‘ism. The Central Asian Nizārī Ismailis claim this book as their own, even though it does not contain any known Ismaili doctrines other than mentioning the name of **Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq**.

UNIVERSAL INTELLECT. *See* INTELLECT, OR UNIVERSAL INTELLECT.

UNIVERSAL SOUL. *See* INTELLECT, OR UNIVERSAL INTELLECT.

‘USHR. *See* TITHE.

USTĀDH JAWDHAR. *See* SĪRA OF USTĀDH JAWDHAR.

‘UYŪN AL-AKHBĀR. Composed by the *dā‘ī* **Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan** (d. 872/1468). This is the most comprehensive work in seven volumes on the history of the Ismailis from the origins until the second half of the sixth/12th century written by an Ismaili author, the 19th *dā‘ī muṭlaq* of the **Ṭayyibīs**. The first volume of the *‘Uyūn*, on the life of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, is particularly valuable in reflecting the Ismaili tradition on that subject. Similarly, the second and third volumes portray the Ismaili perspectives on Imam **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib** and his battles against various opponents. The fourth volume covers the biographies of the early imams from **al-Ḥasan** and **al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī** until the last of the hidden imams of the early Ismailis, during the pre-**Fatimid** period in Ismaili history.

The fifth volume covers the initiation of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in Yaman and North Africa, the establishment of the Fatimid state in 297/909, and the reigns of the first three Fatimid caliph-imams. The sixth volume covers the reigns of the next four Fatimids, from **al-Mu‘izz** to **al-Zāhir**, as well as the early years of **al-Mustanṣir**. Finally, the seventh volume covers the remaining period of al-Mustanṣir’s reign; the establishment of **Ṣulayḥid** rule in Yaman; the **Nizārī**–**Musta‘lī** schism; the reigns of the next two Fatimid caliphs, **al-Musta‘lī** and **al-Āmir**, recognized as imams only by the **Musta‘lian** Ismailis; as well as the commencement of the **Ṭayyibī da‘wa** in Yaman and the collapse of the Fatimid caliphate in 567/1171. The complete text of the *‘Uyūn*, critically edited by various scholars, was published in 2007–2011 in the Ismaili Texts and Translations Series of the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)**, in association with Institut français du Proche-Orient in Damascus.

VEIL. *See* WOMEN.

WAHY. See *NUBUWWA*.

WAJH-I DĪN. Written by **Nāṣir-i Khusraw** (d. after 465/1072). It is this Ismaili **dā'ī** and author's major work on **ta'wīl**. Divided into 51 sections, this Persian theological treatise contains esoteric interpretations of a range of religious commandments, such as fasting. The text of *Wajh-i dīn* is preserved and read widely by the **Nizārī** Ismaili communities of **Badakhshān**, Hunza, and other parts of Central Asia.

WALĀYA. See *IMAMATE*.

WOMEN. In medieval times, a number of women rose to positions of prominence within the Ismaili community. Several of the mothers, daughters, and sisters of the **Fatimid** caliph-imams occupied such positions. In this category, mention can be made of **Raṣad**, **al-Mustanṣir's** mother, who acted as regent in the early decades of her son's long reign, and **al-Ḥākim's** sister, **Sitt al-Mulk**, who was instrumental in the installation of **al-Zāhir** to the Fatimid caliphate and Ismaili **imamate**; she also served as his regent for the next two years until her death in 413/1023. There was also **Arwā**, the **Ṣulayḥid** queen of Yaman who was designated as the **ḥujja** of Yaman, one of the highest ranks in the Ismaili **da'wa** organization. Queen Arwā was responsible for founding the **Ṭayyibī Musta'lian da'wa**, independently of the Fatimid establishment in Egypt. From early on, especially during the Fatimid period, the Ismailis also paid particular attention to the religious **education** of their women, organizing special teaching sessions for them.

In modern times, the emancipation of **Nizārī** Ismaili women and their participation in communal affairs have been central components of the reform policies of **Aga Khan III** and **Aga Khan IV**, the last two **Nizārī** imams. From early on in his **imamate**, Aga Khan III championed women's suffrage in India and elsewhere. In many of his speeches and writings, he argued against the notion that women were inferior to men for biological or other reasons. He adopted many measures that would enable **Nizārī** Ismaili women to assume their rightful place as partners with men in all matters pertaining to life and in developing their human potential to the fullest extent. He emphasized female education, encouraged their involvement in public life, and also abolished the wearing of the traditional veil (*Uijāb*) by the **Nizārī** women. Similarly, Aga Khan IV further pursued the policies of his grandfather and predecessor in this field, emphasizing gender equality and making all his institutions accessible to women. Indeed, **Nizārī** Ismaili women, as are women from other religious backgrounds, are extensively involved in the institutions run by the **Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)**, while they occupy various religious and administrative positions within their community.

In the **Ṭayyibī** Ismaili community, dominated by the **Dā'ūdī Bohra** branch, women have continued to perform more traditional roles, while they also wear a special type of mandated

veil (called *rida*) outside the home. This veil is comprised of a full-length skirt and a triangular garment covering the head and bosom down to the hips. The participation of the Bohra women in their communal affairs also remains limited. *See also* MARRIAGE.

AL-YĀZURĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ‘ALĪ (d. 450/1058). Vizier to the **Fatimid** caliph **al-Mustansir** from 442/1050 to 450/1058. Born in Yāzur in Palestine, he became the *qāḍī*, or judge, of his native city and then of Ramla before going to Fatimid **Cairo**. There, he became the chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Egypt before succeeding Ṣadaqa to the vizierate. A capable administrator, al-Yāzurī was accused of treason and executed.

AL-ZĀFIR (r. 544–549/1149–1154). The 12th **Fatimid** caliph and **Hāfizī Musta‘liān** Ismaili imam. Born in 527/1133, Abū Maṣṣūr Ismā‘īl succeeded his father, **al-Hāfiz**, to the Fatimid throne with the caliphal title al-Zāfir bi-A‘dā’ Allāh (or bi-Amr Allāh). Strongly inclined to a life of pleasure, real authority in the Fatimid state now remained in the hands of his viziers, notably **al-‘Ādil b. al-Salār** and **‘Abbās**. Al-Zāfir was murdered in 549/1154 at the instigation of ‘Abbās, aided by his son Naṣr, a favorite of the caliph. *See also* AL-FĀ’IZ; IBN MAṢĀL, NAJM AL-DĪN SALĪM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MAGHRIBĪ.

ZĀHID ‘ALĪ (1888–1958). Indian educator and a pioneer of modern Ismaili studies. He was born in Hyderabad into a distinguished **Dā’ūdī Ṭayyibī Bohra** Ismaili family. His father, Faḥr ‘Alī, was a prominent leader in the Bohra community and a scholar with an important family collection of Ismaili manuscripts. Zāhid received his early **education** in a local madrasa in Hyderabad and at Sayfī Dars in Sūrāt, **Gujarāt**. He then completed his higher education at the University of Punjab in Lahore. Finally, he attended the University of Oxford, where he first completed a B.Lit. and then obtained a D.Phil. in Arabic literature under the supervision of Professor David S. Margoliouth (1858–1940). In 1926, Dr Zāhid ‘Alī returned to India and took up the post of professor of Arabic at the Nizam College, Hyderabad, then affiliated with Madras University. He eventually became vice principal of Nizam College. He retired in 1945.

Zāhid ‘Alī’s fluency in several oriental languages, including Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, as well as his access to a unique family collection of Ismaili manuscripts, enabled him to produce his widely acclaimed academic work in the field of Ismaili studies. In 1933, he published his critical edition of the *Dīwān* of **Ibn Hāni’**, based on his Oxford doctoral thesis. Then, he produced a major history of the **Fatimids** in Urdu, *Ta’rīkh-i Fāṭimiyyīn*, and after that his *Ismā‘īlī madhhab kī Uaqīqat awr uskā nizām*, a compendium of Ismaili doctrines in Urdu. Zāhid ‘Alī’s sole surviving son, the late professor ‘Ābid ‘Alī, inherited the collection of Ismaili manuscripts formerly owned by his forefathers; he eventually donated this collection of 226 codices to the library of the **Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS)**.

AL-ZĀHIR (r. 411–427/1021–1036). The seventh **Fatimid** caliph and 17th Ismaili imam. Born in 395/1005, Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī succeeded his father, **al-Hākīm**, to the Fatimid caliphate with the title of al-Zāhir li-I’zāz Dīn Allāh, mainly through the efforts of al-Hākīm’s half sister, **Sitt al-Mulk**, who acted as regent for two years until her death in 413/1023. After Sitt al-Mulk, real political authority in the Fatimid state remained vested in the vizier **al-Jarjarā’ī**. Fatimid control of Syria was seriously threatened during al-Zāhir’s caliphate by the alliance between the JarrāUids of Palestine, the Kalbīs of central Syria, and the Kilābīs of northern Syria. Al-Zāhir died of plague in 427/1036. *See also* RAṢAD.

ZAKĀT. See TITHE.

ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN. See ‘ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN.

ZAYDĪS, ZAYDIYYA. The name of a branch of Shi‘i Islam. Zaydī Shi‘ism grew out of the abortive revolt of **Zayd b. ‘Alī** (Zayn al-‘Ābidīn) in Kūfa in 122/740. The early Zaydīs essentially retained the politically militant and religiously moderate attitude prevailing among the early Kūfan Shi‘is. But the Zaydīs elaborated a doctrine of the **imamate** that clearly distinguished them from Imāmī Shi‘ism and its two subsequent branches, the **Twelvers** and the **Ismailis**. The Zaydīs did not recognize a hereditary line of imams. Initially, they accepted any member of the *ahl al-bayt* as an imam, although the Zaydī imams were later restricted to the **Fatimid ‘Alids**.

According to Zaydī doctrine, if an imam wished to be recognized, he would have to assert his claims publicly in a rising (*khurūj*) with sword in hand, if necessary, in addition to having the required religious knowledge (*‘ilm*). In contrast to the Twelvers and the Ismailis, the Zaydīs excluded the imamate of minors. They also rejected the eschatological idea of a concealed **Mahdī**. Thus, messianic tendencies remained weak in Zaydī Shi‘ism. Due to their emphasis on political activism, the Zaydīs also rejected the concept of **taqiyya**. During the second/eighth century, the Zaydīs became doctrinally divided into two main groups, the **Batriyya** and the **Jārūdiyya**. The **Batriyya** represented the moderate faction of the early Zaydiyya, upholding the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. The radical **Jārūdiyya**, like the **Kaysānī** and **Imāmī Shi‘is**, rejected the caliphs before **‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**. By the fourth/10th century, Zaydī doctrine, influenced by **Jārūdī** and **Mu‘tazilī** elements, had been largely formulated.

Meanwhile, the Zaydīs had established two states, one in **Yaman** and another one in **Daylam**, in the coastal regions of the Caspian Sea in northern Persia. Only the **Yamanī** state survived to modern times. The Caspian Zaydīs lost much ground to their neighboring **Nizārī** Ismailis during the **Alamūt** period. In **Yaman**, the Zaydīs had periodical confrontations with the **Musta‘lian** Ismailis. Imam al-Mansūr al-Qāsim (1006–1029/1598–1620) founded the **Qāsimī** dynasty of the Zaydī imams who ruled in **Yaman** until the fall of the Zaydī imamate there in 1962. See also JURISPRUDENCE; MARRIAGE.

ZIKRAWAYH B. MIHRAWAYH (d. 294/907). Early Ismaili **dā‘ī** and **Qarmaṭī** rebel in Iraq. He hailed from the vicinity of Kūfa and was one of the first **dā‘īs** trained by **‘Abdān**. In the schism of 286/899 in Ismailism, he initially sided with **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, the central leader of the **da‘wa** in **Salamiyya**, and had the dissident **‘Abdān** murdered. Subsequently, he went into hiding and organized a series of anti-**Abbasid** revolts in Iraq and Syria during 289–294/902–907. He sent a number of his sons as **dā‘īs** to organize the various clans of the **Kalb** in Syria for armed rebellion against the **Abbasids**. In 289/902, **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī**, who had not authorized these rebellions, left **Salamiyya**. Initially, **Zikrawayh’s** sons and their army of Ismaili bedouins, who called themselves the “**Fatimids**” (**Fāṭimiyyūn**), enjoyed much success in Syria. **Zikrawayh’s** sons attempted in vain to persuade **‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī** to return to **Salamiyya** and assume power. In 291/903, the Ismaili bedouins were defeated by an **Abbasid**

army sent against them.

Subsequently, Zikrawayh himself turned against ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī and attempted to revive his campaign, which had by now acquired the dissident Qarmaṭī character. Zikrawayh and his Qarmaṭī supporters continued their activities until 294/907, when they were effectively defeated in battle by the Abbasids. Zikrawayh was wounded and died in captivity a few days later. Some of the surviving supporters of Zikrawayh in southern Iraq denied his death and awaited his return for quite some time. *See also* BAQLIYYA.

ZĪRIDS (r. 362–543/972–1148). A dynasty of Ṣanhāja Berbers who ruled over a part of the Maghrib in North Africa, initially under the suzerainty of the **Fatimids**. The dynasty, named after Zīrī b. Manād (d. 360/971), who served the early Fatimids as a faithful commander in **Ifrīqiya**, was founded by Buluggīn b. Zīrī (r. 362–373/972–984), who was appointed by the Fatimid caliph **al-Mu‘izz** as his governor in Ifrīqiya when the Fatimids moved the seat of their state to **Cairo**. Abu’l-Futūḥ Yūsuf Buluggīn was, in fact, vested with the governorship of all the Fatimid dominions in North Africa. The Zīrids subsequently moved their capital from Ashīr to Qayrawān.

Under Buluggīn’s son and successor, al-Manṣūr (r. 373–386/984–996), the Zīrids began to detach themselves from the Fatimid caliphate. It was under al-Manṣūr’s son and successor Bādīs (r. 386–405/996–1015) that the control of the western regions of the Zīrid dominions, in central Maghrib, was given to his uncle, Ḥammād b. Buluggīn I (r. 405–419/1015–1028), the progenitor of the Ḥammādid branch of the Zīrids (r. 405–547/1015–1152) who ruled from Qal‘at Banī Ḥammād. By the time of al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs (r. 406–454/1016–1062), the Zīrids of Qayrawān had rapidly lost their allegiance to the Fatimids. Around 440/1048, he formally transferred his allegiance to the Sunni **Abbasids**. Although the Zīrid al-Mu‘izz briefly returned to the allegiance of the Fatimids in 446/1054, as did his successor, Tamīm b. al-Mu‘izz (r. 454–501/1062–1108), during the early years of his own reign, the Fatimids had now permanently lost Ifrīqiya.

The Ḥammādid, too, had meanwhile periodically switched their allegiance to the Abbasids. By the time the last Ḥammādid ruler, YaUyā b. al-‘Azīz, surrendered to the Almohads, in 547/1152, he had already (in 543/1148) revoked his allegiance to the Fatimids. A few years later, the Zīrid territories, then limited to the coastline of Ifrīqiya, also passed into the hands of the Almohads.

ZUBDAT AL-TAWĀRĪKH. Composed by Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī Kāshānī (d. c. 738/1337). This Persian work contains an important history of the Ismailis, especially the history of **Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ** and his successors as **Nizārī Ismaili rulers in Persia**. An Imāmī Shi‘i historian who held official posts in **Īlkhānid** administration of Persia and also participated in the compilation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, Kāshānī produced his own general history of the Muslim world down to the fall of the **Abbasid** caliphate. In writing his history of the Ismailis, as part of his *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, Kāshānī had independent access to the **Nizārī** sources of the **Alamūt** period, including *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā* and other chronicles, which have not survived. His account of the Nizārī state in Persia is more detailed than those contained in *Ta’rīkh-i jahān-gushā* and *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*. *See also*

HISTORIOGRAPHY.

ZURAY'IDS (r. 460–571/1068–1175). An Ismaili dynasty ruling over 'Adan, in southern Arabia. The dynasty is also called Banū al-Karam, or Banū al-Mukarram, named after their ancestor Mūsā al-Karam b. al-Dhi'b al-Yāmī al-Hamadānī. The dynasty was founded by al-'Abbās b. Mūsā al-Karam and his brother, Mas'ūd, who were appointed jointly in 460/1068 as rulers of 'Adan by the second **Şulayḥid** ruler al-Mukarram Aḥmad (r. 459-477/1067-1084). Upon al-'Abbās's death in 477/1084, he was succeeded by his son, Zuray'. When Zuray' died in 485/1092, his place was first taken by his son Saba', and then, upon the latter's death in 491/1098, by another son, Abu'l-Su'ūd b. Zuray'. The latter agreed on a division of 'Adan with Mas'ūd. Mas'ūd was killed in battle in 501/1107, and he was succeeded by his own son, Abu'l-Ghārāt.

Upon the succession of **al-Ḥāfiẓ** to the **Fatimid** caliphate in 526/1132, the Şulayḥid queen **Arwā** refused to recognize his claims to the Ismaili **imamate**, but the governors of 'Adan were interested in maintaining good relations with Fatimid Egypt. Therefore, Saba' b. Abu'l-Su'ūd was appointed the chief **dā'ī** of the Fatimid **Ḥāfiẓī da'wa** in Yaman. Soon, all of 'Adan came under the sole rule of the **dā'ī** Saba', who died in 532/1138. Saba' was succeeded as ruler of 'Adan by his son, 'Alī al-A'azz, upon whose death in 534/1139 his brother, Muḥammad b. Saba', was invited to rule by the influential vizier Bilāl b. Jarīr al-Muḥammadī. Muḥammad was now appointed to the position of the **Ḥāfiẓī dā'ī** by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ.

As sole ruler of 'Adan, the **dā'ī** Muḥammad gathered numerous men of letters at his court and, in 544/1149, bought most of the former possessions of the Şulayḥid queen Arwā and himself settled in Dhū Jibla. In 550/1155, Muḥammad b. Saba' was succeeded by his son Abū Muḥammad 'Imrān (d. 561/1166), who was also invested with the position of Fatimid **dā'ī** with the title of al-Mukarram. With the demise of the Fatimid caliphate in 567/1171, Zuray'id 'Adan lost its ties to Egypt. Meanwhile, the vizier Yāsir b. Bilāl ruled 'Adan on behalf of 'Imrān's three minor sons. Zuray'id rule was finally brought to an end with the **Ayyūbid** conquest of South Arabia in 571/1175, when Tūrānshāh, **Şalāḥ al-Dīn**'s brother, conquered 'Adan. *See also* 'UMĀRA ALYAMANĪ, ABŪ ḤAMZA NAJM AL-DĪN B. 'ALĪ AL-ḤAKAMĪ.

Illustrations



1371. Mosquée El-Azhar. Courtyard et concourse étudiants

Bonfils

Illustration 1. Courtyard of al-Azhar, Cairo, 19th century (photograph by Felix Bonfils in the collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies).



Illustration 2. Mosque of al-Hākim, Cairo, after restoration (photograph ©Jonathan M. Bloom).



Illustration 3. Bab al-Futuh, Cairo (photograph, K. A. C. Creswell ©Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).



Illustration 4. Gold dinar of al-Mu'izz, obverse, 358/968 (The Institute of Ismaili Studies).



Illustration 5. Gold dinar of al-Mu'izz, reverse, 358/968 (The Institute of Ismaili Studies).

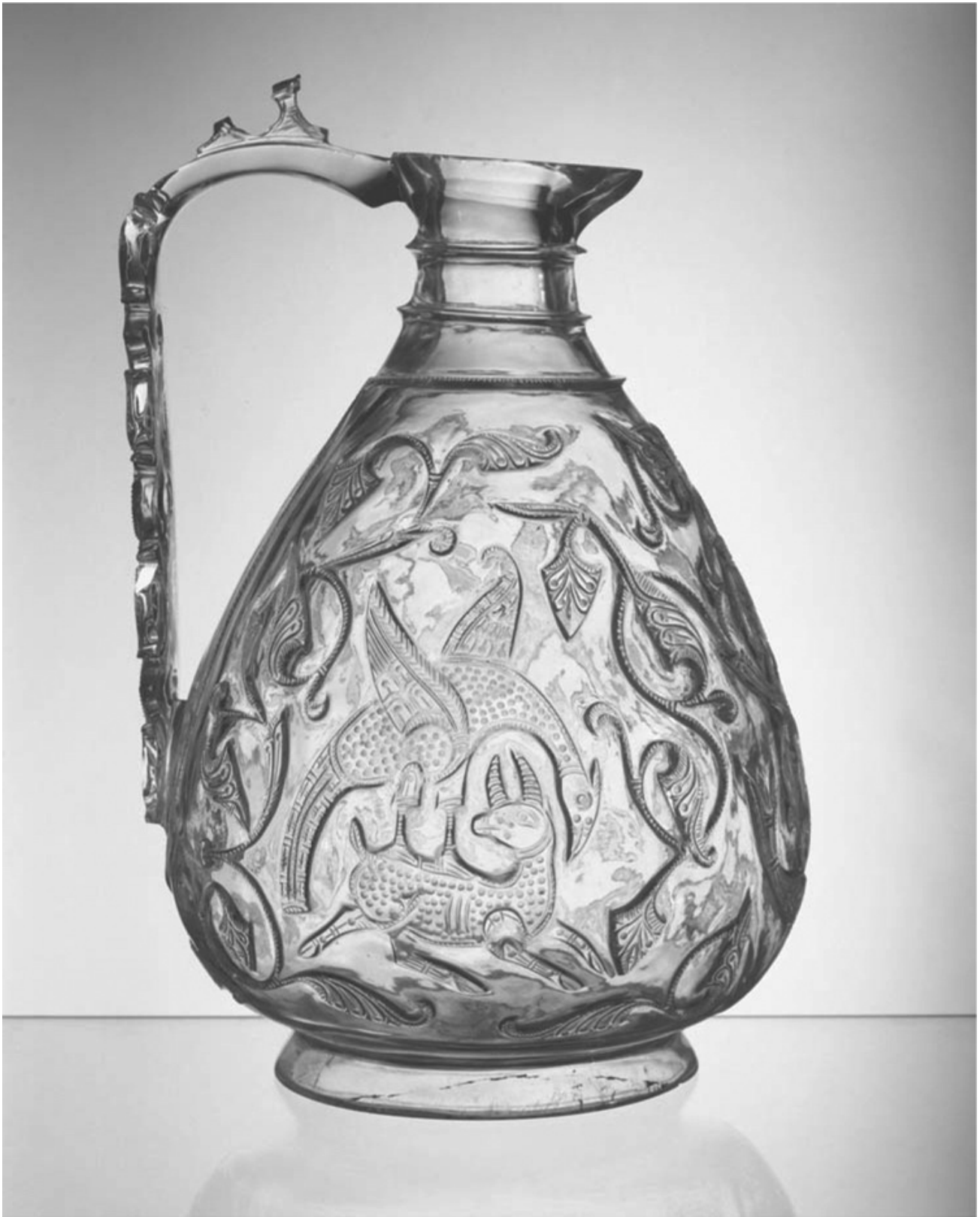


Illustration 6. Fatimid rock-crystal ewer, Egypt, c. 1000 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).



Illustration 7. Fatimid ceramic bowl depicting a seated figure wearing robes with *firaz* bands on the sleeves, Egypt, 11th/12th century (photograph, Museo San Matteo, Pisa, Italy).

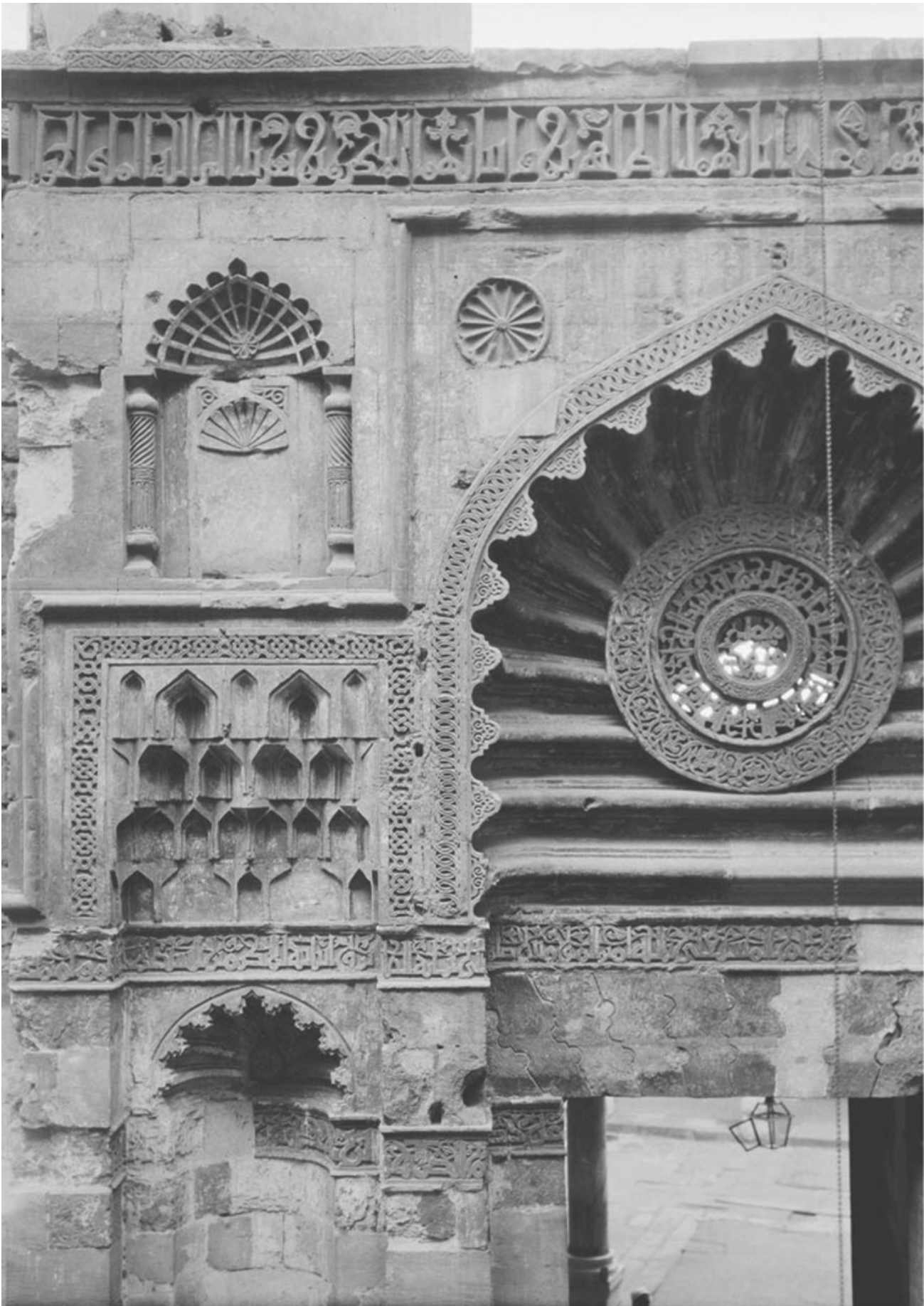


Illustration 8. Mosque of al-Aqmar, Cairo (photograph K. A. C. Creswell ©Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

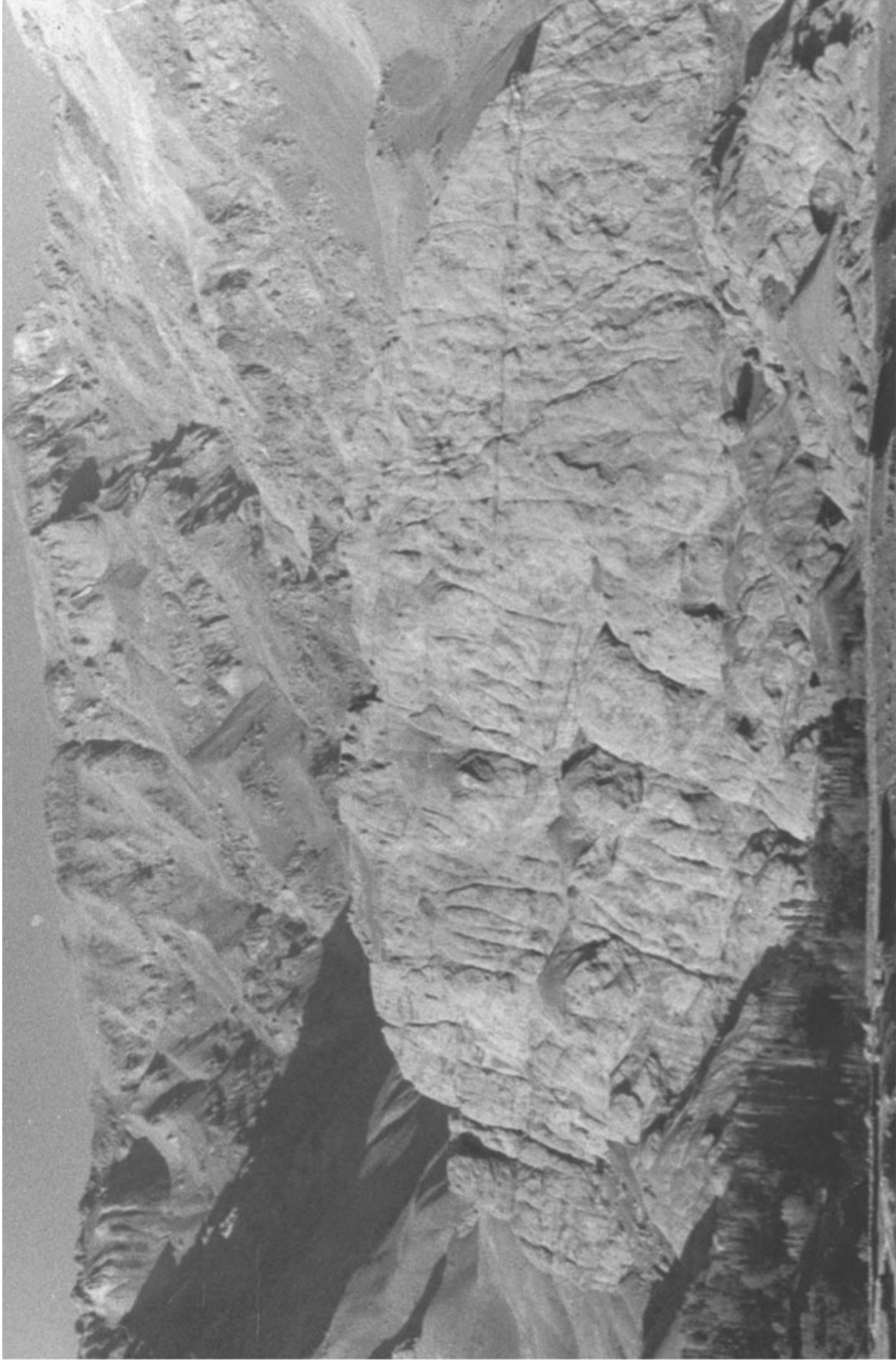


Illustration 9. The rock of Alamūt, with the castle on its crest, seen from the south (photograph in author's collection).



Illustration 10. The castle of Sārū, near Simnan, northern Iran (photograph ©James L. Stanfield/National Geographic Image Collection).



Illustration 11. General view of the castle of Maşyāf in Syria (photograph ©Peter Willey).

terre que nous appellons desoubz. Delez l'isle de pentecoste qui est a prestre
ichan ja vne isle longue et loe que on on appelle mistozak. et est la
ceigneue prestre ichan.

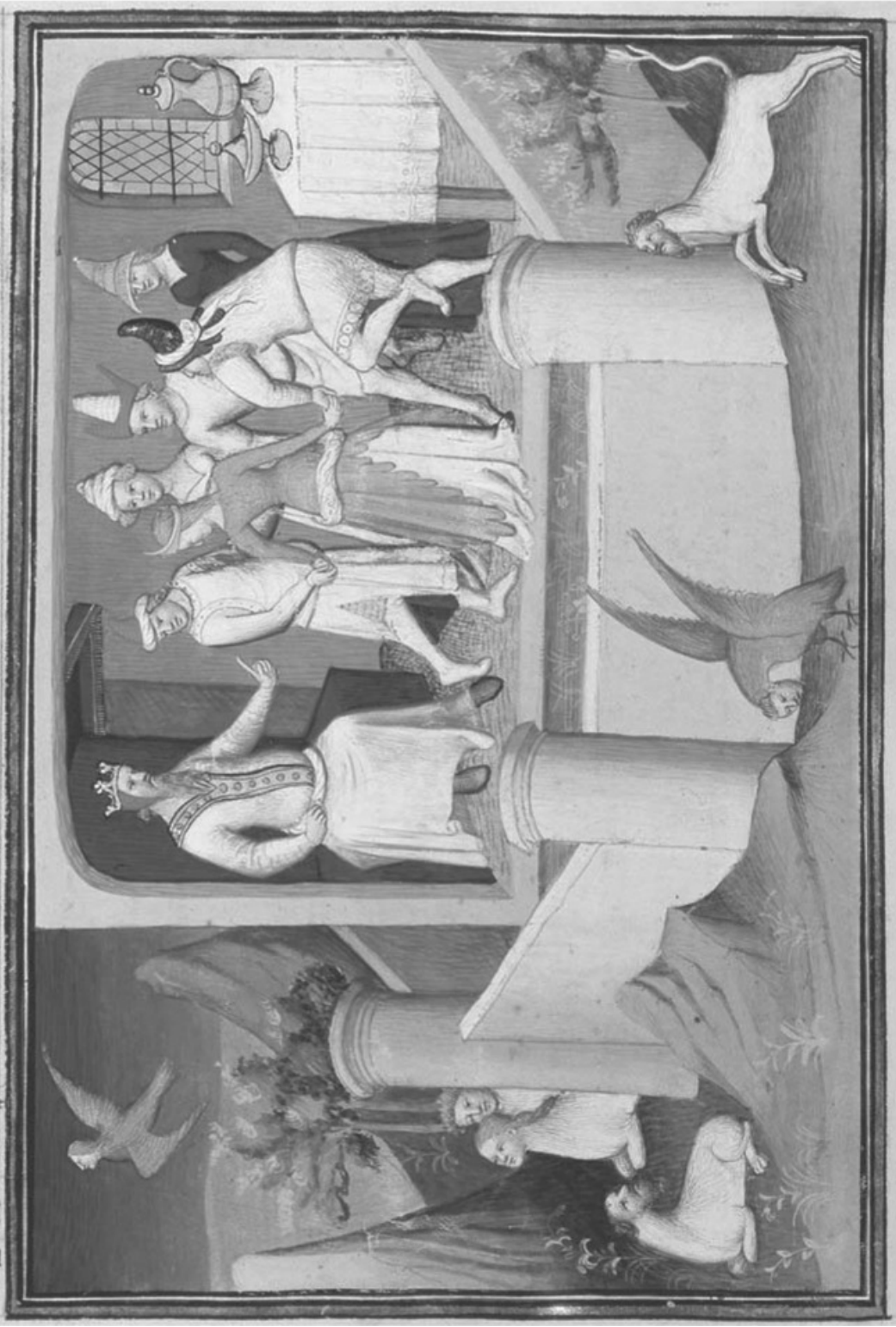


Illustration 12. The "Old Man of the Mountain" in European sources as depicted in a manuscript of the travels of Odoric of Pordenone (d. 1331) contained in the early 15th-century *Livre des Merveilles* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr.2810).



Illustration 13. Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, Aga Khan I (photograph in author's collection).

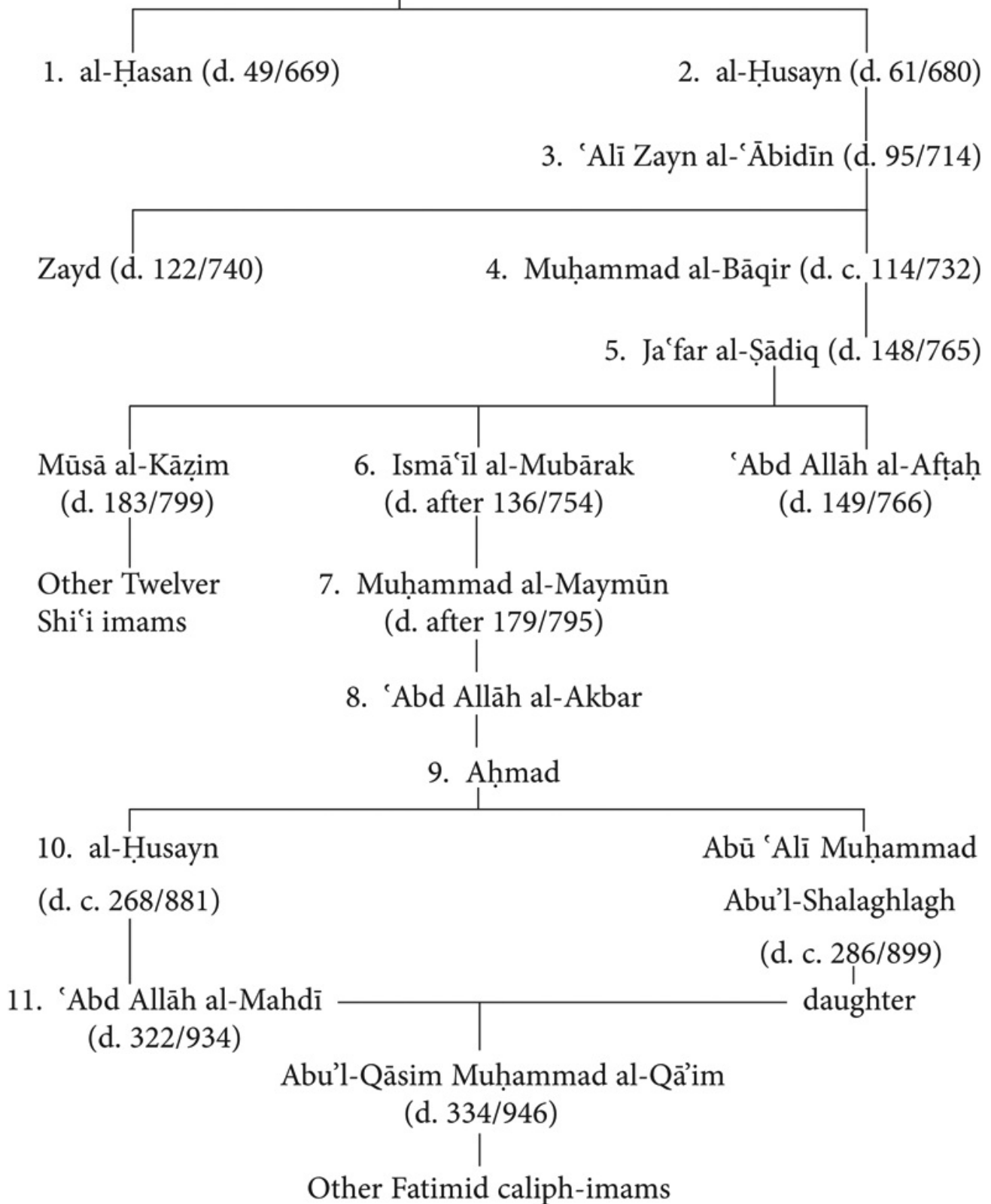


Illustration 14. His Highness Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan IV, the present Imam of the Nizārī Ismailīs (photo: The Institute of Ismaili Studies)

Genealogical Tables and Lists

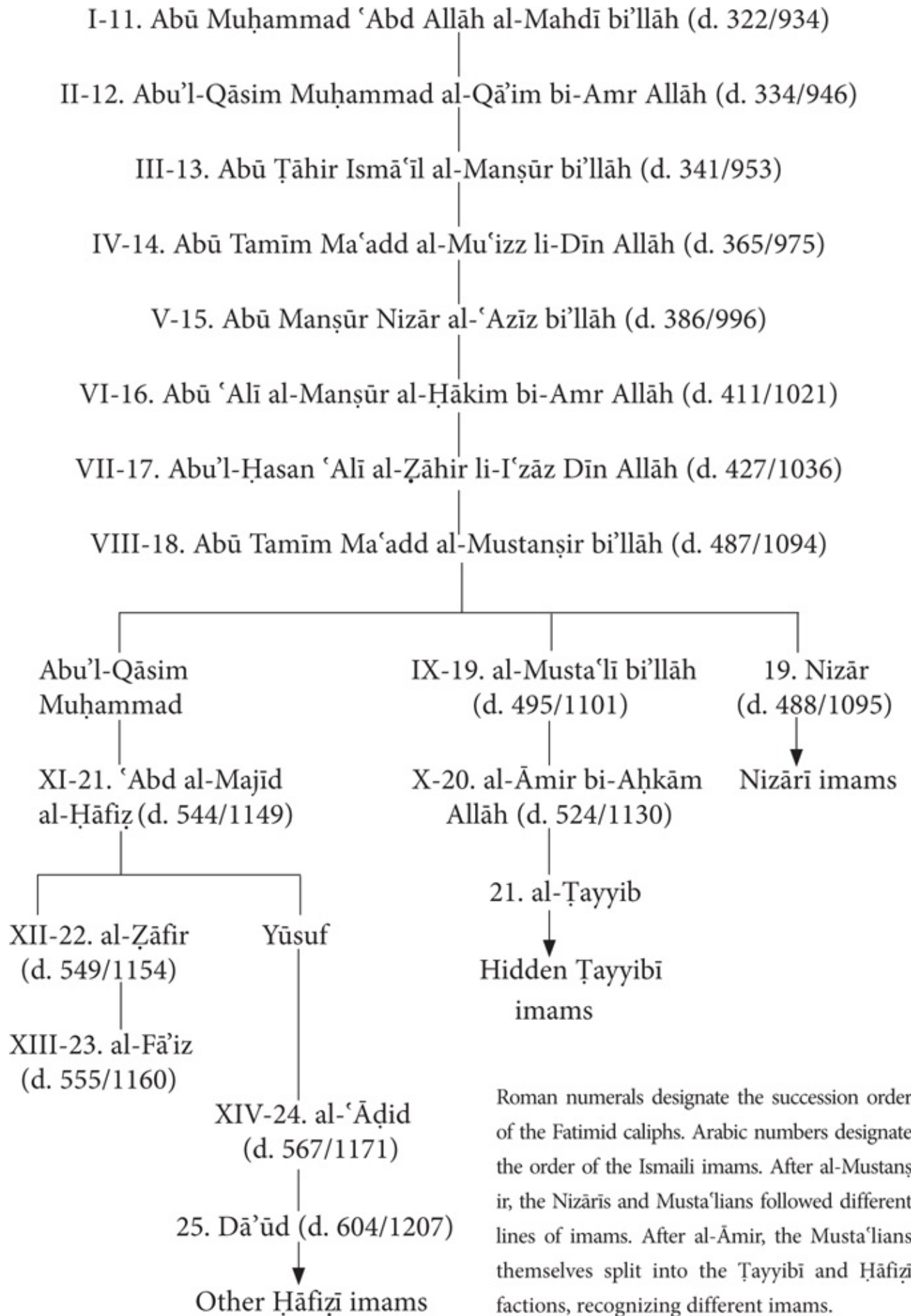
EARLY TWELVER AND ISMAILI IMAMS

1. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) = Fāṭima (d. 11/633), daughter of the Prophet



Originally, ‘Alī was counted as the first imam. Later, ‘Alī acquired the higher rank of *asās*, and al-Ḥasan was counted as the first imam. Still later, the Nizāris omitted al-Ḥasan and started the list with ‘Alī, counting al-Ḥusayn as their second imam.

THE FATIMID ISMAILI CALIPH-IMAMS



NIZ-RĪ IMAMS

Q7sim-Sh7hX Niz7rX 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. c. 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 (d. 1134/1722)
41. Sayyid 'Alī (d. 1167/1754)
42. Ḥasan 'Alī
43. Qāsim 'Alī (Sayyid Ja'far)
44. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Kahakī) (d. 1206/1792)
45. Shāh Khalīl Allāh III (d. 1232/1817)
46. Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, Aga Khan I (d. 1298/1881)
47. Āqā 'Alī Shāh, Aga Khan II (d. 1302/1885)
48. Sultan Muhammad (Mahomed) Shah, Aga Khan III (d. 1376/1957)
49. H. H. Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, the present imam

Muḥammad-Shāhī (Mu'minī) Nizārī Imams

19. Nizār b. al-Mustanşir bi'llāh (d. 488/1095)
20. Ḥasan b. Nizār
21. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan
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. c. 710/1310)
26. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mu’min Shāh b. Muḥammad
27. Muḥammad Shāh b. Mu’min Shāh
28. RaCī al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Shāh (d. 838/1434)
29. Ṭāhir b. RaCī al-Dīn (d. 868/1463)
30. RaCī al-Dīn II b. Ṭāhir (d. 915/1509)
31. Shāh Ṭāhir b. RaCī al-Dīn II al-Ḥusaynī Dakkanī (d. c. 956/1549)
32. Ḥaydar b. Shāh Ṭāhir (d. 994/1586)
33. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar (d. 1032/1622)
34. Mu‘īn al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 1054/1644)
35. ‘Aṭīyyat Allāh b. Mu‘īn al-Dīn (Khudāybakhsh) (d. 1074/1663)
36. ‘Azīz Shāh b. ‘Aṭīyyat Allāh (d. 1103/1691)
37. Mu‘īn al-Dīn II b. ‘Azīz Shāh (d. 1127/1715)
38. Amīr Muḥammad b. Mu‘īn 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

Note: Some Muḥammad-Shāhī sources add the name of Aḥmad al-Qā’im between the 24th and the 25th imams.

Nizārī Ismaili Rulers in Persia (483–654/1090–1256)

As dā’īs and Ujjas:

1. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (483–518/1090–1124)
2. Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd (518–532/1124–1138)
3. Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Umīd (532–557/1138–1162)

As imams:

4. Ḥasan II ‘*alā dhikrihi*’l-salām (557–561/1162–1166)
5. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II (561–607/1166–1210)
6. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III (607–618/1210–1221)
7. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618–653/1221–1255)
8. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh (653–654/1255–1256)

Ṭayyibī Musta’lian Dā’īs

In Yaman

1. al-Dhu’ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādi’ī (d. 546/1151)
2. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162)
3. Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199)
4. ‘Alī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī (d. 605/1209)
5. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215)

6. ‘Alī b. Ḥanzala al-Wādi‘ī (d. 626/1229)
7. Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 627/1230)
8. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 667/1268)
9. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd (d. 682/1284)
10. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Ḥanzala (d. 686/1287)
11. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd (d. 728/1328)
12. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 729/1329)
13. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 746/1345)
14. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. al-Walīd (d. 755/1354)
15. ‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. al-Walīd (d. 779/1378)
16. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 809/1407)
17. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd (d. 821/1418)
18. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd (d. 832/1428)
19. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd 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. ‘Alī 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. Dā’ūd b. ‘Ajabshāh (d. 997/1589 or 999/1591)

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. IbrāhīmWajīh al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754)
40. Hibat Allāh al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn b. IbrāhīmWajīh 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 Ḥusām 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 Ḥusām al-Dīn (d. 1333/1915)
51. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965)
52. Sayyidnā 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-Ḥasan (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-Ḥājj Ghulām Ḥusayn b. FarUat ‘Alī (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 (d. 1426/2005)
51. Sayyidnā ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makramī, the present *dā‘ī*

‘Alawī *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. Diyā’ al-Dīn Jīwābhā’ī b. NūU (d. 1130/1718)
33. Mu’ayyad al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. Diyā’ al-Dīn (d. 1151/1738)
34. Shihāb al-Dīn Jalāl b. NūU (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. Mufīd 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. Sayyidnā Abū Ḥātīm Ṭayyib Diyā’ al-Dīn b. Nūr al-Dīn Yūsuf, the present *dā’ī*

Glossary

Listings in the glossary are selected terms and names, chiefly of Arabic and Persian origin, frequently appearing in the dictionary. In this glossary, pl. and lit. are the abbreviated forms for the words “plural” and “literally,” and q.v. (*quod vide*) is used for cross-reference in the glossary. For words that appear in bold letters, entries are included in the text of the dictionary.

adhān Muslim call to prayer. There are slight differences between the Sunni and Shi'i calls to prayer made five times a day.

ahl al-bayt lit., the “people of the house”; members of the household of the Prophet, including, especially, **Muḥammad**, **1Alī**, **Fāṭima**, **al-Ḥasan**, **al-Ḥusayn**, and their progeny. The Prophet's family is also designated as *āl Muḥammad*.

ālim (pl. *1ulamā'*) a learned man; specifically a scholar in Islamic religious sciences.

amīr (pl. *umarā'*) military commander, prince; many independent rulers also held this title in the Islamic world.

amīr al-juyūsh the “commander of the armies”; a title specifically used by military viziers.

amr command; specifically the divine command or volition.

asās lit., foundation; successor to a speaking prophet, *nāṭiq* (q.v.).

aṣlān the two roots or principles; the original dyad of **1aql** and *nafs* of the pleroma in Neoplatonized **cosmology**.

awāmm (or *1amma*) the common people, the masses, as distinct from the *khawāṣṣ* (q.v.).

bāb lit., gate; the Ismaili religious term for the administrative head of the **da1wa** under the **Fatimids**, sometimes also called *bāb al-abwāb*; the highest rank, after the imam, in the *da1wa* hierarchy of the Ismailis in Fatimid times; the equivalent of the official term *dā1ī al-du1āt*, the chief **dā1ī**, mentioned especially in non-Ismaili sources; also a chapter of a book or short treatise.

balāgh process of initiation into Ismailism; Ismaili initiation occurred after the novice had taken an oath of initiation known as **1ahd** or *mīthāq*.

bāṭin the inward, hidden, or esoteric meaning behind the literal wording of sacred texts and religious prescriptions, notably the **Qur'an** and the *sharī1a* (q.v.), as distinct from the *zāhir* (q.v.); hence, **Bāṭinīs**, Bāṭiniyya, the groups associated with such ideas.

bay1a recognition of authority, especially the act of swearing an **oath of allegiance** to a new sovereign or spiritual leader.

dār al-hijra lit., “abode of emigration”; the early Ismailis established a number of such fortified abodes in Iraq, Yaman, Bahrayn, and North Africa, as places of refuge and headquarters for their **da1wa** activities, from which they expected to return victoriously to the Muslim society at large.

dawla state or dynasty.

dīwān a public financial register; a government department; the collected poems of a poet.

faqīh (pl., *fuqahā'*) in its technical meaning it denotes an exponent of *fiqh* (q.v.); a specialist in

Islamic **jurisprudence**; a Muslim jurist in general.

farmān royal decree; written edict. For the **Nizārī** Ismailis, it refers to any pronouncement, order, or ruling made by their imam.

faṣl (pl., *fuṣūl*) chapter, epistle; epistles of the **Nizārī** Ismaili imams during the **Alamūt** period.

fiqh technical term for Islamic **jurisprudence**; the science of law in Islam; the discipline of elucidating the *sharīʿa* (q.v.).

ghayba lit., absence; the word has been used in a technical sense for the condition of anyone who has been withdrawn by God from the eyes of men and whose life during that period of occultation (called his *ghayba*) may be miraculously prolonged. In this sense, a number of Shiʿi groups have recognized the *ghayba* of one or another imam (q.v.) with the implication that no further imam was to succeed him and he was to return at a foreordained time before the Day of Resurrection, **qiyāma**, as the **Mahdī**.

ghulāt (pl. of *ghālī*) exaggerator, extremist; a term of disapproval for individuals accused of exaggeration (*ghuluww*) in religion and in respect to the imams (q.v.); it was particularly applied to those Shiʿi personalities and groups whose doctrines were offensive to the **Twelver** Shiʿis.

ḥaqāʾiq (pl. of *Uaqīqa*) truths; as a technical term it denotes the gnostic system of thought of the Ismailis. In this sense, the *ḥaqāʾiq* are the unchangeable truths of religion contained in the *bāṭin* (q.v.); while the law changes with every law-announcing prophet, or *nāṭiq* (q.v.), the *ḥaqāʾiq* remain eternal.

Hāshimids descendants of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the common ancestor of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, **ʿAlī**, and al-1Abbās. The chief Hāshimid branches were the **ʿAlids** and **Abbasids**.

ḥudūd (pl. of *ḥadd*) ranks; a technical term denoting the various ranks in the **daʿwa** hierarchy of the Ismailis, also called *ḥudūd al-dīn*.

ḥulūl infusion or incarnation of the divine essence in the human body; among some Shiʿi groups, notably the *ghulāt* (q.v.), it particularly referred to the incarnation of the divine essence in one or another imam (q.v.).

ijtihād independent legal decision or judgment arrived at by knowledge and reasoning, particularly in matters pertaining to *sharīʿa* (q.v.); one who practices *ijtihād* is termed *mujtahid*.

ilhād deviation from the right path; heresy in religion. The Ismailis and other Shiʿi groups were often accused of *ilhād* by Sunni Muslims. A person accused of *ilhād* is called *mulḥid* (pl. *malāḥida*).

ʿilm knowledge, more specifically religious knowledge. Among the Shiʿis, it was held that every imam (q.v.) possessed a special secret knowledge, *ʿilm*, which was divinely inspired and transmitted through the *naṣṣ* (q.v.) of the preceding imam.

imam leader of a group of Muslims in prayer, *ṣalāt*; the supreme leader of the Muslim community. The title was particularly used by the Shiʿis in reference to the people recognized by them as the heads of the Muslim community after the Prophet **Muḥammad**. The Shiʿis regard **ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib** and certain of his **ʿAlid** descendants as such leaders, imams, the legitimate successors to the Prophet. The imams are held to be *maʿṣūm*, fully immune from sin and error; they are also generally held to be divinely appointed and

divinely guided in the discharge of their special spiritual functions. Among the Sunnis, the term is used in reference to any great *lālim* (q.v.), especially the founder of a legal *madhhab* (q.v.). The office of imam is called **imamate** (Arabic, *imāma*).

iqṭā1 an administrative grant of land or its revenues by a Muslim ruler to an individual, usually in recompense for service.

lirfān gnosis, or the way of knowledge that is the heart of Sufi (q.v.) teachings and the means whereby man is led to the realization of the divine through illuminative knowledge.

jamā1a assembly, religious congregation; also pronounced *jamā1at* in Persian and used by the **Nizārī** Ismailis of the post-**Alamūt** period in reference to their individual communities.

jamā1at-khāna assembly house; congregation place with a special prayer hall used by the **Nizārī** Ismailis for their religious and communal activities.

janāḥ (pl. *ajniḥa*) a rank in early Ismaili **da'wa** hierarchy often used interchangeably with **dā'ī**.

jazīra (pl. *jazā'ir*) lit., island; a term denoting a particular **da'wa** (q.v.) region. The Ismailis, specifically during the **Fatimid** period, in theory divided the world into 12 regions, sometimes called *jazā'ir al-arC*, each *jazīra* representing a separate region for the penetration of the *da'wa*, and placed under the charge of a **ḥujja**.

kalima word; specifically the divine word *logos*; a synonym of *kalimat Allāh*.

kamadia see *mukhi*.

kashf manifestation, unveiling; in Ismaili doctrine, it is used specifically in reference to a period called **dawr al-kashf**, when the imams (q.v.) were manifest, or when the *ḥaqā'iq* (q.v.) would no longer be concealed in the *bāṭin* (q.v.), in distinction from *satr* (q.v.).

khān Turkish title originally a contraction of *khāqān*, which as a title of sovereignty denoted supremacy over a group of tribes or territories. The title *khān* was used by Turkish Muslim rulers in Central Asia from the fourth/ 10th century onward; in time it came to be applied to subordinate rulers and important local officials; also an honorific appellation meaning lord or master. *khānaqāh* place for devotional gathering and meditation for the Sufis (q.v.); Sufi residential facility often linked to other functions.

khawāṣṣ (or *khāṣṣa*) the elite, privileged, or initiated people, as distinct from the *lawāmm* (q.v.). *khudāwand* lord, master; it was used in reference to the central rulers of the **Nizārī** state in Persia.

khuṭba an address or sermon delivered by a *khāṭib* at the Friday midday public prayers in the mosque; since it includes a prayer for the ruler, mention of the ruler's name in the *khuṭba* is a mark of sovereignty in Islam.

khwāja master; a title used in different senses in Islamic lands; it was frequently accorded to scholars, teachers, merchants, and *wazīrs* (q.v.); in India, it was transformed to **Khoja**, denoting an Indian caste consisting mostly of **Nizārī** Ismailis. In a looser sense, *Khoja* is used in reference to an Indian *Nizārī*, or a *Nizārī* of Indian origins.

lāḥiq (pl. *lawāḥiq*) a high rank in the early Ismaili **da'wa** hierarchy, often used interchangeably with **ḥujja** as the chief **dā'ī** in a region.

laqab (pl. *alqāb*) nickname, sobriquet, honorific title.

madhhab (pl. *madhāhib*) a system or school of religious law in Islam; in particular, it is applied to the four main systems of *fiqh* (q.v.) that arose among the Sunni Muslims, namely

Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbalī, named after the jurists who founded them. Different Shiʿi communities have had their own *madhāhib*. The **Twelver** Shiʿi *madhhab* is known as Jaʿfarī, named after Imam **Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq**.

maʿdhūn lit., licentiate; a rank in the Ismaili *daʿwa* hierarchy below that of the *dāʿī*. In the post-**Fatimid** period in particular, *maʿdhūn* was used generically by the Ismailis in reference to the assistant of the *dāʿī*.

madrasa a college or seminary of higher Muslim learning frequently attached to a mosque.

majlis (pl. *majālis*) lecture, teaching session; also the space where such lectures are delivered; also a gathering for religious, scholarly, or literary purposes; in modern usage it also refers to a consultative body.

malāḥida (pl. of *mulḥid*) See *ilhād*.

mawlā (pl. *mawālī*) master; freed slave; client of an Arab tribe; more specifically a non-Arab convert to Islam who acquired status by attachment to an Arab tribal group.

minbar the pulpit in a mosque from which the *khuṭba* (q.v.) is delivered.

mīr abbreviate form of *amīr* (q.v.) used specifically in Central Asia and its adjacent regions.

muʿallim teacher, specifically religious teacher.

muʿtasham a title used commonly in reference to the leader of the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Qūhistān in eastern Persia during the **Alamūt** period.

mukāsir a low rank in Ismaili *daʿwa* hierarchy.

mukhi a name originally used by the **Nizārī Khojas** of South Asia in reference to the head of a local Nizārī community, *jamāla* (q.v.), who acted as treasurer and also officiated on various occasions in the local *jamālat-khāna* (q.v.). The *mukhi*'s assistant was called *kamadia* (pronounced *kāmriyā*). The terms *mukhi* and *kamadia*, with various pronunciations, were in time adopted by the Nizārī Ismaili communities outside South Asia.

mulḥid see *ilhād*.

muʿmin believer, true believer; more specifically a Muslim or member of a particular group.

murīd disciple; specifically a disciple of a Sufi (q.v.) master; member of a Sufi order; also frequently used in reference to ordinary members of **Nizārī** Ismaili communities of Persia and elsewhere.

murshid guide, Sufi (q.v.) master; also used in reference to the imam (q.v.) of the **Nizārī** Ismailis during the post-**Alamūt** period.

mustajīb lit., respondent; a term denoting an ordinary Ismaili initiate or novice.

nabī (pl. *anbiyāʿ*) prophet. The office of *nabī* is called *nubuwwa*.

naṣṣ explicit designation of a successor by his predecessor, particularly relating to the Shiʿi view of succession to the **imamate**, whereby each imam (q.v.), under divine guidance, designates his successor.

nāṭiq (pl., *nuṭaqāʿ*) lit., speaker, one gifted with speech; in Ismaili thought, a speaking or law-announcing prophet who brings a new religious law (*sharīʿa*), abrogating the previous law and, hence, initiating a new *dawr* in the religious history of humankind.

pīr the Persian equivalent of the Arabic word *shaykh* in the sense of a spiritual guide, Sufi (q.v.) master or *murshid* (q.v.), qualified to lead disciples, *murīds* (q.v.), on the mystical path, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.), to truth; also used loosely in reference to the imam (q.v.) and the holders of the highest ranks in the *daʿwa* hierarchy of the post-**Alamūt Nizārī** Ismailis; a chief

Nizārī *dā'ī* in a certain territory, in this sense it was particularly used by the Nizārī **Khojas** in reference to the administrative heads of the *da'wa* in South Asia.

qāḍī (pl. *quḍāt*) a religious judge administering Islamic law, the *sharī'a* (q.v.).

qāḍī al-quḍāt chief *qāḍī* (q.v.); the highest judiciary officer of the **Fatimid** state.

qā'im lit., “riser”; the eschatological **Mahdī**.

qaṣīda a poetic genre of a certain length, normally concerned with the eulogy of a personality; in Persian, a lyric poem, most frequently panegyric.

quṭb (pl. *aqṭāb*) lit., pole; in Islamic mysticism, it denotes the most perfect human being, or *al-insān al-kāmil*; the head of a Sufi (q.v.) order, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.).

rafīq (pl. *rafīqān*) comrade, friend; the **Nizārī** Ismailis of Persia commonly addressed one another by this term during the **Alamūt** period.

raj'la lit., return; the word has been used in a technical sense to denote the return or reappearance of a messianic personality, specifically one considered as the **Mahdī**.

risāla (pl. *rasā'il*) treatise, letter, epistle.

ṣāmit lit., silent one; successor to a speaking prophet, *nāṭiq* (q.v.).

sayyid (pl. *sādāt*) lord, master; an honorific appellation for men of authority; the term has been used extensively, but not exclusively, for the descendants of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, particularly in the Ḥusaynid ‘**Alid** line.

shāh an Iranian royal title denoting a king; it is often also added to the names of Sufi (q.v.) saints and **Nizārī** Ismaili imams (q.v.) of the post–**Alamūt** period.

sharī'a the divinely revealed sacred law of Islam; the whole body of rules guiding the life of a Muslim. The provisions of the *sharī'a* are worked out through the discipline of **jurisprudence** or *fiqh* (q.v.).

sharīf (pl. *ashrāf*) noble; at first used generally of the leading Arab families, then more particularly of the descendants of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, especially in the Ḥasanid ‘**Alid** line.

shaykh old man, elder; the chief of a tribe; any religious dignitary; in particular, an independent Sufi (q.v.) master or spiritual guide qualified to lead aspirants on the Sufi path, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.); in this sense called *pīr* (q.v.) in Persian.

sijill (pl. *sijillāt*) decree, epistle, or letter of various kinds, especially those issued on behalf of rulers.

Sufi an exponent of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), the commonest term for that aspect of Islam which is based on the mystical life, hence, it denotes a Muslim mystic; more specifically, a member of an organized Sufi order, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.).

sulṭān a Muslim term (Anglicized, sultan) for sovereign; the supreme political and military authority in a Muslim state.

sunna custom, practice; particularly that associated with the exemplary life of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, comprising his deeds, utterances, and his un-spoken approval; it is embodied in **ḥadīth**.

tafsīr lit., explanation, exegesis, commentary; particularly the commentaries on the **Qur'an**; in distinction from *ta'wīl*. The literary *tafsīr* genre represents a wide variety of interpretations across Muslim communities.

tanāsukh metempsychosis, transmigration of souls; passing of the soul (*nafs* or *rūḥ*) from one

body to another; reincarnation of the soul of an individual in a different human body or even in a different creature.

ṭarīqa way, path; the mystical spiritual path followed by Sufis (q.v.); any one of the organized Sufi orders. It is also used by the **Nizārī** Ismailis in reference to their interpretation of Islam. *tawūīd* as an Islamic doctrine, it denotes the oneness (unicity) of God, His absolute existence, and that He has no equal.

ṭirāz (pl. *ṭuruz*) a type of textile woven extensively in the medieval Muslim world, particularly under the rule of the **Fatimids**.

ṭulamā' see *ṭālim*.

umma community, any people as followers of a particular religion or prophet; in particular, the Muslims as forming a religious community. *waez* (pl. *waezeen*) preacher of sermons (Arabic *wāḥiḥ*); particularly preachers of the **Nizārī** Ismaili community.

waṣī (pl. *awṣiyā'*) legatee, executor of a will; the immediate successor to a prophet; in this sense, it was the function of *awṣiyā'* to interpret and explain the messages brought by prophets, *anbiyā'*.

wāsiṭa a high officer of state acting as intermediary between a sovereign and the government administration; effectively a *wazīr* (q.v.) without that title.

wazīr a high officer of state, the equivalent of a chief minister (Anglicized, vizier). The power and status of the office of *wazīr*, called *wizāra* (Anglicized, vizierate), varied greatly in different periods and under different Muslim dynasties, including the **Fatimids**.

ẓāhir the outward, literal, or exoteric meaning of sacred texts and religious prescriptions, notably the **Qur'an** and the *sharī'a* (q.v.), as distinct from the *bāṭin* (q.v.).

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I. INTRODUCTION

Until the middle of the 20th century, the Ismailis were almost exclusively studied and evaluated on the basis of evidence collected, or often fabricated, by their detractors. As a result, they were persistently misrepresented in both European and Islamic sources with a variety of myths and legends circulating about their teachings and practices. At the same time, the authentic texts produced by the Ismailis themselves during various phases of their history had remained inaccessible to “outsiders.” Under the circumstances, almost everything produced by Muslim historians, theologians, jurists, and heresiographers in premodern times reflect anti-Ismaili biases to various degrees. The same remarks apply to European writings, including the Ismaili writings of the orientalist, which preceded the modern progress in Ismaili studies.

The rich and diversified literature produced by the Ismailis of medieval times, especially

during the Fatimid period of their history (297–567/909–1171), was written mainly in Arabic, the lingua franca of the Muslims. However, the Nizārī Ismailis of the Persian-speaking lands, situated in Iran, Afghanistan, and parts of Central Asia from the early 480s/1090s adopted Persian in preference to Arabic as the religious language of their communities. As a result, the entire literature of the Nizārī Ismailis preserved in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran has been produced in Persian. Only the Nizārīs of Syria produced their religious writings in Arabic, in addition to preserving a portion of the earlier Arabic Ismaili literature. The bulk of the Arabic literature of the Ismailis has, however, been preserved by the Mustaliian Ṭayyibī Ismailis of Yaman and India. In South Asia, the Nizārī Khojas have elaborated an indigenous literary tradition known as *gināns* in a variety of Indian languages, while the Ṭayyibīs have used Gujarātī written in the Arabic script in their modern writings, in addition to copying the earlier Arabic texts of the Ismailis. All in all, few works had been written on the Ismailis of various branches in English or other European languages until the middle of the 20th century.

This bibliography is comprised of three main sections. Section III covers a number of basic works of reference in the field, including a number of such encyclopedic works as *Encyclopaedia Iranica* and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which contain numerous entries on key Ismaili personalities, dynasties, etc. A number of general surveys of Shiʿi Islam and Ismaili history are listed in section V. A selection of primary sources in Arabic and Persian, with translations into English and a few other European languages, produced by both Ismaili and non-Ismaili authors, is contained in section IV.

The Ismailis themselves have produced a relatively substantial and diversified literature on a variety of subjects and religious themes. These texts, written mainly in Arabic and Persian, and many of which have now been edited or translated mainly into English or French, range from a few historical and autobiographical works, legal compendia, poetry, and treatises on the central Shiʿi doctrine of the imamate, to complex esoteric and metaphysical works culminating in the gnostic Ismaili system of thought, with its cyclical sacred history, cosmology, soteriology, etc. From early on, a good portion of the Ismaili literature related to *taʿwīl*, or the esoteric and symbolic interpretation of the Qurʾanic verses and prescriptions of the Islamic law. Some of the *dāʿī* authors of the Iranian lands, including Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, also elaborated a distinctive Ismaili intellectual tradition, amalgamating their Ismaili theology (*kalām*) with Neoplatonism and other philosophical traditions. Section IV-A contains numerous examples of the various genres of Ismaili texts. For medieval Ismaili history, we are still obliged to rely mainly on the works of non-Ismaili authors, who wrote both general as well as regional histories. A selection of such historical works (for example, those by Abuʿl-Fidā, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Muyassar, Juwaynī, al-Nuwayrī, and al-Ṭabarī), in which substantial references are made to the Ismailis, is included in section IV-B which also cites a number of heresiographies and other genres of writings in which the Ismailis are generally misrepresented, such as those by al-Ashʿarī, al-Baghdādī, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ghazālī, and Niẓām al-Mulk.

Section V covers a range of secondary studies on the Ismailis, generally organized in terms of the main periods or phases of Ismaili history. Scholars of modern Ismaili studies normally distinguish several periods in Ismaili history, some running parallel to others, on the basis of a mixture of chronological, doctrinal, geographical, as well as literary and ethnological

considerations. For the period subsequent to the schism of the Ismaili community in 487/1094 into its two major branches, separate parts are devoted to the Musta1lian Ismailis and the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt and later phases. As reflected in the bibliography, the literature on the Nizārīs is much more extensive than the studies devoted exclusively to the Musta1lians. In all parts of section V, preference has been given to certain pioneering works of the earlier orientalists of historical importance, as well as the more recent academic studies based on the results of modern scholarship in the field. A comprehensive bibliography of the published primary sources and the secondary studies (up to 2003) can be found in the author's *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies* (2004).

As the most revolutionary faction of Shi'i Islam with a religiopolitical agenda that aimed to uproot the Abbasids and restore the caliphate to a line of 'Alid imams, from early on the Ismailis had aroused the hostility of the ruling Sunni establishment. In due course, especially after the foundation of the Fatimid state in 297/909, the Abbasids and their Sunni scholars launched what amounted to a prolonged official anti-Ismaili propaganda campaign to discredit the Ismailis and condemn them as "heretics." Several generations of Sunni polemicists systematically fabricated evidence that would provide justification for the condemnation of the Ismailis on doctrinal grounds. These polemical writings, starting with the treatise of Ibn Rizām, which has not survived directly, were used as a major source of information by al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) and other Sunni heresiographers, as well as various historians and theologians who wrote on the Ismailis.

The revolt of the Persian Ismailis against the Saljūq Turks, the new Sunni overlords of the Abbasids, led to another extended literary campaign against the Ismailis, in general, and the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period, in particular. This campaign was initially led by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the foremost Sunni theologian of his time who wrote his major anti-Ismaili treatise upon the request of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir. Meanwhile, occidental chroniclers of the Crusades and a number of European travelers had begun to write about the Nizārī Ismailis, made famous by them in medieval Europe under the misnomer of the "Assassins." Medieval Europeans themselves fabricated and put into circulation both in the Latin Orient and Europe a number of tales rooted in their "imaginative ignorance" about the secret practices of these so-called "Assassins" and their leader, the "Old Man of the Mountain," another term coined in the Crusader circles. The legends culminated in the utterly fanciful but widely popularized account of Marco Polo (1254–1324), the famous Venetian traveler. Henceforth, the Nizārī Ismailis of Syria and Persia were portrayed in medieval European sources as a sinister order of hashish-crazed "assassins" bent on senseless murder and mischief.

For the first time in Europe, the orientalists of the 19th century, led by Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), correctly identified the Ismailis as a Shi'i Muslim community, but they were still obliged to study the Ismailis almost exclusively on the basis of the hostile Sunni sources and the fanciful tales of the Crusader circles. Consequently, the orientalists, too, unwittingly lent their seal of approval to the medieval myths about the Ismailis, including the anti-Ismaili "black legend" of the Sunni polemicists and the "Assassin legends" of the Crusaders. It is against this context that Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's *Die Geschichte der Assassinen* (*The History of the Assassins*), originally published in German in 1818, should be

evaluated. At any rate, this book, translated into English and French, served as the standard treatment of the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period until the 1940s. With rare exceptions, notably the studies of Charles F. Defrémery (1822–1883) and Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909), the Ismailis continued to be misrepresented to varying degrees by orientalists. Meanwhile, Westerners had retained the unfortunate habit of referring to the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period as the Assassins, a misnomer rooted in a medieval pejorative appellation.

The perceptions of outsiders of the Ismailis in premodern times, in both Muslim and Christian milieus, were drastically revised by the results of modern scholarship in Ismaili studies. The breakthrough in Ismaili studies occurred with the recovery and study of genuine Ismaili texts on a relatively large scale, manuscript sources that had been preserved in scattered private collections in Yaman, Syria, Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and India. Modern scholarship in Ismaili studies was actually initiated in the 1940s in India, where significant collections of Ismaili manuscripts are preserved in the Ṭayyibī Bohra community. This resulted mainly from the pioneering efforts of Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970) and a few Ismaili Bohra scholars, notably Asaf A. A. Fyze (1899–1981), Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī (1901–1961), and Zāhid 1Alī (1888–1958), who based their studies on their family collections of manuscripts. Subsequently, most of these manuscripts were donated to academic institutions, including especially the Institute of Ismaili Studies, and, thus, were made available to scholars at large. Ivanow, who collaborated with the above-mentioned Bohra scholars, also succeeded in finding access to the Persian Nizārī literature. Consequently, he compiled the first detailed catalogue of Ismaili works (*A Guide to Ismaili Literature*), citing some 700 separate titles that attested to the hitherto unknown richness and diversity of Ismaili literary and intellectual traditions. This catalogue, published in 1933, provided a scientific framework for modern Ismaili studies. Ivanow was also the first modern scholar to deconstruct some of the legends regarding the origins of Ismailism in his *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, published in 1946 and inaugurating the publications series of the Ismaili Society, established in Bombay in the same year.

By 1963, when Ivanow published an expanded edition of his Ismaili catalogue, many more sources had been discovered, and progress in Ismaili studies had been truly astonishing. Numerous Ismaili texts had now begun to be critically edited and studied, laying a solid foundation for further progress in the field. In this connection, particular mention should be made of the editions and translations of the Arabic and Persian Ismaili texts of Fatimid and later times by Henry Corbin (1903–1978), published in his *Bibliothèque Iranienne* Series, such as those collected in his *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, published in 1961, and the Arabic Ismaili texts of the Fatimid period, edited by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (1901–1961), in his *Silsilat makḥṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn* Series and published in Cairo. At the same time, 1Ārif Tāmīr (1921–1998) published numerous Ismaili texts of Syrian provenance. Meanwhile, a group of Egyptian scholars, notably Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan (1892–1968), Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (1911–1967), Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr (1911–1992), and 1Abd al-Mun1im Mājīd (1920–1999), made important contributions to the study of the Fatimids and their achievements, while Paul Casanova (1861–1926), Marius Canard (1888–1982), Paul Kraus (1904–1944), and Bernard Lewis (1916–), among other Western scholars, produced important studies on the Fatimids and the early Ismailis. And a group of scholars led by Yves

Marquet (1911–2008), Abbas Hamdani, and Carmela Baffioni embarked on the study of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and their encyclopedic *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (*The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*). In Russia, too, a select group of scholars, starting with Aleksandr A. Semenov (1873–1958), had initiated their own Ismaili studies, although such later Soviet scholars as Lyudmila V. Stroeve (1910–1993) and Andrey E. Bertel's (1926–1995) did so within a narrow “Marxist class-struggle frame.”

Soon others representing a new generation of scholars, notably Samuel M. Stern (1920–1969) and Wilferd Madelung (1930–), produced major studies on the early history of the Ismailis and their relations with the Qarmaṭīs. These include Stern's “Ismā'īlīs and Qarmaṭians,” in *L'Elaboration de l'Islam* (1961), and Madelung's “Fatimiden und BaUrainqarmaṭen,” *Der Islam* 34 (1959). And Marshall G. S. Hodgson (1922–1968) wrote the first comprehensive and scholarly study of the Nizārī Ismailis of the Alamūt period, entitled *The Order of Assassins* (1955), based on his doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Chicago, which finally replaced Hammer-Purgstall's 1818 monograph as a basic work of reference.

Progress in modern Ismaili studies has proceeded at a rapid pace during the last few decades through the efforts of yet another generation of scholars, including Thierry Bianquis, Michael Brett, Heinz Halm, Azim Nanji, Ismail K. Poonawala, and Paul E. Walker, among others. The modern progress in the recovery and study of Ismaili texts is well attested to in Poonawala's own monumental *Biobibliography* (1977), which identifies some 1,300 titles written by more than 200 authors. The modern progress in Ismaili studies finally made it possible for Farhad Daftary to write the first comprehensive history of the Ismailis, entitled *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (1990; 2nd ed., 2007). An abridged version of this book, organized thematically, appeared in 1998 under the title of *A Short History of the Ismailis*, while the general non-specialist readers (both Ismaili and non-Ismaili) can now be referred to F. Daftary and Z. Hirji's *The Ismailis: An Illustrated History*, an accessible book published in 2008 to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of His Highness the Aga Khan on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his accession to the Ismaili imamate. Meanwhile, an increasing number of Ismaili-related articles have appeared in all the major encyclopedias and other reference works published in English.

The largest collection of Ismaili source materials, both in manuscript and printed form, as well as an extensive collection of Ismaili coins, photographs, audio-visual materials, etc., is housed at the library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. In line with its access policy, the Institute's library makes these and other archival resources readily available to graduate students and scholars worldwide. Further information on the Institute's library and its academic activities and publications can be obtained through its website, www.iis.ac.uk. For information on the modern Dā'ūdī Bohra community, see their official website, www.mumineen.org.

II. ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for certain frequently cited periodicals and other sources

in the bibliography.

- ACFM A. Pellitteri (ed.). *Atti del Convegno i Fatimidi e il Mediterraneo*. Palermo: Accademia Libica in Italia; Università degli Studie di Palermo, 2008.
- BSO(A)S *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
- EI2 *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition
- EIR *Encyclopaedia Iranica*
- ESFAM Vermeulen, U., and D. de Smet (eds.). *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*. Leuven: Peeters, 1995.
- GTC Kassam, Tazim R., and Françoise Mallison (eds.). *Gināns, Texts, and Contexts: Essays on Ismaili Hymns from South Asia in Honour of Zawahir Moir*. New Delhi: Matrix Publishing, 2007.
- IJMES *International Journal of Middle East Studies* IMMS Daftary, F. *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies*. London: I. B. Tauris, in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2005.
- JBBRAS *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- MHI Daftary, F. (ed.). *A Modern History of the Ismailis*. London: I. B. Tauris, in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2011.
- MIHT Daftary, F. (ed.). *Mediaeval Isma‘ili History and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- NS New Series.

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V. STUDIES

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About the Author

Farhad Daftary completed his early and secondary education in Tehran, Rome, and London, before going to Washington, D.C., in 1958. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees in economics from the American University there, and then continued his graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, leading to a Ph.D. degree in 1971. Subsequently, Daftary held different teaching posts, and, since 1988, he has been affiliated with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, where he is currently co-director and head (since 1992) of the Department of Academic Research and Publications.

An authority in Ismaili studies, Daftary has published and lectured widely in this field of Islamic studies. His own research has contributed to a better understanding of aspects of Ismaili history. He is a consulting editor of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (for Ismailism), co-editor (with W. Madelung) of the *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, and general editor of the Ismaili Heritage Series and the Ismaili Texts and Translations Series. He has written more than 180 articles and encyclopedia entries and several acclaimed books, including *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (1990; 2nd ed., 2007), *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma‘ilis* (1994), *A Short History of the Ismailis* (1998), *Ismaili Literature* (2004), *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies* (2005), and (with Z. Hirji) *The Ismailis: An Illustrated History* (2008). His edited volumes include *Mediaeval Isma‘ili History and Thought* (1996), *Intellectual Traditions in Islam* (2000), *Living in Historic Cairo* (2010), and *A Modern History of the Ismailis* (2011). Daftary’s books and edited volumes have been translated into Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Gujarati, and numerous European languages.