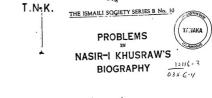


IVANOW

NASIR-I KHUSRAW'S BIOGRAPHY

NODE 28671



W. IVANO

(formerly Assistant Keeper, the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.)

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#### NOTICE

The aim of the "Ismaili Society", founded in Bombay on the 16th February 1946, is the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Ismailism, that is to say, of all branches of the Ismaili movement in Islam, their literature, history, philosophy, and so forth. The Society entirely excludes from its programme any religious or political propaganda or controversy, and does not intend to vindicate the viewpoint of any particular school in Ismailism, The "Ismaili Society" propose to publish monographs on subjects connected with such studies, critical editions of the original texts of early Ismaili works, their translations, and also collections of shorter papers and notes. Works by various authors are accepted for publication on their merits, i. e. the value of their contribution to the knowledge of Ismailism. It is a consistent policy of the "Ismaili Society" to encourage free exchange of opinions and ideas so long as they are based on serious study of the subject. It may be noted that the fact of publication of any work by the "Ismaili Society" does not by itself imply their concurrence with, or endorsement of, the views and ideas advanced therein.

#### PREFACE

In the first edition of this booklet, "Nasiri Shussraw and Ismallisority" (Ismalli Society's Series "B" no. 5, 1948). I tried to clarify one particular problem which Nasir's biography presented, namely his connection accepted with great interest by students of Persian interature and of Ismailism, and met with the approval of those scholars who have themselves done much work in the study of the question. Such were H. E.

work in the study of the question. Such were fi. E. Sayvid Hasan Tagizadeh, the author of a very valuable introduction to the edition of the Ditton of Nair (Teheran, 1929), and Dr. Henry Corbin, the editor of Nair's Jam's al-Hikmateyn (Teheran, 1933). In the introduction to this work he made use of the material contained in the booklet.

As the first edition is now out of print, the Ismaili

Scairty have decided to issue a new one, revised and lrought up-to-date, with the help of the information which has accrued since the date when the original version was written. As it in many respects differ from the first edition, it would be better, for simplifying the state of the state

The reader has to be again reminded that this booklet, even in its present amplified version, still lays no claim to be a biography of Nasir-i Khusraw. A real biography of Nasir still remains to be written when his works are more thoroughly studied, and, perhaps, reliable independent information becomes available.

retiable independent information becomes available.

The Ismail Society of Bonulay again deserve warm thanks for their offering facilities for this publication, in their efforts to introduce light and order in what,—with regard to history of Ismailism,—presented a chaos of fiction, prejudice and distortion of historical truth.

Boinbay, May 1956. W. Ivanow.

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#### 1. Sources

Biographical information is rarely found in Januali literature, and altitiough during the Fatimid period we find a few parts of the first price of

The name of Nāṣiri Khusraw, so far as we know, is never mentioned in Fatimid literature. The reason for this is perhaps that what remains of it now, has been preserved in Arabic-spacing (and writing) circles which completely ignore works written in Persian. Its name is very rarely referred to in general Persian lits name is very rarely referred to in general Fersian abrupt, evoking much sayulician Chem En didated and abrupt, evoking much sayulician Chem Sair found in semi-interpolations. Biogramátics of Nāṣir found in semi-interpolations.

<sup>1</sup> Such is, for instance, a reference "in the Jainvillatandarbhi in Padhid-de-dina aummay of the information in the property of the property of the control of the a certain Amira-d Darrah, as Distant's Isaacker, he addie and boffers him Nisteri (Naturew Hayner, "Kharishin, and boffers him Nisteri (Naturew Hayner, "Kharishin, obscure owing to the word "fe-rid" being used vagayed which makes it ambiguous, —does it refer to 3 fe-ran in vited makes it ambiguous,—does it refer to 3 fe-ran in toucher before Amira-i Darrah and that Hagen has not toucher before Amira-i Darrah and that Hagen has not tearnt anything from him. The other version incluses that

long series of extraordinary adventures.

We are therefore left with only one true guide, manney the information and allusions contained in Naisr's own writings. These may be divided into time groups. The most revealing are its Squin-distance of the squing may be associated with this group. The second group, his philosophical works, yield much less information. Finally we have two books which are the only desired worts in the real same in Naisr's literary heritage, that My John Real Squing and the property of the state of the same property of the sa

Although the Salar-salama and the Dinaba have already been extensively used by different scholars for sketching a biography of Nasir,—the latest of these bring the valuable migadiano to the Dinaba by Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh (Teliran, 1929)—these sources are by no means exhausted. On Some cause he nerely alludes to events. Such allusions surely require much areacity and effort no our part for being correctly

understood or deciphered,—if they can be generally deciphered. This also requires being sufficiently well read in Fatimid literature which was the "intellectual atmosphere" which Nagir breathed. It will be probably still for a long time that interesting finds will be made, and Nasir's biography will undergo various modifications while our familiarity with Fatimid literature and history of the period increases.

The group of Nāṣir's philosophico-propaedeusi: how works always: evoked unanswerable questions: who could Nāṣir, trapped in his wild corner, plan them for the general reader? It would be difficult to believe that while, as he says, he produced one book a year which he submitted to his authorities, \*he would offer them outh 'Linsipid' works, so far as Ismaili doctrine is concerned? Sramegly, none of these "larger" works as concerned? Sramegly, none of these "farger" works the standard of the same the same trapped to the same the same trapped to the same trapped

The late editor of the Zddut/smuzalfrin, Dr. M. Bazlurrahman, who, with the help of his professor, late E. G. Browne, prepared the edition of the text, told me how often both he and E. G. Browne felt themselves helpless to follow the text, definitely suspecting a considerable laruna. It was, however, strange that the text of both manuscripts, apparently quite independent copies used for the edition, was identical independent copies used for the edition, was identical surprise and disappointers and the surprise and disappointers and disappointers and disappointers and disappointers and disappointers.

no: poases any knowledge. As Näpir returned from BZFPL in 464/1052, and probably visited Tabaristan sam poasibly Ray; soon stier his return, Hasan was a child at the time. He died in 538/1124, and even if he was 80 at the time of his death, he could not have been born earlier than about 460/1048.

<sup>#</sup> Cf. Diwdn, 298; 5,

All this incidentally finds a convincing explanation. In one of Nasir's philosophical works, the Gushā'ish tra Raha'ish, edited by Prof. Sa'id Nafisi,3 the text also abounds in lacunas. It, however, exhibits an interesting feature. On p. 82 of the text the scribe. who calls himself mu'allif-i natutsanda, "copyist-conpiler", unequivocally and plainly says that he wrote. i.e., copied, only what he regarded as "true" (cf. p. 13. line 5). This means that he omitted all that was "untrue". On p. 121 he says: "Here also there was much rubbish, fancy and wrong analogy. We have omitted all this as useless, writing only what was nearer to our understanding". He explains his tactics (p. 123, line 4); "This book is in my handwriting, and it would be no good if any one conceives an evil suspicion, that is, suspects him of sharing the unorthodox ideas and opinions which he copied. There are many such passages in the text, some merely being sarcastic exclamations (as on p. 108, line 7).

It is highly probable that other works of Näsir passed through the hands of the scribes who similarly did not contine their stake to mere transcription, but who acted as censors and editors. The reason, who had a censor and editors. The reason who had the stake the scribes and editors. The reason who had the scribes are staken to the scribes and the scribes and the scribes and the present copy was a sinkfully transcribed from the original copy of the wait lift; annutannol. It is possible that some other copysis, copying the present version, could laws on the copysis, copying the present version, could laws out the copysis and the copy of the present version, could law the copysis and the could be considered to the copysis of the could be considered to the copysis and the could be considered to the copysis and the could be considered to the copysis and the could be considered to the could be consider

This interesting fact is pregnant with many important implications. It epolains why the books are so insipid and elementary, each being strikingly fixe the other in its content. It also clearly indicates that Nāṣir's large philosophical works really were Inmulti-realized, dealing with what Paimid literature cells haga'ig. What we possess at present is merely his general history, philosophical curavas on which Ismail theories were pinned. Māṣir was the propadeutical manuals for beefiners.

We have also to answer the question: who were the people who took an interest in such works? In my "Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismanism' (1952), pp. 74-77, I offered a tentative suggestion that learned Suffriedness pp. a stealthy modified borrowing from Faitnid hope's [internative. At the beginning it was most probably taught in great excercy, but gradually, as it spread, as the Faitnid empire ecsted to be a great power, and especially since the Ahanth griningality was destroyed, this philosophy hegan to be propounded in writing. This probably came about in the second half of the XIII had the

beginning of the XIV c.

The charge of the "Qarmatian heresy" appears as early as 307/919 in the process of Mansūr-i Islañij who was executed. I have already pointed out the fact that many early theologians, especially of the Shi'tle persuasion, obviously in order to meet possible allegations, almost always had amongst their works a "reduration of the Oarâmita", either as a chaater in their

<sup>3</sup> Ismaili Society's Series "A" no. 5. Bombay, 1950,

Early Sufism, as is known, had little or nothing in common with the quasi-philosophical speculations in Hellenistic style. The pictistic movement of early Sulis was entirely obsessed with fears of the hereafter. Its devotees developed a real mania for genuine or pretended ascetic self-mortification, exuberant devotional practices and ostentatious piety (in which, as sincere Sufic authors often exposed, there was often much of the most unashamed hypocrisy), and so forth. Ismaili authors treated the Sufis with contempt, as bigots, the oliulatu'l-Hashuriyya, i.e. (erring) extremists amongst the formalists and literalists in religion.4 Most probably when the original pietistic Sufic fashion had spread, and lost much of the attraction of the novelty. more intelligent and sincere individuals amongst them began to search for a deeper sense and purpose in religious life. It is not impossible that this they discovered in the already well-developed and systematised Fatimid esoterism which attracted so many. In any case the Fatimid doctrine was already at least two centuries old when the first signs of the incinient Sulic theosophy had begun to appear. It has been emphasised in my preceding works that the difference between Faininh Apoléy and Sulfe theosophy chiefly consists of modified terminology, and adjustments to the letter of Sunnie Islam. The theory of salvation, which according to the spirit of the heapily was a comic and social process, is in Sufam turned into an examination of the Imam (16/yld) is here vulgarised into every successful acetic's Kirkaf (which dear into every successful acetic's Kirkaf (which dear new used). There are a few other points of difference, but on the whole both systems are so similar that if seems, out of the question to believe that each.

In connection with this an interesting and relevant question presents itself. In his Mugaddima to Nasir-i Khusraw's Dhodu (Teheran, 1929). Savvid rlasan Tagizadeh refers to Jami's Baharistan where a reference is made to the Tambidat of 'Ayou'l-outlat Hamadání who, as Jámi says, refers to Nasir-i Khusraw, As is known. Abū'l-Ma'ālī 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Muhanunad al-Miyanaji al-Hamadani, surnamed 'Aynu'l-qudut, was a disciple of Ahmad al-Ghazāli, a brother of the famous al-Ghazáli (Muhammad), the philosopher, He was executed on a charge of heresy in 533/1138-9. probably a little more than fifty years after Nasir's death. The importance of such a reference does not require explanation. I have examined the Bahariston. where nothing more on the subject is revealed, and several manuscript copies of the Tambidat (as also

<sup>4</sup> So they are called in the fifth Mi'at of the Majdis of Sayyid-na al-Mu'ayyad.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. "Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailiem". Ismaili S-ty's Series "B" no. 7, pp. 75 sq.

the printed editions of Shīrāz, 1342/1924, and Gulbarga, 1364/1945), but failed to find the place. Some

ourga, 1304/1943). But failed to find the place. Some of my learned Persian friends have also searched for the reference, with negative results. As they suggested, it is probable that Jāmi mistakenly named the Tamhidali instead of some other work.

We may ask, however, whether it is really impossible that Jami had in his hands an old manuscript really containing such a reference. It could have been expunged by some over-pious scribe at an early period The fact that Jami thought of Nasir is quite significant if we remember that the unique copy (1778) of his Khwanu'l-Ikhwan, preserved in the library of the Ava Sophia mosque in Constantinople, was transcribed in 862/1458. The unique copy of the Gusha'ish ten Raha'ish, mentioned above, although it is not dated, was transcribed most probably at about the same time (in the opinion of its editor, Prof. Sa'id Nafisi) 7 At about the same time the legend of Nasir acquired wide currency. On the Ismaili side it was the period of the Nizari Imams of Anjudan al-Mustansir billläh I, 'Abdu's-Salam and al-Mustansir bi'l-läh II. They took special steps to re-establish their control over the Ismailis on the Upper Oxus, till that time controlled by the lumms of the Muhammad-Shahi line. And it was only a little later, about the middle of the And it was only a little later, about the middle of the Khwah, son of Husayn Harawi, prepared a fakedwork of Naigr, issown as Kelmai-Per, or Help Bish-Shahi Saypid Najir, still much, recerted all ower ther-Upper Gust region. This foliagin-rich the work of an experimental control and the state of the controlled the state of the control of the controlled the state of the controlled the state of the original title probably being lost.<sup>8</sup>

All this shows that Nasir and his works were often a subject of discussion at this time. He was surely regarded as a hakim, sage or philosopher, and not as an Ismaili dignitary. This may be attested by the factof Jami's reference to him. Jami is well known in the history of Persian literature as a particularly strict and even saintly exponent of the learned, "philosophical" brand of Sufism, connected with strictly orthodox circles, Mir 'Ali Shir Nawa'i on the one hand, and the popular darwish saint of Samaroand, Khwaia Ahrar on the other. He could be hardly suspected of craving for heterodox ideas. The works of Nasir read by Jámi, we may infer, had already been inocuous, containing nothing but the usual scholastic speculations, with probably only vague and slight "heterodox accent" which such a highly intellectual reader as the Mawlana Nuru'd-din could bypass or ignore.

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Bhorb-I Zubdatu"I.Baqdiq", by Sayyid Muhammad Husayxi, surn. Gisü-dira Chishit (d. 825/1422), lithgraphed frem a ma. preserved in the shrine lib:ary, Gubarga, 1364/1945. The work contains the tuit cof the Tomhiddi with a rather meagre Suid and philetof the Tomhiddi with a rather meagre Suid and phileton the Suid and the Suid and the Suid and the Shring seldion. In the Shring seldion. The lext is much more legible than the Shring seldion.

<sup>7</sup> The work formed a part of the same Majamia which also contained the Kashin'i-Mahjub by Abu Ya'qub assijistani which was edited by Dr. H. Corbin in 1949. The Majamia belonged to the collection of Sayyid Nagru!-ish Tagawi.

<sup>8</sup> See further, in the section dealing with the works wrongly attributed to Nasir.

If this better, we may rightly life that the activities of the scrible-enous, of the type of the modified mutual and the control of the Guideline and the Guideline and the Commond the Guideline and the MX/XV. c., and their business of "processing" Ismails works for the acid consumption of pious critoloous works for the acid consumption of pious critoloous Naisr's books footed during the various campaigns of prescuois of the Ismails, and afterwards kept in liberates, were later on brought into use in the "processed" version when a demand for fillmark books.

#### 2. Nasir-i Khusraw before his Journey to Egypt,

As has been mentioned above, Fatimid literature apparently contains no reference to Nasir, probably because what remains of it was preserved in the Arab milieu of the Yaman, alien to Iran and Persian Ismailism. But there is, perhaps, yet another possible reason, in the fact that we do not know his full and real name by which he might have been known in the Arab world. In his works he calls himself Abu Mu'in Nasir b. Khusraw b. al-Harith al-Marwazi al-Qubădiyānī. This suggests some kind of "polite humbleness": Mu'in for Mu'inu'd-din, Nasir for Nasiru'd-din, were common in the educated and administrative class of the time. He surely also had an "Islamic" (as parallel to "Christian") name, something like Ahmad, Muhammad, etc., under which he was possibly known during his journey.

Sometimes a question was raised about his possessing "two nisbas", Marwazi and Qubadiyani, but this is perfectly plain if he was born in Qubadiyan, a district of the province of Marw. As a rule, the nisba by the province covers the nisba by the district. We also find in the Safar-nama and in many places in his Diwan that his residence was Balkh. "Marwazi" may also imply his being the subject of the government of Marw, i.e. Saljuqides whose capital Mary was. From references in the Ditten it appears that Nasir was a Sayyid, as the oral tradition amongst the Ismailis of Badakhshan maintains. The most important references are: (p. 98, line 5) "What wouldst thorn say, why has this 'Alawi of noble birth (gatchar-pair) fallen into this prison and these fetters?" And (p. 97. line 14) "We (= 1) are related to the relics of the progeny of the Prophet" (ma bar athar-i 'itrat-i Payahambar khwish-im). When he calls himseli, rather emphatically, as on p. 412, line 21. "Fatimi", this may refer to his descent, but most probably is used in the sense of an early equivalent of "Isma'ili". He applies the same term to the Fatimid caliphs (100, 12: 101, 3; 101. 5. etc.).

Năir was horn in 394/1034 (Diston, 173, 9), and thus was 35 years old in 429/1038 when the Chananovid rule over his mother country was overthrown by the Saliug inwaders. He belonged to the family of government officials, and his (e'der) brother was a auerty, as he tells us in his Sofor-name. It is quite possible that in accordance with the custom of the times he entered government service at an early age, ster limitels schooling. His works offer ample evidence of his not being highly trained in theological matters

which at his time formed the main substance of "lenrning". In his youth he was full of ambition, "imagining that his hand could reach the moon" (156, 13-14), On the whole he appears as a mentally alert and gifted young man, a good poet who composed "indecent" (has!) poetry which was much appreciated by his superiors and contemporaries,-apparently ordinary love songs. He dabbled in alchemy ("out of greed"), and for the whole of his life retained a belief in the magic efficacy of various tilisms, etc. We must not forget that however much this appears to us childish mediaeval superstition, in his time it was a part of what is now called science. And he, by his turn of mind, appears in his works to be full of interest in the questions of natural science. In this sense he serves as a typical figure amongst those to whom Ismailism appealed most with its rather paradoxical combination of two polar tendencies,-extreme Shi'ite conservatism (as in the Waili-i din) coupled with a considerable liberalism, intellectual sobriety and even inclination towards freethinking.

A tall, robust, "rustic-looking man, as he appears from various references in his Dutan and Soften-mine. Nair in his works markedly lacks the refinement and stamp of "timoropic schooling" is noniceable in the same of "timoropic schooling" is noniceable in the superior schooling in the sum of the

talent, irrepressible energy and high sense of duty and faithfulness to the high aims and ideals he had set to himself. Such apparent boastfulness may have been nothing more than an outraged sense of elementary justice and fairness, denied to him.

What was his real social position during the earlier part of his career, is a difficult question to answer. The legend which has grown around his name shows him as man of the highest position, frequenting the society of kings. To his words about "his hand being capable of reaching the moon," mentioned above, he adds: "because the Amir never takes the wine cup into his hands without me". This may mean anything: the Amir does not drink without inviting Nasir for company, or without looking upon Nasir's verses engraved on the favourite cup, or without the cup being served to him by Nasir, or without his songs being sung during drinking orgies. But the most interesting question is who was the amir? In my first edition I suggested that it was the Ghaznawid prince, but this must be wrong. At that period the Ghaznawid capital was Ghazna, which, however, is not mentioned in that sense in the Diwan, and there is no allusion to Nasir's having ever travelled so far in that direction.

Å most valkable hint is offered in the Jami'u I-Jifi. matayn, recently edited by Dr. H. Corbin. This work was compiled in 462/1070 at the request of the Autiof Badakhshah. Ali h. Asab. b. 14/Jarith whose mame is several times mentioned in the text (pp. 15, 17, 100, 134, 135 and 316). In his valuable note (pp. 46–46) 314, 315 and 316). In his valuable note (pp. 46–46) relevant information in the text. The Junit was himself a poet, as also an exist (text, p. 315). He apparently really was an Ismaili. Unfortunately, the name of the Amir appears to be untraceable. It is quite possible that he was a feudal lord, a local princeling treated as a hereditary governor of the province. The title omir was often applied to the fendal lords of such type, and is even now by tradition popularly applied to such persons. In his Diwan, 331, 19-23. Nasir quotes the words of his enemies about himself: "the Turks (i.e. Saljugs) have driven him from Khorasan, neither the amir of that province accepts him, nor the shah of Sejestan (plainly the Ghaznawid prince), nor the ansir of Khuttalan". This shows that he designates the independent rulers such as the Ghaznawids by the title of shall, while the title of amir is applied by him to the rulers of smaller provinces or districts.

Dr. H. Corbin suggests that Nasir's connection with the Amir of Badakhshan provides a solution of the difficult question of how he came to be "trapped" in such a wild corner as Yumgan. This seems to be perfectly right. We do not know for certain whether the valley of Yumgan belonged to the province of Badakhshan, and even the position of the latter's capital remains unknown, but is supposed to have been situated not far from the present town of Faydabad. As the distance between it and Yumgan is not great, it is quite possible that the latter really was under the jurisdiction of the Amir. The latter probably could not openly keep Nasir at his court, but would probably have had enough means to secure his being left unmolested in Yumgan. He also would be able to provide for him means of communication with the outside world. It is not impossible that such helping attitude depended on an earlier association of Nāṣir with his patron, or his father.

We do not know whether Nair was in the employ of the Ghazanwid government prior to the Salipa invasion, or served the Amir of Badakshiain. In the light of the information supplied by the Idam'ul-Jik-mateya the latter alternative appears to be the sunce probable. It is quite possible that the Amir, known as an Ismaili, was shorn of many of his former privileges by the new masters, the strictly orthodox Salipa of the property of

I would like to add a few words in connection with the question of the Amir. Quite incidentally I had a chance to examine a majmii'a brought from Hunza, A and containing several notes relating to the history of Ismailism in Persia. The booklet has been transcribed in August 1937, and opens with a Risala's Ta'rikli-s wafat-i Abu Mu'in Hakim Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw 'Alowi. Although it is merely a version of the story offered in the Atish-kada'i Adhar, which is well-known, it may be useful to note certain discrepancies which it contains, and which may suggest, perhaps, the existence of a work, based on Ismaili legendary tradition, which served as the basis for the well-known pseudobiography of Nasir. As in the Atish-kada, it begins with the genealogy of Nasir tracing his origin to the Ithna-'ashari Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim. The most interesting point is that of Nasir's declaration of his will to his brother. In the Atishkada (p. 205 of the Bombay

lithograph, 1299) the date of Nasir's death, foretold by himself, is omitted (as dates are usually omitted in the great majority of the copies of that work). There is only "raz-i jum'a dar mah-i Rabi'u'l-acount (....)" while the Ismaili ms. reads: rūz-i jun.'a hashtum-i Rabi'u'l-auwal sana'i thaman wa tis'in wa arba' mi'a. Further the text considerably differs in the Ismaili manuscript : "waqtt ki dafn kardt merā bi-sūz hitab-i Yunaniyyat wa Kitab-i Akmal wa Sihriyyat, agar-chi tu-ra sakht ayad. Wa Kitab-i Qonun-i A'zamra pish-i (pusar-i, as in Atishkada) 'amm-om Mangar bi-bar wa ba-d-B bi-dih. Wa Kitab-i Zadu'l-musafirinra bi-bar ba-sūy-i Malik-i o'zam sayyidu'l-lukamā 'ALI (and not 'Isa, as in At.) bin Asad al-Ilusayni al-'Alawi, ki hakim-i Badakhshan ast, wa ba-d-n bi-dih. Wa Kitab-i Diwan-i ash'ar-ra bi-bar ba say-i Malik Jahan-shah bin Giw al-Yumgani wa bo-d-u bi-dih. Wa Kitab-i Dastur-i A'zam dar nafqa'i faqih Qadi Nasru'd-

din Badakhihati dik."
I thus the date 498/end 1104 was mentioned in the original, Nāṣir was 104 lunar years (and not 140, as stated in Airishāda) old, and the Jimir Ail D. Asad, as whose request the Jāmir ul-hikmatayan was compiled in 462/1070, perhaps could have leen still alive. It would be very interesting to final another reliable copy of that "Rudio".

#### 3. Conversion.

It was generally accepted that Nasir went on pilgrimage probably as quite a devout orthodox Muslim, and was converted to Ismailism in Egypt through which he had to pass on his way to Mekka, returning to his native land as an Ismaili missionary of such a high rank as a *lunjut*. All this appears to be an accumulation of misunderstandings.

Of what religion was Nasir originally? There is no direct answer to this question in his works, including the Diwan. He continually eulogizes the Imam of his time, al-Mustansir bi'l-lah, sometimes, very ambiguously, referring to eminent Ismaili worthies, as to Mu'ayyad, Nu'man (Qadi Nu'man, the great Ismaili jurist, d. 363/974), and others. His references to Sunnism are invariably hostile. But what he invariably passes over in silence is the Ithna-'ashari doctrine and Imams. We know well how widespread was Shi'ism in Khorasan and Central Asia in the fourth/tenth c. Balkh, Samaroand, Marw, and other cities had important Shi'ite centres. Ibn Bābūya, the famous Ithna-'ashari theologian (d. 381 or 391/991 or 1001), d spent many years studying hadiths in the East prior to his departure to Baghdad. The inefficient Ghaznawid government hardly ever took energetic measures to suppress the Shi'ites. The Saligus altered this order of affairs, but by that time Nasir was, as we have already seen, 35 years of age, Nasir's own references to his "search for the truth," i.e. true religion, search for knowledge, and so forth, should not be taken tooliterally, or in a modern sense. For him obviously the truth was only in Islam, and we may easily realize that that "truth" was the authentic interpretation of religion which can be received only from the Imam. It is thus quite possible that he might have been a Shi'ite. Perhaps the change of the dynasty, if it upset his career, the frustration of his youthful ambitions.

even his probable contact with the Ismailis—all this together possibly inspired him to espouse the cause of the Fatimids whose star had never risen so high as at that particular time (only to begin its precipitous decline). We know how many eniment Ithma-daslari Shi'ites turned to Ismailism, and attained high positions in it, obviously taking their new religions inscreely

and enthusiastically. Popular religious psychology usually ignores the lengthy and often very painful process of "conversion," in a broad sense, to a new religion, with all its cloubts, internal struggle, and other similar experiences, and remembers only that final and decisive moment that "flashes" to the convert who either "repents," or in some other way manifests his complete changeover. It is like the vision of St. Paul on the road to Damascus. Nasir, strangely, never mentions such an all important moment, and this also to some extent may speak in favour of an admission of his Shi'ite persuasion. As a Shi'ite he had merely to transfer his allegiance from one line of the Imanis to another, and this would be, of course, a far less serious step than the conversion to Ismailism of a Christian, or even 5 Sunni

Disregarding rather obscure allusions in his Disab, we have two important statements by Nāṣiŋ repraining to his conversion. One is the oft-cited story of his religious feram, at the beginning of the Salprinding, and another is his "confession" in the form of the lengitiest of his gadded (Disab, pp. 12-27) and the property of the pro

continued to the contin

If this is an allegory, as it obviously is, then its implications are perfectly clear, and the fact that Nasir offers his elaborate explanations, even quoting a hadith, and shows such ostentatious frankness, makes it rather overdone. Is it really necessary for a pious Muslim to introduce a prophetic dream to explain his desire to go on pilgrimage? "Significant dreams" to this day influence the decision in many peoples' lives. especially in Muslim society. In the dream described by Nasir the most important point is who was the man who admonished him to cease drinking, Surely, Nasir himself well knew the harm that he was causing to himself, but obviously the speaker in the dream was someone of especial importance, the Prophet or the Imam, not named by him out of peculiar modesty. It is generally believed that the Prophet may "appear in

a dream" only to deserving and pious people, and would not visit the unworthy. Thus the mention of a holy visitor would become equivalent to the narrator's claim

to exceptional piety and virtue. Perhaps his dissatisfaction with the conditions that came about under the Saljugs, and probably sincere devotion to religion of the Shi'ite type, caused Nasir to be converted to Ismailism where he could recover from "chronic drunkenness," i.e., practicing religion without knowing its real meaning and implications. He was awakened from his intoxication, i.e., converted, and . later he was summoned to Cairo, perhaps for higher training and instruction. Three hundred years later, another Ismaili, Nizārī Quhistānī of Birjand, in his versified Safar-nama, exactly in the same way speaks of his own drunkenness, and then of his revival and departure towards the Southern Caucasus where the Imam of his time was hiding in disguise. We know also that some time after his conversion Hasan b. as-Sabbāh was also sent to Cairo.

If we accept this interpretation of his "dream", it will be easy to understand why his departure shows the signs of suddenness,—the orders came, and he had to go. The route that he had alsen strengthens this impression. If he had been a high official of the Saliyu he had been a high official of the Saliyu he had been a high official of the Saliyu he had been a high official of the Saliyu he had been a high official of the Saliyu he had been a high official of the Saliyu he had been a high official of the Saliyu high came to make the high official of the saliyu high official of the sa

have witnesses.

An interesting point is the question of his being financed on his way. Surely, to have carried enough gold for the expense of three men and several animals

on an eight thousand miler journey, would have exposed the party to grave risks. We see, however, that he always finds someone to helps him to reach the next stage where he would receive further help. Would it therefore not be possible to suppose along. Would it therefore not be possible to suppose at the property of the provided with mecssary certificates, could "refuel" on his journey? He highly praises his benefactors, and this is an additional indication of their belonging to the sect. In his Supra-ndma Nair does not waste praises on anyther the provided with the provided with

Where and when his conversion took.place, we have no means of ascertaining. But from what is mentioned above we may infer that it took place a considerable time—at least several years—before his rather sudden departure. Surely not every new convert was sent to Egypt, and not immediately after his having been converted.

#### 4. Nasir's Confession.

In the qazida in his Diwan (pp. 172-117 of the Tehran edition of 1929), referred to above, and opening with "Ay bhushida bast 'ilim-u juhan gathta tardar", Najar offers us an extremely interesting account of his spiritual evolution. As far as I know, although it was often referred to, the poem las never been translated in full, or even comprehensively used, evidently because of the difficulty of deciphering the

various allusions and implications of which it mostly consists. Many of its passages remain meaningless without extensive comments. Such passages are surely those which he wanted to reach only the initiated ones. It is a common feature of sectarian poetry of this kind: one has to know in advance the gist of its contents in order to understand the implications of its allegories and metaphors. We may try to offer here our version of it, decoding the poet's allusions as far as possible.

The poem, as so many of Nasir's poems, opens with the usual complaints on the injustice of the destiny which, without any apparent reason, gives one plenty, while hunger and thirst to another, and which "has driven him into that dusty corner." The confession begins with p. 173, verse 7:

> "Unlock thy heart, and take the Coran as thy (sole) guide.

> "So that thou mayest know the right path, and that the door (of salvation) might become opened to thee.

> "I would not be surprised if thou dost not find that path (easily),

"Because I was like thyself, lost and bewildered for a long time.

"When 394 years had passed since the flight (hiira) of the Prophet,

" My mother gave birth to me, bringing me into this dusty abode, "As an unconscious growing being, similar to

nlante "Which are born from black soil and drops of

water ....

(He goes on, mentioning the stages of the development of the human organism in accordance with the usual theories of his time).

(13) "When the heavens had measured out 42 years of life to me.

" My conscious self began to search for wisdom . (khirad).

"I listened to the learned, or read books in

which they explained "The constitution of the celestial spheres, the

movement of time and elements. (15) "Feeling that to me my own body is the dearest.

"In inferred that in the world there must be someone who is the most precious of all that had been created,

" Just as the falcon is the noblest of the birds, or the camel amongst the quadrupeds. "Or the date palm amongst the trees, or ruby

amongst the jewels, " Just as the Coran amongst the books, or Ka'ha

amonest the houses. "Or the heart amongst the organs of the body.

the sun amongst the luminaries. "As I pondered over this, my soul was filled with sad thoughts.

"I began to ask questions from thinking people of their opinions

"From the Shafi'ites, Molikites, Hanafites 1 asked what they said.

"I began to search for the guidance of the Chosen One of God (i.e., the Prophet).

(20) "But when I asked (my teachers) about the reasons for (various) injunctions of the religion, or the verses of the Coran on which they are based,

"None proved to be helpful, one resembling the blind, and the other the deaf.

#### (Ayatu'l-bay'at).

"Once I happened to read in the Coran the "verse of the oath" (XLVIII, 18).

"The verse in which God said that His hand was stretched out (for being touched while swearing allegiance).

"Those people who swore allegiance "under the tree" (i.e. at Ḥudaybiyya, in the 6th year A.H.)
"Vere the people like Ja'far,9 Miodåd, Salmān

and Abu Dharr.
"I asked a question from myself: what had

happened to that tree, that hand,
"Where can I now find that hand, that oath, that

place?
"The answer to this was only: there is now neither the tree, nor that hand.

"That 'hand' has been scattered, the assembly has dispersed.

(25) "All of them were (sincerely) devoted to the Prophet, and were rewarded with Paradise,

"Particularly for having taken that oath, being chosen from amongst the ordinary mortals.

(p. 174) "Said I (to myself): In the Coran (XXV, 58, 62; IX, 32) it appears that Ahmad

"Is the Announcer and Preacher (of the Truth), the Light shining (in darkness).

"If any unbeliever wishes to extinguish that Light, blowing with his mouth,

"God will re-light it again, despite the efforts of all the unbelievers.

"How has it come about that to-day there is neither that hand nor those men?

"The word of God, surely, cannot turn out to be untrue.

"Whose hand should we touch when swearing allegiance to God?

"Or should not (Divine) justice treat equally those who came first and those who came later? (5) "Was it our fault that we were not born at that

time?
"Why should we be deprived of personal contact with the Prophet, thus being (unjustly)

# punished? (Longing and Search for Truth).

"My face became yellow as a flower from sorrow

at being unable to find an answer to this,
"My back bent prematurely from sadness.

"When I reflected how much human existence "Depends on the limiting laws of the inanimate world, vegetative force and animal life. "Now. existing as an individual of body and

soul, "I am both the negation (naskha) of the eter-

<sup>9</sup> This is Ja'far, surnamed at-Tayyar, an carly Shi'ite

nity, and an eternity condensed (inukawwar).10

10 Literally it means "packed", although the same root conveys many other meanings.

- "The learned are (in this world) like muscus.
- their learning like its aroma,
  "Or they are like a mine in which knowledge is
  enshrined as gold.
- (10) "When muscus loses its aroma, or ore is emptied of its gold,
  - "Muscus becomes worthless, the ore contains only specks of gilt.
  - "When the aroma and gold are symbols of knowledge, let me then
  - "Get up and search for 'muscus' where it can be found, that extalled scroll,
  - "Then I rose from my place, and started on a journey, "Abandoning without regret my bouse, my
  - garden, those whom I was accustomed to see.
    "From the Persian and Arab, Indian and Turk,
    "From the inhabitant of Sind, Byzantium, a Jew,
  - from everyone,
  - "From the philosopher, the Manichee, Sabean, from an atheist, "Did I inquire as to what interested me, with
- much persistence.11
- (15) "Very often I had to spend nights sleeping on hard stones.
  - "With no roof or cover over my hear! except clouds.
  - "Now roaming low, swimming as a fish in the sea,
- 11 The "journey" here is obviously symbolical, while the privations mentioned here apparently refer to his real experience during his pilerimage to Cairo.

- "Now high in the mountains loftier than the Two Images.12
- "Now I passed through the country where frozen water was as hard as marble.
- "Now through countries in which the earth was
- "By sea, by land, sometimes even if there were no roads,
- "By hills, by sandy desert, across streams and precipices,
  - "Now with the camel's halter rope over my shoulder as a true camelman,
- "Now carrying my belongings on my shoulders as a beast of burden.
- (20) "In this way did I wander from town to town, making inquiries.
  - "Wandered in search of the truth over this sea to that land.
  - 'They said that injunctions of shari'at do not conform with reason (na ba-'aql ast),
    "Because Islam was established by the mere
  - force of the sword.
    "This I answered with a question: why then
  - are prayers not prescribed to the children and weak-minded,
  - "If reason was not required for the discharge of religious duties?"
    "I could never accept the blind following of pres-
  - cribed forms (taglid), without any demand for explanations.
  - "The Truth cannot be proved by blind accept-
- 12 Paykar obviously means the sun and moon.

- "When God wishes to open the gate of His
- "Every difficulty is raised, and obstacles become (easily) overcome.

#### (al-Balad al-Amin) 19

- (25) "And then came the day when I arrived at the gate of the City to which
- "The luminaries of the heaven were slaves, and all kingdoms of the world subordinated. (p. 175) "I came to the City that resembled a garden
  - full of fruit and flowers,
    "Within its ornamented walls, with its ground
  - planted with trees,
  - "Its fields resembling the pattern of precious brocade,
  - "Its Spring of Water which was as sweet as honey, resembling Kawthar, "The City in which houses are virtues,
  - "The Garden in which pine trees are Reason,
  - "The City in which the learned are dressed in brocade.
  - "Not in the dress made of the wool of male or
  - female goats.
- (5) "It was the City in which, when I arrived, my
  - "Here it is where thou shouldst seek for what thou needest. Do not pass through it in haste.

## (Wisdom Revealed).

- "And I went before the Warden of the Gate, and told him what I was after.
- and told him what I was after.

  "He said: cease worrying, the jewel has been found in thy mine.
- "Beneath the ideas of this world there lies an
- ocean of Truth,
  "In which are found precious pearls, as well as
  Pure Water 14
- "This is the highest Heaven of the exalted stars,
  "Nay, it is Paradise itself, full of the most capti-
- vating beauties.
  "Hearing him saying this, I thought he was
- Ridwan himself,
  "So much was I struck with his wise words and
- admirable utterances.
  (10) "Then said I unto him: my soul is weak and
  - frail.
    "Do not look at this my strong body and pink
  - cheeks.
    "But I never take a medicine without first try-
  - ing and testing it,
    "When I feel pain. I never would think or lister to what is unlawful (nunkar).
  - "Said he: do not worry, I am here to heal thee.
  - "Tell me all, describe thy pain.

    "And I began to ask him of the things that were
  - first and those that were last,
    - "Of the cause of the order of the world (tadblr) which is the basis of things as they are,

<sup>13</sup> This expression is very often used by Nasir in his Diwan, as also other expressions from the same (XV.th) sura to which he apparently attached special importance.

<sup>14</sup> Water, as the life-giving element, is in ta'wil a "standing" symbol of the True Religion.

lit?

- "Of what is genus, and the way in which species
- "I asked about the All-Powerful, predestination and fate.
- (15) "Both of which, in my opinion, are inseparable from each other.

  "But how then should one be given precedence
  - over the others?
    "I asked him of the mechanism of the palpitation
  - of day and night,—how from these
    "The beggar becomes rich, and darkness becomes
  - "I asked about the Prophets, the questions put by (their) adversaries.15
  - "Of the reason for the prohibition of drinking blood or intoxicating wine.
  - "Then I inquired as to the foundations of shart'at,
    "And why these five prayers have been pres-
  - cribed.
    "I asked about the fast that the Prophet ordered
  - to be observed during the ninth month of the year,
  - "About the zakāt, religious tax, paid in silver and gold coins.
- (20) "About the khums (fifth) paid in addition to the
  - "Why should this be one fifth, and that one tenth?
  - "I asked about the principles in the division of inheritance into shares,
- 15 The allusion is to the theory that every Națiq has a didd, an enemy who denies him recognition.

- "Why (e.g.) the brother takes one share while
- the sister only a half?
  "I also asked about the cause of the uneven
- distribution of happiness:
  "Why does it (often) happen that a devotee is
- aggrieved while the oppressor happy?

  "Or why one pious man is unhappy while
- another happy?
  "Or why one unbeliever enjoys his life while another is aggregated?
- "Why one is of sound health and good-looking while the other
- "Is born blind, or of weak health from birth?

  (25) "But God always acts in perfect justice.—then
- "Reason cannot be satisfied by what it, in its imperfection, sees.
- (p. 176) " I see that it is the day, but thou sayest that it is night.
  - "I ask thee to prove that contention, but thou in reply drawest thy dagger.
  - "Thou sayest that at a certain place there is a Sacred Stone,
  - "And every one who performs a pilgrimage to it becomes venerable.
  - "Azar preached the religion of idolatry, and thou preachest the worship of that stone:
  - "Then truly now thou art the same io me as Azar!16

<sup>16</sup> Azar, the father of Abraham, is mentioned in the Coran (VI. 74).

"When I mentioned all these my questions, the wise one lifted his hand, touching (with it) his breast 17

" May a hundred blessings be now on that hand and that breast!

(5) "He said: I shall give thee that medicine, tried and tested.

"But I have to affix a strong seal on thy mouth, "He, that wise guide, summoned, as two legal witnesses, the world and man (macrocosm and

microcosm), "And also all that can be eaten and used as

drink. " I expressed acceptance, and he then sealed the medicine 18

"Giving me a dose of it to take as a nourishing

extract (mugawwar). "My suffering disappeared, my speech became

free. "My vellowed face became scarlet through fov.

"He raised me from dust to the sky, as a ruby,

"I was like dust, and became like precious amber.

(10) "He it was who laid my hand into the Prophet's hand for the oath

fruit. "Flast thou ever heard that a sea comes from fire.

"Or that a fox becomes a lion? "The sun has the power of turning stone into

ruby "Which no force of elements can turn again to

its original state -

" I am like that ruby now, and the sun is He18 " By whose light this dark world becomes lit.

"Out of lealousy I cannot tell thee his name in this poem.20

" I can tell thee only so much that Plate would have been fit to become merely one of his waiters (chākir).

(15) " He is the teacher and healer (of souls), Helped (Mu'ayyad) by God.

"It is hardly possible to imagine anyone equal! ing him in wisdom and knowledge.

" May that City be prosperous whose Warden

of the Gates he is! " May the Ship be safe whose anchor (captain) he is!

<sup>17</sup> This surely has no ritual or symbolical meaning. and is simply a courtesy bow. The visitor finished his ead story, and al-Mu'ayyad politely pressed his hands to his breast and bowed, obviously as a sign of his sincere sympathy and trust in the story that was narrated. 18 This means : prescribed a medicine. In old Persia doctors did not sign prescriptions but applied their segls to them.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Under the same exalted tree, full of sludow and

<sup>19</sup> Here "he" obviously refers to the Imam, but further on to al-Mu'ayyad whom Nasir eulogises,

<sup>20</sup> This undoubtedly refers to al-Mu'syvad not the Imam. As has been mentioned above, Mu'ayyad was at the time himself a newcomer in Cairo and did not possess the importance and influence which he acquired in the course of time. Nasir's glorifications of his exalted position surely refer to his status many years later, when the poem was being composed in Yumgun, and Mu'syvad was in charge of the do'sont affairs in Iran.

# (Greetings to the Imam).

- "O thou, whose well-reasoned poetry is the
- "O thou, whose prose is a model (mastar) for philosophy!
- "O thou, under whose patronage learning is organised as arrayed troons!
  - "O thou, at whose greatness's (fadl) door knowledge has pitched its camp!
  - "I request thee to convey greetings from this obedient slave.
  - The greetings, moving and lasting (as the glittering of a) jewel which shines as a moon,
- (20) "The greetings (fresh as) a drop of dew in the petals of a narcissus or shamshad,
  "The greetings delicious as the breeze blowing
  - over the beds of lilies and jasmine!
    . "The greetings as pleasant and inspiring as the
  - union with beauties,
  - "The greetings as clear and eloquent as the words of great poets,
  - "The greetings, as full of wishes of presperity
    and happiness as the clouds of spring with rain
- water.

  "The douds that descend from the mountains pouring the rain as delicious as drops of museus!
  - "The greetings as true and blessed as the spirit
  - of Jesus, son of Mary,
    "Suldime and harmonious as the blue sky,—
  - "(—Convey all these) to the Owner of the treasury of knowledge and wisdom, and of the House of God (Khānā'i Ma'mār).

- "The owner of the Great Name by whom eter-
- nity exists, (p. 177) "To him born under the blessed planet for
  - Divine victory,
    "The Pride of mankind, the Crown of the
    - universe,
      "The image and flesh from flesh of his great
    - Ancestor and Forefather,
      "Who is himself like the Prophet in counsel and
  - Haydar in battle!

    "When he rides out, the world is filled with the
    - light of his glory,
  - "And the dust of earth becomes amber under the hooves of his horse!
    - "Let the praises of these greetings glorifying that Supreme Lord
  - "Be recited in the assembly on my behalf by Abu Ya'qub.21
  - (5) "Then praise to the one who has freed me,
    "My teacher, the healer of my soul, the embodi
    - ment of wisdom and glory.

      "O thou, whose face is knowledge, whose body
    - "O thou, whose face is knowledge, whose body is virtue, and heart—wisdom.
    - "O thou, instructor of humanity and its object of pride!
  - II The name most probably belongs to one of the "heards?" or "maders of the Coran" employed at the Fatimid court. Natir names him probably because he knew him personally durany his stay in Cairo. On heralds at the Cairo court of C. Laostmatsev, "A Solemn Ride-out of the Fatimid Caliph" (St. Peterburg, 1905, p. 29, in Russian). This work is based on Magritid and Ton Taghribrid.

"Before thee once stood, clad in that woolen

"This man, emaciated, with pale face,

"It was the truth that except for thy hand I ever touched with my lips

"Only the Black Stone and the grave of the Prophet.

"Six years I remained as an attendant of (the Prophet's) Blessed Image (i.e. the Imam),

"Six years I sat in attendance as a servant at the door of the Ka'ba. 22

(10) "Wherever may I happen to be for the rest of my life, always

"I shall use my pen, inkstand and paper only to express my gratitude to thee.

"So long as cypress trees sway under the blows of the breeze,
"Let the presence (of the Imam) be adorned

"Let the presence (of the Imam) be adorned by thee as the garden is adorned by cypress trees!"

# 5. The Confession Analysed.

This is classical quide, so typical of the cappose of the classical quide, so typical of the cappose of the classical quide, so typical fine it is to typical of Nairi-Khuszwe, his mentality, his style of portry, his aspirations, everything, Apparently noticed has so far noticed that it contains an allusion which may perhaps help us to find out the date of the composition of the posseure, it not mentioned, but who is obviously implied here, p. 176, line 24) as the one "in 'charge (khāzin) of wisdom, knowledge; and of the Khāna'i Mā'mūr,'' i.e. the Ka'ba. This can only refer to that Fatimid caliph's being recognized as the sovereign of the holy city. Such a position existed during his reign in 455-450/1063-1064, when the Sulayhid

tribal chieftains held Mekka, recognizing themselves as 'the vasals of the Fatimids. Thus, if Nasir's poem speaks of what was, and not merely ought to have been, then the poem must have been composed about 456/

The gasida was, beyond doubt, addressed to al-Mu'avvad fi'd-din ash-Shirazi, of whom it is worthwhile to say a few words. This is done further on. in a note on his biography. He obviously was in charge of propaganda affairs in the East, "the Warden of the Gate in the Holy Sate," which perhaps implies that he was a bab.23 He accepts his oath of allegiance (if this is not merely a poetic figure, and the original oath of secrecy was sworn by Nasir while still in the East). This oath surely does not refer to conversion, but to Nasir's being received into the propaganda service (usually designated by the expression akhadh 'alay-Ju). It would be strange that if he remained a Sunni until his arrival in Cairo, he should have been converted by no less a figure than al-Mu'avvad himself. and at once accepted into the service. We may note. however, that Nasir never mentions any "guide" who led him to the Baladu'l-amin, the Holy State. It is

<sup>#</sup> That is, the Imam.

<sup>23</sup> It is quite possible that al-Mu'ayyad really attained the position of the bdb by about 456/1064, the most probable date of the composition of the peem, but not at the time of Nasir's visit to Cairo, as has been pointed out above. cf. p. 33,

quite probable, therefore, that he was really converted by a small missionary in his native place, and was then summond to Cairo, where he was examined, found, useful as a prospective missionary, accepted into the service, trained, and then sent on various tours prior to his departure to his native country where he was designated to carry on his work.

The questions which worried him, and to which, he could find no satisfactory answer, such as that about the "hand", i.e. the principle that only the progeny of the Prophet could have legituarter right of supreme authority in Islam, are elementary Ismail. This said in poetry, and we must expect some simplified and primitive scheme. It would be interesting to find the real implication of the property of the prope

His seeding for knowledge from the Sindis, Turks, Maniches, and others, is obvoulty a poetical figure. Ji he sought such knowledge, it was dehemical, strongeous, based of the sought such knowledge, in the Shifter sense. His philosophical quests appear to be a list of the contents of his own works: lengthy discussions of the creation, of 'esp.' notif, hayalfs, and so sional executions into the field of physics. All -his, beyond any doubt, he found in plenty in the de'use literature of his time, and, heart on, having translated it into simple, primitive Persian to sult his probably the form of this philosophical the control of the other of the control of the c

The enchanted city in which he arrives, and in which al-Mu'ayvad is the Warden of the Gates, is not Cairo. His al-baladu'l-amin, an expression which is taken from the Coran (XCV, 3), is the ideal Alid state, the advent of which the Fatimids were preaching. Shi'ite expectations are sometimes alluded to in his Diwan. In some places he is quite outspoken (p. 43). lines 14-16): "The world cherisheth the hope of the victory (he addresses al-Mustansir bil-lah), expecting that thou wilt sweep off it the dust with thy sword. When thou seest the whole of it (i.e. conquerest the whole world), at once peace will descend upon it. after all those disasters and calamities. When thou dismountest from thy horse in Baghdad, the Abbasid devil will come out to greet thee, slaughtering his own son as sacrifice for thy good luck.'24 This is probably a vague echo of the events of Nasir's time when the khutba for the Fatimids were introduced in Bachdad by al-Basāsīrī (killed in 451/1060).25

The late Prof. E. G. Browne proclaimed Nasir-i Khusraw as a rare exception amongst the Persian poets who wrote his poetry as "an artist creating for art's sake," never making it a means of attaining any mate-

remain behind.

<sup>24</sup> It is an ancient custom in Iran and other countries to meet the guest of honour with a sacrifice of a sheep, or camel, according to the rank of the worthy. The blood is spilled across the road so that the guest may step over it. The forces of evil and ill-luck are believed to be unable to cross the line of blood, and have to

<sup>23</sup> Similar Ideas are expressed in another poem (p. 43, 19-21) where the Abbasids are contemptuously called "hungry" (yuruana 'Abbasiyan). Cf. also p. 299, lines 5.7.

We shall discuss the question of his aims in dedicating such poems to al-luisyaya or to the Caliph himself in the section devoted to Nășir's position in the Isaudh hierarchy. According to the ideas of his time, qurso was a form of composition intended for a definite purpose, and he hardly ever thought of discreption of the composition of the composition

### 6. Nasir's Missionary Work.

As may be seen from the K. ol'-Alim usu'l-Ghulam, the new convert, in the event of his being found fit for work in the propaganda service, properly trained, "conditioned," and carefully tested, was required to start "paying a dividend" to his new masters in the form of his useful activities. So surely, was Nāsir, after his six vears' stav in Erwit and contact with

local specialists, symbolised in the person of al-Niesynd. In his Seder-adman and other works he never gives us the slightest clue as to whether the lad any commissions during his apprenticatiph, or on his way hack to Khorsan. This, of course, was a "state secret" which no-one could dare to divulge amongst Isnaili missionaries. He returned safely to his home un ladals no Saturday, the 26th Jun. 1444; i.e. Zhov do S., he notes in the Softor-only and the state of the return of the state of the state of the state of the return of the state of the 10st. Thus we have a go pof nine years.

It is highly probable on logical grounds that to this period belongs his visit to Mazandaran. Concerning the fact that such a visit took place there are apparently no doubts. It is alluded to in some of Nasir's noems, and attested by his contemporary, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Muhammad b. 'Ubaydi'l-lāh in his book, Kitāv Bayani'l-adyan, completed in 485/1092. There would, of course, be nothing in the least strange in the fact that a missionary, returning from Cairo with instructions and news to a locality comparatively near to the Caspian provinces, would have been instructed to visit the place. Logically it would be difficult to believe that he could make such a visit during his exile in Yumgan, returning to it after having much opportunity to use his talents and enthusiasm in a far wider and religiously promising area.

In Mazandaran itself, with its long connection with Shi'ism, its impenetrable jungles, inaccessible gorges of the lofty mountains, and, at the same time, comparatively easy communications with the outer world,

It is improbable, of course, that a crowd would attack the house of a pious Muslim who just returned from the hajf pilgrimage. Surely some time had to pass before the real face of Nair became known to have the probable of the probable of

If we look at the map, we may perhaps find some suggestions. Flight to the West was obviously impossible because he would have been arrested on the desert roads which follow the line of watering places. He therefore most probably turned to the localities rear his native Qubădiyân, perhaps in the hone of hiding

amongst his own people. It is quite probable that he was compelled to move further on, and it is not impossible that an idea came to him to seek refuge with the Amir of Badakhisha in view of his former association. It is perhaps for this reason that he proceeded as far as Yumgan, and ultimately found himself in a trap from which he never again was released.

Yumgan is the name of a district, a side valley branching off the main Hindukush range, irrigated by a stream which bears now the Turkish name of Kokcha ("blue river"), a tributary of the Upper Oxus. The district begins a few miles above the town of Jarm (4.800 feet above sea level). The valley, which is fairly broad and flat, rises rapidly in a Southern direction, so that its average elevation is at least over 6,000 feet. It is hot, dry and dusty in summer and very cold in winter. There is little cultivation, it is very thinly populated, and the spot shown as the burial place of Nasir is situated on a hillock in the valley. There is nothing remarkable, as I was told by many Ismailis who have visited the spot, and the grave is very modest. Local inhabitants who regard themselves as Sayvids, and descendants of Nasir-i Khusraw, are fanatical Sunnis who by no means encourage Ismaili pilgrimages to the grave. They believe their ancestor, Nasir, was a Sulic pir, and, being a Sunni. had no connection whatsoever with Ismailism.27

<sup>28 &#</sup>x27;I have become associated with Yumgân, having severed connections with Qubadyām' (p. 297, line 23)27 A description of his grave is given in the account of the journey of Col. Nādir Shâh (later the King of Afghanistan). Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to procure a copy of this work.

Those Shughnis, Chircilis, Zabálsi, etc., from whom I tried to find information about the grave of Night; and who professed to having visited the spot of Night; and who professed to having visited the spot and uniformly pronounced the name of the district as Yurngán, with u, and the name of the district as Yurngán, with u, and the name of the town which stands lower downstream as Jarm, with a However, the Survey of India map (16 miles to an inci, publish of the Night) introduces learned emendations."

With the Night of the Night of

According to the information supplied by pilgrims, the spurs of the Hinducutes have been the spurs of the Hinducutes have been supplied by and attep, so that there are no cross-paths between Yumgels and the neighbourned palleys. In fact, there are only and the other, to the South, over the snow-clud passwards the other, to the South, over the snow-clud passwards to the south, over the snow-clud passwards to the valley of Kabul and further to India.

Although rarely a opaida of Mair does not contain complaints about his "prison" and his hard life, privations, sufferings, old age, etc., he never permits us to form an opinion as to how he was living thore and what he was doing: was he really alone, or had some disoples. If that was so, who were they, local people, or those who came from distant places, to learn man his wisdom? Was let preacting Ismailism locally? How the probably the world, even without of communication with the outer world, even without performing the probably he was also able to receive books from Egryt; possibly also moner for his undersor for his probably he was also able to receive books from Egryt; possibly also moner for his undersor for his present and the probably he was also able to receive books from Egryt; possibly also moner for his undersor.

Local tradition in Badakhshān (in a broader sense)repeats the story that Shah Sayvid Nasir was busy with converting local inhabitants, and even undertook. extensive journeys in the East during which he visited India. I heard over and over again that all this is narrated in a book called Gawhar-riz, written by Nasir. narrating his adventures in the East just as the Salarname describes his adventures in the Western lands. For many years I hunted for that elusive book, asking every Ismaili coming from those localities, without so far having obtained it, or even getting on its track. From what it was possible to gather from the better educated and trustworthy people from amongst those. who professed to have seen it, it is possible to express the opinion with a considerable degree of confidence, that the Gawhar-riz is in fact either a part or imitation of the well-known legendary autobiography of Nasir, and that it is a plain fake. Nevertheless it would, of course, be very interesting to have a personal peep into it.

Măsir had a very unfattering opinion of the local inhabitants, most probably the proples of local Shina or Darda stock of whom possibly no trace remains now.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that the area generally was very sparsely populated, the people were very primitive, and missionary work amongst them hardly sattliffed an ambitious man like Nikir, Personally the Dadakbitani Ismailis which reared Nikir as the ner-

<sup>28</sup> His opinion of the local inhabitants was very unflattering: "O, unfortunate Hujjat of Khorasan! Do not act as shepherd to a herd of pigs." (p. 467, line 22).

son who converted their ancestors to Ismailism. However paradoxical that may be, I venture to express an opinion that the present Shughnis, Wakhis and others were not yet settled there in Näsir's time. They came to that locality much late on

Being much interested in the study of Persian dialects still spoken in various corners of the country, I.often found many proofs of the theory that wherever there is a "nest" of villages speaking different dialects, we have to deal with a case of comparatively recent nugrations, produced by peaceful or other causes. The fact that in such an arid, rocky and inaccessible locality as the valley of the Upper Wakhsh there are numerous hamlets the population of which speak various dialects, sometimes considerably differing one from the other, may indicate that such composite populations are due to a complex set of migrations. The existence of the Soghdian-speaking enclave of Yaghnob, South of Samaroand, may point the direction in which our search for explanation should go. It is not beyond the limits of possibility to suppose that the "hill Tajiks" who inhabit the hamlets of the Upper Wakhsh, and speak such a large set of projoundly yarying dialects, are immigrants from the Soghdian plains who shifted there under the pressure of repeated waves of invaders, such as the Turks, later on the Mongols, and then again the same Turks. As such migrations certainly were unorganised, the original inhabitants of one and the same locality could have been split and settled in many corners, and there, in different milieu, under varying influences, their original languages could have evolutionised in diverse ways, in the course of centuries deviating very considerably

from their sister-dialects. If we also assume that the emigrants were sometimes compelled to migrate owing to religious persecutions, and that especially the Shifter found themselves persecuted, it would be easy understand why the oppolation of Badakhahan (in a broad sense) professed lamsilism, perhaps ince an early period, and remained failures are sense and period, and remained failures are sense. The sense period is the legend of their having been, converted by bin.

It was probably these Iranian immigrants from the Upper Zarafshian valley who brought with them from Soghd the Ummu'l-kieldy, and, retaining it, incorporated it into the small literature of the Ismail priorid which very slowly grew up amongst these often illiterate settlers. Najir, in his poems, never boasts of successer in his propagends, work, or mentions the settlers, which is not the Carro for the Carro for the Carro for the Carro for the characteristics, however, the control of the control of the characteristics which were inappropriate for mention in poetry.

There is much speculation over the date of Najer's death. As we have seen, he completed his Jamu'st-Hilbuntayn in 462/1070. Cf. also above, p. 16, and S. H. Tagicaldsh's reaconing in his Mnajedding, buttered. The latter water old, of course, in a round figure. This brings us to 464/1072. It is quite possible that a robust man like Najer could have lived ten years more. Thus possibly 465 to 470/1072-1072 would be the most probable date of his demise. As far as I could ascertain from plagrams, there is no desired as the could ascertain from plagrams, there is no second ascertain from plagrams.

It may be noted that in India the Immilit of the Mustalian branch (the Bohoras) have a traditional vendency to disown Nasir, saying that he was a Nizari. This, of course, is based on lignorance and the fact that Nişir's works are in Persian, and the Persian-speaking Ismalis are now, Nizaris. In fact, however, Nişir died about twenty years before the Nizari-Mustalian split in the community, and luda nobleating the same proposed to compiled from Fainfiel defuer books; proposed the compiled from Eatinid defuer books; proposed the contemporary Fatimid works in Arabic.

# 7. Nasir's Rank in the Hierarchy.

In his poems Nășii uses the tabladlur, or pen-name, Hujiet or Hujiet-i kluradăn, and this has ben universally accepted as the proof of his occupying such rank in the literatchy. One may find in every work on his biography that in Egypt he was appointed as the Jujist of Khorasan. As many of such universally accepted facts this seems to be based on a misuntlerstandine.

The functions of the huijat in the Fatimid programad organisation form one of the most impacticable mysteries for the student. It seems that no work clearly defines them. We do not even know whether the huijat resided in his province, or in Cairo, directing the affairs in his see from thence. No names of huijatt have been preserved in Ismail historical books, or not on the contraction of th

The territory of Khorasan during the early Saljur period comprised Khorasan as it is now, and included the North-Western part of what is now Afghanistan. We do not know whether the Fatimids had such a post as of the huijet of Khorasan, and whether he resided in one of its cities. It is, however, obvious that Nāsir-i Khusraw, a comparatively new convert, a man without much experience, compromised in the eyes of the local government, and, in addition, trapped in a remote corner on the fringe of the province, was hardly suitable for such a part. As to his pen-name in his poems, it would be much more reasonable to suggest that it was simply a crude device to put a suggestion to the headquarters, an indirect prayer to the Imam for such a promotion. It would be extraordinary for him to think that he could look after the affairs of his see from his "prison" in Yumgan. If he could have escaped from there, it is strange that he had not done so much earlier. Or was he unwilling to take the risk of abandoning the protection of the Amir of Badakhshan? In such a case we are entitled to think that his "detention" in Yumgan was not so much due to danger from his enemies as to orders from Cairo, and that his gastdas, continually fiddling in a plaintive tone on his sufferings, loneliness, old age, and many other similar matters, were all intended to propitiate his masters and make them change their decision. Judging from the fact that he died in Yunigan, we may infer that he never succeeded in receiving that coveted gesture. .

# 8. Khwāja Mu'ayyad.

Before we proceed to the question of Nasir's works, we may say a few words about his "Warden of the Gates" of the Holy City under whose suprema com-

mand he probably was. Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-din Abū Nasr Hibatu'llah b. al-Husavn b. 'Ali b. Mhd ash-Shirazi as-Salmoni, a native of Shiraz or Ahwaz, where he flourished. came to Cairo in the same year as Nasir, 439/1047, and died there in 470/1077.5 Contrary to Nasir, he was exceptionally well educated, knew Arabic excellently, was a public man, playing a prominent part in the Daylam, i.e. the Persian Shi ite and agrarian party in its struggle against the "fifth columnists." the Atrak, or pro-Turkish Sunni party, which raised its head owing to the development of the Saling successes. With the advance of the Saljugs the position of the Daylam, and his own together with them, gradually deteriorated, and he had to flee to Egypt. 'In his autobiography, Strat Sayyid-na al-Mu'ayyad, or as-Strat al-Mu'avvadivva.30 he gives an interesting picture of the state of Western Asia at the period of the Saliun invasion. It merits careful study by the historians of Persia. It has little or nothing to do with religious matters and Ismailism, and is a vivid contrast to Nasir's Saiar-nama in every respect. It comes better under the head of memoirs such as those by Usama b. Munoidh, Ibn Khaldun, and Nuwayri.

Sayyid-na al-Mu'ayyad was a prolific author, and his main work was eight volumes (Mi'u') of his

Majdlis, each volume containing one hundred summaries of his lectures, written in highly ornate prose. The post-Fatimid dd's, Hätim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 596/1199) prepared a synopsis of the whole work, in 18 böbs, under the title of Jöm'u'l-lagd'iq, which consists of literal quotations from the original Majütes, arranged

under principal subjects. For other works of al-Mu'avvad see my "Guide," pp. 48-49. Here we may only note that he has to his credit a small volume of Arabic poems. As he was probably a native of Ahwaz, and as possibly he wrote also poetry in Persian, we may suggest that perhaps the mysterious poet Ahwazi, referred to by Nasir,31 may in fact be al-Mu'avvad in his young days. A Persian translation of Oddl Nu'man's classic Asilsu'tta'wil is also attributed to him. Copies of this are very rare, but I managed to see one. Its language was quite modern, and this may have been due either to the fact that it was repeatedly modernized, or, more probably, that it was prepared by some one in India in modern times, and was attributed to al-Mu'ayyad simply because he was known as a Persian and because his original translation was lost.

The works of al-Mu'ayyad still enjoy great popularity amongst the Musta'lian branch of the Ismailis in India; from a literary point of view they present outstanding specimens of artistic prose of the fiith/eleventh c., well meriting an edition.

31 He mentions Ahwazi twice: p. 448, line 18, and 475, line 2, but gives no details. Mu'ayyad's Arabic Dison has been edited by Dr. M. Kamii Hussein, Cairo, 1949.

<sup>™</sup> Cf. "Guide to Ismaili Literature", p. 47.

There is no doubt that he ultimately occupied a very high position at the court of al-Mustanie hi-lah, but this must have taken place towards the end of his life. When Maşiri-Khusrav came to Cario, he also was a newcomer. Therefore Naşiri's praises, the title of "the Warden of the Gates" of the Holy City, etc., obviously belong to a much later period, when he was himself already in Yunuran.

### 9. The Works of Nasir-i Khusraw.

In his Dtuda (p. 256, line 8) Nāşir says: "Exceptbyte spiritual support of the Decendants of the Prophet (40/yd-4 d-4- Ranil), I would neither have had any book to my credit, nor anything to teach others". This excellently sums up the origin and purpose of his literary production which undoubtedly entirely depends on Fatimid de'user works. Which particular works he penused,—this cannot be ascertained just at present. Not only it is almost impossible to hientify but a hard been pointed out in Chapter I, his larger works have been "censored", and their Ismaili element almost entirely expunged.

So far as could be ascertained, only two of his prose works have been preserved in the Ismaili, militu on the Upper Oxus, the Wojh-i din and Shith-leaf (prose Raushand-Hawla). The first, almost the whole of it, abows typical signs of literal translation from Arabic. Even if it was originally complete in Persian, it is Even if it was originally complete in Persian, it is Fairmid treatises on 6 wolf. The Shith-faul, an elementary manual for beginners, deliberately avoids Arabic rates and the Shith-faul in elements with the state of th

terms, thus making identification of original sources still more difficult. It is a fact, anyhow, that we very often meet in Nasir's works with that unmistakeable Persian used in literal translations from Arabic in Persian literature.

In this connection it would not perhaps be out of place to point out that Arab scholars, familiar with various Fatimid works, unanimously agree that the works of the place of

Naisi-himself had a very high opinion of his literary works. In his Dlunds, in the usual hyperbolical tone of poetry, he says (406, 12): "The soul of Socrate will feel proud over (all) philosophers if thou, O, Hujsta, wouldst appoint him a maddhain of thine." This particularly applies him a maddhain of thine. This particularly applies him to maddhain of thine. This particularly applies him to the Zdafa-insaffirin which lays a standard and law to philosophical speciation (mad-glafa). It someone would read it over the

<sup>##</sup> It was edited by Dr. H. Corbin, in Bibliothèque Transenne, vol. 1, Teheran, 1949.

grave of Plato, the latter's ashes would loudly praise it." Cf. also p. 346, 13-14.

It is a great pity that all that remeins of his major work is nothing but "hikmat scaffolding", without the original "building of Ismaili theosophy" for the strengthening of which it was erected. The Wojh-i din, and especially the elementary Shish-fall, probably do not permit us judge the extent of Nāṣir's real contribution to do'wat literature.

It is not easy to establish a chronological order of his works with any degree of accuracy. Much of what may be suggested rests on various hints and conjecture. Apparently his first literary work was his wellknown didactic poem, Rawshand'i-nama, completed by the 1st of Shawwal 444/24-1-1053. The next most probably was his famous Safar-nāma. His Wailt-i din most probably was one of the earliest, together with the lost Miftah and Misbah (if it was not one work, Kitab al-Miftah wa'l-Misbah). The Shish-lasi, which is very difficult to "place", also seems to be of early origin. The Gusha'ish wa Raha'ish obviously preceded the Khudnu'l-Ikhudn, and the latter was a "forestudy" for the Zadu'l-musafirin, composed in 453/1061. Several other works, of which we know only titles, cannot be discussed here. One of the latest works is the Jami'u'l-hikmatayn, completed in 462/1070. The Dhudn was, of course, composed throughout his Yumgan life gradually.

In his isolation Nāṣir-i Khusraw probably could devote much time to literary work. He refers to this in his Diwan (p. 298, line 5): "Every year I send a da'wat book (yaki kitab-i da'wat) to different parts

of the world (o!rd/-i jahdn)". This may chiefly refer to Egypt. There may be no doubt as to the tact that this could be done only with active co-operation from outside, perhaps the help of the Amir of Badakhshan mentioned above. And if Någir could send his books, he most probably, could also receive them from the outside world.

We may give here a general idea of those of his works which have so far become edited. The notes offered here are not "reviews" or detailed studies. The reader may be referred to the editions of the texts and introductory notes provided by their editors. a) Roseshnad'i-náma.

This poem is well known. It has been translated into several different European languages. It exercised a substantial influence on Persian literature, serving as a model for imitation to many poets. Nasir mentions in it that he wrote it in a week, and gives the date of its completion which in different copies ranges between 323 and 465 A.H. In Europe it was for the first time studied by H. Ethé who in 1879-1880 cdited its text together with some one's versified paraphrase which the learned editor took for an "introduction",33 Many copies have become known by now, and they are numerous in Ismaili communities on the Upper Oxus, but none contains that supposed "introduction". The same H. Ethé by complex speculations arrived at the conclusion that the poem was completed on the 'Id-i Fitr (the end of the Ramadan fast) of 440/9-3-1049. No known copy contains such a date which is

<sup>23</sup> H. Ethé, "Nasir Chuaraus Ruschana'inama", ZDMG, vols. 33-24 (1879-1880).

as in that which I perused, and which comes from Chirral, the date is 444/1053, which seems to be the most acceptable. It reads:

... Ba-sal-i char sad chil châr bar sar Ki hijrat kard ân Rûh-i Mutohhar.

Another point in favour of the acceptance of 444/ 1053 as the correct date of the composition of the Rosushand-indima is the verse found in all versions of the poem (cf. Diwdn, 341, 18) which has so far invariably been disreparded:

Khudawanda ki in naw-bawa bikr ast

Zi man būda'st ū-rā dāya bikr (i.e. fikr) ast.
This means: "God, this is the first-born, virgin work
Of mine; the midwife who received it
is thought".

It would be easy to believe that Nasir, after returning from his several years' journeys, the official purpose of which was pilgrimage, towards the end (26th) of Jun 11 444 (i.e. 23-4-1052) compiled the poem three months later, towards the end of Ramadian. It is a common practice for pious people to devote enforced leisure of the blessed month of Krmadian to Some martidous occupation such as compliad in to Some martidous occupation such as compliant promoted to the programment of the property of the prope

# b) Safar-nāma.

The story of Nasir's journey has been so many times edited, translated into various European and Castern

languages, and discussed by historians, archaeologists and students of Ismailism that it would be hardly worth while to go over all this here again.31 It is ejoteworthy that no copies of it have been preserved amongst the Ismailis in the Upper Oxus region. The Ismailis of these localities apparently first read about Nasir's travels in the spurious Kalam-i PIr in which his biography is based on the legendary version. Lithographed copies of the Safar-nama, as far as my information goes, began to penetrate there only since they began to be brought by pilgrims coming for the didar, i.e. paying personal homage to the Imam, in Bombay, I heard from some of their "learned" men as an established opinion that the "printed" Salarmine is merely an abbreviation of a book describing all the journeys of Nasir, and does not contain the story of his traveels in the East, that is to say, Badakhshān, adjacent localities, and India. As has been mentioned above, the book which describes these journeys is called Gawhar-rtz. Despite all my attempts I have not succeeded to get a copy of it, although feel almost sure that it really exists. c) li'ajh-i din.

This work. "(The proper) form of religion", is still one of the basic books of the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus region, and is diligently studied by every educated Ismaili. As is known, it is reierred to by Abil-Ma'ali Muhammad b. 'Ubaydi'-lah (who wrote about 485/1992) in his kitâb Bayain'-ladyan (ed. C. Schefer, text, p. 161), in connection with activities

<sup>34</sup> The first edition, by C. Schefer, "Befer Nameh", Paris, 1881 (with a French translation and notes).

of Nāsir in Tabaristān (i.e. Māzandarān) where he founded a sect of some importance. Nasir himself refers in his Diwan to his connections with Mazons daran. The Dala'il. or Dalilu'l-mutahavvirin. also referred to in the K. Bayani'l-adyan, together with the Waile-i din is mentioned by Nasir as his own work in the Klaudau'l-Ikhusan (239). The latter, although not mentioned in the Zadu'l-musafirin (453/1061). seems to be an earlier work. It would be difficult therefore to accept the suggestion of the editor of the Wajh-i din that it should be placed later than the Zadu'l-musafirin. This suggestion is based by T. -Irani (cf. note on p. 29 of his edition, Berlin, 1924) on the words of Nasir who, dealing with "temperaments", says that he has already explained this "elsewhere". T. Irani connects this reference with the Zādu'l-musāfirtn, p. 48 (Berlin 1922). These matters. however, are discussed by Nasir in practically all his philosophical works. We may therefore doubt such identification because at the time of the publication of the Waili-i din the only philosophical work by Nasir which was accessible to the editor was the Zadu'lmusăfirîn.

The Wosh-i dtn presents great difficulties for ascercertaining its chronological position because it does not contain any reference either to works of the author, or to any work or event which can be identified. It profoundly differs from other treatises of Najar in its style, and is, as far as it is possible to see, never mentioned in any other works of the author.

T. Irani's edition, now out of print, is based on a single modern copy (1324/1906) in Leningrad, is

generally not satisfactory, and it would be of inportance to bring out a new edition. The British Museumpossesses a copy dated 929/1523, and in my possession is another, dated 1155/1742. The new edition, it undertaken, must be provided with a detailed subject and terminological index which may perhaps help us to identify the Fatimid works which served as originals.

The Wojh-i din is a treatise on to told, divided into \$1 guider. In the link ten the author deals with an about of the second of

# d) Gushā'ish wa Rahā'ish.

This work is twice referred to in the KhudantlIshnain (pp. 28, 85) and therefore must be anticore
to the latter. It was edited by Prof. Sarid Naffsi in
a unique copy in the collection of the late learned editor
of the Diudin, Saryin Nastru-Ha Taqual. It formed
part of the same sing/mid which also included the
Kashihi-Habil by Alul Yaqda 1949. We have
edited by Dr. H. Corbin and the 1949. We have
edited by Dr. H. Corbin controlled feature which the
old himself unifoldi-in southender, and expunges all
references to Binasili doctrine.

The work is divided into 30 mos'alas and lengthy jawabs, dealing with Nasir's usual repertoire. We may

regret very much the fact that the activities of the self-appointed censor have deprived the work of what was the most interesting in it. Ismaili ideas.

The 30 mas alas, questions, deal with: 1. Creator; 2. The ideas of the "eternal" and of "transient": .3: Creation; 4. God is not body; 5. Materiality originates in non-material; 6. What is existence? 7. Nachie and nist; 8. Soul is the balance of elements: 9. Soul; 10. Jawhar; 11. How the human soul rests in the body; 12. Why is the world transient? 13. Hayala; 15. Why particles of dust are visible only in the ray of light; 16. What is the world; 17. Why does water flow downwards? 18. Why does water ascend to the sky? 19. Weight; 20. Why does the tree grow? 21. Whether the Coran is created; 22. What proves the eternity of God; 23. How many are the worlds ruled over by God? 24. Why man is called slave. and beasts are not so called; 25. Punishment; 26. What is the relief and reward of man? 27. Sirāt: 28. Judgment (of the Last Day); 29. The Balance (at the Last Judgment); 30. Freedom of will.

All these subjects are discussed in practically all Nasir's theosophical works, and a serious and detailed study of them may help towards elucidating his dependence on the principal Fatimid works.

# e) Khwānu'!-Ikhwān,

This work was edited in Cairo by Dr. Yahyā Khash--hāb in 1940, on the basis of a unique copy (no. 1778), dated 862/1458, in the Aya Sophia library, Constantinople. The edition is provided with a French approduction and an "austerity" index (for which.

nevertheless, students must be grateful). It is divided into a hundred chapters called saff, "row", line (of guests at the table of the feast of wisdom). The impression it produces now, after the possible and probable "censorship", is that of a forestudy to the Zadu'l-Musalirin where the ideas find more adequateand systematical treatment. The work forms an advance over the Gusha'ish wa Raha'ish, which most probably was the earlier version. The subjects of the notes are those usual for Nasir, namely God, creation, primal realities, man, soul, elementary physics, biology, etc. The tendency to produce a popular work, for readersof limited education, is here much more evident than in earlier works. The author markedly avoids using Arabic terms, invariably translates all Arabic quotations, and plainly tries to simplify everything. The impression of the reader, as the editor of the text has described, is that the work is not in the least connected with Ismailism. This is why it was preserved in a Sunnite library.

The matters of interest to the student of Ismailism are passages where the author raises controversial discussions and touches on different early works in Fatimid literature and their authors of whom we generally possess very little information.

The author refers to his early works Mipbsh (20 113, 116) Mijfoh (148, 153), perhaps one work, Mij-bbl; uso Mijfoh, as it appears in the Shish Fajt; Dalō'il and Dalita'-mutohoyyrin (239, also perhaps one and the same work, referred to in the Kitab Baydan'i-adyōn, as has been mentioned above); and Gushā'ishe work Rohb'ish (28, 85).

Of non-Ismaili works he incidentally refers to the well-known Adabu'l-kdtib by Ibn Qutayba (57) and Maqdidt of Abu'l-Hasan al-'Amuri (114).33

Of early Ismaili works he offers the most interesting information about Kitābu'l-Mahsūl which he unreservedly regards as the work of the khwaia's shahid Abu'l-Hasan Nakhshabi. In various sources the "shahīd" is usually called Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muhammad b. Ahmad an-Nasafī (i.e. Nakhshabī) al-Bardha'i (who was executed by the Samanid government in 331/942). Nașir even mentions Nakhshabi's sons. Dihqan and Hasan Mas'ud (or Hasan-i Mas'ud?). see p. 115. (The reading of the second name is uncertain, as indicated by signs of interrogation), Cf. also my paper "Early Controversy in Ismailism" (W. Ivanow, "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", sec. ed., 1955, p. 89 and footnote). Whether or not this Khwaja'i shahild Nakhshabi is the same person as an-Nasafi al-Bardha'i or al-Bazdahi (mentioned in al-Forq bayna'l-Firaq of 'Abdu'l-Qaliir al-Baglidadi, p. 277)-is not entirely clear. But, as is emphasised in my paper, neither Abu Hatim ar-Razi in his Kitab al-Islāli, nor Hamidu'd-din al-Kirmāni in his K. ar-Riyad, both dealing with criticism and correction of K. al-Malistil, mention the name of the author, although mentioning the names of the authors of other works. It is not improbable that a book composed by an obscure al-Bardahi or al-Bazdahi, who later lived in

Nakhshab, and became also known as Nakhshabi, was wrongly attributed to a much more important and better known man, namely the "martyr" Muhammad b. Ahmad Naşafi or Nakhshabi, executed in 311/942, and Nasir was misled by others' error.

Another extremely interesting feature of the Knother extremely interesting feature of the 'Abdān, ṣāhib-i jacīra' 'Irāq, the rebel dā'i in Mesopotamia (d. 286/899). Ibn Nadim mentions several of his works in his Filirist. Perhaps really while they were proscribed by the Fatimids in the West, they were

regarded as all right in the Heart of Asia.

The author also refers to works by Abû Ya'qûb asSijistani (just as in the Zādul-Musāfirin): ar-Risālot al-Bāhira (a short treatise on eschatology), Sāsu'Baqā' (apparently lost), and the Kashful-Muhjab
recently edited by Dr. H. Corbin (Tchran, 1949).

## f) Zadu'l-Musalirin.

While the two preceding works were edited from unique copies, there were two copies of this work, in existence, one in the Cambridge Unive, Library, and another in Billiotheque Nationale, Paris. There is, however, one more copy, in the Asthan, i.e. Imann Ridd's Shrine, Library in Methhed. The copy is new, but good, and when a new edition of the work is planned, it is should be taken into consideration. The edition, prepared by Dr. M. Baubrarahman (printed in Berlin, 1922), has no index, and is therefore difficult to

The work is twice referred to in the Diwin (305, 330). The date of completion, 453/1061, appears on

<sup>35</sup> For Adabu7-kdtib see C. Brockelmann, Gesch. der Arab. Literatur, vol. I, p. 123. The reading of the second title is doubtful because the editor puts a sign of interrogation after it.

house and my city".

p. 280. A significant reference is found on p. 402: "Ignorant people in the community declared me a heretic (bad-dln), attacked me, and chased from my

The work is divided into 27 gawls - here Nasir relaxes his predilection for purely Persian words, such as outlar used in his earlier works. The work is undoubtedly more mature and systematic than his Gushā-'ich wa Raha'ich and Khananu'l-Ikhanan, but its subjects are the same traditional topics of hikmat, with the same scholastic theorising, artificial constructions, fantastic speculation, and so forth. What struck the late Prof. E. G. Browne, and his pupil, the late Dr. M. Bazlurrahman, as he told me, was almost complete absence of information on the doctrine of Ismailism which both of them expected to find in the work of Nasir, known as a famous Ismaili philosopher. Their impression was that Nasir deliberately omitted it. under the tagivya, to make the book accentable toorthodox readers. The example of the Gusha'ish wa Ralid'ish, discussed above, may now furnish what probably is a more authentic explanation.

As usual in Nāṣir's works, "processed" by uninvited censors, who rendered them insipil and common-place, the dullness is relieved by occasional controversy. The most interesting is Nāṣir's rather temperamental attack on the eminent early Fattmid author, Abu Ya'qib aspisitani, still respected as one of the 'classies'. There hardly could be personal animosity behind the attack of the properties of the personal animosity behind the attack of the personal animosity behind the attack of the personal animosity behind the attack of the personal animosity behind behaviorable and the personal animosity behind behaviorable animosity of the personal animosity of the pers

transmigration of souls (pp. 421-422). This is no incidental outborst because the same heretical belief ser ascribed by him in the Khudun's Ibhudun (p. 112) to the author of the Kitho di-Majati whose views 14th Vajabi shared and detended appecial work Kitholiu n'Napral. As he says, "he (i.e. the author of al-Majati)—may God be pleased with such from the memorychosis and transmigration of such thim—teaches metempsychosis and transmigration of body to another." Or was this sentence added by the

overzealous "censor-copyist? As is known, the contents of K. al-Mohsui and K. an-Nusrat have been carefully scrutinised by the highly qualified and officially appointed specialists, Abu Hatim ar-Razi (in his K. al-Islah) and later by the most erudite Sayyid-na Hamīdu'd-din al-Kirmānī (in his Kitab ar-Riyad), already analysed in my "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism". Neither specialist finds any such error in al-Mahsal, or treats Aba Ya'qub as a lunatic,-he is still accepted as an authority. Therefore it is quite possible that what Nasir regards as tanosukli, metempsychosis, was in reality the orthodox belief in the resurrection of man in flesh which would upset various theosophic theories and speculations. The matter is not made completely plain probably owing to precautionary "blurring" in order not to contradict openly what the orthodox regarded as one of the basic

beliefs of Islam. Mair also accuses Abū Ya'qūb of supporting the principle that devotees who have attained the "higher knowledge" of religion, i.e. ta'usil revelations, may dispense with the obligatory formal worship, worshipping God only "in spirit". Hamiluh'd-din says nothing about this, as regards Abu 'Ya'nūb's works, and by no

neans brings forward such an accusation. The Rivalat at-Bahira, an opuscule by Aba 'Ya'qub, specially devoted to matters connected with resurrection, is to vague to complete a definite conclusion. His other to complete the configuration of the configuration of

As in the Khtudant'l-Ikhtuda, Nāṣir here refers to the Bāḥira, Sāṣu'l-baqā and Kashļu'l-Maljjāb of Ahā Ya'qūb, again all three together (421-430). We may ask: Were these the only works of Abū Ya'qūb known to him?

In his Zddu'-Muslip'in Năşir often attacks the Dahrite, materialit, the famous mediseavl philosopher "Rhazes", i.e. Muhammad b. Zakariyā ar-Rāzi (born 200684, de. o.) 31/9 253. The doctrine which Islanic authors describe as Dahrite apparently closely resemble that of the "De Rerum Natura" of Lucerius. Dr. H. Hata of the "De Rerum Natura" of Lucerius. Dr. H. Jāmu'u'-H-Jāhm'u

The name of Rhazes as a paragon of athicism is extremely popular with all Ismaili authors of the Fatimid period. Nasir, perusing their works, could transfer into his own compilations opinions of his predecessors.

There is, however, a really interesting feature in this work, namely, Nasir's reference to that cnigmatic figure in the history of Muslim philosophy, a certain Iranshahri, of whom no definite information has exhem discovered. Judging from Nasir's synnathetic and respectful references to him, he might have had some connection with Ismailism. Unfortunately, how-

ever, various references to him do not tally chronologically. Thus there were either two persons, not one, with the name Iranshahri, or such anachronisms may be due to a misreading of his name. "Hakim Iranshahri" (says Nāsir, 98) . . . "explained philosophical ideas in religious terms in his Kitab-i Jalti and Kitab-i Athir [both unknown] and other works, calling people to the religion of God and the knowledge of towhid. Further on (102):..... "those good words which Hakim Iranshahri said concerning the eternity of Jigvild and space." Thus it would be easy to suggest that the Hakim was one of the learned Ismaili missionaries. As is known, Birūnī, in-his book on India, also refers to a certain Abū'l-'Abbās al-Irānshalıri. who seems to have been his teacher, had some connection with India, and compiled a book on various religions, including Brahmanism and Shamanism (or Buddhism). He was in correspondence with Piruni, and it was under his influence that the latter undertook his famous work on India. From all these allusions it may be inferred that he flourished towards the end of the fourth/tenth and beginning of fifth/eleventh c.

This, however, is hadly uppet by Najir's reference to the 'wile and heretical words' of Rhazes with which he used to answer the theory developed by Fainthalf's reference of the property of t

### g) Rowshand'I-tiania or Shish-fasl.

This short elementary treatise on Ismailism is well-known amongst the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus region, as the Shish-Ragl-i Shah Sayyid Najir, i.e. the "Six-chaptered book" of Najir. It was edited and translated by me in the series "B" no, 6 of the Ismaili Society's publications. in 1949,

It is not easy to place it chronologically. The only work (or, perhaps, two works), which are mentioned in it are the Miffalt wa Mijbalt (also referred to in the Gushá'ish and the Khwah). The author says: "... wa sharh! if aft wa khaɗhi' 'Aql mar Bari-rā sublianahu andar kitāb-i Millah wa Mijbalh ki pth ac in toll karda'lin badalli-ha-yi-' aqli gulta shuda ast".

The work is emphatically elementary, dealing with tourbid, creative halima, Nalz-i hull and its jumbih (function), creation of reasoning mankind, necessity of there being a Naliq, Asta and Indam, and hereatter. Its language, terminology, content, manuscripts used for the edition, etc., are discussed in the introduction to my translation.<sup>34</sup>

It is quite possible that the work is a product of the earlists period of Nafa's missionary activities, perhaps on active service in Tabaristin, to which the Wafh-d din, and possibly the Miflab, we Miflab, belong. But the Shish-laf appears to be more theorophic in content, resembling in larger works, which shall have been supported by the same properties of Shish-fall has escaped the fals of other works in this class—must remain amystery for ever.

### h) Diadn.

The composition of the Ditu8n, and the sources from which it was compiled, undoubtedly present an insoluble problem. Who were the people who collected the poems? Was it the author himself, or his pupils, or relatives? How did his poems find their way into various anthologies and private albums? All this remains a mystery. In addition, as in the case of many other poets, the Drubuta is bound to contain a certain proportion of poems by others. In the case of Xsiar his proportion of poems by others. In the case of Xsiar his proportion of poems by others. In the case of Xsiar his proportion of poems by others, and the contained the contained

chdgall met with in the text (pp. 22. 35), according to prof. Sådag (kyk), of Teberan, should be read, on the analogy of kdkiāļ a lock of kair on the forehead, chdkiā, In the text it is glossed with "shorey". Dr. Kyia, quite rightly as it seems, suggests "da-sharey", well supported by the context. Thus the meaning of the word should be Toremont." Popts are meaning of the word should be Toremont." Popts does not consider the pre-level or any dialect. familiar to the the word of their in Pelvie' or any dialect. familiar to the the word of the start pelvie or any dialect.

<sup>36</sup> It may be not inappropriate to take this opportunity to add here that the strange expression, idkul (or chikul,

any figure of Nășir as an arch-heretic, super-magician and alchemist. It will prohably take a long time before manuscript copies of his Diudn are properly classified

and their contents studied and sifted.

There were many lithographed editions of the Direkin, the apparently the first attempt at a critical landing of the matter was undertaken by the late learned judge and enthusiast of Persian interruter, Sayyid Nagrui-Taqinadch, to whom we owe a valuable introduction (in Persian). It is a great pity that the publication (Teheran, 1929) is now out of print and impossible to procure. It is to be hoped that a new edition will be undertaken, and revised and amplified with the help of Teheran, and Jana generally.

In his muqaddima Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh discusses Nasir's reference (15, 3) to his "two Diwons which are as big as the diwons of Buhturi and 'Unsuri". He infers that in addition to the Diwan which we know, Nasir had another, in Arabic. Against this it may be said that so far there is no indication that Nasir wrote anything in Arabic. Secondly, knowing how high his opinion was about his own works, it seems most unlikely that he would have missed an opportunity to introduce into the picture his allegedly bulky Arabic diwan if it had existed. Thirdly, diwan as implying a collection of poetry, is of comparatively modern usage. The earlier use of the word indicated a collection of written works, whether of poetry or prose. Fourthly, even if he referred to poetry only, it is by no means impossible that he meant two scuarate collections. Later poets sometimes had to their credit several diteans. We cannot be absolutely sure, but it seems extremely difficult to believe that Naşir was the author of an Arabic diwan.

Näsir's Ditudn (which is sometimes called Disdurihtijian, as in the case of a copy in the British Museum), has been by no means exhaustively studied and analysed. Such work, in fact, only begins. The difficulty lies in the fact that the student has to deal with poetry in which matters and facts belonging to ordinary life are permitted only to be vaguely alluded to, Najar's poetry can only be understood against his general background, sepecially his frestions with

I would not venture here to offer any suggestions in evaluating the merits of lis poetry. This can be only done by qualified Persians themselves, those amongst them brought up in their ancient tradition, uncontaminated by European ideas and influence. It was available, and especially whether they can intelligibly convey to others their impressions and reasons for either praise or condemnation, as the case may be.

A new careful and critical edition of Násir's Ditaon is badly needed. But if it is undertaken, it must be based on the oldest available manuscripts, and provided with a detailed and reliable index of names of persons and places, technical terms, rare words, dates, titles of books, etc. In addition, a philological commentary, and a detailed list of poetical figures, metaphors, etc., zill be of great utility.

This work of Nāsiri- Khusraw, the latest to come to light and to become made accessible to students, has been excellently edited by Dr. H. Corbin and Porf. Muhammad Mu'in from a unique ms. found in the library of the Aya Sophia mosque in Constantinople (no. 2939). Najiri- Khusraw, Nitabe Jami'al-Hikmatain', "Le Livre réunissant les deux Sagesses, ou Harmonie de la Philosophie Greque et la Thèsosphie Ismadienne". Teleran, 1933 (vol. 3 in the Biblio-Corbin has confirmed from the Institut Franco-Traitien). Dr. H. Corbin has confirmed introduction in French, and Prof. M. Molin added a concise vet substantial immodding in Persian.

Despite the excellence of the work of the learned editors, there are, here and there, some points on which my personal opinion may differ. I have to point out some of such disagreements in the interpretation of the material without the slightest intention to detract from the value of the editors' achievement. To start with they, apparently for the lack of a better expression. systematically call Nasir's work a commentary, Sharls, on the gasida by an early author, Abu'l-Haytl:am Jurjani. The gasida here concerned is in fact not entirely what the term usually implies. It is a versified set of questions (91 according to Nasir, p. 313) of a most varied and haphazard nature, combined apparently without any definite plan. Nasir's task was not to comment on them, but to answer them. He makes this quite clear on p. 314 where he says that they "concern (lay) philosophy (falsafa), logic, physics, grammar, (plain) religion, to'wil", and, we may add,

many other varied subjects of cosmography, astronomy, biology, botany, and so forth.

nomy, toology, colours and the colours and the colours of the colo

Nášír clearly states that he compiled his work in Adri/1070 at the request of the Amir of Backshain who sent to him the quited by Ahū'l-Hayham, most probably as simply a list of questioner, blan in the "answers". He first mentions the ancient wisdom, for a superior control of the anti-depth of the quadman, with much care quoting various opinions or theories. Ultimately he contrasts these with the "despendent of the depth of the Amir by the Charles of t

As an instance we may quote his "answer" concerning the nature of the solar eclipse (pp. 191 sqq.). He quotes various observations and theories of the ancients, which do not appear to be entirely exhaustive. He then offers the "truth" from the fa'sulf reglanation, the un is the yembol of the Prophet and the moon — of the Wayt. The phenomenon finds its full explanation in the religious relation of the two divinely appointed leaders of mankind. This surely would be the only proper standpoint of the devout Ismaili as Naier undoubtedly was. For him divinely revealed truth would override all philosophies or physics,

Näsir-i Khustaw in his discourtes refers not only to the ancient ages, but not rarely carries controversy with modern opponents. He refers to the Hasterswiys (Sunnies), Karralmets, Murtallites in marky (Sunnies), Karralmets, Murtallites in marky (Sunnies), Karralmets, Murtallites in marking (Sunnies), Karralmets, Murtallites in marking (Sunnies), Lisa again noteworthy that he never challenges the Ithna-Zharr Shi'ttes. In all this, and especially in his refutations of Rhazes, the completely falls in line with the side of the control of the side of the s

Naise explicitly says that the work was undertaken at the request of his patron, the *Auth* of Badakhshian, who himself was an Ismail. This explains the fact hat Naise does not go much into details when referring the highest control of the contro

In his introduction to the Jami'nt-Hikunatayu Dr. H. Corbin devotes much space to a very interesting and most valuable analysis of various Ismaili ideas, tracing their origin in the systems of various ancient Greek philosophers, in Mazdaism, Manichaeim, and so forth. All this, I am sure, will be much appreciated by students of the evolution of Islam and of Ismaili doctrine.

It may be added here that the learned editors were lucky to discover yet another work also dealing with asswers to the questions contained in the question Mabit-Haytham attributed to a certain Mulammad in Surch (2) Nishāpūri. It was also edited by the same scholars in the same series of the Institut Francolaranier (vol. 6, Teheran, 1955) — "Commentaire de start the same series of the Sortin de start the same series of the Sortin de same series of same series same series of same series same same series same series same same series same same series same series same series same same series same series same series same same series same same series same same same series same same

The learned editors regard the author of the gastda as an Ismaili, on the basis of a passage in the Jami'u'l-Hikmatayn (p. 217), and some other reference. On the page mentioned here, Nasir calls Abu'l-Haytham "one of those connected with and devoted to them", i.e. the Imams. It is, of course, impossible to come to any definite conclusion on the basis of such vague references, - but there would be nothing impossible if he was. It is however important to note Nasir's own attitude towards him. He refers to him, even when mentioning him by name, as in mard, "that man", never as the musannil-i in ash'or, sha'ir, hakim, etc. This shows something like deliberate lack of respect, contempt, which Nasir would hardly have permitted himself if the author had had any standing in the Ismaili hierarchy, and was a learned man. Not rarely Nasir criticises him with unconcealed irritation, as, e.g., on pp. 166-184. Discussing the ancient superstition that a red ruby cannot be crushed by an iron tool, but falls to pieces if struck with a piece of lead, Naisr dismisses the idea as nonsense. He says that the stone is enveloped in lead before it is struck with an ordinary Jammer simply to prevent the splinters scattering. Jammer simply to prevent the splinters scattering. Similarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly, he ribicules the stony that in Abwake every smilarly that the smilar than the smilar than

The qasida itself is puzzling. What was the motive of the author in compiling a list of questions? Was it a fragment of a larger work which contained the answers to the questions?

# (j) Risāla dar Jawāb-i nuwad-u yak Faqara.

This is a kind of a synopsis or conspectus of the Infinit'-Hibmany ("Explicit", as called by Dr. H. Gorbin in his Introduction, pp. 42-43). The original Minosi in the collection of the late Saypit Naryi-Kish Taqawi. Later on Prof. Minovi found another, much scaller, copy in the library of Haji Malek in Tehran, and still later yet one more in the Bodleina Library, and the collection of the Lind Market Application of the collection of the collection of the scaller, copy in the library of Haji Malek in Tehran, and still later yet one more in the Bodleina Library, and the collection of the Copy of the Saypin of the Copy of the Saypin of the Copy of the Saypin of Sa

The Risdo was edited at the end of the Diwan (Tehran, 1929), pp. 563-583. The original copy on which the edition is based contains an error in the date (422/1031 for 462/1070) and in the name of the Amir of Badakhshān ('Ali b. d-Almad, p. 583). The errors have been corrected by Dr. H. Corbin.

I heard from some Ismailis coming from the Upper Oxus region that "Nuwd-u yak Fagara", as they

briefly call it, is known in their villages, but so far I could not get a copy. It will be interesting to collate it with the published version, and see whether the one preserved in the Ismaili milieu differs much.

Works of Nasir referred to by him but so far not found.

 Doliku'l-mulahoyyirin (perhaps the same as Kitabu'd-Dala'il), mentioned in the K. Bayani'l-adyan and in the Khuanu'l-Ikhuan. It appears to be one of the earliest works.

 Kitāb-i Mijtāh wa Mişbāh also one of the earliest works, — or, perhaps, two different works? Referred to in the Shish-faşl and in the Khwānu'l-Ibhuān.

 Bustānu'l-'aql or Bustānu'l-'uqūl, referred to in the Zādu'l-mussfirin and in the Jām'u'l-hikmatayn, also apparently an early work.
 Kitāb Ikhtiyāri'l-Imān, wa Ikhtiyāri'l-imān,

referred to in the Jami'u'l-hikmatayn.

5. Kitab Lisani'l-'alim (or 'alam?), ref. ibidem.

6. 'Aja'ibu's-San'at, ref. to ibidem.
7. Ghara'ibu'l-hisab wa 'Aja'ibu'l-Hissab, ref. to ibidem (olysiously a manual on arithmetic).

Spurious works wrongly attributed to Nāsir.

 Sa'ddat-nāmo, the well-known moralising poem, originally edited and translated into French by E. Fagran, ZDMG, 1880, pp. 643-674. It was later several times lithographed in the East, and is included in the edition of the Dluba (Teheran, 1929). Copies of it are common in the Upper Oxus area. The late Maliku'sh-shu'ard Bahār Sabzawāri has proved (in the third vol. of his Sibk-Shindat, p. 189) that it is the work of a different person, namely Nāṣṣi-i Klusraw Sharīf-i Islahāni who died in 753/1352. It was not rarely used as a model and imitated throughout the history of Persian literature.

. 2. Kalam-i Ptr, or Haft-bab-i Shah Sayvid Nasir. as it is generally known amongst the Ismailis in the Upper Oxus area where copies are very common. The Ismailis regard this book as one of the most sacred in their literature. It was edited and translated by W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1935. The work is an impudent case of plagiarism apparently effected by a certain Khayr-khwah, the son of Husayn Harawi who wrote apparently about 952/1545, and was a prolific author himself. He was appointed, or claimed to have been appointed, by the Imam of Anjudan, as the pir of the area at present constituting Northern Afghanistan. His claims were not readily recognized, and this circumstance made him develop quite a voluminous controversial literary activity. He took the work of an earlier contemporary, a certain Abū Ishan from Ouhistan, who flourished at the beginning of the x/xvi c., and turned it into the work of Nasir by interpolating passages derived from legendary adventures attributed to him in general literature. He added much from Ithna'ashari theological and other works. The original title of Abû Ishaq's book has apparently not been preserved, and his work is now known simply as "7 chapters", Haft bab. Contrary to the Kalam-i Pir, copies of the Haft-bab-i Aba Ishaq seem to be quite rare in the Upper Oxus area. (I may add that, in the course of the last 20 years, my Introeluction to the translation of the Kolam-i Pir has proved to be one of the most frequently cited works on Ismailism, and must warn students that what was said there needs careful revision. It contains errors committed owing to my still insufficient competence at the time of its publication. My experience and familiarity with Fatimid and Nizari literatures, which would have provided the correct background in the study of Nasir's literary heritage, were still in their infancy at that time. Secondly, I have not yet freed myself from the poisonous and utterly misleading influence of the ideas on Ismailism which were at that time still considered as up-to-date and reliable in Western learned literature. Thirdly, I committed the sin of much over-trusting the oral tradition of the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus area, which, on the whole, is utterly worthless and misleading. Fourthly, at the time when the Introduction to the "Kolam-i Pir" was written, I had not yet access to the Haft-bab-i Abn Ishaq. Only at the last moment I could add a note on it, together with a raw scheme of the relation of its text to that of the "Kalam-i Pir". I have now prepared the text and a translation of Ahu Ishaq's work, and although adverse circumstances clelay its publication. I still hope that the edition may he issued in not too distant future, together with a new introduction, summing up its ideas. It must be remembered that Abu Ishaq's treatise is the only genuine summary of the Nizari beliefs in Persia hefore they became flooded with Sufic and Ithna-'ashari influence in the course of the Safawid period).

#### INDEX

#### Important :--

K. (for Kitdb). R. (for Risála), the Arabic definitive article al-, prepositions and words within parentheses are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement of entries in this index. A stroke before a figure means that the reference is to a footnote. "Abbasid devil", 39

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