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jami'-at Tawarikh of Roshid al-Din Fadhalah  
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THE ACCOUNT OF THE ISMA'ILI DOCTRINES  
IN THE JAMI AL-TAWARIKH OF RASHID AL-DIN  
FADLALLAH

by

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The account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the  
*Jami' al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah

BY REUBEN LEVY

ALTHOUGH references to the subject of Isma'ili doctrine have been frequent enough in the text-books and learned journals, the earliest source quoted in nearly all of them is the *Ta'rikh-i Jahān-Gushā* of Juwayni. By a comparison of that work<sup>1</sup> with the corresponding section of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* of Rashid al-Din it is evident that the latter is the source from which Juwayni drew most of his materials, and that for his compilation he used such sections of it as suited his purposes, omitting and transposing passages as he thought fit. In certain instances his omissions from the text have caused obscurities which the original version of Rashid al-Din does not contain, and quite often the borrowings have been incorporated without any great effort to make them fit snugly into their context. Since the *Ta'rikh-i Jahān-Gushā* is fairly well known I shall confine myself here to the work of Rashid al-Din, which seems destined for some time longer to remain in the obscurity of manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

The section begins with a short introduction bestowing

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of the Gibb Trustees, I have been able to use proof-sheets of part of the third volume of Mirzā Muhammad Qazwini's edition.

<sup>2</sup> I have used two British Museum manuscripts, the well-known one Add. 7628 (fols. 272b ff.), which I call A, and Or. 1684 (fols. 186b ff.), which is late, but occasionally has a better reading than the other. This I call B, while Juwayni, in Mirzā Muhammad's edition (vol. iii), is represented by J.



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praise upon Allah and compliments on the author's patron, and containing a statement to the following effect: In accordance with the instructions received from the "King of the World" (Uljaytu Khān), complete histories were compiled of all the peoples of the world and of the various classes of human society in the seven climes—Turks, Chinese, Indians, Jews, Christians, Franks, inhabitants of the West, and Persians. A desire was then expressed by His Majesty for a history of the Sect of the Comrades (*Rafiqān*) and the Society of the Propagandists of the Ismā'īlis and Heretics (*Malāhida*), who are a people apart and who for a lengthy period of time were firmly established upon the throne of power and sovereignty and, further, kept the kings of all regions and the rulers of all countries in a state of sleepless fear and uncertainty because of their abundant forces, their constant supply of troops, stores, and equipment, their organization and the terrifying reports about them.

In accordance with his sovereign's desire, therefore, the author compiled a history of this people and included it in the *Jamī' al-Tawārīkh* as a matter for reflection in all minds and a subject to be retained in all memories.

In a further passage, after claiming to be merely a reporter of his materials and stating that responsibility for the truth or falsehood of them lies with his authorities and not with himself, Rashid al-Dīn explains how the various divisions in Islam arose, and how the 'Alids, robbed of the Caliphate which was rightfully theirs, during the reign of the Umayyads carried on propaganda against them. He states, however, that this proved unsuccessful and that the 'Alids were rigorously persecuted also by the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. Our author then continues:—

در زمان دولت عباسیان نگاه کردند میدان از مردان خالی یافتند و خصم غافل و امور مهمل و همتها

<sup>1</sup> A, f. 273a, towards the end.

متناقص و عزیمتها واهی و متابعت شهوات و لذات غالب و امر معروف مقهور و نهی منکر مغلوب در هر گوشه فرصتی جستند و داعیان خردمند شیرین سخن و رفیقان نیکویان و لطیف گفتار بر دعوت آغایندند و بیعت بندگان بچهار جانب بفرستادند، جانب اول مشرق، از بدایت خراسان تا نهایت ترکستان و آنچه بدان متصل بود از حدود نیروز، جانب دوم جنوب، مبداء آن از عراق و بابل و کوفه تا اقصی حجاز (A, f. 273b) و بودای زمین یمن و آنچه مجاورست، جانب سیم مغرب، از بدایت دیار بکر و دیار ربیعه و شام تا غایت مغرب، جانب چهارم شمال، از ساحل دریا مشرق تا بصره و عمان و بحرین و سند و هند و نهایت صین و آنچه بدان پیوسته است، و بهر جهت و ناحیتی داعیان خوش لهجه نیکو بلاغت شیرین فصاحت خردمند بیدار هشیار نصب کردند و فصول عهد و موامق مفاوضه تلقین کردند و فرمود تا در صیانت نفس و طهارت بدن و پال دامن و خوش خلقی و جرب زبانی و نیکو عشرتی بد بیضا و دم مسیحا نمایند و بیسان سخنها و تلقین کلام مناسب و موافق

[TRANSLATION]

Looking about them during the days of the 'Abbāsīd domination they [the 'Alīds] observed that the field was clear and the enemy off his guard; that men's aims were trivial and their ambitions base, the pursuit of lusts and pleasure holding supremacy; so that the call to do the right was suppressed and prohibition of the wrong overwhelmed. Accordingly they watched closely for an opportunity and put to the task of gaining converts propagandists who were smooth spoken men of wisdom and "comrades" of good understanding and eloquence. Now because of the great distances between regions they sent out men in four directions, the first being the East, from the confines of Khurāsān to the furthestmost boundary of Turkistan and the adjoining regions of Sīstān. The second direction was South, beginning with 'Irāq, Babel, and Kufa and extending as far as the furthest limits of Hījāz and the *wādī* of the Yemen, together with the neighbouring region. The third direction was the West, beginning with Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rab'ā together with Syria, and extending to the furthest limits of the West. The fourth region was the North from the coast of the Eastern Sea<sup>2</sup> as far as Baḡra and including Oran, Bahrayn, Sind and Hind, and on to China, together with the adjoining regions.

For every region and every district they appointed propagandists, men of pleasant speech, goodly eloquence, and sweet lucidity, as well as of sagacious and alert intelligence. To them the terms of their compacts and the benefits promised for their association were set forth in detail, and they were ordered to rule their lives in spiritual immaculateness, bodily purity, and unblemished conduct; they were, moreover, to be good-natured, pleasant spoken, and hail-fellow with all men; [in short] they were to be worthy of "the white hand of Moses and the breath of Christ". And with every

<sup>1</sup> Square brackets denote the translator's insertions.

<sup>2</sup> The Arctic and North Pacific. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. Lo Strange, p. 231.

man they were bidden to put forward their reasoning and conduct their arguments in fashion suited to his character and desires in life.

Of the propagandists, they sent Zayd the Ahwāzī to 'Irāq, and Abu Sa'īd al-Jannābī to Bahrayn and the Yemen territory. He settled in the town of Qaṭīf<sup>1</sup> and won over to his propaganda Abu Zakariyā Ishfahānī of the tribe of the Banu Kilāb. By their aid and co-operation he [al-Jannābī] won over the towns of Hajar and Laḡsā and all the coastal territory of Oman, as well as Bahrayn and Baḡra. He was the contemporary of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Mu'taḍid and in the year 286 [A.D. 899] he sent propagandists to 'Irāq. After Mu'taḍid died al-Jannābī's affairs prospered, but finally at some time during the year 301 he met his death in the baths. His son Abu Ṭāhir succeeded to his office.

In the time of Ja'far Ṣādiq, [one] Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb propounded that Ja'far had claims to godhead. Ṣādiq, however, denounced Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and his companions.

Amongst the propagandists was Maymūn-i Qaddāh ["the Oculist"] whose son was 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn; both of whom were accounted amongst the learned and the aristocracy of the sect.

It is related by the reporters and traditionists that Ja'far had four sons; the eldest being Ism'īl, who through his mother was [1]<sup>2</sup> a Ḥusaynī; the second was Mūsā, whose mother was a slave woman—(he is buried at the shrine at Tūs); the third was Muḥammad Dībā, who lies buried outside Jurjān, and the fourth was 'Abd Allāh, known as Abtal. Ja'far allotted the imāmate to Ism'īl. He, however, was addicted to intoxicating liquor, so that Ja'far, disapproving of his conduct, declared that he had changed

<sup>1</sup> On the Arabian mainland in the neighbourhood of Bahrayn. See *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> For the text, which is doubtful, Mirzā Muḥammad suggests بن حسين "a grandson of Ḥusayn". But this statement lacks point and significance, this Ḥusayn not being a person of any note.

his intention with regard to him and bestowed the imānate upon Mūsā, the second son. Thereupon the sect of the Kuhistānīs attached themselves to Ismā'il and withdrew from the Shī'a body, arguing that Ja'far, as the divinely preserved imām, had appointed Ismā'il [to succeed him]. The true appointment [they said] was the first one—sooing that one could not accuse God of changing his intention and that all which the imām himself did and said was right. So far as the imānate, therefore, was concerned, Ismā'il's wine-drinking created no disability.

Because of their relations with Ismā'il they are called Ismā'ilīs, and the sect that was born and originated out of them is called the Seveners by reason of the seven Imāms. With reference also [to their doctrine] that merely by reflection and reasoning the human mind is inadequate for and incapable of attaining a knowledge of God except through the instruction (تعليم) of a guide and instructor—with reference to that, they are called the "Instructionists" (تعليمية). Further, they are called *Bā'īnīs* ["Inwarders"]—with reference to the doctrine that in the Qur'ān every word has an outward and an inward (*bā'īn*) significance, a plain meaning, and an elucidatory interpretation as well as an allusive, suggestive, and cryptic one; the common run of men understanding only the outward meaning while the chosen ones are informed of the inner significance.

When a person becomes firmly established in their beliefs and obtains permission to learn theology he is called *Ma'dhūn* ["licentiate"]; when he reached the degree of propagandism they call him a *Dā'ī* ["a propagandist"]—when he reaches the stage of [heading] ten propagandists and becomes a person of consideration he is called *Hujjat* ["proof"]—which means to say "declaring the proof of God to mankind". When he reaches the grade of perfection and is independent of all further instruction he is called *Imām*. Above the *Imām* is the *Asās* [the "fundamental"] and beyond him again

in degree is the *Nā'iq* [the "speaker"]. There are seven *Imāms*, each of whom has need of twelve propagandists and licentiates.

According to orthodox teaching, Ismā'il died before his father Ja'far Ṣādiq. He thereupon summoned the Wāll of Medina (who held office as governor there on behalf of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs) and a number of the elders and notables of Medina and showed them [the body of] Ismā'il which had been carried into the city on men's shoulders from the village of 'Urayd, four parasangs distant, where he had died. They provide the evidence for his death and they are supported by eye-witnesses and the documents of a number of persons present. His father buried him at Buḡay'.

The statement of the group who attached themselves to Ismā'il is that he did not die, but that [all this] was in order to mystify mankind. Further, that he was alive five years after his father's death. He was then seen in the Baḡra bazaar, where a man who had been ill of a chronic disease made a request of him. He took the sick man's hand and promptly the invalid recovered, rose from his place, and walked away. Also Ismā'il prayed over a blind man, whose sight was at once restored. [They say] Ja'far Ṣādiq's object in proclaiming Ismā'il's death was in reality that he might transfer to another the title to the imānate that was being conferred upon him.

To cut a long story short, when Ṣādiq died, the main body of the Shī'a followed Mūsā, but a few proclaimed the imānate of Muḥammad Dībājī and they came to be called the "Dībāja". Similarly, a party declared themselves for the imānate of 'Abd Allāh Abṭah, and they are known as the Abṭahī [sect]. Now the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs brought Mūsā from Medina to Baghdad and held him imprisoned until he died. The Shī'a declared he was poisoned, and brought his body to the side of the bridge, where they displayed him to the people of Baghdad in order to prove that there was no wound upon his body. They buried him in the Hāshimī

tombs.<sup>1</sup> His son 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḏā remained at Medina until Ma'mūn summoned him to Khurāsān, and he appointed him [heir] to the Caliphate—according to a document which is at the shrine at Tūs to-day. In the end he died of poison at Tūs and was buried there.

Thereafter the 'Abbāsids sought for them<sup>2</sup> with the sword because of this claim to the imāmate. Ismā'il's sons hid themselves; some went from Medina towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān, while others went to the West. When Ismā'il died, his son Muḥammad b. Ismā'il (who was grown up when Ja'far was alive and was older than Mūsā) left for 'Irāq, Ja'far was alive and was older than Mūsā) left for 'Irāq, the slighting at Rayy. Thence he went to Demāvand, to the village of [!] Samala. Muḥammad-ābād at Rayy is called after him. He had several sons in concealment. They established themselves in Khurāsān and the frontier region of Qandahūr, in Sind territory, whence their propagandists attacked the cities and persuaded men to their cause by the method of [promising each] the object he desired, until a great number had yielded to their persuasions.

From the West also they summoned 'Alī b. Ismā'il, who set forth for Syria. Seeing that he was making no claim to the imāmate and that he had no following in that regard, he remained in Syria, where descendants of some of his kinsmen still live.

In the year 295 [907-8] 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn the Oculist, making an outward show of devotion to fasting, prayer, and good works but being in reality initiated into the secrets of that propaganda, settled at 'Askar Mukram<sup>3</sup> in the place called Sābāt-i Abi Nūh. There his wealth and following increased, but when his enemies made an attempt on his life he departed to Baḡra, where he settled in the quarter of the Banu 'Uḡayl. Thence he went to Persian Kūhistān to Ahwāz, where he carried on his propaganda

<sup>1</sup> At Kādīmsyn.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Alids.

<sup>3</sup> In Khūristān. (*Nuḥat al-Qulūb*, tr. Le Strange, p. 110.)

and whence also he sent representatives to 'Irāq ('Ajāmī) to places like Rayy, Isfahān, Hamadān, and Qun.

The next part of the *Jamī' al-Tawārikh* proceeds then to give a list of missionaries appointed to the various lands of Islam. Khurāsān is singled out for special mention because its ruler, the Sāmānid prince Naḡr b. Aḥmad, and his vizier both helped in the Ismā'ilī cause. When Naḡr died however, his son Nūh, who succeeded him on the throne, killed the Ismā'ilī *dawī* together with every one of his supporters.

Rashīd al-Din continues:—

القصة بطولها اسماعيليان را در بلاد اسلام رؤسا  
ودعايان پديد آمدند ومقاتلات خود را شرحى و بسطى  
تمام دادند که ذکر هريك بتطويل انجامد ليکن ما جمعى  
مروغان اقليم رابع خصوصا خراسان و عراق و شام و يمن  
ياد کرديم وابتداء دعوت اين کردند که هر پيغامبرى  
وصى وولى عهدى بود که در حال حيوته او در شهرت علم  
او بود وتمامى دور ايشان بهفت منقضى شد، پيغامبر  
نخستين آدم بود بدین صفات وشرایط که قائم مقام  
ووليمنند او پس از وفات او شيعت بود و تمامى دور او  
بهفت امام منقضى شد وبعده از تميم دور او نوح ظاهر  
شد ناسخ شريعت آدم و دور او بهفت امام تمام گشت

<sup>1</sup> A. I. 274a, *ad fin.*

آشکارا پدید آمدند و همه بر آن متفق که روزگار از  
 امامی خالی نباشد که خدا را بوی توان شناخت و بی معرفت  
 او خدای شناس و عارف قنوان بود و بینامبران در هر  
 روزگار با او اشارت کرده اند، و شرع را ظاهری و باطنی  
 هست اصل باطن است<sup>۱</sup> مانند جواهر معدنی است که در  
 باطن سنگ تیره تعبیه و لؤلؤ در اصداف در قمر بحر  
 و روح آدمی که در جسم تیره پنهانست و درین معنی احتیاج  
 کردند بقوله تعالی بَابُ بَاطِنُهُ فِيهِ الرَّحْمَةُ وَ ظَاهِرُهُ  
 مِنْ قِبَلِهِ الْعَذَابُ<sup>۲</sup> و قوله تعالی وَلَيْسَ الْبِرُّ بِأَنْ تَأْتُوا  
 الْبُيُوتَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهَا وَلَكِنَّ الْبِرَّ مِنَ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنَ الْبُيُوتِ  
 الْبُيُوتِ مِنَ الْأَيْمَنِ<sup>۳</sup> یعنی نیکو کاری نه آنست که  
 بظاهر مشغول شوید چنانکه عوام شده اند بلکه  
 پرهیزید که خرسندی بظاهر نمودن در دین سبب  
 معالت باشد.

## [TRANSLATION]

To state the matter shortly; men of high rank and propagandists in the Ismā'īlī cause appeared in all the lands of Islam and propounded and explained their doctrines everywhere. To have mentioned them all would have

<sup>۱</sup> J. breaks off here.

<sup>۲</sup> Qur'ān, lvi, 13.

<sup>۳</sup> Ibid., ii, 185.

occupied too long, we have noted only a few of the noted ones in the fourth clime, particularly in Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Syria, and Yemen.

The first part of their teaching was this, that every prophet has an executor and heir who, during his [the prophet's] lifetime, is the gateway through which his teachings become generally known. The epoch of the prophets was completed after seven [of them]. The first was Adam, and he was endowed with the necessary qualities and attributes; his representative and heir, who took his place after his death, being Seth. His [Adam's] epoch was completed by seven imāms. After that Noah appeared, to abrogate the dispensation of Adam. His epoch was completed by seven imāms; his executor being Sām. Ibrahim the prophet came after Noah as abrogator of his dispensation, and his executor was Ismā'il. And when seven imāms had gone, his epoch was complete. Then came Moses as abrogator of Ibrahim's dispensation, and his executor was Hārūn; but since Hārūn departed from the world while Moses was still alive, Joshua, son of Nūn, became his executor. When the epoch of Moses had been completed by seven imāms, 'Isā appeared; and his executor was Simon Cephas. The epoch of 'Isā, too, was completed by seven imāms and after him came Muḥammad the apostle and established a new dispensation, abrogating that of 'Isā. His executor was 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, after whom came Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, of whose stock also was the fourth imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Abidin, then the fifth imām Muḥammad Bāqir, followed by the sixth, Ja'far Ṣādiq, and then the seventh, Ismā'il b. Ja'far. The Muḥammadi epoch ends with him. So the series has continued up to the present imām, who is the wāli of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Further, according to their doctrine, in every age there is an imām divinely guarded from every flaw and weakness, to whom in every circumstance men have recourse for the interpretation of outward symbols and the solving of problems.

<sup>1</sup> The implication is that Ismā'il is still alive.

And every profundity is elucidated by him. Moreover, the elucidation of cryptic passages and references in the Qur'an, the explanation of laws and principles, the knowledge of commandments, as well as of the general and the detailed in the true meanings of the commandments, and of the subtleties of the inner significance of mysterious passages, is impossible to all except through him and his "word"; the difference between him and a prophet lying in the matter of inspiration. The world, they say, has never been without an imām of the kind, and if any man has been an imām, his father also has been an imām and his father's father back to Adam. It would be impossible moreover for any imām to die until after the son who was to be the imām after him was either born or had left his loins. This is the reference in the passage: "The one being posterity of the other,"<sup>1</sup> and the significance of the passage: "and he made it a word that should abide amongst his posterity."<sup>2</sup> When there was brought up in argument against them the example of Hasan b. 'Ali, who by agreement of all the Shi'a was an imām while his son was not, they replied that his imāmate was held on trust by him. That is to say it was something impermanent, something accidental, whereas the imāmate of Husayn was definitely established. The verse "and deposited and definitely established"<sup>3</sup> refers to it.

Of the *nāfiq* ["the Speaker"] they say that he is a person who establishes law, abrogating the law of them that have gone before and laying down new principles. He is, moreover, a person with the knowledge to interpret laws with an understanding of the hidden and esoteric in all created things, and able also to elucidate the outward and obvious meaning of laws as well as the principle that is hidden in them.

(The appointed imām after Muḥammad the Chosen was 'Ali, with the seven-fold imāmate.)

Another of their doctrines is that the imām need not be

<sup>1</sup> Qur'an, iii, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., alii, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vi, 98.

apparent and that sometimes one may be obscured, in the same way that night and day succeed and follow one another so that regularly one is apparent and the other hidden. During the period when the imām is not apparent his propagandists must be abroad amongst men so that the fact [of there being no imām apparent] may not be used as an argument against the existence of God.

The prophets are the recipients of divine inspiration, while the imāms are the masters of interpretation, and in no age has a prophet been without an imām.

A contemporary of Ibrahim's was a certain person whose name is mentioned in the Torah, in the Syriac and Hebrew speech [Melchizedek] which in the Arabic is "Malik al-Sulṭi" and "Malik al-Salām". They state that when Ibrahim came to him he gave him [Ibrahim] a tenth part of his cattle.

Khiḍr, from whom Moses wished to learn theology, was an imām, or nominated<sup>1</sup> as an imām.

There was an epoch of obscurity before Islam, when the imāms were hidden; and in the time of 'Ali, who is the imām of that epoch [i.e. of Islam], the imāmate became manifest again. From his time until Ismā'il<sup>2</sup> or his son Muḥammad, who was the seventh, all the imāms have been manifest. There was a beginning of obscurity after Ismā'il; and after Muḥammad who was the last [imām] of the period of manifestation, all have been obscured, and all the imāms after him will be obscured until the time for manifestation comes again.

Another teaching of theirs is that Mūsā b. Ja'far gave his life in ransom for Ismā'il and 'Ali b. Mūsā al-Riḍā did the like in favour of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il; also that the story of the "sacrifice" in the verse "we redeemed him by a mighty sacrifice"<sup>3</sup> has reference to some matter of this kind.

<sup>1</sup> See note on text.

<sup>2</sup> There would seem to be some confusion in the text. It is doubtful whether it was Ismā'il or his son Muḥammad who was seventh imām.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xxxvii, 107.

sh. Melchizedek  
is he any thing  
of Abraham's

on P. 11  
(W. 11/11)



To be brief, these beliefs and doctrines were spread abroad in all the lands of Islam, east and west, and they were disseminated sometimes covertly, sometimes openly. All are agreed on the point that no age can be without its imām, through whom God may be known and without whose knowledge there can be neither theosophist nor gnostic. At every period also the prophets have made reference to him. Further, law has a patent and esoteric significance, the root significance being the esoteric one. The parallel is that of jewels in a mine which lie hidden within dark stone; or that of pearls in oysters in the depths of the sea; or that of the mortal spirit that is concealed within the dark body. On this matter they applied as an argument the divine words: "A door hidden behind which lies mercy, and outside of which is torment"<sup>1</sup>; and "Righteousness is not in entering your houses from the back of them,<sup>2</sup> but it is the righteousness of him who fears: therefore enter your homes by their doors."<sup>3</sup> This means, piety lies not in occupying yourselves with outward forms, as the many do, but in self-restraint; for to approve of the outward side of religion is the cause of evil.

The doctrines spread by the original Ismā'ili propaganda were the basis upon which the New Propaganda (دعوت جدید) of Ḥasan-i Šabbāh [Sayyidnā] was formed. Of it Rashid al-Dīn gives the following account, derived by him from reports made by adherents:—

متقدمان اساسی مذهب خود بر تنزیل  
و تأویل خصراً آیات متشابهه و مستخرجات غریب از  
معانی اخبار و آثار نهاده بودند و امثال این میگفتند هر

<sup>1</sup> Qur. lvii, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the point of this verse as a proof text lies in taking ظهور as a verbal noun (i.e. in "their external appearing").

<sup>3</sup> Qur. ii, 185.

آینه هر تنزیلی را تأویلی باشد و هر ظاهری را باطنی  
سیدنا بکلی در تعلیم در بست و گفت خدای شناسی بمقل  
و نظر نیست بتعلیم امام است چه بیشتر اهل علم عقلا  
اند و هر کسی را در راه دین نظر است اگر در معرفت  
حق نظر عقل کافی بودی اهل هیچ مذهبی را بر خصم  
خود انکار و اعتراض نرسیدی و همکنان متساوی بودندی  
چه همه کس بنظر عقل مترتین است پس چون سبیل انکار  
و اعتراض را مفتوح است بعضی را بیفکند و بعضی را  
باختیار خود<sup>1</sup> مذهب تعلیم است که عقل مجرد کافی نیست  
و در هر دور امایی باید که مردم بتعلیم او متعلم و متدین  
باشند و چند کلمه مزخرف ملواح را الزام خلق ساخت  
و دقیقترین آن الفاظ او را معنی یکی آنست که از  
معتزلات مذهب خویش تردید کرده است که در معرفت  
خدای خرد بس است یا نه بس اعنی اگر خرد کافی  
است هر که خردی دارد معتز را برو انکار نمی رسد  
و اگر معتز میگوید خرد و نظر عقل کافی نیست هر

<sup>1</sup> گذارد. There would appear to be a word missing here.

آینه معلی احتیاج باشد و آنچه گفت خرد بس است یا نه بس مذهب او مطلوبش اثباتست و تحقیق این سخن آنست که تعلیم با خرد بهم واجب است و مذهب خصم آنست که تعلیم با خرد بهم واجب نیست و چون واجب نباشد شاید که تعلیم جایز باشد و خرد مبین باشد بر نظر و شاید که جایز نباشد و خرد تنها باید و الاخدای شناسی حامل نباشد و این دو قسم است و او با بطلان قسم دوم تعرض نرسانید، و مذهب جمهور و اهل علم اینست که وجود خرد مجرد کافی نیست استعمال خرد بر وجه مخصوص شرط است و تعلیم و هدایت مبین یعنی عقلا را و بعضی را بآن حاجت نه هر چند اگر باشد مانع نبود و همچنین گفته که پیغامبر فرمود *أَنْبِيُّ أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أَقَاتِلَ النَّاسَ حَتَّى يَقُولُوا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ* یعنی لا إله إلا الله فرا می باید گرفت، و این تعلیم است، فی الجمله سیدنا باین قیاسات ضعیف و براهین واهی مردم را دعوت می کرد،

## [TRANSLATION]

The early votaries laid the foundations of their beliefs upon revelation and interpretation, in particular of the equivocal verses, and upon strange deductions from the ideas

dealt with in traditions and historical reports. Further they made such statements as these, that every revelation had its interpretation and that every plain meaning was accompanied by an esoteric one. "Sayyidna" [Hasan-i Šabbāh] attached himself entirely to the doctrine of *ta'lim* ["instruction"], and said, "knowledge of God is derived not from reason and reflection but from the *ta'lim* of the imām; for most men of science are reasoning persons and any man may have his views upon the path of religion. If reason and reflection were sufficient to give a knowledge of God, the votaries of no religion could refute or criticize their opponents, and all would be alike; seeing that all are equipped with reasoning powers. Since, then, the way lies open to refutation and criticism, one may overthrow some persons but [leave] others to follow their own discretion. The doctrine of *ta'lim* is that reason alone is insufficient, and that in every age an imām is necessary by whose *ta'lim* men may be instructed and made religious."

Hasan-i Šabbāh also invented some glittering arguments to delude and impress people. Amongst the subtlest of his inventions is one which he employed to rebut criticisms of his own beliefs. He would say, "For a knowledge of God science is either enough or it is not enough; which means that if science is enough then no critic can refute the men of science, and if the critic should say that science and reason are not enough, certainly then there is need of an 'instructor'". As for [Sayyidnā's] proposition that science is either enough or it is not enough (as is his belief), its purpose is to support his own view. What he regards as the truth is that *ta'lim* is essential over and above science, while the belief of his opponent is that *ta'lim* is inessential with science. If the latter be right, *ta'lim* is either permissive—science in that case being determined by reflection—or is not even permissive, and science alone is necessary. If it were not so, knowledge of God would not be possible at all.

(There are, therefore, these two divisions of thought and

Hasan-i Šabbāh did not succeed in refuting the second of the two by his argument.<sup>1</sup>

The belief of the generality of mankind and of men of science is that the presence of science alone is insufficient. The employment of science in a particular aspect is something conditional; *ta'wīl* and [divine] guidance, however, are definite. This applies to men who employ reasoning; but there are some persons who may have no need of it,<sup>2</sup> although if it be present it is certainly not a hindrance.

It is in line with this [form of argument] when Hasan-i Šabbāh says of the prophet that he declared, "I was commanded to make onslaught on men until they say, 'There is no God but Allāh'"<sup>3</sup>; which means that all men must utter the formula, "There is no God but Allāh."

Such is *ta'wīl*. To sum up, it was with such feeble logic and worthless arguments that Sayyidhā tried to win men over.

<sup>1</sup> This is Rashīd al-Dīn's interjected comment.  
<sup>2</sup> *ʿāqil*. <sup>3</sup> *ta'wīl*.

## TRANSLITTÉRATION DE L'ARABE:

ʿ, b, t, l, ġ, h, b, d, z, r, z, s, š, ʿ, f, t, z, c, ġ, j, g, h, l, m, n, h, w, y.  
la *marbūṭa* = a, at (état construit). ARTICLE: al- et l- (même devant les «solaires»).

VOYELLES: a, i, u — ā, ī, ū. DIPHTONGUES: aw, ay.

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## PRINCIPALES ABRÉVIATIONS EMPLOYÉES

(collections, ouvrages généraux et périodiques):

- AAS = *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, Damas.  
AIEO = *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger.  
at-And. = *at-Andalus*, Madrid.  
BEO = *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut français*, Damas.  
BGA = *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, Leyde.  
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale*, le Caire.  
BSLP = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, Paris.  
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Londres.  
CT = *Cahiers de Tunisie*, Tunis.  
EP<sup>1</sup>, EP<sup>2</sup> = *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 1<sup>ère</sup>, 2<sup>ème</sup> éd., Leyde.  
GAL, S. I, II, III = *Brockelmann, Geschichte der Ar. Litt. et Suppl.*, vol. I, II, III, Leyde.  
GLECS = *Bulletin du Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, Paris.  
GMS = *Gibb Memorial Series*, Hesp. = *Hesperis*, Rabat.  
IBLA = *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, Tunis.  
IHA = *Collection Islam d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui*, Paris.  
Isl. = *Der Islam*, Berlin.  
JA = *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.  
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Londres.  
MIDEO = *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales*, le Caire.  
MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898-1939.  
MIW = *The Muslim World*, Hartford (Connecticut).  
OLZ = *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, Leipzig.  
OM = *Oriente Moderno*, Rome.  
PELOY = *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Paris.  
PIFD = *Publications de l'Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas*.  
PIHEM = *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, Rabat.  
PIEO = *Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger.  
PIFAO = *Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, le Caire.  
RA = *Revue Africaine*, Alger.  
RAAD = *Revue de l'Académie arabe*, Damas.  
REI = *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris.  
RIEIEI = *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, Madrid.  
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome.  
Sem. = *Semítica*, Paris.  
SI = *Studia Islamica*, Paris.  
WI = *Die Welt des Islams*, Berlin, Leipzig et Leyde.  
WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vienne.  
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden.

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