

C. Ta'wil (Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'an)

20. نهج السبيل الى معرفة علم التأويل
Nahju's-Sabīl ilā Ma'rifati 'Ilmi't-Ta'wīl.
- *21. أساس التأويل Asāsu't-Ta'wīl.
- *22. تأويل الدعائم Ta'wīlu'd-Da'ā'im.

D. Ḥaqā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy)

23. حدود المعرفة Hudūdu'l-Ma'rifa.
24. كتاب التوحيد والامامة Kitābu't-Tawḥīd wa'l-Imāmat.
25. كتاب إثبات الحقائق Kitāb Ithbātū'l-Ḥaqā'iq.
26. كتاب في الامامة Kitāb fī'l-Imāmat.

E. 'Aqā'id (Dogmatics)

- *27. القصيدة المختارة al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Mukhtāra.
28. كتاب التعاقب والانتقاد Kitābu't-Ta'āqub wa'l-Intiqād.
29. كتاب الدعاء Kitābu'd-Du'ā'.
30. كتاب الهمة Kitābu'l-Himma.
31. كتاب الحلى والثياب Kitābu'l-Hulā wa'th-Thiyāb.
32. كتاب الشروط Kitābu'sh-Shurūṭ.

F. Akhbār and Sira (Tradition and Biography)

- *33. شرح الاخبار Sharḥu'l-Akḥbār.
34. (الارجوزة الموسومة) ذات المنن
Dhātu'l-Minan (an urjūza).
35. (الارجوزة الموسومة) ذات المنن
Dhātu'l-Miḥan (an urjūza).

G. Ta'rikh (History)

36. مناقب بني هاشم Manāqib Banī Hāshim.
- *37. افتتاح الدعوة Iftitāḥu'd-Da'wat.

H. Wa'z (Sermons)

38. معالم المهدي Ma'alimu'l-Mahdī.
39. الرسالة الى المرشد الداعي بمصر في تربية المؤمنين
ar-Risāla ilā'l-Murshid ad-Dā'i bi Miṣr fī Tarbiyati'l-
Mu'minīn.
- *40. كتاب المجالس والمسايرات
Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyārāt.

I. Miscellaneous

41. تأويل الرؤيا Ta'wīlu'r-Ru'yā.
42. منامات الأئمة Manāmātu'l-A'imma.
43. كتاب التفرغ والتعنيف Kitābu't-Taqrī' wa't-Ta'nīf.
44. مفاتيح النعمة Mafātiḥu'n-Ni'ma.

J. Apocrypha (Works sometimes erroneously attributed to Qāḍi an-Nu'mān)

- (1) تقويم الأحكام Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām.
- (2) الراحة والتسلي Ar-Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī.
- (3) سيرة الأئمة Sīratu'l-A'imma.

Descriptive List

After classifying the works of Qāḍi an-Nu'mān, I now give below shortly all the information concerning each of the books drawn chiefly from the 'Uyūn, vol. vi. The works of special importance are marked with an asterisk.

After giving the list of the Qāḍi's works, Saiyidnā Idrīs says: "Most of these works are well known in the Yemen and only a few of them are lost." Unfortunately he does not say which of them had perished by his time. It is also stated further, on the authority of "the author of the Sira of Kitāna", that in addition to these the Qāḍi was the

¹ 'Uyūn, vi, folio 40.

author of numerous *rasā'il* (tracts) to *qāḍīs* and other individuals.

A. Fiqh

1. *Kitābu'l-Īdāh*.

A comprehensive work on *fiqh* containing all the authentic traditions and reports with their *isnāds*, consisting of 220 *ajzā'*.¹ In the introduction to the *Iqtisār* the author says that it consisted of some 3,000 pages; this approximates to some extent with the 3,520 pages according to the ordinary computation of the *ajzā'*. The author began writing it in Mahdī's reign. It is now completely lost, except for the occasional glosses and citations from it which occur in many *fiqh* works.

2. *Ikhtisāru'l-Īdāh*.

A shorter work of a similar character. Obviously an abridgment of No. 1. Entirely lost.

3. *Kitābu'l-Ikhhār*.

A book in thirteen *ajzā'*. Still preserved. I have never seen a copy. According to the introduction in *Iqtisār* it is also an abridgment of No. 1 and consists of 300 pages.

4. *al-Yanbū'*.

This is omitted in some copies of *'Uyūn*, vi. Part i on *'ibādāt* seems to be lost; part ii on *mu'āmalāt* is still preserved. The introduction not being available, no further information is forthcoming. Next to the *Da'ā'im*, it is considered as of great authority in legal questions, and as of equal weight with *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, *Ikhhār*, and *Iqtisār*.

5. *al-Iqtisār*.

Wholly preserved. Contains a very valuable introduction giving the extent of the *Īdāh* (No. 1) and *Ikhhār* (No. 3), and showing that it was the abridgment of the *Ikhhār*. It

¹ Sing. *juz'* "part". It is not possible to say exactly what the extent of the *juz'* was in those days; to-day it is reckoned as 16 pages. See Hamdāni in *JRAS.* for April, 1933, p. 369.

consists of two volumes as all *Ismā'ili fiqh* works, part i dealing with *'ibādāt* and part ii with *mu'āmalāt*. Each volume is about 90 pages, 8 by 5 inches. Ibn Khallikān mentions it erroneously as *al-Intisār*. Gottheil (op. cit., 221) mentions it as follows: "Fatimide Law (says Maqrizī), according to the Shī'ite doctrine, was first taught at the Azhar in Ṣafar 365 (975), when 'Alī b. Nu'mān, the caḍi, sat in the Cairo mosque known as Azhar and dictated a compendium of law composed by his father for the Shī'ites. This work was called the *Iqtisār*."

6. *Kitāb al-Ittifāq wa'l-Istirāq*.

Completely lost. A book in 40 *ajzā'*, giving the differences between the opinions of jurists and the correct opinion according to the *ahlu'l-bait*. Ibn Khallikān mentions *Ikhtilāfu'l-Fuqahā'*; probably the same work. It should not be confused with No. 18, *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib*, which is still preserved.

7. *Kitāb al-Muqtaṣir*.

Lost. An abridgment of No. 6.

8. *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Muntakhaba*.

Preserved. A very brief *qaṣīda* in the *rajaz* metre containing an epitome of legal propositions. These compendiums are generally used for memorizing rules of law.

9. *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*.

Full title, *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām fī dhikri'l-Ḥalāl wa'l-Ḥarām wa'l-Qaḍāyā wa'l-Aḥkām*. Preserved in its entirety. Copies fairly common. Consists of two volumes of about 700 pages each; vol. i, dealing with *'ibādāt*, begins with an important book on *īmān*; vol. ii deals with *mu'āmalāt*.

It is related in the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhhār*, vol. vi, that once at the court of Mu'izz, Nu'mān was present at a large gathering consisting of a number of *dā'īs* when the conversation turned upon the differences regarding reported traditions, and how on account of this a number of erroneous opinions had come into being as innovations. And Imām Mu'izz spoke to them

about correct opinions and legal propositions, and how his community will necessarily follow the previous generations closely, and repeated the curious tradition of the Prophet: "Verily, you will follow the paths of previous generations like unto a horseshoe follows upon a horseshoe, or an arrow feather, an arrow feather; to this extent that if they (the previous generations) entered the hole of a serpent, surely you too will follow them."¹ Then Mu'izz reported the well-known *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "When innovations appear in my community, let the learned man make manifest his learning; else the curse of God be upon him"; and turning to the Qādī he said: "You, O Nu'mān, are the one indicated by this saying in these times."² He then commanded Nu'mān to compose the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, and explained to him the "roots" (*uṣūl*) and the "branches" (*furū'*) of the law, and related to him authentic traditions from his forefathers, the Imāms of the House of the Prophet, and the Traditions of the Prophet himself, and distinguished those concerning which the reporters had differed. Mu'izz further told him on the authority of Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq

¹ لتسلكن سبل الأمم قبلكم حدوا النمل بالنمل والقذة بالقذة حتى لو دخلوا جحر ضب لدخلتموه [f. 34]. For a similar Shī'ite tradition see the *ḥadīth* lexicon, *Majma'u'l-Bahrain*, s.v. قذ. Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, the learned editor of *Ma'ārif* (Azamgadh, U.P.), kindly informs me that similar traditions exist also in the Sunnite collections, e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, (a) Ed. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Misriya, Cairo, A.H. 1327, *Kitābu'l-Ḥiṣām*, iv, 1766; (b) Ed. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, A.H. 1345, part ix, p. 126, l. 14, to p. 127, l. 1. I regret I have no access to Krehl's edition. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, Ed. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Misriya, Cairo, A.H. 1327, *Kitābu'l-Ḥim*, ii, 416. Tirmidhī, Ed. Muḥtabā'i Press, Dihli, A.H. 1342, *Kitābu'l-Fitan*, ii, 41. Sh. Md. Ṭāhir Fatanī (of Pattan, Gujrat, see *EI*, iii, 696), *Majma' Bihāru'l-Anwār*, Nawalkishore ed., i, 322; iii, 124.

² ثم ذكر لهم قول رسول الله صلعم: إذا ظهرت البدع في امتي فليظهر العالم علمه وإلا فعليه لعنة الله، ونظر المعز لدين الله عم إلى القاضي النعمان بن محمد رضوان الله عليه فقال: أنت المعنى بذلك في هذا الأوان يا نعمان، ثم امر بتأليف كتاب دعائم الإسلام، وأصل له أصوله وفرع له فروعه، وأخبره بصحيح الروايات عن الطاهرين من آباءه عن رسول الله صلعم [f. 34].

that *Islām* was founded upon seven "pillars" (*da'ā'im*, sing. *dā'im* and *dī'āma*), viz. *walāya*,¹ *ṭahāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ṣawm*, *ḥajj*, and *jihād*. Then he discussed the *walāya* of 'Alī; the real nature of *īmān* (as distinguished from *islām*); the *walāya* of the Imāms descended from the Prophet; the nature of Imāmat and its transference by *naṣṣ* (valid appointment). Thereafter he related the testaments of the Prophet and of 'Alī, and how it is necessary to love the Imāms; then *ṭahāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ḥajj*, and *jihād*; then what is permissible and what is not regarding food, drink, sale, divorce, inheritance, evidence, and all the other subjects connected with *fiqh*.

Qādī an-Nu'mān composed the book as planned by Imām Mu'izz, and used to get it revised chapter by chapter and paragraph by paragraph by Mu'izz, who rejected what was unsound and corrected and retained what was right. Thus there came into existence a book, short yet authoritative, which is a miracle of Mu'izz through the instrumentality of his *dā'ī* and "friend" (*walī*), Qādī an-Nu'mān (*Uyūn*, vi, folio 35).

In addition to this account of the composition of the work, we have also a letter of al-Ḥākim bi'l-lāh, dated 20th Dhū'l-Qa'da, 391/12th October, 1001, to Hārūn b. Muḥammad, *dā'ī* of the Yemen, which makes the *Da'ā'im* the paramount authority in legal questions among Ismā'ilīs.² al-Ḥākim, after discussing various questions with which we are not here concerned, enjoined Hārūn b. Muḥammad to follow strictly that which was laid down in, and to avoid every path contrary to, the Book of Allāh and the Traditions of the Prophet, as derived from his ancestors, the rightly-guided

¹ The word *walāya* has several meanings, including "guardianship". It may also be pronounced *wilāya*; but the Ismā'ilīs always pronounce it with a *fatḥa*. It means, in its technical sense, the love and devotion which the true believer (*mu'min*) must have towards the Imām and the *aklu'l-bait*. This duty is clearly laid down in the *waṣīya* of 'Alī preserved in the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*. Cf. Fyzee, *Ismā'ili Law of Wills*, 70-1; 74-5.

² This letter (*sijill*) is preserved in *Uyūn*, vi, folio 268.

Imāms, and "Your answer to those who question you concerning legal questions about what is forbidden and what is allowed should be from the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* in preference to all the other books which have been handed down".¹ Saiyidnā Idrīs confirms this in his *risāla* entitled *Īdāhu'l-I'tām wa Ibānatu'l-Hidāyat* by saying: "The *Da'ā'im* is to be relied on in preference to all other works handed down, on account of the dispatch of al-Ḥākim to his *dā'ir* of the Yemen, Hārūn b. Muḥammad."² He then cites the actual words of al-Ḥākim and adds that "for matters on which the *Da'ā'im* is silent, it is permissible to consult other authorities." These in practice are firstly, *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* and *Yanbū'*; both of these being of equal weight. Secondly, *Ikhbār*, *Iqtisār*, *Muntakhaba*, and any other legal works of the author; and lastly, later glosses like the *Kitābu'l-Ḥawāshī*,³ and later works like *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām*, *Kitābu'n-Najāḥ* (for marriage and divorce only), and a few others.

Saiyidnā Idrīs also relates⁴ that the Wazīr Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, himself a renegade Jew, wrote a handbook on *fiqh*, known as *Muṣannaḥu'l-Wazīr*. He began with *tahāra*, then prayer, poor-tax, fast, pilgrimage, holy war, and dealt with all the other chapters on *fiqh*, according to the *madhhab* of the Imāms of the House of the Prophet. In this he closely followed Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, and imitated his method and style. Out of this work, according to Saiyidnā Idrīs, only those portions are to be relied on which agree with what the Qāḍī has laid down in his books like the *Da'ā'im* and the *Mukhtaṣar*.

¹ ولكن فتواك للمستفتين في الحلال والحرام من كتاب دعائم الاسلام دون ما سواه من الكتب المتقلة.

² Folio 19. This *Risāla* consists of 25-30 small folios.

³ This is mentioned by Fyzee in his "Ismaili Law of Mut'a": *JEBRAS*. for 1932, n.s., vol. viii, p. 88.

⁴ *Uyūn*, vi, folio 201. This fact is also mentioned by Gottheil, op. cit., 222.

No known copy seems to exist in Europe,¹ though in India complete copies are not rare, as it is generally one of the earliest books taught to the initiate in Ismailism, and is normally studied immediately after *Kitābu'l-Tahāra* (No. 12). Professor Strothmann wrote to me on 3rd March, 1932: "When I was in the Yemen, Ismā'īlīs denied to have any knowledge of it! I found it at Aden, but they would not give it. There was a MS. at Leipzig in the Collection of Gustav Fock Library." I have seen a number of complete copies, the oldest being a copy of vol. ii, dated A.H. 852, exactly five centuries old.

An early mention of the *Da'ā'im* occurs in the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql* of Saiyidnā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī who died apparently shortly before the death of al-Ḥākim bi amr'l-lāh (d. A.H. 411). al-Kirmānī mentions several works in his introduction to vol. i of the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql*, which should be read before studying the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql*. First comes the *Qur'ān* and then several works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān among which is the *Da'ā'im*. The next important reference is in the *Sīra* of al-Mu'ayyid fi'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī, who relates that he used to hold assemblies in the presence of the Buwayhid Sultan Abū Kālijār, where he expounded *inter alia* the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. (Hamdānī, "Hist. of Ismā'īlī Da'wat, etc." (1932), *JRAS.*, 126, 131.) And lastly, Dr. Hamdānī kindly informs me that Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan mentions the *Da'ā'im* also in his *Zahru'l-Ma'ānī*, chap. xvii. These are all the references I have been able to collect so far, but I feel certain that there must be several others which I have been unable to trace, for the *Da'ā'im* is a work of outstanding importance in the Da'wat literature.

The *Da'ā'im* is also mentioned in the following works: By Strothmann, s.v. "Shī'a": *EI*. iv, 355; s.v. "Bohoras": *EI*. i, 739; *Kashfu'l-Hujub wa'l-Astār* (ed. Hidāyet Ḥusayn, Calcutta), Nos. 1095-6; *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* (Tehran), by

¹ A copy of vol. i has only recently been acquired by the School of Oriental Studies, London. *BSOS*. for 1933, vii, 33-9.

Md. Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, 658₁₃-659₂; *Kashfu'z-Zunūn* (Constantinople ed.), i, 492; *Muntahā'l-Maqāl* by Md. b. Ismā'il (Tehran), 318; and the *Mustadrak* cites it continuously; but see particularly iii, 313 sqq.

A summary of vol. ii in Hindustānī was published under the title of *Sharḥu'l-Masā'il*. Extracts from it have been published by me: (1) on "Bequests to Heirs" (1929), *JBBRAS.*, N.S. 5, 141; and (2) on "~~M~~" (1932), *ibid.*, N.S. 8, 85. The *Kitābu'l-Waṣāyā* from volume ii, containing that very interesting document, the *waṣīya* of 'Alī, is being published by me with a translation, notes, and an introduction in the *Ismaili Law of Wills* (Oxford University Press).

10. *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* (also *Ikhtišāru'l-Āthār*?).

Later Imām Mu'izz asked Nu'mān to abridge the *Da'ā'im* for the use of officials and judges, and this abridgment was called *Ikhtišāru'l-Āthār*. It is to be noted that the book, which exists to day in two volumes, similar in arrangement to the *Da'ā'im* but shorter by about half, is called *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*. It is very curious that in the introduction to this work nothing is mentioned about its being the abridgment of the *Da'ā'im*. According to the introduction, the book was composed in 348, and 'Alī b. Nu'mān was permitted to teach it. As it exists to-day it is the recension of Nu'mān's grandson, Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Nu'mān. In all probability the two works are the same, although in his account of our author Saiyidnā Idris only mentions اختصار الآثار. In the introduction to the first volume of the *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, as it now exists, we have the following from the author himself:

فألفت لهم هذا الكتاب متوسطاً بين التطويل والاختصار وسميته
الاختصار مختصر الآثار.

The *Ikhtišāru'l-Āthār* was originally named *Kitābu'd-Dīnār*, because it could be copied for a *dīnār*. But when Mu'izz examined it, he found it of great value, as it contained in short compass many authentic traditions of the Imāms, and

recommended to Qādī an-Nu'mān that the title should be a more dignified one and suggested *Ikhtišāru'l-Āthār*; for in his view the title *Kitābu'd-Dīnār* reduced the book in the eyes of the people. This book was also carefully revised and corrected by Imām Mu'izz, if Saiyidnā Idris and the introduction to the book are to be believed.

The book is wholly preserved. It consists of two volumes of about 350 pages each, and the distribution of the subject is the same as that of the *Da'ā'im*, except that the important chapter on *īmān*, which is a characteristic feature of the first volume of the *Da'ā'im*, is absent here and we have *ṭahāra* at the very commencement.

11. *Kitāb Yaum wa Laila*.

Probably preserved. No copy has been seen by me so far. A popular work concerning the obligatory prayers.

12. *Kitābu't-Ṭahāra*.

Preserved. A brief work of about 200 pages on ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), and on prayers, both obligatory (*mafrūda*) and traditional (*masnūna*). It is generally the first book taught to beginners in the Ismailitic sciences.

13. *Kaifiyatu's-Salāt*.

Lost. A controversial work showing the fallacies of other sects who do not follow the Prophet's injunctions.

14. *Minhāju'l-Farā'id*.

Preserved. This work is not mentioned in the list given in the *Uyūn*, but it is attributed to our author in the Ismā'ili bibliography *Fihristu'l-Majdū*. It deals with the laws of inheritance. A tract of about 30 folios (5 by 7½ inches) of doubtful authenticity.

B. Munāzara (Controversy)

15. *ar-Risālatu'l-Miṣrīya fī'r-Radd 'alā'sh-Shāfi'ī*.

Lost. A polemical tract against Imām Shāfi'ī. In two large parts.

16. *Kitāb Fih'r-Radd 'alā Aḥmad b. Shuraiḥ al-Baghdādī*.
Lost. Similar to above against Ibn Shuraiḥ. In two parts.

17. *ar-Risāla Dhātu'l-Bayān fī'r-Radd 'alā Ibn Qutaiba*.

Partially preserved at least. Polemic against 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Muslim b. Qutaiba. I have not come across complete copies. The one I have seen contains the first eight *ajzā'*, about sixty small folios, 4 by 5 inches.

18. *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib*.

Preserved. From the title it seems to be a very valuable work. I have only been able to examine one very modern and imperfect copy; 139 folios, 5 by 8 inches. But copies are not very rare. The introduction shows that the work before us is the recension of Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt¹ 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. an-Nu'mān. It is further said that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān showed the book to Imām Mu'izz; his son, Muḥammad, to Imām 'Azīz; and 'Abdu'l-'Azīz in turn showed it to Imām al-Ḥākim. The copy before me is too incorrect for detailed work; but it is a book which, carefully studied, should give us much information regarding the legal system of the Ismā'īlis, although a cursory perusal of it produces a disappointing impression.

19. *Dāmighu'l-Mūjiz* (? or *Mu'akkkhar*) *fī'r-Radd 'alā'l-'Itkī*
(? or *Fatakī*).

Lost. In four *ajzā'*.

C. Ta'wīl (Allegorical Interpretation)

20. *Nahju's-Sabīl ilā Ma'rifati 'Ilm't-Ta'wīl*.

Lost. In two volumes.

21. *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl*.

Partially preserved. Written before No. 22. Saiyidnā Idrīs says that only sixteen *ajzā'* are preserved. A very important and much studied work, dealing with *walāya* and numerous Qur'ānic stories and verses. A complete Persian

¹ A title never applied to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, see note 1 to p. 12.

version was made by Saiyidnā al-Mu'aiyyid fī'd-dīn, which is in existence to-day, but copies are very rare. The introduction says that the volume contains the "inner meaning" of what is stated in the *Da'ā'im*. The copy I have seen has 325 folios, about 5 by 9 inches, and seems to contain seventeen *ajzā'*.

22. *Ta'wīlud-Da'ā'im*.

Partially preserved. This is the title by which it is generally known; but the full title according to a MS. examined by me is: *كتاب تربية المؤمنین بالتوفیق علی حدود باطن علم الدین فی تأویل دعائم الاسلام*. 340 folios, 5 by 9 inches. Six *ajzā'* are preserved, each containing ten *majālis*, sixty *majālis* in all. Deals only with the first volume of *Da'ā'im* on *'ibādāt*. In the *'Uyūn*, Saiyidnā Idrīs mentions twelve *ajzā'*; possibly the second half is lost. A very important work. It is read soon after the *Da'ā'im* among Western Ismā'īlis in India.

D. Ḥaqā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy)¹

23. *Hudūdu'l-Ma'rifa fī Tafsi'rī'l-Qur'ān wa't-Tanbīh 'alā'l-Ta'wīl*.

Lost. Contained exegesis and *ta'wīl*. Seventy *ajzā'*.

24. *Kitābu't-Tawḥīd wa'l-Imāmat*.

Preserved. In two volumes. I have not seen a copy. Deals with the public utterances of 'Alī I.

25. *Kitāb Ithbātu'l-Ḥaqā'iq fī Ma'rifati Tawḥīdi'l-Khālīq*.

Lost. In one volume.

26. *Kitāb fī'l-Imāmat*.

Lost. In four volumes. This was distinct from No. 24; and seems to have been lost since Saiyidnā Idrīs's times.

¹ Although the sections C and D are so divided, it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between a work dealing with *ta'wīl* and another with *Ḥaqā'iq*.

E. 'Aqā'id (Dogmatics)

27. *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Mukhtāra*.

Preserved. A short *qaṣīda* in the *rajaʿ* metre, concerning Imāmat and Hujjat, who is fit for these positions and who is not, although he claims it.

28. *Kitābu't-Ta'āqub (or ta'aqqub) wa'l-Intiqād*.

Lost. In one *juz'*.

29. *Kitābu'd-Du'ā'*.

Lost. In two *ajzā'*.

30. *Kitābu'l-Himma fī Ādābi Ittibā'il-A'imma*.

Preserved. In two parts. A volume of about 200 folios. An interesting work showing how one should act in ordinary life so as to conform with the social manners and practices of the Imāms.

31. *Kitābu'l-Hulā wa'th-Thiyāb*.

Lost. In one *juz'*. It is very unfortunate that this is lost, for it may have contained much curious and entertaining information.

32. *Kitābu'sh-Shurūt*.

Lost. Its extent is not mentioned in the 'Uyūn, nor the subject with which it dealt.

F. Akhbār and Sira (Tradition and Biography)

33. *Sharḥu'l-Akḥbār*.

Full title: *Kitāb Sharḥu'l-Akḥbār fī Faḍā'ilī'n-Nabī al-Mukhtār wa Āli'l-Muṣṭafīn al-Akḥyār min al-A'immatī'l-Athār*. Preserved, in four volumes, sixteen *ajzā'*. A large work, concerning the Imāms and their excellence. Partially preserved (eight *ajzā'* only) in Berlin, No. 9662. Ahlwardt, ix, 295. Complete copies are not uncommon in India.

34. *Dhātu'l-Mīnan (an urjūza)*.

Lost. Contained in metrical form the biography of Imām Mu'izz.

35. *Dhātu'l-Mīhan (an urjūza)*.

Lost. Concerning the biography of Makhlad *ad-Dajjāl*

al-Māriq. This Makhlad "ad-Dajjāl" seems to be the well-known Khārijite rebel. Ibn Khallikān (iii, 182) says: "It was in the reign of al-Qā'im that Abū Yazīd Makhlad Ibn Kaidād the Khārijite revolted against the Shī'ite dynasty." Makhlad died in the reign of Maṣṣūr (Ibn Khal., i, 220).

G. Ta'riḥ (History)

36. *Manāqib Banī Hāshim wa Mathālib Banī Umayya*.

Preserved. Two volumes. This work and Nos. 33 and 37 were written at the command of Imām Mu'izz. Historical work containing praise for the Imāms of the house of Hāshim and blame for the Umayyad family.

37. *Iftitāḥu'd-Da'wat wa Ibtidā'u'd-Dawlat*.

Preserved. In two volumes. A very important work dealing with the early history of the Fatimids in Egypt. Ibn Khallikān mentions it as *Kitāb Ibtidā' ad-Da'wat li'l-'Ubaidiyīn*.

H. Wa'z (Sermons)

38. *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-Mahdī*.

Lost. In one volume. Contained the religious teaching of Imām Mahdī.

39. *ar-Risāla ilā'l-Murshid ad-Dā'i bi Miṣr fī Tarbiyati'l-Mu'minīn*.

Lost. In one volume. Tract, concerning the teaching of true believers written to the *dā'i* of Miṣr (Old Cairo). Generally known by the title of *Tarbiyatu'l-Mu'minīn*.

40. *Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyārāt*.

Preserved. In four volumes. A huge work of some 1,000 pages of a didactic nature giving an account of séances with Imām Mu'izz. The work contains some autobiographical information, but I have not had the opportunity to go through it.

¹ Maṣṣūrī, *Kitāb*, Cairo ed., has كندار الكارى بن محمد بن خالد بن كندار الكارى, ii, 163. See also O'Leary, *His. Fat. Khal.*, 89.

it carefully. It is one of the books greatly studied by students in the early stages.

I. Miscellaneous

41. *Ta'wīlu'r-Ru'yā.*

Preserved. In one volume. On the interpretation of dreams. I have not come across this book.

42. *Manāmātu'l-A'imma.*

Lost. In one volume. On the dreams of Imāms.

43. *Kitāb at-Taqrī' wa't-Ta'nīf.*

Lost. A book upbraiding those who presume to write books on legal questions without proper knowledge. Two large volumes. It is a pity this is lost; it may have contained much to dissuade the present writer from his task and to instil diffidence.

44. *Mafātīhu'n-Ni'ma.*

Full title: *Mafātīhu'n-Ni'ma fī dhikr Imtīhānī'l-Khalq fī anfusihim wa amwālihīm.* Preserved. This is not mentioned in the 'Uyūn; but only in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*. Concerning

the Qur'anic verse (9, 11): **إِنَّ اللَّهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ**

أَنفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنْ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ، I have not come across this work.

J. Apocrypha

(1) *Taqwīmu'l-Ahkām.*

Is a legal work, containing a very brief summary of legal rules in the form of a code. The propositions of law are generally numbered as 1, 2, 3, etc. It is a modern work of unknown authorship, and is not uncommonly used as a handy book of reference. Copies, not uncommon.

(2) *ar-Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī.*

This is also sometimes ascribed to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. It is a very small tract of about 25 pages of a didactic character.

(3) *Sīratu'l-A'imma.*

No. 42 above is in some copies of the 'Uyūn called *Sīratu'l-A'imma*. I cannot explain the confusion. Except the *sīras* of Mu'izz and of Makhlad (Nos. 34 and 35), the Qāḍī is not known to be the author of any others. May be the same work as No. 36, which is sometimes known as *Manāqib ahl al-Bait*.

BOMBAY.

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