Abstract

The thesis attempts to set out the doctrines of Ḥamza b. 'Alī al-Zūzanī, the earliest and most essential teachings of the Druze religion, and to indicate some of the ways in which they are related to Ismā'īlism, the source from which the Druze religion springs.

The major part of the thesis is thus an edition of Ḥamza's writings, together with the writings of his lieutenant, Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī and a few other pieces by the Imām al-Ḥākim and others, forming in all the first two of the six volumes of the Druze scriptures. Together with this edition is a preface; two introductory sections, one historical, one textual; a summary in English of the edited epistles and, finally, a glossary and index and bibliography.

The preface considers the present state of Druze studies and gives a brief outline of the contents of the thesis.

The first introductory section looks at the Ismā'īlī background to the Druze and at the particular situation in Cairo in the first years of the fifth century A.H. when one group of Ismā'īlī extremists established themselves as founders of a separate religion. It considers the doctrines of Ḥamza and finally looks at some of the details of the relationship between the Druze and Ismā'īlīs in questions of dogma,

terminology and in their literature.

The second introductory section first considers certain problems of Druze writings in general; their authorship and dating, their compilation in canonical form and the glosses found in many of them. It then discusses what Druze manuscripts exist outside Druze hands and lists the manuscripts and published works used in this edition. There is also a brief consideration of their ornamentation and the peculiarities of grammar and orthography found in them. Finally there is a chapter on the most interesting of the manuscripts used, the Bodleian manuscript Arab e213, which may date from the first years of the Druze era.

The glossary to be found after the summary at the end of Volume I contains all the proper names and most technical terms found in the edition with short notes on their meanings in both Ismā'īlī and Druze writings.

From this sketch it is hoped a picture of Ḥamza's great achievement emerges; the creation of a religion which is 'neither bizarre nor ignoble' but a true monotheistic teaching in the great Hellenistic and Semitic tradition.

THE ORIGINS OF THE DRUZE RELIGION

An edition of Ḥamza's writings and an analysis of his doctrine

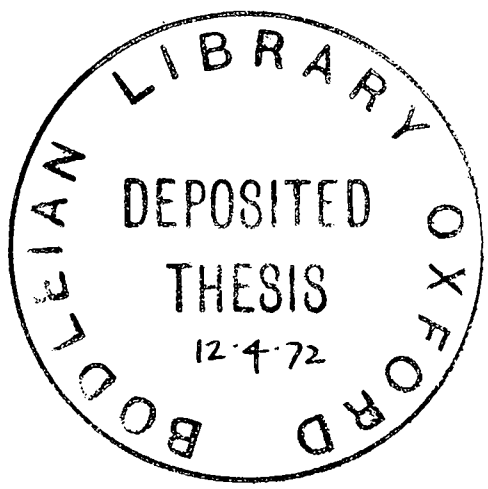
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by

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VOLUME I

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VOLUME II

EDITION OF VOLUME I AND II OF THE DRUZE SCRIPTURES

Abbreviations

Books

De S.	De Sacy: Exposé de la Religion des Druzes.
De S.C.	De Sacy: Chrestomathie Arabe Vol.II.
E.I.	Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Journals

A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
B.L.R.	Bodleian Library Record.
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M.F.O.B.	Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de L'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Preface

Throughout the centuries the origins of the Druze,[1] both ethnic and religious, have never ceased to be the subject of speculation. The suggestions about their racial origins have ranged through the Samaritans, the Cuthites and the Hivites to the French, the British and the Tibetans. Apparently backed up by more evidence but, in fact, equally unproven were Professor Hitti's theories about their Persian roots.[2] Indeed, it was not until 1939 in an article by Martin Sprengling,[3] in which he discussed the whole question of the Druze's ethnic origins, that the obvious answer was given--"They are a mixture of stocks, in which the Arab (or more particularly the South Arab) largely predominates, grafted onto an original mountain population of Aramaic and other blood," in other words the typical mixture of the mountain dwellers of the East Mediterranean coast.[4]

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[1] I have used the Anglicised form Druze for both the singular Durzī and the plural Durūz.

[2] P. Hitti, The Origins of the Druze People and Religion, Columbia University Oriental Studies, XXVIII (New York, 1928). Cf. also below p.129-130.

[3] M. Sprengling, "The Berlin Druze Lexicon," A.J.S.L. LVI, 1939, pp.388-414.

[4] This common-sense answer does not, however, seem to have been universally accepted. E.J. Finbert in The Hashette Guide of Israel (Paris, 1956), pp.73-74 can still claim the Druze are the remnants of the tribe of Jethro and are non-Arabs, though they speak Arabic, while a recent article in The Times (18 January 1971) on the Arab evacuation of the Golan Heights by saying: "There are still 6,000 Druse [sic] but only about 1,000 Arabs" also seems to regard them as a separate ethnic group.

But if the theories about their ethnic origins are wild, those about the nature of their religion are no less so. The enemies of the Druze have always portrayed them as worshippers of a calf, with a moral code which commands them to practise incest and every form of licence; a view which travellers and other popular writers have not been slow to believe and recount as fact. Even today the accounts of journalists are an interesting mixture of folklore and bar-gossip: "The Druze religion is based principally on the Old Testament, but . . . states that the Messiah will be born of man and thus enjoins all men always to wear large baggy trousers to be ready for the event."[1] Nor have more scholarly writings been free from similar libels and inaccuracies: "Belief in metempsychosis is widespread . . . The good are born again in infants but the wicked return in the bodies of dogs. Polygamy is allowed and it is said that the marriage of brother and sister is sometimes practised, but the law forbids this."[2]

As for the origins of the religion, writers at all levels have allowed their imagination to run riot when considering the subject; Buddhism, Hinduism, Manichaeism,[3] Gnosticism, Judaism and the faith of the Yazidis are only

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1 The Illustrated London News, 30 October 1965.

2 B. Carra de Vaux: "Druzes", Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.

3 For the arguments for Manichaean influence see Sprengling, A.J.S.L., 1939, pp.408-410 and against, Hodgson, J.A.O.S., 1962, p.15.

the beliefs most plausibly posited as the source of the doctrines of Ḥamza, the founder of the Druze faith.[1]

What is really surprising about these misconceptions, however, is that, from the early eighteenth century, manuscripts of the canonical religious writings of the Druze, while still secret within the Druze community itself--except to the initiated minority--have been widely available in European libraries. In 1786 précis of certain epistles in the scriptures were published by Baron de Tott[2] but the greatest and still the most important contribution to Druze studies was the series of articles by the great French scholar, Baron Silvestre de Sacy, beginning in 1805[3] and culminating in the first two volumes of his major work, the Exposé de la Religion des Druzes, in 1839.[4] As early as 1818 he had already dealt with the question of calf-worship[5] while in the Exposé he analysed the whole canon of the scriptures using numerous translated quotations from them. He also

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1 Most recent and among the most wild of such books is Klaus Müller, Kulturhistorische Studien zur Genese pseudo Islamischer Sektengebilde in Vorderasien (Wiesbaden, 1967). There is a detailed refutation by J. Van Ess, Die Welt des Orients, 1969 pp.137-144.

2 An Appendix to the Memoirs of Baron de Tott (London,1786).

3 "Commentatio de notione vocum Tanzil et Tawil", Commentationes societatis regiae scientarum, Gottigensis, Vol.XVI,1805.

4 Exposé de la Religion des Druzes (Paris, 1838 republished Amsterdam, 1964).

5 "Mémoire sur l'origine du culte que les Druzes rendent à la figure d'un veau", Mémoires de L'Institut Royal,III, 1818, pp.74-128.

published eight pieces from the canon[1] and gave précis of the first eleven epistles.[2] With his death, however, serious study of the Druze almost ceased for a century and, apart from the accounts of travellers, there were only four minor works dealing with their religion.[3] It was not until the nineteen thirties that there was a renewal of interest in the Druze religion which, had it not been for the war and, in the case of Professor Wehr, his work on his Arabic dictionary, might have led to the publication of the complete Druze canon. As it was, however, only a small but important series of articles appeared.[4]

It was also from about this time that the origins of the Druze religion began to be better understood. As far back as De Sacy, Ḥamza's debt to Ismā'īlism had been recognised but the paucity of Ismā'īlī writings available made it impossible to judge to what degree. In the last forty years the situation has completely changed with the publication and

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1 Chrestomathie Arabe, Vol.II (Paris, 1826) 2nd Ed.

2 "Mémoires (Premier et Second) sur les livres religieux des Druzes", Mémoires de L'Institut Royal, IX, 1831, pp.31-65 and X, 1833, pp.89-115.

3 H. Guys, Théogonie des Druzes (Paris,1863). Seybold, Die Drusenschrift (Leipzig, 1902). Khalil and Ronzevalle, "Al-Risālat al-Qusṭanṭīniyya", M.F.O.B.,III, Beirut, 1909. E. Von Döbeln,"Ein Traktat aus den Schriften der Drusen", Monde Oriental,III, Uppsala, 1909, pp.89-126.

4 Feghali, "Texte Druse", Mélanges Maspero, III, Cairo,1935-40, pp.83-96. M.S.Sprengling, "The Berlin Druze Lexicon", R.Strothmann, "Drusen-Antwort auf Nuṣairī-Angriff," Der Islam XXV, 1939, pp.269-281. H.Wehr, "Zu den Schriften Ḥamza's im Drusenkanon," Z.D.M.G., XCVI, 1942, pp.187-207.

analysis of a large section of early Ismā'īlī literature by men like Ivanow, Fyzee, Hamdānī, I. Massignon, B. Lewis and P. Kraus and, more recently, Ārif Tāmir, Kāmil Ḥusayn, Corbin, Stern and Madelung. To this has been added the increasing willingness of the Bohra Ismā'īlī community to make public the great store of Fāṭimid literature kept in the libraries of their leader, the Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq, in Bombay and Surat and to which, in theory at least, belong almost all Ismā'īlī texts known to us.

The central doctrines of the Druze are first the belief in the divinity of al-Ḥākim, known to history as the sixth Fāṭimid Caliph, and the hierarchy of ministers which that divinity had created and secondly the claim that all previous religions had been false, sent by God as a punishment to mankind. At first sight these appear to be far removed from the main stream of the Ismā'īlī movement but, radical though they are, they are but a logical if extreme development of Ismā'īlī ideas over the previous century and a half. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that almost every facet of the Druze religion, whether it be its philosophy and mythology or the style and terminology of its canonical scriptures, can be traced back to its Ismā'īlī origins. However, this view of the Druze as, in origin at least,[1] the one surviving example of Ismā'īlī ghulāt[2], has,

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[1] It is only of course Ismā'īlī in its ancestry. The Druze religion, the religion of Tawḥīd, as developed by Ḥamza became and has remained a religion quite separate from Islam.

[2] Normally I have preferred an English plural to an Arabic

apart from stray mentions, only recently begun to be dealt with,[1] and the premature deaths of some of the major scholars in the field has delayed its investigation still further. As Wehr and Sprengling pointed out nearly thirty years ago,[2] what is now needed is the publication of the canonical scriptures, other scriptures of more doubtful authenticity not included in the canon[3] and the various glosses, commentaries, catechisms and poems dealing with religious subjects. (The latter works would be particularly important for showing how the religion developed over the centuries for it is quite certain that the Druze religion today is in many ways different from that laid down by Ḥamza). With the Druze writings fully published it would then be possible for an Ismā'īlī scholar to carry out a detailed investigation into the relationship of the two religions. Only then would it be reasonable to look for more distant sources for Ḥamza's ideas.

What is attempted in this thesis is to set out

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broken plural (e.g. sharī'as) but for those words which are most often found in the plural (e.g. ghulāt or hudūd) I have kept the Arabic form.

1 Most important are W. Madelung, "Das Imamat in der frühen Ismailitischen Lehre", Der Islam, XXXVII, 1961, pp.43-135. M.G.S.Hodgson, "Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion", J.A.O.S., LXXXII, 1962, pp.5-20, and the article "Durūz" in E.I. 2nd Ed.. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Tā'ifat al-Durūz (Cairo, 1962 and 1968). 'Abdallāh Najjār, Madhhab al-Durūz wal-Tawḥīd (Cairo,1965)(An apologia by a Druze diplomat).

2 Z.D.M.G., 1942, p.206 and A.J.S.L. 1939, p.410.

3 E.g., Kitāb Āl Yūnān, Vienna MS., 1577.

Ḥamza's doctrines, the earliest and most essential teachings of the Druze religion, and to indicate some of the ways in which they are related to Ismā'īlism.

The major part of the thesis (Volume II) is thus an edition of Ḥamza's writings, together with the writings of his lieutenant, Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī[1] and a few other pieces by al-Ḥākim and others, forming in all the first two of the six volumes of the Druze scriptures. Together with this edition are two introductory sections, one historical, one textual, a summary in English of the edited epistles and, finally, a glossary and index and bibliography.

The first four chapters of the introduction are designed to show the Druze religion within its Ismā'īlī framework. The first chapter deals with the general Ismā'īlī background; the second with the situation under al-Ḥākim. Here, in an attempt to make some sense of the conflicting accounts of the historians about the rise of the cult of al-Ḥākim, a project not yet satisfactorily carried out, it has seemed worth while to include fairly lengthy quotations or paraphrases of the relevant passages. Chapter three deals with the doctrines propounded by Ḥamza and here again most

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[1] In spite of the inconsistency involved in sometimes using the ism, sometimes the nisba and sometimes the laqab to refer to people shortly, I have, particularly in the case of the Druze ministers, used whichever name is most familiar from earlier Western writings on the Druze; e.g., Ḥamza, al-Tamīmī and Muqtanā Bahā' al-Dīn.

stress has been laid on those facets not previously considered, in particular the development of his attitude towards Islam and other religions. Chapter four is concerned with some of the details of the relationship between the Druze and Ismā'īlīs in dogma and terminology. It also gives examples of the many quotations in the Druze scriptures from Ismā'īlī works particularly from the Majālis al-Hikma. These fragments come from majālis which are otherwise lost and are the first examples of this most important form of Ismā'īlī writing.

The other three chapters of the introduction are more closely concerned with the edition. Chapter five deals with Druze writings in general and the canon of scriptures in particular. It discusses the authorship and dating of the epistles, their gathering together into a canon of sacred writings and the subsequent division of that canon into volumes. It also considers the date and importance of the glosses found in certain manuscripts. The sixth chapter discusses what manuscripts are to be found outside Druze hands and lists the manuscripts and published works used in this edition. It then deals with the ornamentation of the manuscripts and their peculiarities of orthography and grammar. Finally there is an attempt to see if any connexion can be traced between the manuscripts. The last chapter discusses the Bodleian manuscript Arab e213 already referred to by

Professors Beeston and Hodgson.[1] It concentrates mainly on the date of the manuscript and pays particular attention to its variants and the script in which it is written.

Then follows the summary of the epistles in English. In those epistles which are divided[2] into Hamd, Maw'iza and 'Ilm, I have dealt mainly with 'Ilm; Hamd and Maw'iza varying very little from one epistle to another. Finally comes the glossary and index, bibliography and, in Volume II, the edition.

The glossary (in transliteration) and index to the edition are combined, and is in four sections: persons, tribes, peoples and sects; places; books mentioned in the text and lastly technical terms. In the case of persons, the names are listed according to the form they appear in the text; whether that form be their ism, laqab or kunya. Where the name thus listed is not the one by which the person is best known there is usually a cross reference. Unless otherwise stated all references are to the edition in Volume II of the thesis. If the Druze or Ismā'īlīs interpret the term or personality in an idiosyncratic way, a short note follows on the meaning in the Ismā'īlī and Druze writings. I have intended the glossary to be used in conjunction with

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1 A.F.L. Beeston, "An Ancient Druze Manuscript", B.L.R., V, No.6, 1956, pp.286-290 and M. Hodgson, "Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion", p.10.

2 Cf. below p.130.

the introduction, thus preventing the confusion caused by translating technical terms or cluttering the text with endless explanations.

The Bibliography contains only books, articles and a few non-Druze manuscripts mentioned, or quoted from, in the thesis.

In the edition each epistle is preceded by a list of the manuscripts collated and a note of any published version and any complete or partial translation.[1] Under the text itself is the apparatus criticus in four sections; references to the Qur'ān (in the Egyptian version), a complete list of variants, a selection of the more interesting glosses and finally any notes which seemed to be more suitably placed in the body of the text than in the introduction. On the right of the page are references to translations. The paragraphing ~~and punctuation are~~ is largely my own and I have tended to change the very confused orthography for the sake of consistency, sometimes adding hamzas, shaddas ~~and~~ changing alif maqṣūras. The grammar, however, has been kept as close as possible to what I conceive the archetype to have been only varying from this policy when serious difficulty in the meaning is caused thereby or when almost every manuscript

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[1] The numbering of the epistles here, as in all works on the Druze, follows De Sacy, excluding LXIX and LXX and his mistake at the end from CIX to CXIII.

has a different form; later manuscripts varying usually because of corrections, less often because of carelessness. The text seems to be corrupt, or at any rate incomprehensible in only three places[1] and these I have left as they stand in the manuscripts.

Finally, in this preface I would like to thank those who have helped in the preparation of this thesis. Chief among these is my late supervisor, Dr. Samuel Stern, who first encouraged me to write this thesis. To him I feel the deepest gratitude not only for the insight he gave me into Ismā'ilism but also for the kindness, enthusiasm, help and encouragement which he gave me during the years I was privileged to work with him. I would also like to thank my present supervisor, Dr. Walzer, for his considerable help in bringing the work to its conclusion, Professor Wehr of Münster and Professor Madelung of Chicago for their answering of certain particular questions, and finally Mr. Daykin for the difficult task of typing the thesis.

For reasons less closely connected with the thesis but no less important I would also like to thank Mr. Hourani of St. Antony's College and Professor Sa'id Himadeh of the American University of Beirut for introducing me to the Druze and enabling me to live among them and Professor Hamiduddin and the leaders of the Da'ūdī Bohra community for their

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[1] pp. 9(7-9), 24(1 and 3).

magnificent hospitality and for their introducing me to the Bohra Ismā'īlīs in India.

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Chapter One

THE ISMĀ'ĪLĪ ORIGINS

The Ismā'īlī movement seems to have begun about the middle of the third century A.H.--any connexion between this and the followers of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far a century earlier being very tenuous.[1] Its founders were based in Salamiyya in Syria but it was soon spread by its missionaries to all parts of the Islamic empire: 'Alī b. Faḍl and Ibn Hawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman were in Yemen by 270/883; the first Ismā'īlī dā'ī in Persia, Khalaf, was there in c.272/885; Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and his brother-in-law 'Abdān founded a dār al-hijra in Wāsiṭ in 277/890 while Abū 'Abdallāh al-Shī'ī was active among the Berber tribes in North Africa from about 280/893.

In its earliest form Ismā'īlism saw history as a series of cycles each begun by a prophet or nāṭiq. Each prophet would introduce a new religious law or sharī'a, which would then be carried out by his successors, an asās or wasī and a line of seven imams[2] or mutimms. The last of these prophets was the grandson of the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq,

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[1] Cf. S.M. Stern, "Ismā'īlīs and Qarmaṭians", L'Elaboration de L'Islam (Strasbourg, 1961), pp.99-108.

[2] For those words which have entered the English language like imam, I have not used a strict system of transliteration.

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, who was seen as a Messianic figure who would return in the fullness of time as Qā'im or Mahdī[1] to herald in either a golden age or the last Judgement.

The earliest description of Ismā'īlī doctrines comes from a non-Ismā'īlī source, the Firaq al-Shī'a, written sometime in the last two decades of the third century.[2] According to the Firaq, the Ismā'īlīs say there are seven prophets "with resolution", (Ulū'l-'Azm) viz., Nūḥ, Ibrahīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad, 'Alī, and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. After Muḥammad there were seven imams, the imamate being transferred from one to the other until it reached Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl who is "the Imam, the Qā'im, the Mahdī". He is in hiding in Byzantium and will return one day bringing his own sharī'a which will abrogate all previous sharī'as.[3]

The importance of the Mahdī, who is sometimes but not always equated with Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, is confirmed by contemporary Ismā'īlī writings e.g., the Kitāb al-'Ālim wal-ghulām and the Kitāb al-rushd wal-hidāya attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. Hawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman.[4] They too speak of

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1 The terms seem to be synonymous, cf. S.M.Stern, "The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in N.W. Persia and in Khurasān and Transoxania," B.S.O.A.S., XXIII, Pt.1, 1960, p.74.

2 For its date and authorship see a description of works mentioned in Yādgār, Teheran by H. Roemer in Oriens VII, pt.1, 1954, p.204, l.26-31; W. Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur Imamitischen Firaq Literatur", Der Islam, 1967, pp.37-52; and S.M. Stern, The Firaq al-Shī'a, Early Ismā'īlism, Unpublished.

3 Firaq al-Shī'a, ed. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), p.62.

4 For a full account of the early doctrines of the Imamate see W. Madelung, "Das Imamat in der frühen Ismailitischen Lehre".

seven nāṭiqs, a cyclical order of history and the importance of ta'wīl, the allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān. But above all they stress the importance of the coming of the Mahdī who combines the positions of nāṭiq and waṣī and is the eighth mutimm; coming after the nāṭiq, waṣī and seven mutimms. In the Kitāb al-Kashf, in the Ismā'īlī tradition ascribed to Ja'far b. Manṣūr,[1] the main theme is again the expectation of the Qā'im who is the tenth of the group beginning with Aḥmad (the Prophet Muḥammad), who is followed by eight hujjas. The historian Akhū Muḥsin, as quoted by Nuwayrī, although writing in Fāṭimid times, confirms the idea that the founders of Ismā'īlism and the early Ismā'īlīs believed that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was the Qā'im[2] and it was certainly a belief of this sort that was held by the Qarāmiṭa.

The Messianic nature of very early Ismā'īlism is not so greatly stressed by the Persian Ismā'īlī writers like al-Nasafī, the chief Dā'ī of Khurāsān, and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, his contemporary and head of the da'wa in Rayy, but they too speak of seven nāṭiqs. They do add, however, that each prophet has an asās, who teaches the inner meaning (bāṭin) of the law, and that each asās is followed by a series of imams. The prophet or nāṭiq brings the tanzīl, the asās or sāmit the ta'wīl. Al-Nasafī says there were seven nāṭiqs

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1 Ibid., p.58.

2 Ibid., p.58.

--Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrahīm, Mūsā, 'Īsa, Muḥammad, and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl--all of whom were Ulū'l-'Azm. Abū Ḥātim excludes Ādam and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl from the Ulū'l-'Azm as they did not promulgate and abrogate a sharī'a.[1] The only real difference between the Firaq and these Ismā'īlī writers is the inclusion of 'Alī among the Ulū'l-'Azm in the Firaq. That the original founders gave 'Alī the status of a prophet is quite likely to be true, seeing how accurate the author of the Firaq is on all other points. It was probably later, more conservative, leaders who denied him the rank thus also helping the symmetry of the scheme; for otherwise Muḥammad has no asās.

Like so many other Shī'ī groups one of the most fundamental doctrines of Ismā'īlism (at all periods) was the doctrine of Ẓāhir and Bāṭin,[2] Tanzīl and Ta'wīl. In the Firaq al-Shī'a[3] it says: "They pretend that everything commanded by God to man or ordered by the Prophet as sunna has an outward (Ẓāhir) and an inner (Bāṭin) meaning; and that all commandments contained in the Qur'ān or the Sunna, imposed by God upon men, are parables containing inner meanings. It is these inner meanings upon which one must act and which lead to salvation; in acting upon the outward meaning one is led to perdition and damnation. It is part of the punishment in

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1 The Qāḍī al-Nu'mān also speaks of only five Ulū'l-'Azm, cf. Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im (Cairo, 1967), pp.41,179,182,193.

2 Cf. M.G.S.Hodgson, "Bāṭiniyya", E.I., 2nd Ed.

3 Firaq al-Shī'a, p.63.

this world meted out by God to some people since they did not recognise and follow the truth. This also is the doctrine of all the followers of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb."

If one accepts this, it would seem that the earliest Ismā'īlīs were inclined to place the bāṭin above the ẓāhir i.e., they would consider that the outward form of Islam, the tanzīl or sharī'a, as shown forth in the ritual acts and in the literal meaning of the Qur'ān, was superseded by a knowledge of their inner meaning arrived at by a process of allegorical interpretation, ta'wīl. The ritual acts were only an outward expression of Ismā'īlī doctrines e.g., the hierarchy of prophet, asās, imam etc. while the Qur'ānic stories were interpreted as the history of the Ismā'īlī da'wa. Indeed, among these very early Ismā'īlīs and among the more extreme members of the sect at all times, the ritual acts were regarded only as punishments for non-Ismā'īlīs; a knowledge of their real meaning making them unnecessary. Such an attitude is certainly implicit in much of what is known of the writings of al-Nasafī and Abu Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, probably the chief dā'ī of Khurāsān. Al-Nasafī says that Adam brought no sharī'a. To this Abū Ḥātim replies that it is inconceivable that Adam should have preached Tawhīd[1] without a sharī'a for only through the sharī'a can there by any

[1] The belief in the oneness and uniqueness of God--to be the sole and only true supporters of Tawhīd was the claim of most Islamic sects; not least the Ismā'īlīs and the Druze.

understanding of God. Without tanzīl there can be no ta'wīl. Abū Ya'qūb replies in his turn that Tawḥīd is so obvious that there was no need for Adam to bring a sharī'a. If the sharī'a is the source of knowledge, then before Adam and after the Qā'im there is no knowledge; and this is clearly ridiculous. But in spite of his comparative extremism, Abū Ya'qūb says he does not only follow ta'wīl. With the coming of the Qā'im certain ritual acts can be changed e.g., Salāt and Zakāt which were only set up for their allegorical meanings but even these cannot be abolished completely as they are important for human order and the well-being of the body.[1] It was certainly this attitude that became the official one of the Ismā'īlī jurists and theologians. The Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, the greatest Fāṭimid jurist, stresses again and again that while the initiate may know the inner meaning of the commandments, he must carry them out in their outward form until the last Judgement. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, the chief Dā'ī of "the two Iraqs" (i.e, S. Iraq, Mesopotamia and N.W.Iran), in a reference to the above mentioned argument of Al-Nasafī, Abū Ḥātim and Abū Ya'qūb, says that the Qā'im will abolish none of the laws and that the outward law will never lose its importance.[2]

Although the doctrines of the ẓāhir and bāṭin, of

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1 Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Kitāb Ithbāt al-nubūwāt, ed. A. Tāmir, (Beirut, 1966), and cf. Der Islam, 1961, p.108.

2 Al-Kirmānī, Kitāb al-Riyāḍ (Beirut, 1960), Ch.9.

the Mahdī, the position of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and the imamate, and the cyclical nature of history were basic to Ismā'īlism, various philosophical and cosmological doctrines soon began to coalesce around the central dogma. In their earliest form, as found in the Yemen, these cosmological beliefs are described by a non-Ismā'īlī, Zaydī, source, al-Ḥamdānī,[1] in a biography of the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṣir. Our knowledge of these early beliefs has been greatly clarified by the discovery by S.M.Stern of a text by Abū 'Īsā al-Murshid, a judge in Cairo at the time of al-Mu'izz.[2] This work of al-Murshid, though dating from the time of al-Mu'izz, does seem to present the earliest concepts comparatively unadulterated by later influences. It describes how God created Kūnī. Out of its own light, Kūnī created Qadar. Then Kūnī created seven Karūbiyya and Qadar twelve Rūḥāniyya.[3] The Rūḥāniyya were intermediaries between Qadar and the nāṭiqs and walīs: "the twelve Spiritual beings (Rūḥāniyya) which are the creation of God are the intermediaries between Him and the nāṭiqs in every period." I.e., inspiration is passed on to prophets and imams by the Spiritual beings though the mechanism of the transmission is

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1 C. Van Arendonk, De Opkomst van Het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen (Leiden, 1919), pp.304-306.

2 A. Fyzee's MS. of the Dā'ī al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥamdānī's Ghāyat al-Mawālīd, fol.132-147, to be published in the forthcoming volume on Ismā'īlism by S.M.Stern.

3 For the Karūbiyya and Rūḥāniyya cf. also"Risālat al-Mudhhiba" attributed to Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, ed. A.Tāmir in Khams Rasā'il Ismā'īliyya (Beirut, 1956).

not described. Indeed, in paragraph 18, it is explained that the question of the "influence" (mādda)[1] from God to the Sābiq--which may be the inspiration passed on to the nāṭiqs and imams--can only be revealed to initiates.

Another section deals with the creation and disobedience of Iblīs. When Kūnī was created he saw no other being besides himself, became proud and thought himself unique. Upon this, six dignitaries or ministers (hudūd) immediately proceeded from him, through God's power, in order to teach him that there is an omnipotent being above him from whom he derives his power. Three of the dignitaries --al-Tawahhum, al-Irāda and al-Mashī'a ("Imagination", "Will", and "Intention") were above him; three--of whom the first was Iblīs--were below him. Kūnī on seeing what had happened acknowledged his creator saying: "There is no god but God" but Iblīs aspired to a higher rank, refusing to acknowledge the superiority of Qadar whom he argued was created by Kūnī, whereas he himself was created directly from God's light. This cosmic rebellion was the paradigm for Iblīs' rebellion against Adam on earth.

Finally the correspondence of the upper and lower worlds is discussed: "This indicates that all which has been

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[1] For the use of mādda to mean the divine inspiration or energy see J. Corbin: Trilogie Ismaelienne (Paris and Teheran, 1961, p.159, n.35, and R. Strothmann, Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten (Göttingen, 1943), p.55.

created in the upper world has something corresponding to it in the lower world:" Kūnī to the Sun, Qadar to the Moon, the five intermediary beings between Kūnī and Qadar to the five other planets, the seven Karūbiyya to the seven heavens and the twelve Rūhāniyya to the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

No mention of the Imamate as such is made but it would seem that it has not yet been equated on the earthly level with Kūnī or any of the other higher beings on the spiritual. The Imam is, however, inspired through the Rūhāniyya by the higher powers.

The later development of Ismā'īlism saw two major changes. The first was the introduction of Neo-Platonic philosophy by men like al-Nasafī in the first third of the fourth century A.H. By the third century, Islamic philosophy like the last period of Ancient philosophy was dominated by Neoplatonism. From about the ninth century A.D. many texts were translated from Greek and Syriac into Arabic in which Neoplatonic doctrines, closely following Plotinus, are sometimes put into the mouths of earlier philosophers. Such works, which form the basis of al-Nasafī's philosophy, include the Theology of Aristotle, a paraphrase of parts of the Enneads of Plotinus and the Liber de Causis, a selection from the Elements of Theology of Proclus. Al-Kindī, himself, was not much influenced by these writings but related philosophers like Isaac Israeli and some of al-Kindī's own disciples

certainly were. Where al-Nasafī got his ideas from is not exactly known but certainly Neoplatonic ideas were widespread in philosophical circles in Eastern Iran in the early fourth century and it may well have been from Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, a disciple of al-Kindī and a friend of al-Nasafī's own predecessor in the Ismā'īlī da'wa. In any case there is no doubt that al-Nasafī's doctrines show many of the characteristic features of Islamic Neo-Platonism e.g., the act of divine creation, ibdā', precedes emanation--a step away from pure Neo-Platonism where there is no act of creation by God. Certain passages in al-Nasafī are indeed actually quoted from or very obviously based on passages in a later interpolated version of the Theology of Aristotle[1] and in the Liber de Causis.

Al-Nasafī's own book, al-Maḥṣūl, is unfortunately lost but its contents are known from a critique of it, the Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and the Kitāb al-Riyāḍ of al-Kirmānī which tried to reconcile Abū Ḥātim's critique with the later apologia for al-Nasafī, the now lost Kitāb al-Nuṣra of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī.

In his book, al-Nasafī completely transforms the rather primitive creation myth of Kūnī and Qadar into the far more sophisticated Neo-Platonic system which then became the accepted basis of all later Ismā'īlī philosophy. Through

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[1] Cf. S.M. Stern, "Ibn Ḥasday's Neoplatonist", Oriens, XIII-XIV, 1961, pp.79-81.

his Word (kalima) (a possibly Christian addition to early Neoplatonism) God created the Universal Intelligence (ʿAql al-Kullī). From the Intelligence emanated the Soul and from the Soul, Nature. By the time that Ḥamza propounded his Druze theology, however, this system was being radically altered by al-Kirmānī. In the Rahat al-ʿAql, al-Kirmānī expounds a doctrine which he may have taken from his contemporary Ibn Sīnā or their predecessor al-Farābī; namely that there were ten ʿUqūl, each emanating from the one above, the tenth ʿAql being the ʿAql al-Faʿʿāl, the source of the sublunary world. The ten ʿUqūl are called the hudūd ʿulwiyya, and corresponding to them on the earthly plane of existence are the hudūd sufliyya. Al-Kirmānī appears to regard this correspondence from two points of view. In the first case the heavenly hudūd correspond to the Nāṭiq, Asās, Imām, Bāb, Ḥujja and then the various Dāʿīs and Maʾdhūns. In the second case to the Nāṭiq, Wāsī, seven Imāms and then the Qāʾim "who will complete the times and . . . judge all souls and rule the world of nature and judge it and he it is after whom no further rank shall be set up . . . Each of them [the hudūd] in the world of religion corresponds to an ʿAql in the world of creation."[1]

This theory of correspondence between the heavenly

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[1] Al-Kirmānī, Rāhat al-ʿAql, ed. Hussein and Hilmy (Leyden, 1953), p.137.

hudūd and the members of the Ismā'īlī da'wa on earth, which perhaps has its origins in the old Yemeni theories of the correspondence between Kūnī and the other heavenly beings with the sun, moon and planets, is basic to the Ismā'īlī view of the world and from this time on is never questioned by the philosophers and theologians of the sect--though it was to take on a completely new form in the doctrine of Ḥamza.

The second great change in Ismā'īlism between its beginnings and the time of Ḥamza is in the theory of the Imamate. As has been shown, in the early days it was believed that each nāṭiq was followed by an asās and a line of imams, the system culminating in Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. He had disappeared but a Mahdī, probably Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl himself, was awaited. In 297/909 and the years which followed, the situation radically altered, however, with the coming to power of the Fāṭimids. Here was a line of rulers who introduced Ismā'īlism as the state religion and who not only claimed descent from the Imams who followed Muḥammad, but actually claimed to be Imams in that same line themselves. By so doing, they destroyed the symmetrical system of a heptad of imams between each nāṭiq and many of the early Fāṭimid writings are concerned with explanations of this. Perhaps the most radical of these explanations is by the first Fāṭimid caliph himself, 'Abdallāh,[1] in a letter quoted

[1] Wrongly known to history by the name given him by hostile historians, 'Ubaydallāh.

by Ja'far b. Mansūr in his Kitāb al-Farā'id wa Hudūd al-Dīn.[1] Here he denies the entire existence of Muhammad b. Ismā'īl, saying the name is only a cover for the son of 'Abdallāh, another son of Ja'far al-Sādiq. He himself is the intermediary between the sixth nāṭiq, Muhammad, and the seventh, the Sāhib al-Qiyāma, and will bring in a line of rightly guided rulers. In explanation of why there are more than seven imams between Alī and himself he says that when God said there would be seven imams between each nāṭiq and the next, he only meant seven ranks; in each rank there being as many imams as he wished. The Qāḍī al-Nu'mān devotes a whole book[2] to hadīths which explain the extra number of imams, while in the Asās al-Ta'wīl[3] he explains that after every nāṭiq is a heptad of imams, the seventh having the rahma; the sixth imam is the mutimm because the revelation ends with him; the seventh imam, who is sometimes a new nāṭiq, sometimes the founder of another heptad, brings the new revelation; the last prophet is Muhammad (Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl has no special place).

Under al-Mu'izz, the fourth Fāṭimid Caliph and the

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1 Husayn F. al-Hamdānī, On the Genealogy of Fāṭimid Caliphs, Publications of the American University of Cairo. School of Oriental Studies. Occasional Paper No.1 (Cairo, 1958).

2 Sharh al-Akhbār. Cf. W. Ivanow, "Early Shī'ite Movements", J.B.B.R.A.S., XVII, 1941, pp.1-23.

3 Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Asās al-Ta'wīl, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir (Beirut, 1960), pp.316-317.

one in whose reign Egypt was conquered, there is certain evidence to suggest that there was some move back towards older ideas. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl regains his position in the line of imams and in a late work attributed to the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, the Risāla al-Mudhhiba, he is considered to be the seventh nāṭiq and the qā'im. The Qā'im, however, reveals himself in several stages: as Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl whose revelation, coming in a time of concealment, remained concealed; through his eighteen representatives among whom are the Fāṭimid imams; preceded by his hujja, the last Fāṭimid caliph, the Qā'im finally reveals himself openly on the day of judgement.

From this time on the Messianic nature of Ismā'īlism recedes into the background but it never entirely disappears. In his Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im,[1] in a passage very similar to one quoted by Bahā' al-Dīn in epistle LXXVI of the Druze canon, the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān says that "the successor of the successor of the third imam beginning from the seventh will be the seal of the Imamate." In the fifth century al-Malījī, in the Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya, in a comparison of the imams to the Fātiha[2] explains how the imams are in groups of seven; the sixth of each group is the mutimm. So things will continue

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[1] Quoted in Ẓāhir 'Alī, Hamārē Ismā'īlī madhhab kīḥaqīqat aur us kā nizām (Haiderabad, 1954), Introduction p.Nūn and p.452.

[2] Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1947), p.32.

until the Qā'im appears and he will be the eighth of a group. The hujja of the Qā'im, unlike the hujja of a prophet, will precede him. The present imam, he then says with obvious meaning, is the eighth imam of the Ulū'l-'Azm.[1]

Orthodox Ismā'īlism, however, increasingly reacted against these views. In the first place, as the years went by and no Mahdī-Qā'im appeared, the expectation that he would come receded into the distance remaining, as in other religions, part of the official dogma but being a central part of the faith for only a small and extremist minority among the believers. Secondly in Ismā'īlī writings from this time on Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is rarely spoken of as Qā'im or even Nāṭiq. Rather he is the seventh imam of the period of Muḥammad. Even for Abū Ḥātim who does not accept the Fāṭimid imamate, the era of the seventh nāṭiq has not yet come. Rather we are in a period of Fatra between the seventh imam and the next nāṭiq, the world being ruled by a series of lāḥiqs. Indeed as Ismā'īlism became the state religion of the Fāṭimid empire, or at least the religion of the ruling class, the theologians more and more played down the revolutionary and antinomian tendencies of earlier Ismā'īlism. The Qā'im had not come and none of the commandments of the sharī'a of Muḥammad had been abrogated. In books like the Da'ā'im

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[1] Ulū'l-'Azm: an echo of but probably not a direct reference to its meaning of nāṭiq among the Persian philosophers.

al-Islām, but also in books for those further initiated into the religion, it was laid down that the ẓāhir held an equal place with the bāṭin and that all the ritual acts must be carried out. It was also accepted that the imamate, in the Fāṭimid Caliphs, would continue into the foreseeable future and that the imams, though holding a special and exalted rank, were still ordinary men. In the Da'ā'im, the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān says the imams are ulū'l-'amr and among the most exalted of all men but far from having divine natures they are not even the equal of the prophets: "Obedience to each imam is incumbent on the people of his age. They must submit to his command . . . They are God's proofs to His creation, His representatives on earth . . . but they do not receive the revelations which are revealed to the prophets nor do they know the secrets which God has hidden from His creation."[1] Later the Qāḍī quotes al-Manṣūr who makes clear that though the imams have a special rank, they are still only men. Al-Kirmānī in his most detailed examination of the Imamate,[2] confirms this, though he also stresses two of their special characteristics, their sinlessness ('iṣma)[3] and their method of appointment (through the nass of God and the choice

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[1] Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Da'ā'im al-Islām, ed. Fyzee (Cairo, 1951), Vol.I, pp.57-58.

[2] Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ fī Ithbāt al-Imāma, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1969), pp.96-108.

[3] Cf. P.J. Vatikiotis, The Fāṭimid Theory of State (Lahore, 1957), pp.44ff.

(ikhtiyār) of the Prophet).

The other distinctive feature of Ismā'īlism of the early fifth century is its organisation.[1] According to the Ismā'īlī theological books, the da'wa had been in existence since the beginning of the era of Adam. Under the Imam was the bāb and below him twelve (or in some accounts twenty-four) hujjas or dā'īs[2] each governing one of the twelve dioceses (jazā'ir) into which the world was divided. The dā'īs, who in the earthly world corresponded to the Khayāl in the heavenly one, were appointed by the Imam and were heads of a hierarchy of lesser missionaries ma'dhūns, mukāsirs etc.. But even leaving aside the obvious fiction of the existence of the da'wa in the period between Adam and the founders of Ismā'īlism, the picture is still too idealised. The da'wa did indeed spread all over the Islamic world but it was almost certainly not divided into such exact divisions nor were the hierarchies in each area so clear cut. In Cairo itself were the headquarters of the movement presided over by the Imam. Under him was the chief Qādī (qādī al-quḍāt) and below him the chief Dā'ī. These posts were often combined but in the

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1 Cf. S.M. Stern, "Cairo as the Centre of the Ismā'īlī Movement" [Paper given at the Cairo Millenary Celebrations, 1969], Le Millénaire du Caire, mélanges (Berlin/Leipzig, 1972). B. Lewis and M.G.S. Hodgson, Articles on Bāb, Dā'ī and Hujja, E.I., 2nd Ed. and W. Ivanow, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", J.B.B.R.A.S., XV, 1939, pp.1-35.

2 The terms Naqīb, Lāhiq and Janāh are also found.

time of Hamza they were held by different men, the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt being Aḥmad b. Muhammad b. Abī al-'Awwām, who was in fact a Ḥanbalī, and the chief Dā'ī being Khatkīn. The job of the Qāḍī was to administer the law, which in spite of the Ismā'īlīs being only a small minority in the state was administered according to the Ismā'īlī madhhab. The chief Dā'ī was the head of the organisation of the movement. By the theologians he was usually known as the bāb, the title dā'ī or dā'ī al-du'āt being found only in the works of historians. It was he who in the name of the Imam appointed the junior dā'īs both inside and outside the Fāṭimid empire and saw that close relations were maintained between them and their superiors in Cairo.

Presumably it was also he who regulated the conduct of the dā'īs who, if we are to accept the word of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī or al-Naysabūrī,[1] had to follow a strict code of professional conduct in their relations with the Imam, with other missionaries and with their converts.

Finally it was the chief Dā'ī who arranged the main activity of the Ismā'īlīs as a community in Cairo; namely the meetings when the various groups of initiates were instructed in the Ismā'īlī doctrines in lectures given by the

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[1] Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ, Ch.1. Aḥmad al-Naysabūrī, Al-Risāla al-Mūjiza al-Kāfiya fī Shurūṭ al-Da'wa al-Hādiya. Cf. Ivanow, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", pp.18-35.

chief Dā'ī on the authority of the Imam. The lectures were of two types; the systematic courses published as treatises like the works of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān or else a series of sermons, possibly all on one theme, but each being complete in itself. These latter types of lectures (majālis al-hikma) finally came to predominate.

This formal giving of sermons every week seems to have been a development of the less formal readings of the 'ulūm 'āl al-bayt. One of the first mentions of them is by al-Musabbiḥī: "In the month of Rabī' I 385 A.H., the Qāḍī Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān took his seat on a throne in the palace to read the 'ulūm of the family of the Prophet as his brother and he had done before in Miṣr and his father had done in the Maghrib . . ."[1] The lectures were held on Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays, being prepared by the Chief Dā'ī and delivered to the men in the palace and the women in the mosque of al-Azhar. Both the longer treatises and the majālis proper were read only to the groups who had reached the appropriate stage of initiation. For example the books of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān seem to have been in three grades; first the Da'ā'im al-Islām concerned only with the Ẓāhir, secondly the

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[1] Quoted in Al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wal-i'tibar bidhikr al-khiṭaṭ (Bulak, 1853), Vol.I, pp.390ff. For a text and translation both of al-Musabbiḥī and the later description of the office of the Chief Dā'ī and the preparation and reading of the Majālis al-Hikma by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr see De Sacy, Chrestomathie Arabe (Paris, 1826), Vol.I, pp.139-144.

Hudūd al-Ma'rifa which began to speak of the Bāṭin and thirdly the Asās al-Ta'wīl, an advanced book on the Bāṭin. As an alternative to the lasttwo was the Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im which was divided into majālis.[1]

Although the earliest complete examples of the majālis date from the mid-fifth century, notably the Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya of the Chief Qāḍī al-Malījī and even more important the eight hundred majālis of the Chief Dā'ī of al-Mustanṣir, al-Mu'ayyad,[2] the Druze scriptures contain quotations of half a century or more earlier,[3] thus confirming the accuracy of the report of al-Musabbiḥī. From al-Musabbiḥī it is also known that they were suppressed by al-Ḥākim from Shawwāl 400 to Rabī' I 401[4] and they were probably again suppressed in 407.[5]

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1 Such a division into Ẓāhir, Ta'wīl and Ḥaqīqa still persists today in the Jāmi'a al-Sayfiyya, the Bohra University in Surat. Cf. A.A.A.Fyzee, The Study of the Literature of the Fāṭimid Da'wa, Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb (Leiden, 1965), pp.232-244.

2 An edition and partial summary of these majālis was until recently being prepared in Oxford.

3 Cf. below Ch.4.

4 Al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wal-I'tibār, I p.391, and cf. De Sacy, Chrestomathie Arabe, Vol.I, pp.103,184.

5 Cf. Vol.II, p.210. Ḥamza says the Majālis were suppressed after the appointment of Aḥmad b. al-'Awwām, which was in 405, and before the beginning of the Druze era in 408. A gloss in MS Y supports this.

Chapter Two

THE FERMENT UNDER THE IMAM AL-ḤĀKIM

The early history of Ismā'īlism as sketched in the previous chapter is necessarily vague and fragmentary but by the time of the Imam al-Ḥākim, when the Druze religion was founded, the situation becomes much clearer. For by then not only are there reasonably accurate accounts by historians outside the community but also the beliefs of the Ismā'īlīs as seen by the outsider correspond to those doctrines which the successors to Fāṭimid Ismā'īlism, the Bohras, believe to be eternal and which form the basis of the religious works which they still study today and which are most widely available to Western students.

On the cosmological plane God (the One--unknowable and without attributes) had created the Universal Intelligence or First 'Aql. Below the 'Aql came various lesser emanations. (How many of these emanations there were, may still have been a matter for argument). On earth was the Ismā'īlī da'wa consisting of ordinary men headed by the Imam under whom came the Bāb, Ḥujja, Dā'īs, Ma'dhūns and Mukāsirs. All of these corresponded to, and in some way were influenced by, the heavenly powers but their human nature was constantly stressed

by the orthodox Ismā'īlī theologians. The Imamate itself was passed on from one Fāṭimid to the next but all the time there was the latent hope in people's minds that the Imam of their time would be the Qā'im.

But though these were (and are) the beliefs of the orthodox Ismā'īlīs, more radical ideas--particularly concerning the nature of the Imām--were constantly being put forward by the extremists--the Ghulāt. That the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān found it necessary, for example, to use a large section of his chapter on the Imams in the Da'ā'im to condemn various heresies which arose during the lives of the Imams between Muhammad and Muhammad b. Ismā'īl can only have been necessary because the same heresies were occurring in his own time. He mentions those who worshipped 'Alī as God and how 'Alī finally had to have them executed. Many of his successors had the same trouble. Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alī had to deal with Mughīra b. Sa'īd in the same way when he declared him to be God. Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb asserted that Ja'far b. Muhammad was God and he declared legal what was illegal. He said: "To whomever knows the Imam everything which was forbidden is allowed." Ja'far completely disassociated himself from this. Another group is strongly condemned by Ja'far b. Muḥammad in a reply to a dā'ī who has asked about them. They apparently believed that all the pillars of Islam referred to a man. Knowledge of the man gave freedom from the commandments.

These people drank wine, practised adultery and usury and ate pork. The prohibition of marriage with mothers, daughters, sisters and aunts in fact referred only to prohibition of marriage with the wives of the Prophet. All things had outward and inner meanings; the latter being known to them. Ja'far also mentioned that one of his companions mentioned a group who said: "When you know the Imam, do as you wish."[1]

The heresies about the Imamate in Fāṭimid times were of two sorts, those which did not assign it enough dignity and those which assigned it too much, even to the extent of paying the Imam divine honours.[2] The first sort is illustrated by a letter from the Imam al-Mu'izz to the Dā'ī of Sind in about 354/965 contesting the belief some people there had that the Imamate ended with Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; that the number of Imams was limited to seven; that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was succeeded by a line of Khalīfas and finally that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl would one day return as the Qā'im. The Qāḍī al-Nu'mān mentions another obviously commonly held heresy about the Imamate in his Al-Majālis wal-Musāyarāt.[3] Here he records an interview between al-Mu'izz and another dā'ī where

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[1] Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Da'ā'im al-Islām, Vol.I, pp.60-67.

[2] The following examples are taken from the article by S.M. Stern, "Heterodox Ismā'īlism at the time of al-Mu'izz", B.S.O.A.S., XVII, 1955, pp.10-33.

[3] Partially published by S.M. Stern in his article in B.S.O.A.S. XVII, 1955 from the S.O.A.S. manuscript 25734. Cf. also A.S.Tritton and P.Kraus, "Notes on Some Ismā'īlī Manuscripts", B.S.O.A.S., VII, 1933-5, p.34.

the Imam with some caution condemns the view that after Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl the Imamate passed to a non-'Alid family--at any rate for a time. His own caution and the fact that Ibn Rizām, the anti-Ismā'īlī writer of twenty years earlier, also mentions the possible Qaddāḥid ancestry of the Fāṭimids would suggest this was a widely held belief.

But dangerous though these heterodox ideas may have been, the heresies of the Ghulāt were probably more so in that they were more liable to stir up civil disorder as being more shocking to both moderate Ismā'īlīs and non-Ismā'īlīs alike.

In another section of the Majālis wal-Musāyarāt, for example, the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān records a polemic of the Imam against a member of the da'wa who was asserting Ghulūw i.e., he considered al-Mu'izz as of a divine or, at least, semi-divine nature. But the Imam makes clear he has no claims to such a position: "We have no knowledge except what we are taught and what has come to us from His prophet, our ancestor, Muḥammad . . . We claim neither prophethood nor apostleship. Obedience to us is a duty laid on the worshippers of God . . . We are less than what the Extremists say and above what the Ignorant think . . ."

Such extremism reached its climax during the reign of the sixteenth Imam al-Ḥākim. Although the accounts by the various historians of the period are by no means in agreement, they all stress the seriousness of the Ghulāt's threat to the

orthodox Ismā'īlīs at the end of al-Ḥākim's reign. And although only al-Darazī is mentioned by all of them, it is clear that there were other religious leaders like him before Ḥamza, himself, became the unchallenged leader of the group.

Perhaps the most important of these other extremist leaders was [al-]Ḥasan b. Ḥaydara al-Farghānī al-Akhram. Not only does he appear in the accounts of much later historians like Ibn Ẓāhir and Ibn Taghrībirdī[1] but he is also the subject and addressee of a letter by the great Fāṭimid <u>dā'ī</u>, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. c.411/1021). Al-Kirmānī arrived in Egypt probably in 408 and was obviously appalled by the disorganisation of the <u>da'wa</u> and the extreme views of some of the popular preachers. In other letters[2] and in the <u>Rahat al-'Aql</u> his concern is clear but nowhere more than in this letter, the <u>Risāla al-Wā'iẓa</u>,[3] written in Fustāt in Jumada II 408 (November 1017). The mild and conciliatory tone of the letter is seen by Ivanow[4] as proof that al-Akhram "really possessed influence" and there is certainly no doubt that the letter is written more in sorrow than in anger.

In the first part of the letter al-Kirmānī begs al-Akhram to seek forgiveness and hopes he will return to the

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1 See below pp.28-30.

2 Especially <u>Risāla Mabāsim al-Bishārāt bil-Imām al-Hākim</u>.

3 Al-Kirmānī, <u>Al-Risāla al-Wā'iza</u>, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Univ. of Egypt, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts 14, Pt.1, May 1952, pp.1-29.

4 W. Ivanow, <u>Ismā'īlī Literature</u> (Tehran, 1963), pp.43-44.

right path. He speaks of the Imams and how after al-Ḥākim they will still follow one after another until the day of judgement. Then, after further exhortations, he answers specific points and questions put to him by al-Akhram.

"Whoever of you recognises the Imam of his time while he lives is more glorious than all the past prophets, wasīs and imams."[1] But al-Kirmānī denies that anyone can be more glorious than these. If al-Akhram got his knowledge from a human being like himself, then he in turn got it from the imam, while if he got it from an angel is he then claiming to be a prophet or imam. Secondly as God made the imams, wasīs and prophets, how can there be anything more glorious than them.

"Whoever worships Allāh, his worship is given to an individual with no spirit, the proof of that being that Allāh is a name, the alif being like the height, the lam the breadth and the ha' the depth so he is high, broad and deep. So Allāh is a name and this is his attribute and the meaning is the individual." Al-Kirmānī replies that God cannot be a person or a body, for a body is made of matter and form and it is impossible for God to have a body unless he was preceded by someone. He then uses similar arguments about the form of God.

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[1] The passages apparently quoted from al-Akhram are in inverted commas.

"Your Qiyāma has come and the time of your concealment is over." This is impossible, says al-Kirmānī, as none of the signs have appeared. The Imams will go on and on and he mentions the 21st, 25th, 28th, 32nd, 35th, 59th and 100th Imam.

"What is Islām and its conditions?" Belief in God, the prophethood of Muḥammad, Heaven, Hell, the last Judgement and the resurrection of the Dead. "By what does one come close to God?" By good works and belief in the Tawḥīd of God.

"What is it by which God makes men worship Him?" Knowledge and Good Works.

"Is the knowledge total or a part of knowledge or a vestige of knowledge?" Such a question, al-Kirmānī replies, only shows al-Akhram's ignorance.

"Why do the souls not differ in the influences on them of nature and the technical sciences but do differ in the influences of the prophets?" Because the first are known by the feelings and not the essences.

"Is the Sharī'a created or uncreated? Is it the only religion or is it only a path to the true religion? If the Sharī'a is created, what is the religion which is everlasting and has nothing after it? What is the Nafs? What is the 'Aql? What is the highest point of creation (ghāyat al-ibdā') which is above the spiritual and earthly beings?" To these latter questions al-Kirmānī replies the answers are

in the Qur'an.

But it is the end of the letter which deals with al-Akhram's most outrageous claims; claims which make it clear his views were extremely close to Ḥamza's. Al-Kirmānī quotes al-Akhram's companions as saying: "God most high is the Commander of the Faithful." At such words, says al-Kirmānī, the heavens almost split, the earth is cleft and the mountains sink to the ground . . . How can he be God when he is an ordinary man, eating and drinking like other men?

"The Sharī'a, the Tanzīl and the Ta'wīl are superstitions (khurāfāt), husks (qushūr) and mere stuffing (hashw). Salvation does not depend on them." Al-Kirmānī again remonstrates against such blasphemy and points out that if it were not for the protection of al-Ḥākim he would receive an exemplary punishment and the cutting of his aorta. Some of al-Akhram's followers have already left him and he advises him to repent while there is still time.

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir (1171/567-1216/613)[1] confirms much of this: "In Rajab 409 a man called Ḥasan b. Ḥaydara al-Farghānī al-Akhram appeared claiming that God was incarnate

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[1] For the relevant text of Ibn Ẓāfir, Akhbār al-Duwal al-Munqati'a with a German translation see F. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen (Göttingen, 1881), pp. 204-205. For a French translation of al-Nuwayrī (d.732/1332) who follows Ibn Ẓāfir with only a few omissions and changes see De Sacy, Exposé, I, pp. CCCCXXXI-CCCCXXXII.

in al-Ḥākim. He called on men to believe that, spoke about the falsity of the prophethood and reinterpreted those things which were in the sharī'a." Ibn Ẓāfir then goes on to describe how he was shown every mark of favour by al-Ḥākim, including the gift of a robe of honour but how only eight days later, in Ramaḍān 409, he was murdered while he was riding in al-Ḥākim's entourage and though his murderer, a man described as from Kūkh or Karkh,[1] was executed on the order of al-Ḥākim, al-Akhram's house was later pillaged.

Abū'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī (813/1411-874/1469) writing two and a half centuries later than Ibn Ẓāfir seems, in his main story about al-Akhram, to confuse him with Ḥamza. In his chapter on al-Ḥākim in Al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira[2] he says: "Then it occurred to al-Ḥākim to claim divinity. He made a man called al-Akhram his right arm in that and he gathered a group of followers around him, to whom he permitted actions condemned by religion. One day, al-Akhram rode out from al-Qāhira with fifty of his men. He approached Miṣr[3] and entered the Mosque, still riding his horse. With him were his companions also riding, while the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, Ibn Abī

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1 Wüstenfeld's text of Ibn Ẓāfir has Kūkh, whereas Nuwayrī reads Karkh; see Wüstenfeld, p.204. Karkh, the Western part of Baghdad, seems the more likely reading.

2 Abū'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī, Al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira (Cairo, 1933), Vol.IV, p.183.

3 Miṣr: Those parts of Cairo situated South and South West of the new Fāṭimid capital of al-Qāhira, in particular Fusṭāṭ.

al-'Awwām was sitting in the mosque, examining a case. They plundered the people and stole their clothes and handed over to the Qādī a piece of paper containing a legal opinion. It was issued 'In the name of al-Ḥākim, al-Raḥmān, al-Raḥīm.' When the Qādī read it, he raised his voice in denunciation. He demanded that it be rescinded. The people rose against al-Akhram and killed his followers while he fled."

The historians' accounts of al-Darazī are slightly more extensive and by far the most important is that of the Christian writer, Yaḥya b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī[1] (369/980-458/1066): "In the year 408 a Persian Dā'ī called Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and surnamed al-Darazī came to Egypt. He sought to enter the service of al-Ḥākim and flattered him . . . and called men to believe that al-Ḥākim was God, maker of the worlds, creator of created beings and he made his da'wa public and revealed his belief. Al-Ḥākim did not deny what he said for indeed all his 'Alid Caliph ancestors ever since their appearance [in the Maghrib] had previously called men to a creed not very different from this; namely that they were gods who had become incarnate on earth in human forms and from al-'Alī[2] to them the divine light had become incarnate in them and in every period it had appeared in the form of some human being

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[1] Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, Continuation of Eutychius in Scriptores Arabici (Beirut, 1909), Sec.III, Vol.VII, Pt.2, pp.220-223.

[2] Probably 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

. . . They were in the world although it was not worthy of them. They continued to keep their doctrine secret from those who opposed them while they showed other Muslims that the Sāḥib al-Amr was one of them. He is the Imam and Caliph of God on His earth and His Hujja to His creation. The imamate is more glorious than the prophethood. It was in Adam. Then it passed to Nūḥ and to Ibrahīm and to Mūsā and to 'Īsā and to Muḥammad and to 'Alī and from him to his son al-Ḥusayn and to one after another of his descendents to 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī al-'Alawī who appeared in the Maghrib. Then it passed to his descendents who took over his power one after the other and so the power will continue with them for ever. There will rise from among them the one who will rule the inhabited world and . . . who will go on for ever in his kingdom until God resurrects those who are in their graves. And when it was the time of al-Ḥākim, he made up his mind to publish his beliefs and to make known what his fathers had concealed . . ."

"When al-Darazī appeared and called men to his creed, many of the riffraff responded to him. He made al-Ḥākim believe that many of the people of the world believed in him as he himself did. And they also believed in what he had called men to, and he [al-Ḥākim] listened to his [al-Darazī's] word. His fancy got the better of his intelligence and he ordered [al-Darazī] to win over the people by letters and summon them thereby to believe in him. He [al-Darazī] wrote a letter to

the officers in charge of the Turkish slaves ordering them to come to him so that they should learn about the inspiration coming to him from God. He also wrote to Khatkīn,[1] the Dā'ī al-Du'at and to the Walī 'Ahd al-Muslimīn and others calling on them to embrace his belief. They disclosed to al-Ḥākim what he had corresponded with them about and asked his opinion about what he had mentioned to them and if it was on his authority. Al-Ḥākim published a denial of it when he saw their dislike of it . . . All the easterners and many of the westerners were angry at this and at his criminal attitude and what he wanted from them. One of the Turkish slaves planned to kill al-Darazī. He leaped at him while he was in the procession of al-Ḥākim and killed him and his house was ransacked. Al-Qāhira became disturbed, its gates were locked and disturbances lasted for three days. During this time a group of Daraziyya were killed. After that the Turk who had killed al-Darazī was arrested and killed . . ." The year of all these events is given as 408.

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir[2] says that after Ḥamza came "a certain young half-caste Turk called Anūshtakīn al-Bukhārī, known as al-Darazī." He followed Ḥamza, had many followers and was also an intimate of al-Ḥākim. He gave himself the title of Sanad al-Hādī wa Ḥayāt al-Mustajībīn, Support of the

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1 The text reads Jankīn.

2 Wüstenfeld, pp.206-209.

Leader and Life of the Obedient. Ibn Ẓāfir then describes how on the 12 Ṣafar 411 a crowd of Ḥamza's followers delivered the famous letter to the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt which began "In the name of al-Ḥākim, Allāh, al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm". The three men who actually delivered the letter were killed by the enraged people, then a lot of those with them and finally other members of the sect all over the city. This led to retaliation by al-Ḥākim with mass arrests and executions of those who had attacked the followers of Ḥamza. The Turks in reply attacked the place where al-Darazī lived. He locked himself and his followers inside and then tried to defend the building from the roof. In spite of this, the Turks finally broke in, killed about forty men and destroyed the building. Al-Darazī managed to escape to the palace of al-Ḥākim, who hid him. The Turks however were still not satisfied and appeared, fully armed at the palace, promising complete obedience to the Imam in all other matters but demanding that al-Darazī as being a Turk like themselves should be handed over to them. Al-Ḥākim promised to do so the next day but when they returned he then announced al-Darazī had been executed. The Turks withdrew and with the rest of the army went to the mosque of Raydān to try to find Ḥamza.

Another account of al-Darazī is found in the Mir'āt al-Zamān by Shams al-Dīn Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (d.654/1257) as quoted by Ibn Taghrībirdī:[1] "I have seen in some histories

[1] Ibn Taghrībirdī, Vol.IV, p.184.

in Egypt that a man called al-Darazī came to Egypt. He was one of the Bāṭinīs who were proponents of metampsychosis (Tanāsukh). He met al-Ḥākim and helped him to claim his divinity and he compiled a book for him in which he mentioned that the spirit of Adam passed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and that the spirit of 'Alī passed to the father of al-Ḥākim and then it passed to al-Ḥākim . . . Al-Darazī reached the highest ranks inasmuch as the Wazīrs and the Commanders and the 'Ulamā' used to wait at his gate . . . and al-Ḥākim ordered them to submit to al-Darazī and they obeyed him. Al-Darazī published the book he wrote and read it in the mosque of al-Qāhira. The people mobbed him and tried to kill him so he fled. Al-Ḥākim then disowned him out of fear of the mob but sent him money in secret and said: 'Go to Syria and spread the da'wa in the mountains[1] for the people there are quick to follow.' So al-Darazī went to Syria and settled in Wādī Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba, west of Damascus in the province of Baniyas. He read his book to its people and won them over to al-Ḥākim and gave them money. Al-Darazī established the doctrine of metempsychosis (Tanāsukh) among them, also declaring permissible the drinking of wine and adultery, the taking of money from those who opposed their beliefs and the shedding of their blood. He stayed among them permitting what was forbidden until he died."

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[1] Or in the district of al-Jibāl.

The only other member of the group which proclaimed the divinity of al-Ḥākim mentioned by name by the historians is Ḥamza himself. Al-Anṭākī gives the following information:[1] "After al-Darazī there appeared another dā'ī, a Persian named Ḥamza b. Aḥmad and surnamed al-Hādī. He lived outside al-Qāhira in the place called the Mosque of Tibr and he called men to [embrace] the teachings of al-Darazī . . . He created a group of dā'īs to whom he assigned ranks in Miṣr and its provinces and in the Syrian provinces. They preached licence and licentiousness and they indulged in incest with their mothers, sisters and daughters and they also preached the ending of the duties of the Fast and Prayer and the Pilgrimage. Many people responded to them and became followers of al-Hādī. When they met the followers of Khatkīn,[2] the Dā'ī al-Du'āt they cursed each other and each group accused the other of unbelief. The followers of al-Hādī used to meet al-Ḥākim every day in al-Qarāfa . . . The doctrine of al-Darazī was published and spread among men. His roster had [the names of] sixteen thousand men who believed al-Ḥākim to be their god. One day seven of the followers of al-Hādī delivered a letter to the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh while he was in the mosque of Lower Miṣr. When he had examined it he found it included some of their doctrines

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1 Al-Anṭākī, pp.223-226, 237.

2 In the text Jankīn.

of unbelief. He therefore remonstrated against this and took refuge in God from its contents . . . He told all that to those who were present and they became very angry and attacked the seven dā'īs and killed them. Al-Ḥākim rebuked the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt for what had happened and took action afterwards against a group of the people of Miṣr and killed seventy of them. The power of the Daraziyya intensified until they cursed Adam and Nūḥ and all the prophets and Muḥammad and 'Alī . . . They defiled the Qibla [in the mosques] with excrement and urinated on copies of the Qur'ān. They made a book about the meaning of the Qur'ān and called it the Dustūr and they inflicted harm on those who offended them in their beliefs . . ." There follows a description of how al-Ḥākim had ceased to perform the duties of his religion since the sect had appeared. "It appeared that this was because of his deviation from Islam and his intention of strengthening this sect and spreading it abroad." In 410, in a Sijill, al-Ḥākim condemned those who criticised him and uttered various threats against them. The Muslims became sure that the Caliph's intention was to make them follow the teachings of al-Darazī. Songs and poems began to be written against al-Ḥākim. Al-Ḥākim retaliated by burning and plundering large areas of Miṣr. "Some say he did it because he was angry at their opposition to his leading them into the da'wa of al-Darazī and al-Hādī . . ."

"After the disappearance of al-Ḥākim, the man named al-Hādī fled and was later killed. Many of his dā'īs and believers were arrested. Those who recanted were forgiven and those who did not were killed."

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir adds a few interesting details not in al-Anṭākī:[1] "In 410 there appeared one of the dā'īs of al-Ḥākim, called Ḥamza al-Labbād (the feltmaker), a Persian from al-Zūzan. He spent his time in the mosque by the aqueduct of Raydān outside the Bāb al-Naṣr. He made public the call to worship al-Ḥākim, saying that God was incarnate in him and gathered around him a large group of the Ghulāt of the Ismā'īlīs. He was surnamed Hādī al-Mustajībīn, the Leader of the Obedient. His following became numerous and his teaching spread. Whenever al-Ḥākim rode in that direction, Ḥamza went out to him from the mosque. He stayed alone with him, al-Ḥākim remaining mounted, while he talked and conferred with him. Then this accursed man mentioned to him that he was afraid for his life because some of the army had threatened him with death and [said] that they would do with him as they had done with al-Akhram al-Farghānī. Al-Ḥākim sent him many weapons which he hung on the door of the mosque. This accursed man went on like this and his reputation grew. He chose for himself a special group of disciples to whom he gave titles. Among them was a man whom he surnamed Safīr

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[1] Wüstenfeld, pp.205-209.

al-Qudra, the Mediator of Power, and made his deputy.[1] He sent him to take an oath from every single important leader and notable about what he believed concerning al-Ḥākim. They could not resist him because of the fear they felt for him on account of his might." Then follows the story of al-Darazī and the affair of the Qādī al-Quḍāt, described above. In Nuwayri's account it is Ḥamza's house which is attacked by the mob and Ḥamza who flees to the protection of al-Ḥākim but this is probably a copyist's error. As we have seen the final act of the Turks after al-Ḥākim told them al-Darazī had been killed was to go off and look for Ḥamza in the mosque of Raydān. Not finding him, they burnt the door of the mosque but still they could not find him.

One of the last accounts of Ḥamza among historians of Egypt is that of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī:[2] "Among the events associated with Ibn Abī al-'Awwām is that concerning Ḥamza al-Labbād al-Zūzanī, the heretic who claimed that the Spirit of God was incarnate in al-Ḥākim. He rode with some of his companions to the Old Mosque . . .[3] Three of them came to the Qādī and one handed the Qādī a document in which al-Zūzanī ordered him to preach on his behalf. Al-Zūzanī

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[1] In fact the third minister, the Kalima.

[2] Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Raf' al-Iṣr 'an Quḍāt al-Miṣr (Cairo, 1958), Vol.I, p.105, and Appendix to al-Kindī, The Governors and Judges of Egypt, ed. Guest (London, 1912), p.612.

[3] The Mosque of 'Amr in Fusṭāṭ.

had [by this time] gained such power that he used to walk beside al-Ḥākim when he rode and he devoted his attention to him. The Qāḍī said to him: '[Wait] until I come to our Lord and listen to His word.' But he was not content with his answer and pursued his conversation on that subject and the mob became worked up and killed him. Then they killed his escort and they followed those who accepted his teaching and killed them in the streets. News of this reached al-Ḥākim . . . and he ordered the burning of Miṣr."

The position of al-Ḥākim himself vis-à-vis the various extremist leaders is also touched on by the historians. The Ismā'īlī's are unanimous in saying that he completely disapproved of them but the other historians do not bear this out. Al-Anṭākī claims he at first supported al-Darazī only condemning him when trouble arose. He also tells of his friendship for Ḥamza, how he ceased to perform the duties of religion and how finally in retaliation for opposition to him he burnt part of the city. Ibn Ẓāfir goes much further and claims that it was al-Ḥākim who first preached the doctrines of his own divinity and of reincarnation. He also tells of the honour, friendship and protection he gave to al-Akhram, al-Darazī and Ḥamza. The sack of Miṣr seems to have taken place with his full approval. Ibn Taghrībirdī said he claimed divinity and made al-Akhram his lieutenant. After his account of the delivery of the letter to the Qāḍī

al-Quḍāt he goes on:[1] "The story about his claim to divinity spread. A group of uninitiated people came to him . . . and said: 'Peace be unto you, O you the One, the Unique, who gives life and takes it away.' Dā'īs came to him calling the rabble and weakminded to believe that. Many were inclined in that direction out of greed for worldly goods or to curry favour with him. When [ex-] Jews and Christians used to meet him, they would say: 'My God, I desire to return to my old religion,' and al-Ḥākim would reply: 'Do what seems best to you,' and they would apostasise from Islam. This matter grew worse." Later in his book Ibn Taghrībirdī describes al-Ḥākim's disappearance and adds:[2] "Ibn Khallikān after a similar description of al-Ḥākim's death said: 'A group of Ghulāt in their foolish love thought that he was still alive and that he would surely reappear and they swore by the Ghayba of al-Ḥākim but those were just crazy delusions'."

The picture presented by these historians of those troubled years immediately preceding al-Ḥākim's disappearance is certainly a confusing one and even with the help of the Druze scriptures themselves, which do much to confirm or refute certain points in the histories, it will probably never be possible to present a completely clear and accurate

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1 Ibn Taghribirdī, Vol.IV, p.183.
2 Ibid., p.191.

picture of the founders and beliefs of the new cult. But certain things are reasonably sure. From about 400 A.H., the year the Druze catechisms claim that al-Ḥākim revealed himself as God, the Caliph seems increasingly to have felt himself to be more than merely Imam and this perhaps explains his extraordinary policy to all religious groups culminating in his refraining from carrying out his religious duties and, probably in 407, in his stopping of the reading of the majālis al-hikma. What al-Ḥākim considered his position to be in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy is not known but al-Anṭākī suggests that when al-Darazī preached that al-Ḥākim was God, this was only a more extreme form of an older Ismā'īlī belief, previously kept secret but now preached by al-Ḥākim himself; namely that the Imamate was the highest rank in the religious hierarchy, higher even than the prophethood; that the divine light had passed through Adam and the prophets (here apparently to be regarded as Imams) to 'Alī and so on to the Mahdī and his Fāṭimid descendants. It would finally rest in a Qā'im who would rule the world until the Day of Judgement. Certainly such a belief is typical of early Ismā'īlism and indeed is not unlike certain later Nizārī beliefs. It does not therefore seem unlikely that it was al-Ḥākim himself, by hinting at his "true" nature in the private discussions he had with al-Akhram, al-Darazī, Ḥamza and other extremist Ismā'īlī dā'īs, that led them, in their increasing admiration for the

Caliph, an admiration no doubt increased by al-Ḥākim's flattering treatment of them, to proclaim his divinity. It is also clear that for the last four years of his reign, al-Ḥākim gave considerable moral support and, in times of trouble, some practical help to the various dā'īs who preached his cult. Al-Kirmānī points out to Al-Akhram that it is only the protection of al-Ḥākim that keeps him safe, Ḥamza himself speaks of how the safety of his followers has on occasion been due to the intervention of al-Ḥākim, while Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ẓāfir shows how he reacted to mob violence against Ḥamza's followers and how he tried to protect al-Darazī. On the other hand, al-Ḥākim played no active part in building up what was to be the Druze da'wa, nor, astute politician that he was, did he hesitate to withdraw all visible support from the movement in times of real difficulty. His lack of interest in Ḥamza's new doctrines or in the formation of those who believed in his divinity as a separate community is suggested by several points. First, the canon of the Druze scriptures contains only two short pieces by al-Ḥākim; the decree against wine and the letter to the Qarmaṭian leader,[1] neither having any connexion with Druze dogma. Surely if the Caliph had ever written anything connected with Ḥamza's doctrines, it would have been jealously preserved and would certainly have found a place in the canon.

[1] It is doubtful if the letter is, in fact, by al-Ḥākim. See below p.166.

Secondly there was some popular feeling that Ḥamza was acting on his own initiative and not on al-Ḥākim's, a point of view which Ḥamza strongly contests in a reply to one of his dā'is.[1] Next, it appears strange that when al-Bardha'ī promises to support Ḥamza on the sole condition that he receives written authority from al-Ḥākim,[2] such authority is not forthcoming. Clearly al-Ḥākim did not wish to be seen to be involved in the movement that was forming until he saw how the majority of the people reacted to it. As al-Anṭākī says, when the Caliph was asked whether al-Darazī's beliefs had his authority, "he published a denial of it . . . when he saw their dislike of it." When the Turkish soldiers showed signs of rebellion and mutiny when al-Ḥākim was hiding al-Darazī he immediately promised to hand him over and his announcement of his execution next day is not necessarily untrue. Examples of similar caprice are common throughout his reign. But even if one prefers the story of Ṣibt b. al-Jawzī that he sent al-Darazī to Syria, the fact that he disowned one of his most faithful supporters still stands. But al-Ḥākim went even further. For fear of further troubles like those provoked by al-Darazī in 408,[3] he forced Ḥamza to cease all propaganda

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1 Vol.II, p.163.

2 Vol.II, p.192.

3 Ibn Ẓāfir's placing of the letter to the Qāḍī and the various riots in 411 is obviously very improbable as Ḥamza himself mentions them in letters dated 410.

throughout the year 409 and only allowed the da'wa to function again in 410.

Thus it was, that with the tacit support of this extraordinary if capricious young man that various Ismā'īlī ghulāt, from at least 407 began to preach his divinity and the worthlessness of the previous shari'as. Mostly dā'īs themselves[1] and coming from all over the Islamic world, they were doubtless familiar with some of the older Ismā'īlī ideas now considered heretical among the religious leaders in Cairo. The exaggeration of the importance of the Imam, the stressing of his non-human qualities and the idea that a new era was beginning were nothing new in Ismā'īlī history though it remained for Ḥamza to forge them into an entirely new religion. At first the various dā'īs, al-Darazī, Ḥamza, al-Akhram, al-Bardha'ī, Mu'ānid and the rest, seem to have worked independently of each other, a fact which is confirmed, at least implicitly, by Ḥamza's epistle XIX, al-Subha al-Kā'ina, but gradually al-Darazī and Ḥamza began to dominate the rest, each claiming leadership of the growing group of believers. Which of the two began the teaching, or whether both were followers of another preacher, perhaps Al-Akhram, is not clear. Certainly the absence of any mention of the latter in the canon is curious seeing the importance assigned

[1] Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn's suggestion (Tā'ifat al-Durūz, 1968, p.73) that Ḥamza was a servant in al-Ḥākim's palace seems to run counter to all the evidence.

to him by al-Kirmānī and Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir. Could it be that Ḥamza was really indebted to him for some of his doctrines and by a conspiracy of silence he and his ministers hoped to hide the fact from their followers? Al-Anṭākī says it was al-Darazī who first proclaimed the new doctrine and this is supported not only by the word of most later historians but also by the movement being named after him by outsiders from its earliest days. On the other hand, Ibn Ẓāfir, whose accuracy in many points of detail is such that he cannot be lightly dismissed, says that al-Darazī came after Ḥamza and himself had many followers; a suggestion that for a time he accepted Ḥamza's control in certain matters but acted independently in others forming his own particular group of followers. This is supported by Ḥamza who claims[1] that it was one of his own ma'dhūns, 'Alī b.Aḥmad al-Habbāl, who converted al-Darazī and that both al-Darazī and some of the followers of al-Bardha'ī recognised his authority for at least a while.

But if it is uncertain who first preached the new doctrines it is certainly clear that it was Ḥamza who built up the organisation of the da'wa. This is shown not only by the internal evidence of the canon but also by the accounts of al-Anṭākī and Ibn Ẓāfir. "He created a group of dā'īs to whom he assigned ranks in Miṣr and its provinces and the

[1] Vol.II, p.217.

Syrian provinces." "He . . . chose for himself a special group of disciples to whom he gave titles." Ibn Ẓāfir then goes on to tell how the Hādī al-Mustajibīn, the title Ḥamza uses for himself in his epistles, made the third of the hudūd, the Safīr al-Qudra, his deputy. He describes too how he took an oath, presumably the mīthāg, from every prominent person.

It is also plain that whatever the position in the early period from 407 to 409, by 410 Ḥamza was the generally accepted, and almost unchallenged, leader of the movement. This was brought about by the serious disturbances of 408 which led to the closing of the da'wa in 409 and the death, imprisonment, exile or disappearance of all Ḥamza's rivals. The nature of these disturbances is by no means clear, the reports of the historians here being at their most contradictory and confusing but some events do stand out. The most often to be mentioned of these is the visit to the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in the Mosque of 'Amr in Fusṭāṭ by a group of Ḥamza's followers[1] sometime in 408.[2] There they presented him with a letter which apparently began "In the name of al-Ḥākim, God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." The horror caused by the

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[1] One must dismiss the story of Taghrībirdī that they were the followers of al-Akhram or of Ibn Ḥajar that Ḥamza was among them. Ḥamza makes this clear in his epistle X, Vol.II, p.93.

[2] Ibn Ẓāfir's dating of the incident to 411 is too late as Ḥamza's epistle in which he mentions the incident is dated Rabī' II 410.

reading of this sparked off a riot in which at least the three main messengers were killed, though some of the historians suggest far larger numbers died.

The second of these events is what Ḥamza calls the day of al-Kā'ina.[1] There seems to have been a certain amount of rioting before this and then on this particular day about five hundred members of the cult including Mu'ānid but not Ḥamza, who had urged moderation and the necessity of refraining from trouble, were attacked and forty killed, the rest only escaping through al-Ḥākim's help. This was followed the following day by an attack by the Turks on Ḥamza's house, the Mosque of Raydān[2] near the Bāb al-Naṣr. Here he was besieged for a whole day with only twelve companions but all of them finally escaped unscathed.[3] It is presumably the same occasion when the outer door of the mosque was burnt down but the inner one withstood the attack.[4] It is clearly to the same event that Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir refers when he describes the riots following the letter to the Qāḍī, the attack on al-Darazī's house when forty men were killed and

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1 Epistle XIX, Vol.II, pp.216-219.

2 In spite of al-Anṭākī saying Ḥamza lived in the Mosque of Tibr, Ḥamza himself says he lived in the nearby Mosque of Raydān (Vol.II, p.107). Further evidence for this is that he compares Tibr with the Nāṭiq but Raydān with the Imam (Vol.II, p.104).

3 Vol.II, pp.94,218.

4 Vol.II, p.82.

finally the attack by the Turks on Ḥamza's mosque. It may be to this also that al-Anṭākī refers when he describes the events surrounding al-Darazī's death.

But while there is some agreement between the historians and Ḥamza over these two periods of unrest, caused mainly it seems by the rashness of al-Darazī and his supporters and out of which Ḥamza and his personal followers came almost unharmed, there is no confirmation in the canon of the various accounts of the fates of al-Akhram and al-Darazī. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir says al-Akhram was killed by a man from Kūkh or Karkh while he took part in the procession of al-Ḥākim in Ramaḍān 409. In almost identical terms al-Anṭākī describes how al-Darazī was killed by some Turkish slave while in the procession of al-Ḥākim in 408. Both historians also refer to the subsequent pillaging of the victim's house and the accounts must surely refer to the same event. The question remains as to who was the victim. Ibn Taghrībirdī says al-Akhram fled from Cairo while al-Darazī was sent to Syria by al-Ḥākim. Ibn Ẓāfir, on the other hand, speaks of al-Ḥākim's claim to have executed al-Darazī; though this may have been only to shield him. Then again there is the long tradition among the Druze community that al-Darazī is buried at Nebi Sheit near Kfair in Wādī Taym, exactly where Ibn Taghrībirdī (quoting Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī) says he went. On this rather shaky evidence, the victim of the Turkish slave would seem

to have been al-Akhram and probably in 408 rather than 409--Ibn Ẓāfir's dating being the weakest point in his otherwise surprisingly accurate accounts. As for al-Darazī going to Syria, it was surely natural for later writers and even for non-initiated members of the community itself to assume that the man after whom the sect was named, at least by outsiders, was the one who had also converted what, from al-Ḥākim's disappearance onwards, was almost the only area where the doctrines were still preached.

The last question that remains is whether there was any substantial difference in the doctrines being preached by Ḥamza and those preached by al-Darazī, al-Akhram and the rest of the missionaries. The suggestions of medieval historians like Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī or modern ones like Guys[1] and Hitti[2] backed up by local Syrian prejudice that al-Darazī preached a creed of licentiousness can be immediately discarded but more compelling are the arguments of Marshall Hodgson that there was a fundamental doctrinal difference between Ḥamza on the one hand and al-Darazī on the other.[3] In this article, a fascinating and imaginative reconstruction of the early days of the Druze and by far the best study of their origins since the great Exposé of De Sacy, Hodgson suggests that al-Darazī "taught a doctrine which remains

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1 H. Guys, Théogonie des Druzes (Paris, 1863).

2 P. Hitti, Origins of the Druze People and Religion, pp.53-54.

3 M. Hodgson "al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion".

within the limits of the normal heterodoxies of Ismā'īlism," his teaching differing from official Ismā'īlism in two ways; the exaltation of the ta'wīl and its representative, the imam, over the tanzīl and its representative, the prophet and the consequent belief that the imam of the time, al-Ḥākim was the embodiment of the 'Aql al-kullī. Ḥamza, on the other hand, made al-Ḥākim not the embodiment of the 'Aql but of the One, the transcendent Godhead, Ḥamza himself thus becoming Imam and supreme leader of the community. To Ḥamza, too, Hodgson gives the credit of taking the community outside the bounds of Islam. But was Ḥamza really the sole founder of the two central doctrines of the Druze, the divinity of al-Ḥākim and the falsity of the previous sharī'as? That he developed these doctrines into the theological basis of his new religion and that he built up the organisation of the new sect is incontestable but was he unique in preaching these fundamental doctrines? Hodgson bases his view of al-Darazī mainly on the historians, al-Anṭākī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, and the commentaries and glosses on some of Ḥamza's epistles. He lays great stress on the fact that al-Anṭākī says al-Darazī's teaching was "not far from" the secret Ismā'īlī faith which has been described above, but surely to a man who was not only not an Ismā'īlī but not even a Muslim, Ḥamza's doctrine would also seem "not far from" the secret teaching of the Ismā'īlīs. He dismisses the words of

al-Darazī that al-Ḥākim was "Allah, maker of the worlds and creator of created beings," as describing "only the Demiurge and not the Ultimate from an Ismā'īlī point of view;" an assumption which seems to have little evidence to back it up.[1] Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī certainly bears out his theory better but this account, written two and a half centuries after the events he describes, about doctrines with which he was far from familiar, cannot have too much reliance placed on it. As for the evidence from the glosses and commentaries on the epistles, this must also be treated with great care. The Druze writers soon lost touch with their Ismā'īlī background[2] and many of the glosses referring to the period in Cairo are quite valueless. Another rather stronger reason for questioning Hodgson's theory is Ḥamza's own accusations against al-Darazī in his epistles. These are all concerned with the question of his authority as leader of the community and warnings against upsetting Muslim opinion. Surely, if al-Darazī had differed doctrinally from Ḥamza this would have been the main target of the latter's attacks. But the most compelling argument of all for doubting his thesis is the

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1 Though Ḥamza in his epistles does explain how Allāh has various levels of meaning (Vol.II, p.74), Al-Kirmānī in his epistle to al-Akhram obviously assumes that when al-Akhram refers to Allāh, he is referring to the One.

2 E.g. Vol.II p.211 where three of the most famous books of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān have obviously never been heard of by the man writing the gloss.

letter of al-Kirmani, which is quoted at some length at the beginning of this chapter and which curiously Hodgson does not mention. In this letter al-Kirmānī mentions both 'Aql and Nafs before mentioning that al-Akhram's followers said that al-Ḥākim was God, making it quite clear that God is here the Ultimate, not the 'Aql al-Kullī. He then quotes al-Akhram's opinions of the Shari'a, Tanzil and Ta'wil. These theories of al-Akhram are the very basis of Ḥamza's religion but they prove quite conclusively that Ḥamza was not alone in holding them and surely if al-Akhram held them, al-Darazī may well have done too.

What it remained for Ḥamza to do was to build his new religion with these two dogmas as the keystones.

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p.53 is unfortunately missing from the pagination.

Chapter Three

THE DOCTRINE OF ḤAMZA

Dîn al-Tawḥîd, the religion of the Druze, is as much a different religion from Islam as Islam is distinct from Christianity or Christianity is from Judaism. For the best of political and social reasons, some of the more liberal Druze today may claim otherwise[1] but this claim can only be made good by the most radical changes in Ḥamza's original dogmas. From the very beginning of his mission, Ḥamza was filled with two burning passions; the first was his conviction that the strange and imposing figure of al-Ḥākim was divine. The second was his disillusion with the conservatism and increasingly abstract ideas of the Ismā'īlī establishment;[2] a disillusion which rapidly developed into an intense hatred of all existing organised religion though in particular Sunni and Ismā'īlī Islam and the Ismā'īlī leaders.

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1 Muḥammad 'Alī al-Zu'bī, Al-Durūz Ẓāhiruhum wa Bāṭinuhum (Beirut, 1956). Amîn Muḥammad Ṭalī', Aṣl al-Muwaḥḥidîn al-Durūz wa Uṣūluhum (Beirut, 1961). Abdallāh al-Najjār, Madhhab al-Durūz wal-Tawḥîd (Cairo, 1965). Sāmī Makārim, Aḍwaā' 'alā maslak al-Tawḥîd (Beirut, 1966). Cf. also J. Van Ess, "Neuere arabisch-sprachige Literatur über die Drusen", Die Welt des Islams, XII, 1969, pp.111-125.

2 Cf. W. Madelung, "Das Imamat" and for a contrary opinion W. Ivanow, Ismā'īlī Literature, p.8.

The first of these convictions was shared, as has been shown in the previous chapter, by many other extreme religious leaders of his time but they do not seem to have realised that other results were bound to follow from such a belief. According to the orthodox Ismā'īlīs, the cosmic principles, the 'uqūl, were not incarnate in the hierarchy of prophets, wasīs and imams, the physical hudūd, but simply corresponded to them on a higher plane of existence. Ḥamza, however, seems, even if only subconsciously, to have felt the need to make religion a matter of live concern for the masses, not a series of abstractions for the initiates. God was no longer to be a negatively defined abstraction but personally concerned to bring man back to the true religion, incarnate in human form. His ministers were no longer vague cosmic principles but men to be seen in the mosques and markets of Cairo. Heaven was to be the earthly triumph of His followers over their enemies. Even the powers of evil ceased to be mere phantoms but instead became the chief men of the state; the princes, the judges and the leaders of religion.

But this splendid, "iconoclast" revolution was not enough in itself. Ḥamza himself soon felt the necessity to formalise his religion and made the rest of Ismā'īlī religious dogma fit in with his central tenets; a challenge which could have been met in two ways. The belief in al-Ḥākim

could have been modified into a position similar to that with which al-Darazī is credited by Hodgson. Such a belief was common enough in extreme Shī'ism and the sect if it had survived would gradually have returned into the fold of Islam. But moved by his second great passion, his growing hatred for organised religion as he saw it and his personal ill-will to all its leaders--save al-Ḥākim himself, Ḥamza chose the alternative. Using Ismā'īlī terminology and to a large extent the basic ideas of their cosmology, Ḥamza now built up a new and, what Toynbee calls, "fancy"[1] religion. Like some juggler, Ḥamza threw up the whole Ismā'īlī system into the air, catching and reshaping those aspects he liked, throwing out those he did not, but all the time resting the new religion on those two keystones which have already been stressed as central.

These two central beliefs often of course overlapped in their effect; Ḥamza's attitude to Islam for example determining Muḥammad's low position in the new hierarchy. But in spite of this it is convenient in this brief analysis[2] of Ḥamza's doctrine to consider it under three headings; first his "theology", his teaching about God and His ministers,

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1 Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History, abridged by D.C. Somervell (O.U.P., 1960), pp.490-491.

2 A more detailed account of different facets of the religion, particularly the various mythological stories, is to be found in the summary of the epistles (see below). For the most complete account see De Sacy, Exposé de la Religion des Druzes.

their creation and their appearances on earth; secondly his attitude to other religions, notably Islam; and, lastly, what may be broadly called his moral and social doctrine.

Hamza's Theology

At the centre of Ḥamza's creed is the belief in Tawḥīd, the unity of God. In the beginning was God, the One, unique and transcendent. He created (abda'a)[1] the Universal Intelligence, the 'Aql al-Kullī,[2] the true Imam. The 'Aql glorying in its supreme position became proud, however, and this led to the appearance of the Didd, the Opposing Principle.[3] In a rather naive story,[4] Ḥamza tells how God caused the other hudūd to proceed (inba'atha)[5] from the 'Aql and from each other to "box in" the Didd. Thus there appeard the Nafs al-Kulliyya, the Universal Soul; the Kalima, the Word; the Sābiq, the Preceding; and the Tālī, the Follower. It also appears, though this is not expressly stated, that out of the Didd proceeded a series of cosmic powers of darkness or evil, who were in opposition to the true hudūd and like them were eternal.[6] From the Tālī came the earth, the heavens, the signs of the zodiac, the four elements and the primal matter.[7]

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1 Cf. R. Walzer, Greek into Arabic (Oxford, 1962), pp.187ff.
2 Vol.II, pp.140,257.
3 Vol.II, p.34.
4 Vol.II, p.144.
5 Vol.II, p.257.
6 Vol.II, p.198.
7 Vol.II, p.157.

Below the Tālī also come the lower hudūd: the dā'īs, the ma'dhūns and the mukāsirs, although their number and the nature and time of their creation or emanation is not specifically mentioned.

Between the appearance of the hudūd and the creation of man, 343 million years went by[1] and of this period Ḥamza says little. It seems that various types of beings[2] existed and perhaps God appeared to them; but the Druze theology concerns itself almost entirely with the period during which human beings existed. God, who combined within his person both a divine and human nature (Lāhūt and Nāsūt),[3] the human body (Maqām) which He took on, being a mere shell of no more importance than the bush or the mountain from which God spoke to Moses,[4] appeared to man on a number of occasions. The first was at the beginning of the human era as al-Bār. Nor was the Godhead alone in these appearances to mankind. The hudūd also took on human form and so too, though this is less explicitly stated, did the Didd and his followers. In the time of al-Bār, the 'Aql was known as Ādam[5] or Shaṭnīl, the Nafs as Akhnūkh, the Kalima as Sharkh and the Didd as Iblīs or Ḥārat and many stories concerning the period are told both

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1 Vol.II, p.162.
2 Vol.II, pp.117,288.
3 Vol.II, p.56.
4 Vol.II, p.151.
5 Vol.II, p.117.

by Ḥamza[1] and his successors.[2] A certain number of people were converted to the true faith, Tawḥīd, but most inclined to polytheism and finally al-Bār withdrew, punishing the disobedient by the imposition of the Sharī'as.[3] Ḥamza does not mention another appearance of the deity among man until He appeared in the form of al-Qā'im, the second Fāṭimid Caliph and in his successors,[4] al-Manṣūr,[5] al-Mu'izz, al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim. The incarnations of the ḥudūd and of the Dīdd in the period between al-Bār and al-Ḥākim are scarcely mentioned by Ḥamza although he promises he will one day do so.[6] He does, however, mention that in the time of Muḥammad, the 'Aql appeared as Salmān al-Fārsī,[7] the Nafs as al-Miqdād[8] and that the false ḥudūd appeared in the persons of Muḥammad, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān.[9]

In the time of al-Ḥākim, the whole cosmic hierarchy was present in the world; the true ḥudūd in the persons of Ḥamza and his followers; the false in the persons of the

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1 Especially Epistle XII.

2 Especially Epistle XXXVI.

3 Vol.II, p.124.

4 Vol.II, p.128.

5 Al-Manṣūr is not mentioned explicitly as an incarnation of the deity but in epistle VI (Vol.II, p.47) he is called Our Lord, the title Ḥamza usually gives to al-Ḥākim.

6 Vol.II, p.163.

7 Vol.II, p.100.

8 Vol.II, p.101.

9 Vol.II, p.203.

leaders of the Ismā'īlīs, the Walī 'Ahd al-Muslimīn, the Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn, the Dā'ī al-Du'āt, the Lāhiq and the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt,[1] or, according to another account in the persons of al-Darazī and, presumably, his followers [2] The lack of faith and the evil deeds of the people, however, caused al-Ḥākim again to withdraw from the world,[3] not to reappear until the Day of Judgement. This, though, is close at hand. Acting through his Imam, Ḥamza, al-Ḥākim will bring about the triumph of Tawḥīd and the utter confounding of all unbelievers.[4] There will be no heaven or hell but the Unitarians (Muwaḥḥidūn) will inherit the earth with the rest of mankind as their servants.

Such a doctrine was never expressed in such a complete form by Ḥamza. Rather, the doctrines evolved to suit the circumstances and in the four short years of his mission Ḥamza did not have time to iron out all the inconsistencies which are apparent in his epistles. It was left to his successors, al-Tamīmī, Bahā' al-Dīn and the later Druze commentators both to do this and to elaborate the doctrine further.

In the two early epistles of 408, the greatest stress

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1 Vol.II, p.203.
2 Vol.II, p.90.
3 Vol.II, pp.9, 279.
4 Vol.II, pp.78, 194, 267.

is laid on the divine nature of al-Ḥākim and the end of the sharī'as. But the equating of al-Ḥākim with God, quite apart from its own overwhelming significance, breached the Ismā'īlī system in two other ways. First, if God could be incarnate in human shape, so obviously could the spiritual hudūd; secondly, the position of Imam was vacant. In his earliest scheme,[1] Ḥamza solves the first problem by simply putting the spiritual and physical hudūd end to end: Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath, Khayāl, Nātiq, Asās (and in Epistle VII,[2] seven months later, and in Epistle XV)[3] Imām, Hujja and Dā'ī;[4] indeed there are not, as the Ismā'īlīs say, separate hudūd, spiritual and physical, but a single chain of ten ministers, all present on earth in the time of al-Ḥākim.[5] Ḥamza, himself, holds the position of Qā'im al-Zamān,[5] the Messianic figure which the Ismā'īlīs had long awaited. In his formula of initiation for women probably written in the same year, Ḥamza also solves the second problem his deification of al-Ḥākim has created. The true Imam is not one of the hierarchy of the Nātiq but is the Sābiq, the first of God's ministers, the Qā'im al-Zaman, in

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1 Vol.II, pp.33,35.

2 Vol.II, p.55.

3 Vol.II, p.173.

4 For the extremely complicated system of names and ranks of the hudūd in both the Ismā'īlī and Druze systems cf. below Ch.4 and Glossary.

5 Vol.II, p.56.

6 Vol.II, p.57.

other words himself.[1] The position of the individual believer is also dealt with in Epistle XV; he passes from body to body and according to his behaviour in his previous life rises or falls in his spiritual rank.[2]

By the beginning of the second year of his mission, Ḥamza had developed his doctrine much further. In Muḥarram he speaks of a hierarchy of 163 members; the imam and his 99 dā'īs; Dhū Massa(i.e. the Nafs), the Kalima, the Bāb (i.e. the Sābiq) and the sixty dā'īs of the two Wings (presumably the Sābiq and the Tālī, though the latter minister is not mentioned in his list).[3] In the same epistle he begins to speak of a rival hierarchy; every name which can refer to the praiseworthy ḥudūd can also be assigned to the blameworthy ḥudūd.[4] He also mentions the Calf, which is the rival (Didd) not of al-Ḥākim, who has no rivals,[5] but of the Qā'im al-Zamān[6] and who, according to his next letter, is none other than al-Darazī.[7]

The details of these two hierarchies are worked out in other epistles written in 410. In Epistle X Ḥamza

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1 Vol.II, p.59. For the Imamate being raised about the prophethood cf. Al-Anṭākī on the hidden beliefs of the Fāṭimids.
2 Vol.II, p.180.
3 Vol.II, p.73.
4 Vol.II, p.74.
5 Vol.II, p.258.
6 Vol.II, p.68.
7 Vol.II, p.90.

again states that the true apostle (Rasūl) is the Imam[1] and also for the first time he speaks of the first of the hudūd as the 'Aql al-Kullī.[2] This addition of yet another title to those which already belonged to the first minister probably helped to lead to the arid and, except as propaganda, utterly pointless controversy which from now on crops up several times in Ḥamza's epistles; the relative positions of the ministers in the Unitarian and Ismā'īlī hierarchies. The most common names of the Druze ministers from 410 on are: 'Aql, Nafs, Kalima, Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath and Khayāl. The Ismā'īlī hierarchy begins with the Sābiq and then continues in the same way (Tālī, Jadd, Fath and Khayāl). Simply because of the nomenclature Ḥamza therefore says that the Ismā'īlī's have no knowledge of the first three ministers;[3] overlooking the fact that in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy the Sābiq was identical with the 'Aql and the Tālī with the Nafs. The confusion is worse confounded by the fact that in certain cases the Druze writers use the term Sābiq, in what Ḥamza calls its true sense, to describe the first minister, the Tālī to describe the second and so on!

Epistle XVII, published in Jumāda II, 410, gives Ḥamza's most fully developed view of the two hierarchies.

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1 Vol.II, p.86.

2 Vol.II, p.90.

3 E.g., Vol.II, pp.92,139.

There are two groups of hudūd, good and bad,[1] both groups always being present and their ranks having the same names.[2] It is wrong to speak of spiritual hudūd which cannot be perceived and physical ones which can. Rather, the spiritual hudūd are the ministers of good; the true Nāṭiq, Asas, Dā'ī, Ma'dhūn and Mukāsir are identical with the true Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fatḥ and Khayāl.[3] The physical hudūd are the false hudūd. In the time of the Prophet, they were Muḥammad himself, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. In the time of al-Ḥākim, they are 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb, Khatkīn, Ja'far al-Ḍarīr and Aḥmad b. Abī al-'Awwām, in other words the leaders of the Ismā'īlī da'wa.[4] This is perhaps one of the oddest results of Ḥamza's great juggling act. In the Ismā'īlī system the lower or physical hudūd were the leaders of the da'wa and the higher or spiritual hudūd were the cosmic principles. Ḥamza then said that the cosmic principles were incarnate in the earthly da'wa (in this case his own, not the Ismā'īlī one) and that he and his ministers were thus the higher hudūd. It is a little ironical that the term of lower hudūd then gets used as a derogatory term to refer to the Ismā'īlī Ministers, who had called themselves that all along!

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1 Vol.II, p.198.
2 Vol.II, p.199.
3 Vol.II, p.200.
4 Vol.II, pp.201-2, 213, 248.

Another important theme in the epistles of Muḥarram and Rabi' II, 410, is the Last Judgement and the triumph of Tawhid.[1] Here Ḥamza's belief in reincarnation, which, while implicit in the whole of his theology, is rarely explicitly stated, and his denial of the existence of heaven and hell sets the Druze religion apart from the rest of Western religion today.

While the period from 408 to the middle of 410 was taken up with showing the present and future position of the da'wa, the rest of 410 was used to explain the past. In Jumāda I Ḥamza published his Sīra al-Mustaqīma (Epistle XII) in which he told the story of Adam[2] and also related the Ismā'īlīs and Druze to the Qarmaṭians.[3] He also expands what he had only hinted at before;[4] that God had appeared in human form before the time of al-Ḥākim, first as al-Bār and later as al-Qā'im and the other Fāṭimids.[5] In Epistle XIII, written in Ramaḍān 410, Ḥamza goes back to an even more distant time, millions of years before Adam when God created the first four hudūd and the Didd.[6] In the same epistle he hints again at reincarnation by saying the first Nāṭiq is

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1 Vol.II, pp.76+194. Cf. also p.267.
2 Vol.II, pp.116ff.
3 Vol.II, p.120.
4 Vol.II, p.37.
5 Vol.II, p.128.
6 Vol.II, pp.140-142.

also the last[1] and for the last time lists the hudūd. There are seventy in all; the 'Aql, Nafs, Kalima, Sābiq, Tālī and Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq. The Nafs and Kalima each have twelve hujjas and seven dā'īs; the Sābiq and Tālī each have twelve hujjas and the Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq has a Ma'dhūn and two Mukāsirs.[2]

The discrepancies in the titles of the hudūd in these lists are not hard to explain. Ḥamza was using quite different sets of terms: those like Nāṭiq, Asas, Imām, Bāb, Hujja, Dā'ī, Ma'dhūn and Mukāsir being drawn from the Ismā'īlī da'wa; those like 'Aql, Nafs, Jadd, Fath and Khayāl from the Ismā'īlī names for the cosmic powers; others like Dhū Ma'a from more obscure places and by his own admission he was using all these to refer sometimes to the same person or rank, sometimes to different ones just depending on the degree of "truth" which the meaning of the title had at that moment. What is harder to explain, from a modern view point, are the discrepancies in the numbers of ministers for even if these were ideal figures, which they obviously were, one might still expect the number of dā'īs assigned, for example, to the 'Aql to remain constant. On the other hand, exactly the same inconsistency occurs in the accounts of the Ismā'īlī da'wa, without any of their writers apparently feeling any need to reconcile the various accounts.

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1 Vol.II, p.145.

2 Vol.II, pp.145-6.

In his last great doctrinal epistle called the Sabab al-Asbāb,[1] Ḥamza places his doctrine of creation in a more philosophical context. He also describes the creation of the Tālī, forgotten in his earlier account of the creation of the hudūd, and explains the creation of the elements and of matter.[2]

Ḥamza's later writings make few further additions, though the three extant appointments of ministers give further details of their titles and make apparent one of the great inconsistencies of the doctrine; that the men who are in theory incarnations of cosmic principles are in fact appointed to these positions. This is particularly clear in the case of the Kalima, the previous holder of the position having just died and the new holder of the office being promoted from a lower rank.[3] In Epistle XXXIII, Ḥamza gives the command, so soon to be countermanded by his successors, that while the Hikma (the knowledge of the new religion) should be kept from those who were unworthy of it, it must be made known to any who are worthy of it.[4] In his last epistle, written after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim, Ḥamza stresses a point which he had made before but now had a new importance,

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1 Epistle XIV.
2 Vol.II, p.157.
3 Vol.II, p.224.
4 Vol.II, p.268.

that God would not pass into another form after al-Ḥākim.[1]

Ḥamza's lieutenants and successors, Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, the incarnation of the Nafs, and Bahā' al-Dīn, the incarnation of the Tālī, make few additions to his doctrine but rather clarify and expand what their master had taught. In his main work, the Taqsīm al-'Ulūm, al-Tamīmī confirms the doctrines taught in Epistles XII-XIV but he adds certain details about the period before Adam[2] and talks of other appearances of God between al-Bār and al-Qā'im in the persons of Abū Zakariyyā, 'Alyā and al-Mu'ill.[3] He tells of the appearance of the 'Aql as Abū Ṭālib[4] and he confirms the Qaddāḥid origin of some of the hidden Imams.[5] Finally he shows how the truth about Tawḥīd had to remain hidden throughout the period from al-Bār to al-'Azīz. In his next epistle he also adds an interesting description of the threefold nature of man; a topic not touched on by Ḥamza.[6] All this must have been written with the approval of Ḥamza; indeed, in Epistle XXXVI, al-Tamīmī expressly says so[7] and the date, Muḥarram 411, confirms it. Indeed these topics had no doubt

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1 Vol.II, p.281.
2 Vol.II, p.288.
3 Vol.II, p.292.
4 Vol.II, p.290.
5 Vol.II, pp.292-293.
6 Vol.II, pp.300-301.
7 Vol.II, p.285.

been dealt with by Ḥamza either orally or in some of the epistles which did not survive to be included in the canon.

The first great change in Ḥamza's doctrine comes with the practise of Taqiyya in the persecutions of al-Ẓāhir and the closing of the da'wa by Bahā' al-Dīn in c.434. Later still came the division of the community into 'Uqqāl and Juhhāl and a gradual process of "initiation" not unlike that of the Ismā'īlīs. More stress too came to be laid on the reincarnation of the individual soul and the story grew up of a twin community in China which accounted for the rise and fall in the size of the Syrian community. But in spite of these changes the basis of Druze theology has continued to be the tenets laid down by Ḥamza in the four years of his mission.

The Relation of Tawḥīd to other Religions

But if the belief in al-Ḥākim's divinity is central to Druze theology, Ḥamza's attitude to other religions is no less important for understanding how Dīn al-Tawḥīd lies completely outside Islam. Hodgson has this to say: "Hamza's system is no longer merely an explanation of the inward meaning of an outward doctrine. It is not just a new version of the ta'wīl despite its verbal similarity to it. It does make use of earlier scriptures--the Qur'ān, official ta'wīlī pronouncements or the Gospels. It grants them a certain validity if properly interpreted. But this is not the validity

of a true but misleading revelation which is one aspect of a more complete revealed whole open to the initiate through Ta'wīl. Ḥamza looks on previous religions as necessary but chiefly false historical phenomena which his own revelation explains and supercedes."[1] "The Nāṭiq and Asās seem to have been so closely associated with the old historical system that they were left as they were to designate Muḥammad and 'Alī as eachers of the Tanzīl and Ta'wīl respectively but instead of corresponding to the cosmic first principles they were demoted to rather pitiful figures presenting under the guidance of a much higher figure (Salmān)[2] two equally false doctrines which the One brought into being as necessary to the economy of his system of good and evil."[3]

But as with his "theology" this system of Ḥamza's was not worked out all at once. It was continually added to or modified throughout the years of Ḥamza's mission and was after his withdrawal still far from fixed. The Druze attitude to Muḥammad, for example, became far more hostile in later years.

In the epistles, Ḥamza is most often concerned, when referring to the opponents of his religion, with those personalities and sects which constituted a real threat to

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1 J.A.O.S., LXXXII, No.1, 1962, pp.16-17.

2 Al-Tamīmī suggests Abū Ṭālib.

3 J.A.O.S., LXXXII, No.1, 1962, p.16.

his position, for example al-Darazī, the Ismā'īlī establishment especially its leaders, Ibn al-'Awwām and Khatkīn, and the Nuṣayrīs, whose appeal must have been to a very similar group of people as Ḥamza himself was aiming at.

Increasingly, however, he also had to take into account Sunnī and Ismā'īlī Islam as a whole and what their position was vis-à-vis the new religion. In his first full length epistle written in Safar 408 the threefold picture of Tanzīl (Ẓāhir, Islām), Ta'wīl (Bāṭin, Īmān) and Tawḥīd (the true religion) is already clear in his mind. His attitude at this time is that the commands of the Ẓāhir are proved to be false by the fact that al-Ḥākim had either neglected or abrogated most of them e.g., "Muḥammad said: 'Whoever misses the Prayer three times on purpose has become an infidel.' Obviously this is not the case for many Muslims forsake the Prayer including Our Lord which proves that the Prayer has been abolished[1] . . . Real prayer is knowledge of Our Lord and the Ḥudūd not the prayer of the Ẓāhir and the Bāṭin."[2] Ḥamza also remarks on the hypocrisy of many of the Shī'a who take an oath to 'Alī and yet still show love for Abū Bakr.[3] The two previous religions were not only misleading but actually false and are now abrogated by Tawḥīd. "The

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1 Vol.II, p.39.

2 Vol.II, p.41.

3 Vol.II, pp.40-41.

Sharī'as of the Zāhir and Bāṭin are detestable and abominable."[1] "You have heard that the Bāṭin which is hidden...shall become the Zāhir and the Zāhir will disappear and the real meaning of the Bāṭin will be made plain. The time has come. An explanation will be given to the Unitarians though not to the Polytheists (mushrikūn) until the sword appears . . . and the Muslims and the Polytheists [the Ismā'īlīs] will pay the same tax as the Dhimma."[2] "Whoever does not abandon the 'nothingness' ('adam) of the Nāṭiq and what is coupled to it belonging to the Asās shall not reach the Tawhīd of Our Lord."[3]

But the position of the Nāṭiq and Asās are still fairly high in the list of hudūd, made up, as has been shown, by taking the names of the Ismā'īlī ministers, both spiritual and physical, and laying them end to end to form a single list. Talking of the Fast, Ḥamza says: "Nobody enters Tawhīd except by awareness and knowledge of the thirty ministers, both spiritual and physical. They are the Kalima, Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath, Khayāl, Nāṭiq, Asās, Mutimm, Hujja, Dā'ī, the seven Imams and twelve Hujjas."[4] A little later he gives a slightly different list when, interpreting something by Abjad, he arrives at the number thirty two. These are: "The Irāda, Mashiyya [sic], Kalima, Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath,

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1 Vol.II, p.41.
2 Vol.II, pp.32-33.
3 Vol.II, p.43.
4 Vol.II, p.45.

Khayāl, seven Nāṭiqs, seven Asās, seven Imams and three Caliphs. Whoever knows these ranks, knows Tawḥīd."[1]

Lest these lists give a false impression of the importance due to the founders of the false Sharī'as, Ḥamza interprets the verse: "Do not worship the sun and the moon but God who created them" as referring respectively to the Nāṭiq, Asās and the Great Ḥujja (i.e. himself).[2] Later he says: "All the ranks which were held by the Nāṭiq and Asās He has given to his servants [i.e. Ḥamza and his fellow ministers]."[3] There is also, of course, no epithet after Muḥammad's name.

The next epistle, written some seven months later, adds little to the position taken up in its predecessor, though it reiterates the point that the sharī'a of Muḥammad has been entirely abrogated. "I enjoin you concerning those things about which Our Lord has inspired me and given me orders viz. the abolition of the things in which belief is not essential for you and the leaving of the things whose absence will not harm you from the past and dying ages and the worn out sharī'as. Every nāṭiq has abrogated the sharī'a before him. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, the sixth nāṭiq, abolished all the sharī'as . . . Our Lord has completely abrogated

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1 Vol.II, pp.45-46.

2 Vol.II, p.49.

3 Ibid.

the sharī'a of Muḥammad; its Ẓāhir to the Mu'minūn and its Bāṭin to the Muwaḥḥidūn. The seven pillars in both their outward and inner sense have been abrogated."[1]

'Alī still seems to have a certain importance (though obviously a vastly inferior one to that he held in Ismā'īlī teaching) for he plays the leading part in a story Ḥamza uses to show the importance of Zakāt. The next quotation also seems to give him a position which is not quite that of the founder of a false religion: "Know that all the names which in the Qur'ān alight on the Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fatḥ, Khayāl, Nāṭiq, Asās, Imām, Ḥujja and Da'ī, all ten point to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Asās of the Nāṭiq . . . and he points to his limit and end, the Mahdī, Sa'īd b. Aḥmad . . . who himself declares that he is the servant of Our Lord, al-Qā'im, al-'Ālim, al-Ḥākim."[2]

Such discrepancies are much rarer in the next group of epistles written in the second year of the Druze era, 410. In 408, the attacks on Islam and on Muḥammad had been comparatively mild. Tanzīl and Ta'wīl were false religions superceded by Tawḥīd but, save for one brief mention that their supporters would be treated like the Dhimma on the Day of Judgement, no threats were made against them. In the epistle written in Muḥarram 410 the situation is very different.

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1 Vol.II, pp.52-53.

2 Vol.II, p.55.

Here the threats against Islam are spelled out in detail: "Al-Ḥākim will soon appear sword in hand . . . The distinguishing mark of dress for the Nawāṣib (the Sunnīs) is two rings of lead on the ears of each of them, each weighing twenty dirhams and the edge of their left sleeve shall be dyed in grey stripes and the tax levied on them shall be two and a half dīnārs and they are the Jews of the Umma of Muḥammad. The distinguishing mark of the people of Ta'wīl who support a religion of nothingness is two rings of iron on the ears of each of them, each weighing thirty dirhams and the edge of their right sleeve shall be dyed black and the tax levied on them shall be three dīnārs and they are the Christians of the Umma of Muḥammad. The distinguishing mark of the apostates from the belief in the Unity of Our Lord shall be two rings of black glass on the ears of each of them, each weighing forty dirhams and on their head shall be a cap of fox hide and the upper part of their clothes shall be dyed lead coloured and the tax levied on them shall be five dīnārs a year and they are the hypocrites, the Magians of the Umma of Muḥammad." These taxes are to be taken from people of all ages on pain of death and will be collected in Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad. The 'Abbāsid Caliph will be moved from city to city until he comes to Balkh in Khurasān where he will be executed. "The sharī'as will be utterly destroyed and the eternal rite will appear."[1]

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[1] Vol.II, pp.76-78.

It is also in this epistle that Ḥamza first conceives of ministers in opposition to the true hudūd, though as yet he only speaks of the Didd whom he equates with the Calf.[1]

But while the sharī'as are strongly attacked, the positions of Nāṭiq and Asās are still comparable with the Imams, at least in so far as they can be mentioned together in one sentence e.g., "Al-Ḥākim is above every nāṭiq, asās and imam."[2] This is later explained by glosses as referring to other figures than the founders of the false sharī'as but it seems unlikely that Ḥamza had this in mind when he wrote the epistle. The Nāṭiq is also still quoted as a useful source of knowledge though his words are explained allegorically: "The Nāṭiq said: 'God has ninety nine names. Whoever can count them enters Paradise.' This means the Imam has ninety-nine dā'īs."[3]

The tenth epistle written three months later has further arguments against the tanzīl and ta'wīl and further threats against the followers of the two religions, but the Nāṭiq and Asās are still not attacked personally. The fact that Islam is not the true religion is backed up by Ḥamza's interpretation of a passage from the Qur'ān. (The use of

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1 Vol.II, p.60.
2 Vol.II, p.75.
3 Vol.II, p.73.

the Qur'ān to illustrate various points is common, though it is only later writers that justify its use by saying that Muḥammad was told what to say by Salmān, the true Messiah, and that what is true in the Qur'ān comes from God and what is not, does not. A similar explanation is given by Bahā' al-Dīn when he quotes from the Gospels). "The Qur'ān says: 'It is Our Lord who has sent his apostle with right guidance and the religion of the truth . . . He will make it triumph over all other religions in spite of the opposition of the polytheists'." Ḥamza then points out that the Jews, Christians, Indians, Abyssinians, Turks and many others are all more numerous than the Muslims. It is therefore not the Muslims that are referred to in the passage but the Unitarians and the true apostle is the Imam (i.e. himself).[1]

The vulnerability of Islam is also shown by the allegorical interpretation of the mob's attack on one of the Cairo mosques. The wooden door which represented the Ẓāhir of Islam was burnt down but the iron door which represented the Imam could not be destroyed.[2]

The Sunnīs are also described as "the People of the Ẓāhir through whom the Sharī'a which is a burning fire for the flesh blazes up."[3]

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1 Vol.II, p.87.

2 Vol.II, p.82.

3 Ibid.

The Ismā'īlīs are attacked on more theological grounds than are the Sunnīs e.g., "The People of the Ta'wīl assert that the Kalima is the Sābiq and the Sābiq is the Kalima. They say there is no difference between them and they know nothing above them."[1]

In another allegorical interpretation of a Qur'anic verse both "sects" are threatened with hell: "Those who do not obey their Lord, even if they are possessed of whatever is in the whole earth [i.e. knowledge of the Asās] and as much more [i.e. knowledge of the Nāṭiq] they would give it all for their ransom . . . They will be brought to a terrible account and their resting place shall be hell."[2] But more attention is paid to those who apostasise from Tawhīd than to the followers of either the Tanzīl or the Ta'wīl, while the greatest venom of all is reserved for al-Darazī.[3]

The eleventh epistle, probably written soon after the tenth, is far more vehement in its attacks on the two sharī'as than any of Ḥamza's earlier writings. The attacks on the nāṭiqs also grow in force though in one section they can still be called "the children of the Sābiq, the Mubda' al-Awwal (the first created being) who is Salmān."[4] They

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1 Vol.II, p.92.
2 Vol.II, p.83.
3 Vol.II, p.90.
4 Vol.II, p.100.

are given the true knowledge but they do not pass it on to mankind.

The epistle takes the form of a defence of the curious actions of al-Ḥākim, which are all explained allegorically: Al-Ḥākim grew his hair long, wore woollen clothes and rode a donkey. "The hair represents the outward signs of the Tanzil, the woollen clothes represent the outward signs of the Ta'wil and the donkey represents the nāṭiqs."[1]

In the verse "Order what is good and forbid abomination" the good is explained as Tawhid and the abomination is "his [Muḥammad's] sharī'a and the law and duty it brings with it."[2] "Desist from your walking" means "desist from your da'wa in the Ẓāhir which walks in the world like a black ant on a black path on a dark night and it is utter polytheism."[3] "As fire does not show its light in the straw until it has destroyed it, so love of the Sharī'a and attentiveness to its details makes it pass into the veins."[4]

In the verse "the most reprehensible of sounds is the sound of the donkey," the most reprehensible of sounds is explained as the da'wa of the Ẓāhir and a further interpretation says: "The most frightful and abominable words are

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1 Vol.II, p.100.
2 Ibid.
3 Vol.II, p.101.
4 Ibid.

those of the sharī'as and from them appear quarrels and opposition. The riding of the donkey represents the victory of truth over the religions of the nāṭiqs."[1] "The saddle without gold or silver represents the futility of the two sharī'as of the Nāṭiq and Asās." "The use of an iron ornament on the saddle shows the victory of the sword over the rest of the supporters of the sharī'as."[2]

"The garden of Dakka, in spite of its sublimity, adjoins a place of abomination. This shows that the knowledge of the Sābiq is connected with the nāṭiqs, who are the sources of the vain systems of law and atrocious and vile deeds. Maqs represents the Nāṭiq and the filth and abomination in Maqs represent his sharī'a. The depraved women there represent the dā'īs of his sharī'a . . . Our Lord's entry by one gate and exit by another represents the prohibition and suspension of the sharī'a . . . Then He reaches the castles and they are two great, ruined castles which represent the abolition and destruction of the two sharī'as."[3]

"The garden of 'Aṣṣār represents the Nāṭiq who squeezes the knowledge of the Tālī and gets out of him the truth and Tawhīd and hides it from the world, showing it instead the dregs and those are the dregs of which only

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1 Vol.II, p.102.

2 Ibid.

3 Vol.II, p.103.

beasts can make use."[1]

Ḥamza then talks of the mosques of Raydān and Tibr, which represent the Imam and Nāṭiq respectively. Ḥamza, punning on the word tibr (the root of which has reference to either gold or destruction), says it means dhahab, which in its turn means the destruction of the sharī'a of the Nāṭiq.[2]

"Everything has its opposite. Opposite that which is vain, namely the garden of 'Aqṣār i.e. the Nāṭiq, is the Truth, namely the mosque of Raydān i.e. Dhū Ma'a. Our Lord gives victory to his friends and destroys his enemies. His light is made complete in spite of the dislike of the polytheists, who are joined to 'Alī b. 'Abd Manāf, and the infidels, who are joined to the Nāṭiq and his meaningless religion."[3]

"There is no mosque but that of Raydān of which the dome has fallen in and which is completely derelict. Our Lord has ordered the dome to be repaired and He has made it longer, wider and higher. This shows the destruction of the sharī'a of the Ẓāhir at the hands of His servant who lives there and the building of the belief in the Unity of our Lord."[4]

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1 Vol.II, p.104.
2 Ibid.
3 Vol.II, pp.105-106.
4 Vol.II, p.107.

"His getting down from the donkey to the ground and his mounting another by the door of the mosque shows the change of the sharī'a and the establishment of Tawhīd and the spiritual sharī'a."[1]

Ḥamza then shows how various religious changes represent the fall of the religion of the Nāṭiq. He then goes on: "Whenever our Lord rides, He always returns to the two gardens in Maqs; that shows the appearance of the third religion apart from Infidelity and Polytheism i.e. the Ẓāhir and Bāṭin[2] . . . From there he goes to Rāshida where there are also three mosques whose buildings are different the one from the other. The most beautiful, the highest and the most magnificent of them is the one in which the Khaṭīb makes the Friday prayer and where the five daily prayers are said; and it is the middle one. It represents the confession of the Unity of Our Lord and the establishment of the five ministers of this religion. This mosque represents the Ḥujja of the Manifestation. The two other mosques which differ in their construction represent the Nāṭiq and Asās. For, similarly, the Nāṭiq is superior to the Asās in the organisation of his ordinances (ḥudūd), while the Asās is superior to the Nāṭiq in the organisation of the Bāṭin and its allegories . . . and when Tawhīd appeared, the power of the two earlier religions

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1 Vol.II, p.107.

2 Vol.II, p.108.

ceased utterly."[1]

The well of Zibaq represents the Nāṭiq. Its top is wide but its bottom is narrow. In the same way entry into the Sharī'a is easy and wide but getting out of it is difficult and narrow[2] . . . The well of Ḥufra represents the Asās. It is a worse punishment than the well of Zibaq and more difficult to get out of, for whoever believes in the Ẓāhir, i.e. the Sharī'a, when he reaches the Bāṭin believes there is nothing above the Asās and he is the limit and the object of worship. And unless the Lord wishes him salvation he will remain in eternal torment."[3]

"In the death of Suwayd and al-Hamām there was instruction for those who reflected and salvation from polytheism for those who considered. For they were champion wrestlers and each had followers and a faction which protected him. They represent the Nāṭiq and Asās and their death shows the abolition of the Sharī'as, the Tanzil and the Ta'wil."[4]

The section concludes with various obscenities directed against the Tanzil and Ta'wil.[5]

It is with this epistle probably written in the

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1 Vol.II, p.109.
2 Vol.II, p.110.
3 Vol.II, p.111.
4 Vol.II, p.111.
5 Vol.II, pp.111-112.

middle of 410 A.H., that Ḥamza's concept of his own religious position vis-à-vis Sunni and Ismā'īlī Islam reaches its most complete form. The idea of the three religions of which the first two are synonymous with Kufr and Shirk and the third with Ḥaqq, the third abolishing and replacing the first two is fully worked out. Nor does Ḥamza take his attack on Muḥammad further. The equation of the sixth Nāṭiq with Iblīs is left to his successors. Indeed, as a theologian rather than a philosopher his attacks on the Nāṭiq can never have the force that those of Abū Muḥammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzī have when he shows the absurdity of the Prophet's claim in his debate with the Ismā'īlī, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī.[1]

The remaining problem, the relation of Tawḥīd to the sharī'as before that of the sixth Nāṭiq, is dealt with almost immediately; in the twelfth epistle. Ḥamza's solution is interesting and claims more for his religion than he did earlier in the history of his da'wa. The religion of Unitarianism has existed in all ages, aeons of time before the creation of man. Many famous men were really either incarnations of the ḥudūd or else supporters of the religion. Among the latter were the early Qarāmiṭa. (There is some curious chronology here for they are said to have supported Shaṭnīl, the 'Aql, who later became incarnate in Ḥamza, in

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1 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Kitāb a'lām al-nubuwwa. For similar attacks on Islam, revealed religion or prophethood cf. Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and Ibn al-Rawandī.

the time of al-Bār, the first manifestation of God to man; certainly long before Muḥammad). The Qarāmiṭa supported Shaṭnīl against Ḥārat (Iblīs). Abū Ṭāhir, Abū Sa'īd and other Qarmaṭians were dā'īs of Our Lord al-Bār."[1] Their descendants, Ḥamza continues, later lapsed but the time for their return to their religion has now come.[2]

The early Unitarians became weak in their religion and inclined to polytheism. The second and third Adams (Akhnūkh and Sharkh) revolted against Adam al-Ṣafā for example. Their nakedness (in the Garden of Eden story) signifies "the vain doctrine of the legal observances of the two sharī'as which are as urine and excreta and of which the two founders are as the private parts at the front and back of the body."[3] But, though, through Shaṭnīl's intervention, his two lieutenants were forgiven, mankind continued to stray from the true religion. Finally, God punished man by sending them false prophets with sharī'as full of legalistic commands. Al-Bār did not cease to be merciful to the people of that time until their resolutions changed and they inclined to the polytheists. Al-Bār was angry with them and withdrew his grace from them. He sent Nūḥ b. Lamak to them with a new sharī'a and he called them to the worship of nothingness and belief

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1 Vol.II, p.120.

2 Cf. B. Lewis, The Origins of Ismā'īlism (Cambridge, 1940), pp.82ff.

3 Vol.II, p.124.

in the unity of idols."[1]

Nūḥ copied Adam in his organisation of religion and was later succeeded by other prophets. Each nāṭiq, Ibrahīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā and Muḥammad abrogated the preceding religions and established an equally vain one. They were all the same in word and in their imperfection but they differed in form. The last sharī'a was brought by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl.

Ḥamza's other writings do little more than repeat these theories about Islam as a whole[2] but there are bitter attacks on his more immediate enemies. At the very beginning of 410, Ḥamza attacks his chief rival in the cult of al-Ḥākim, al-Darazī, calling him the Didd and denying him the titles he has assumed.[3] Three months later he attacks him again for his pride and for the way he has bribed men like al-Bardha'ī to join his followers. If he would only accept Ḥamza as Imam they could work together for the true religion.[4] Three months later again, Ḥamza admonishes al-Darazī's followers who are in prison.[5] More vehement still are his attacks on the Ismā'īlī leaders, culminating with that against Khumār b.Jaysh al-Sulaymānī al-'Akkāwī who has claimed relationship

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1 Vol.II, pp.124-125.
2 E.g., Vol.II, p.153.
3 Vol.II, pp.90-91.
4 Vol.II, pp.191-194.
5 Vol.II, pp.216-217.

with al-Ḥākim and whom Ḥamza threatens with flogging, flaying alive, and the stuffing and public exposure of his body.[1]

But, apart from his own dissidents and the Ismā'īlīs, the sect most to worry Ḥamza was the Nuṣayrīs. Indeed, Epistle XV is entirely devoted to an attack on them. It is written early in Ḥamza's ministry, probably in 408, and some of its arguments are curious. After attacking the Nuṣayrīs for polytheism, belief in metempsychosis (Tanāsukh), incest, adultery, sodomy and general permissiveness about what is forbidden, he bids them beware of neglecting the Ẓāhir just because they know the Bāṭin. In direct contrast to his own teaching in other epistles he shows how to know, for example, the meaning of ritual purification does not mean that a man ceases to wash.[2] The belief that the soul can move into animal bodies is also ridiculed. If this happened a man would not understand the reason for which he was being punished. A man is rewarded or punished by moving to a higher or lower rank in the religious order.[3] Worse still is the Nuṣayrīs' blasphemous claim that 'Alī is God and thus identical with al-Ḥākim. Ḥamza also contests the idea that Muḥammad is "the most excellent veil from which al-Ḥākim has appeared."[4]

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1 Vol.II, p.246.

2 Vol.II, p.176.

3 Vol.II, pp.179-180.

4 Vol.II, p.181.

The end of the epistle is a series of curses against the Nuṣayrīs and warnings to Ḥamza's own followers. But what is most apparent throughout the whole epistle is Ḥamza's fear that people will confuse his own community with the Nuṣayrīs (a fear which has all too often proved to be justified). He warns his followers that a book which has fallen into his hands attributes the Nuṣayrī doctrines to the Unitarians[1] and accuses the Nuṣayrīs of trying to corrupt the true believers. Obviously the appeal of the Nuṣayrī's was too great and in a sense too similar to his own teachings to be taken lightly. The vehemence of the attack is far greater than the more intellectual debates on the nature of the Nātiq and Asās. It is also a nice irony that Ḥamza should heap on the Nuṣaryrīs just the sort of calumnies that his own community was to be so endlessly afflicted by in centuries to come.

The other Shī'ī sects, like the Imāmīs, are too distant to warrant more than a mention[2] while Judaism and Christianity are too small a threat to warrant any major attack on them. They had ceased to make converts themselves and indeed, as Bahā' al-Dīn was to recognise, Christianity had enough in common with the new religion to be itself a fruitful field for missionary activity. As has been shown above, Ḥamza

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1 Vol.II, p.172.

2 Vol.II, p.44.

contents himself with placing them with Islam as false sharī'as sent as a punishment to man for his disobedience. But he uses no insults against them and indeed quotes their scriptures with approval.

The other ministers in their epistles largely confirm Ḥamza's doctrines. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī writes, in Muḥarram 411,[1] for example, that there are five divisions of knowledge; two concerning things spiritual, two concerning things physical and one true knowledge. The two physical divisions are concerned with medicine, the two spiritual with Tanzīl and Ta'wīl while the one true knowledge is, of course, Tawḥīd. Al-Tamīmī then expands what Ḥamza had written in the previous year.[2] Adam al-Ṣafā' did not found an "external" (ẓāhir) sharī'a and so was not one of the five Ulū'l-'Azm; the prophets who did found such legalistic religions.[3] Al-Tamīmī then describes a period of confusion after Adam al-Ṣafā' when Adam the Partial, one of Adam al-Ṣafā''s lieutenants, and his followers established themselves on Mt. Sarandīb and called men to embrace Tawḥīd but the rest of the world was filled by Iblīs and his armies preaching unbelief. Then Nūḥ came as a nāṭiq, the first to bring a sharī'a. He forbade men to obey Adam al-Ṣafā' and indeed

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1 Epistle XXXVI.

2 Epistle XII.

3 Vol.II, p.286.

urged them to a cult of nothingness (*'adam*) and of himself. Then followed Ibrahîm, Mūsā and 'Īsā, all men of intelligence who knew about medicine, philosophy, geometry, astronomy and rhetoric but none of them knew the Lord or the first three *hudūd* and they all led men to belief in the *Tawḥîd* of nothingness. Then followed Muḥammad and, after his *Asās*, 'Alî, and his Imams, the last *nāṭiq*, Muḥammad b. Ismā'îl. Then came the Caliphs (of the family of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ), in whom the imamate was deposited, and the hidden Imams and finally Sa'îd the *Mahdî*. This long line of *nāṭiqs* and imams gradually increased in their knowledge of Tawḥîd until by the time of the *Mahdî* his knowledge was like a man complete save for his spirit.[1]

So, for al-Tamîmî, the earlier *sharî'as* were, as for Ḥamza, completely false but their *nāṭiqs* one by one increased in their awareness of the truth. As for the sixth *nāṭiq*, Muḥammad, and his *asās*, 'Alî, he has rather more to say. Muḥammad and 'Alî were stronger than those before them but did not know the Lord because of their evil beliefs. The Lord, therefore, did not reveal Himself in their time. The *'Aql*, in the person of Abū Ṭālib, and the *Nafs* did, however, reveal themselves in their period to strengthen their work and prepare the way for the completing of the religion of *Tawḥîd* and the appearance of the Lord in human and royal form.

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[1] Vol.II, p.289.

Muḥammad and 'Alī were not related to Abū Ṭālib in a physical sense, only in the sense that he brought them up. Muḥammad was born in the Syrian mountains; then worked among the caravans and finally came to the Ḥijāz where he looked after Abū Ṭālib's camels; while 'Alī was born in Mecca. Muḥammad began life as a believer in the sharī'a of 'Īsā, then became a mukāsir and finally a nāṭiq. Al-Tamīmī then explains how the Asās, 'Alī, has been confused with 'Alyā, the incarnation of God and how men have therefore wrongly worshipped him.[1]

In Epistle XXXVIII, as Ḥamza does in Epistle XI, al-Tamīmī talks of Tawḥīd as "the third thing" and equates it with Raḥma. In the same epistle--which is undated--he also talks of three groups of people; the People of the Ẓāhir who are the Muslimūn, the People of the Bāṭin, who are the Mu'minūn and the People of the Raḥma, who are the Muwaḥḥidūn. Anyone who claims to be a Unitarian while still clinging to Ta'wīl is a Kāfir.

Bahā' al-Dīn, whose writings extend over a far longer period than either Ḥamza's or al-Tamīmī's, does slightly change Ḥamza's dogma when he shows that "true" Christianity and Tawḥīd are identical. He accepts the whole Christian creed though, of course, explaining it allegorically. Otherwise, however, the fifth minister remains remarkably faithful to his leader's teachings.

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1 Vol.II, pp.290-291.

The same cannot be said of later Druze writers whose works lie outside the accepted canon of scriptures. Among these writings are catechisms, commentaries and also the glosses on the canonical texts.

One way in which these writers differ quite considerably from Ḥamza is concerning the position of Muḥammad. To Ḥamza, Muḥammad was, at first, one of the inferior ministers; then, later, he was demoted to the lying founder of a false religion but was not equated with the Didd or Iblīs. But it is in this position that the commentaries, glosses and catechisms place him, while 'Alī suffers the same treatment, as his lieutenant. (It is perhaps worth pointing out that the Druze, like the Ismā'īlīs but unlike many of the Islamic ghulāt, consider Muḥammad more important than 'Alī). One such example occurs in the commentary on the Mīthāq:[1] "Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh is Iblīs the Cursed and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is his wife and Muḥammad has twelve hujjas of the Ẓāhir while 'Alī has twelve hujjas of the Bāṭin. Together these form the twenty six ḥurūf al-kidhb [i.e. the false ministers]."

But, in spite of this, as in the canonic scriptures, the Qur'ān (and the Gospels) is always quoted as divinely inspired and in one place in a discussion on the education of children, the writer even says children should study the Qur'ān

[1] Bodleian MS. Marsh 563, fol.68.

and the Hadith.

The glosses are similar, for example: "The Nāṭiq is the Didd; Iblīs is the Nāṭiq; al-Shayṭān is the Asās."[1] In a catechism,[2] the writer speaks about Muḥammad in much the same way: "In a Bāṭin sense we bear witness that he [Muḥammad] is a tick and Satan and a child of fornication and he has committed all vices . . ." It is not surprising that the Druze have always practised Taqiyya.

Moral and Social Doctrines

The third aspect of Ḥamza's preaching; the moral, social and legal changes he introduces are minor in comparison with the far reaching changes in the more theological field. His main action was to replace the seven duties of Ismā'īlī Islam with seven new duties.

The first and most important was truth in one's speech. Then came assistance of one's neighbours, renunciation of other beliefs, separation from devils, recognition of the Tawḥīd of the Lord in every age, accepting His deeds whatever they are and, finally, submitting to His orders in good times and bad.[3]

These rules were to be preserved, conformed to and kept secret from members of other religions.[4] Elsewhere

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1 Vol.II, pp.181-182.

2 Bodleian MS. c72, fol.38.

3 Vol.II, pp.55,63,68,76,86,96,136, etc.

4 Vol.II, p.63.

Ḥamza orders his followers to keep the Ḥikma hidden from those who were unworthy of it but not from those who were worthy.[1] But there is no clear command to practise Taqiyya and Bahā' al-Dīn even encourages public avowal of the faith in times of trouble.[2] Very soon after Ḥamza's disappearance, however, and probably still within the lifetime of Bahā' al-Dīn, taqiyya began to be practised. The first commandment was only to hold for members of the community, the third was to be a renunciation of the heart, not a visible one. The Qur'ān began to be read at all public ceremonies and, when convenient, the Druze would pretend to be members of other religions.

Ḥamza also demanded of each new member of the faith that they accept the Mīthāq,[3] the oath or act of initiation, which was administered by one of the ḥudūd or one of the lesser dā'īs,[4] on their becoming full members of the community.

Apart from the seven commandments and the Mīthāq, there are, or course, several other admonitions about behaviour within Ḥamza's epistles. In particular he stresses the need for purity of conduct by the women of the community[5] and his attack on what he claims are the moral teachings of the

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1 Vol.II, p.268.
2 See Epistle XLII.
3 Vol.II, p.30.
4 Vol.II, p.232.
5 Epistle VIII.

Nuṣayris[1]--acceptance of adultery, incest, sodomy, theft and murder--shows how strongly he felt about all the forms of licence of which the Druze are later accused.

Socially Ḥamza's most important contribution is seen in his attitude to women. Already in Ismā'īlism, women had been initiated up to a certain level but Ḥamza goes much further, giving them complete religious and legal equality. Many of his epistles are addressed to the female Unitarians and they have always had an equal share in the Thursday meetings of the Druze 'Uqqāl. But perhaps the clearest example of his attitude is shown in his marriage and divorce laws. In marriage the partners are equal and property is to be shared equally. In the event of divorce if either partner leaves the other without due cause he or she has to surrender half their property to the other partner.[2]

In legal matters too, Ḥamza broke new ground by claiming jurisdiction over his own community in all matters of marriage, divorce, contracts, manumission and wills. In all matters of this sort, he writes to the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, a Unitarian must be sent to him (Ḥamza) to be tried according to the new religious law of al-Ḥākim.[3] His claim to an extra legal control over his followers is also apparent in the

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1 Epistle XV.

2 Vol.II, pp.239-240.

3 Vol.II, p.249.

documents appointing al-Qurashī to the rank of Kalima and Bahā' al-Dīn to the rank of Tālī. "Whoever is imprisoned for any felony or misdemeanour and has obtained pardon for it, take him to your house and beat him with a cane so he feels pain so that he does not go back to faults which do not become Unitarians. That shall take place in your house, a place where there are no enemies."[1] Apart from inflicting these extra sanctions on a Unitarian offender, the Kalima is also told to see the faithful observe the rites Ḥamza has laid down in matters of birth, marriage and funerals. Bahā' al-Dīn is told his powers in questions concerning the punishment of Unitarians is to be the same as those of the Sābiq.[2]

By the time Ḥamza disappeared in 411 or 412, he had achieved a quite astonishing feat. First, unlike the founders of most great religions and philosophies, he had consciously built up the structure of a new religion. He had created a hierarchy of missionaries who, under the leadership of Bahā' al-Dīn, were to establish the religion in Syria. He had laid the foundations of a new legal madhhab which today is still recognised in matters of personal law in the countries in which his followers are now to be found.[3] More important he

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1 Vol.II, p.225.

2 Vol.II, p.232.

3 See Jacob M. Landau, The Arabs in Israel (O.U.P., 1969), p.14, J.N.D. Anderson, "The Personal Law of the Druze Community", Die Welt des Islams, II, 1953, pp.1-9, 83-94, and J.N.D. Anderson, "The Syrian Law of Personal Status, B.S.O.A.S., XVII, 1955, p.49.

had completely cut his ties with Islam. His religion was not beset with the difficulties of early Christianity over its relationship to the older religion. For the faithful, Dīn al-Tawḥīd had existed since God showed himself to man as al-Bār in the time of Adam. Other false religions had come and gone but the light of Tawḥīd had never died and now, at last, under al-Ḥākim, it was fully revealed to the world. All that remained was the final triumph when al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza would return and the Druze would inherit the earth.

Chapter Four

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ḤAMZA'S DOCTRINE TO ISMĀ'ĪLISM

Dogma and Terminology

The sources to which Ḥamza's ideas can be traced are threefold: first, the wider Islamic background of which Ismā'īlism was only one facet; secondly the orthodox Fāṭimid Ismā'īlī writers like al-Kirmānī and the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān to whose increasingly transcendental and philosophical ideas Ḥamza reacted so strongly and thirdly the more extreme cosmological, eschatological and Messianic writings, mostly pre-Fāṭimid, which had no doubt lingered on much longer in the areas like that from which Ḥamza came, outside the Fāṭimid empire. To these must be added Ḥamza's own innovations, though how great these are can never be known owing to the large amount of early Fāṭimid literature which has been lost. There is also the possibility of other more distant influences like Manichaeism but it seems probable that, if they do exist, Ḥamza only knew them through an Ismā'īlī intermediary.

His central claim--that he calls men back to a true understanding of Tawḥīd and that his followers are the only true Unitarians--is a claim made by almost every group

in Islam, notably the Mu'tazila. Ḥamza's originality lies in his claim to be the true representative of Tawḥīd and then simultaneously to claim that God has appeared in human form and that, though He stands beyond it, He presides over a dualist system of Good and Evil. But in an attempt to preserve his Divinity from tashbīh Ḥamza always stressed the absolute impossibility of understanding the divine nature (Lāhūt) of God. His manifestations in human form could never lead to understanding of His true divine nature, only of that part of His nature comprehensible to humanity, his Nāsūt.

The claim that the Imam was divine was, as al-Anṭākī sensed and as the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān inveighed against, implicit in early Ismā'īlism. Even the most orthodox Ismā'īlīs of his own time awarded al-Ḥākim a very special position. Al-Kirmānī, for example, in his Mabāsim al-Bishārāt bil-Imām al-Ḥākim bi Amrillāh,[1] although writing to combat the claims of religious extremists, claims that as the sixteenth Imam, al-Ḥākim can accomplish things in Islam never accomplished before. He, not 'Īsā, is the one proclaimed by Isiah when he speaks of the King riding on an ass. Many quotations from the Old Testament (in Hebrew)[2] and the Qur'ān, together with a constant use of abjad are combined to place al-Ḥākim in a

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[1] Al-Kirmānī, Risāla Mabāsim al-Bishārāt bil-Imām al-Ḥākim bi'Amrillāh, in K. Ḥusayn, Tā'ifat al-Durūz (Cairo, 1968), pp.52-71.

[2] P. Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismā'īlitischen Schriften," Der Islam, XIX, 1930, pp.253-257.

position high above that of other imams, let alone ordinary men. The Druze writer, Sāmī Makārim in an article[1] designed to show that "to the Ismā'īlīs, the Imam is God manifested," though blatantly reading into Ismā'īlī writings his own Druze beliefs, does give some interesting later examples of the divinification of the Imam.

Where, however, Ḥamza moved completely away from even the most extreme Ismā'īlī position was that instead of speaking of the "Imam al-Ḥākim" as divine he stressed that he was not Imam at all. Al-Ḥākim stood quite outside and beyond the system of hudūd. The imamate belonged not to al-Ḥākim but to himself; thus within a few years bringing that central tenet of Ismā'īlism to a position of complete unimportance in his own new religious group. Any ruler after al-Ḥākim is bound to be a purely secular one and no state founded by the Druze could conceive of an Imamate having any part to play in it. The title goes on as one of the less used titles of the 'Aql but the Imamate as such comes to an end. So, though the Imamate had been the catalyst around which Ismā'īlī dogma could develop until it produced the rich background against which Ḥamza found himself, in the new religion which grew from Ismā'īlism it found no place. Al-Ḥākim, the Imam of the Ismā'īlīs becomes the God of the Druze while Ḥamza,

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1 S. Makārim, "The Philosophical Significance of the Imām in Ismā'īlism," Studia Islamica, XXVII, 1967, pp.41-53.

the new Imam soon disappears from the scene, not to return until the Last Day.

But if Ḥamza showed some originality in his teachings about the nature of God and about the imamate, he relied more closely on Ismā'īlī writers for his description of the hudūd. Even in those areas where he strayed furthest from the orthodox Ismā'īlī view--in his teaching that the heavenly hudūd were incarnate in human form and in his belief in a hierarchy of hudūd opposed to the true hudūd--he was only developing ideas already found in more extreme Ismā'īlī teachings.

Ḥamza's account of the creation of the hudūd and the appearance of the Didd, for example, bears a close resemblance to the account of al-Murshid and his Yemeni predecessors.[1] In both cases the first creation of God thought himself unique and became proud. This led, in al-Murshid's account, to the emanation of six hudūd from Kūnī and the subsequent refusal of the fourth of these to acknowledge Kūnī's superiority. In Ḥamza's account, the pride of the 'Aql leads to the immediate appearance of the Didd and then the subsequent appearance of the five hudūd to contain him. For al-Murshid this cosmic rebellion is a paradigm for the rebellion of Iblīs against Adam on earth. For Ḥamza the Didd as Ḥārit or Iblīs rebels against the 'Aql incarnate as Adam.

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[1] Cf. Ch.1.

In each case the second being--Qadar or the Nafs--is produced from the first and in the older Yemeni account[1] Qadar then produces Jadd, Istiftāh and Khayāl; the Jadd, Fath and Khayāl of later Ismā'īlī and Druze writings. In the account of al-Murshid, the Sābiq (Kūnī) receives Mādda, the divine inspiration, from God while al-Tamīmī[2] speaks of the Nafs receiving the divine Mādda from the 'Aql. Both al-Murshid and Ḥamza speak of each of the hudūd being male in relation to the minister below it, female in relation to the one above it.[3]

There are also some similarities to the later more orthodox Ismā'īlī works when they tell of the rebellion of the Munba'ath al-Thānī, the third in the line of creation, after the 'Aql, the Mubda' al-Awwal, and the Nafs, the Munba'ath al-Awwal. The second emanation tries to be above the Nafs and is punished by the immediate appearance of seven more 'uqūl and to his fall to the tenth and lowest position among the 'uqūl, the 'Aql al-Fa''āl.[4] But though the story of the rebellion and fall are reminiscent of the Druze accounts of the pride of the 'Aql and the opposition of the Didd, the

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1 C. Van Arendonk, De Opkomst van Het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen (Leyden, 1919), pp.304-305.

2 Vol.II, p.299.

3 Cf. also the works of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, especially the Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im, p.297.

4 E.g., Al-Majālis al-Muayyadiyya and Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, Risāla al-Mabdā' wal-Ma'ād, in Corbin, Trilogie Ismaelienne (Paris and Teheran, 1961).

'Aql al-Fa''āl is not equated with the power of evil.

About the period between the creation of the hudūd and the appearance of the 'Aql on earth, Ḥamza and his followers are not very specific, though 343 million years are given as the length of the period and al-Tamīmī mentions the appearance of the Timm, Rimm, Hinn, Jinn and Binn before Adam. Of these beings, the Jinn are found throughout Islamic literature, the Hinn in the Kitāb al-Ẓīna of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī[1] and presumably in other literature now lost while the rest of the list seem to be the invention of Ḥamza and al-Tamīmī. But the idea of cycles of time before Adam which were spiritual and incomprehensible is found in both pre- and post-Fāṭimid writers.[2]

A book which contains some striking parallels with Ḥamza's ideas is the Ummu'l-Kitāb,[3] a book of uncertain date, now in Persian but probably from an Arabic original, preserved by the Ismā'īlīs of Transoxania. It contains much which is quite foreign to both orthodox Ismā'īlism and the doctrines of Ḥamza, for example its main tenet that 'Alī is divine, but even if Ḥamza did not borrow directly from it, its ideas

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1 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-Ẓīna ed. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī (Cairo, 1958), Vol.II, p.171.

2 E.g., Ja'far b. Manṣūr, cf. Madelung, "Das Imamat . . ." pp.112-113, and Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in J.Corbin, La Trilogie Ismaelienne, p.121.

3 W.Ivanow, "Ummu'l-Kitāb des Ismaëliens de L'Asie Centrale," Revues des Etudes Islamiques, 6, 1932, pp.419-481. W.Ivanow, "Ummu'l-Kitāb", Der Islam, XXIII, 1936, pp.1-132. Pio Filippani-Ronconi, Ummu'l-Kitāb, Introduzione, traduzione e note (Naples, 1966). J.Van Ess, "Review of Ronconi," Der Islam, XLVI, 1970, pp.95-100.

are typical of those prevalent in the ghulāt circles he must have frequented. Like the Druze writings, it speaks of five ministers; 'Aql, Nafs, Jadd, Fath and Khayāl. It speaks of the special importance of Salmān and al-Miqdad, who for the Druze are the incarnations of the 'Aql and Nafs in the time of Muḥammad, and of Salmān's superiority over Muḥammad. It believes in the transmigration of souls and the spiritual interpretation of Hell. Its enemies are called the Ma'dūmiyān, which is not far distant from the 'abadat al-'adam which is the name given by Ḥamza to the believers in the false shari'as. The Didd is also Ḥārith, the more correct form of the colloquial Druze Ḥārat, or Fir'awn and there is a constant struggle between good and evil. But the most interesting parallel is in the story of Adam,[1] which although more developed and allegorized in the Ummu'l-Kitāb, bears some strong similarities to the account of Ḥamza and al-Tamīmī. In both accounts there are three Adams. In the Ummu'l-Kitāb they are Ādam-i Kāfūrī, who does not need to repent, Ādam-i 'Āsī, who must repent and Ādam-i Madhmūm whose repentance will not be accepted. In Ḥamza's account they are Ādam al-Ṣafā, who is the 'Aql, Ādam al-'Āsī and Ādam al-Nāsī. In the Druze story Ādam al-'Āsī and Ādam al-Nāsī were placed in paradise but were tempted to rebel against Ādam al-Ṣafā by al-Habbāl, who was led to them by the snake and the peacock. The two

[1] Cf. Vol.II, Epistles XII, XXXVI, and Summary.

Adams lost their ranks and were only reinstated when Ādam al-Ṣafā pleaded their cause with God. In the Ummu'l-Kitāb, the snake and the peacock tempt Adam and Eve (which Adam this is is not stated) and the four are then expelled from paradise. One other similarity--but one which is common in Muslim legend--is that Adam went to the Mountain of Sarandīb, Adam's Peak in Ceylon. Al-Tamīmī says this was Ādam al-'Āsī; the Ummu'l-Kitāb in one place says it was Ādam-i 'Āsī; in another Ādam-i Kāfūrī.

The idea that Adam was the 'Aql is also found in much later Ismā'īlī writings. In the seventh century A.H., for example, the eighth Yemeni dā'ī, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, in his Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ wal-Bayān[1] speaks of two Adams, one the 'Aql, the other the founder of the present era on earth; while in his Risālat al-Mabda' wal-Ma'ād[2] he speaks of three Adams; the first being Ādam al-Rūḥānī, who is the third 'Aql but who rebelled against the second. The next Adam is Ādam al-Awwal who appeared in Ceylon with his followers and the third is Ādam al-Juz'ī, who initiated the present human cycle. As for the multiplicity of Adams; other examples are found both among the Ismā'īlīs and the Imāmīs, for example the seven

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1 See B. Lewis,"An Ismā'īlī Interpretation of the Fall of Adam", B.S.O.A.S., IX, 1937-9, pp.691-704.

2 See H. Corbin, Trilogie Ismaelienne, Text pp.104-105, 111-115, 121-123.

Adams before the Adam of our era, in the Kitāb al-Haft;[1] and the seven Adams mentioned by al-Shalmaghānī and quoted by al-Majlisī in the Biḥār al-Anwār,[2] though these accounts in other ways bear little resemblance to the Druze one. The distinction between Adam and the later prophets is widespread even outside Ismā'īlism. Al-Bāqillānī, the Sunni theologian and a contemporary of Ḥamza's, says for example in his Kitāb al-Tamhīd that some of the Barāhima, perhaps the Brahmans, believed that Adam was the only true prophet.[3] But in his teaching that Nūḥ, Ibrahīm and their successors were indeed prophets but of a different kind from Adam as he brought no sharī'a whereas they did, Ḥamza comes close to the views of the Ismā'īlī philosophers of Persia, in particular al-Nasafī and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī.[4] Both say that Adam brought no sharī'a, Abū Ya'qūb adding that there was no need for one, Tawḥīd being so obvious that no religious law is needed for men to understand it. Abū Ya'qūb also adds[5] that the time before Nūḥ was pleasanter for mankind than that which followed, the sharī'as being sent when man began to go astray.

There is also further evidence that Ḥamza and

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1 Al-Ju'fī, Kitāb al-Haft, ed. A.Tāmir (Beirut, 1960), p.116 and ed. Ghālib, 1964, p.174.

2 Al-Majlisī, Biḥār al-Anwār (Persia, 1887-97), Vol.XIII, p.102.

3 Al-Bāqillānī, Kitāb al-Tamhīd, ed. R.J. McCarthy (Beirut, 1957), p.104.

4 See Ch.1 and al-Kirmānī, Kitāb al-Riyāḍ, Ch.9.

5 Ibid., p.194.

al-Tamīmī were conversant with the great Ismā'īlī philosophers of the East, for example the controversy whether the Sābiq is the root of stillness and cold and the Tālī of movement and heat or vice versa;[1] a controversy which is repeated almost word for word in the Kitāb al-Riyāḍ.[2] Another example is the problem of which prophets were Ulū'l-'Azm, Prophets with resolution;[3] al-Tamīmī, like Abū Ḥātim, and the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān excluding Adam from their number.

The extent of the belief among the Ismā'īlī ghulāt in various forms of reincarnation is often apparent in Ismā'īlī writings. In the Rāḥat al-'Aql, for example, al-Kirmānī devotes several pages to confuting the idea of the "Ghulāt and the People of Tanāsukh" that the soul exists before its body (shakhṣ) or that it moves from body to body until it finally reaches a state of purity;[4] a view which is frequently mentioned and confuted in orthodox writers. The early and more extreme writings speak equally often but with positive approval of the same beliefs.

As for Ḥamza's teachings about the last days, some of the details of his prophecies may be his own invention but the idea of the coming of an earthly paradise where the true

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1 Vol.II, p.139.

2 Kitāb al-Riyāḍ, pp.101ff.

3 Vol.II, pp.286,288.

4 Al-Kirmānī, Rāḥat al-'Aql, pp.359-399.

believers will reap their reward is common throughout Ismā'īlī literature. Equally familiar is the language in which he couches his prophecy "The Nawāṣib (the Sunnīs) are . . . the Jews of the Umma of Muḥammad . . . The People of Ta'wīl (the Ismā'īlīs) are . . . the Christians of the Umma of Muḥammad . . . The apostates from Tawḥīd are . . . the Magians of the Umma of Muḥammad;"[1] a passage almost identical to one used by al-Kirmānī,[2] where he says the differing of the Muslims after the Prophet's death makes them as it were the Jews, Christians and Muslims within Islam. Al-Kirmānī then explains this by saying the Jews are like the Nawāṣib because as the Jews do not recognise 'Īsā and Muḥammad, so the Nawāṣib do not recognise the Waṣī and Imam. The Christians are like the Ithnā 'asharīyya because as the Christians recognise Mūsā and 'Īsā but not Muḥammad so the Ithnā 'asharīyya recognise the Prophet and the Wilāya of 'Alī but not the Imam of the time. The Magians are like the Mu'tazila because as the Magians believe neither in Judaism, Christianity or Islam so the Mu'tazila believe neither in the beliefs of the Sunnīs, Ithnā 'asharīs or Ismā'īlīs. Other similar comparisons are found in Abū Ḥātim's Al-Iṣlāḥ and in the twenty first majlis of the first mi'a of the Majālis

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1 Vol.II, pp.77, 194-195.

2 Al-Kirmānī, Risāla Mabāsim al-Bishārāt bil-Imām al-Ḥākim bi Amrillāh, in Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz, p.55.

al-Mu'ayyadiyya where the erring sects of Islam; the Murji'a, the Rāfiḍa, the Qadariyya, and in Abū Ḥātim the Khawārij, are called the Jews, Christians, Majians and Sabians of the Umma of Muḥammad. Mālik b. Sa'īd in a majlis quoted by Bahā' al-Dīn calls the people he is admonishing the Jews of the Umma.[1]

Even the seven new commandments of Tawḥīd with which Ḥamza replaced the old pillars of Islam are, as Kāmil Ḥusayn pointed out,[2] by no means his own invention but are closely based on a work of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān;[3] only a few necessary modifications of the Qāḍī's views being made to suit the particular circumstances.

But it is not only in the details of doctrine that Ḥamza shows his debt to the Ismā'īlīs. The whole of the background against which he preaches his new doctrines is either generally Islamic or more particularly Fāṭimid. The geographical place names he uses are nearly all familiar; Abyssinia, Sudan, Nubia, Yemen, the Ḥijāz, Mecca, 'Arafāt, Ramla, 'Akka, Jerusalem, Damascus, Tadmur, Nahrawān, Basra, Baghdad, Isfahan, Balkh and Khurasan, even al-Hajar, capital of al-Aḥsā' and the mountain of Sarandīb. Indeed the only

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1 Epistle XLII in Bodleian MS. Bod.Or. 454 Fol.23.

2 M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Tā'ifat al-Durūz, p.119.

3 Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Al-Himma fī Ādāb Atbā' al-A'imma (Cairo, 1948).

places apparently invented by Ḥamza are Admîniyya in India, the birthplace of Ādam al-Ṣafā', Ṣirna, his headquarters in the Yemen, and Sarramanā, home of Sharkh (though Sarramanā could be a corrupt form for Samarra). Equally familiar are Ḥamza's descriptions of Cairo with the mosques and markets, gates, gardens and cemeteries just as other topographers describe them.

The other religions and sects mentioned by Ḥamza are the Christians, Jews, Magians and Nuṣayrîs, the Khurramiyya, Zaydiyya, Imāmiyya and Qat'iyya, the Qarāmiṭa and the Ismā'îliyya. The latter name is interesting as it was rare for the Ismā'îlîs to use this name for themselves. Conspicuous by their absence are mentions of any of the Gnostic, Manichaean or other influences to whom Ḥamza is supposed to have been so indebted.

When it comes to the men with whom the scriptures are peopled the names are again mostly familiar, and although some are given new rôles to play, only a very few of more than a hundred mentioned are untraceable, being taken either from sources as yet unknown or from Ḥamza's own imagination.

Of his own followers Ḥamza, or al-Tamîmî, gives the names of the five greater hudūd, including both those who held the rank of Kalima, the three lesser hudūd and three lesser da'îs, a list which is greatly enlarged by Bahā' al-Dîn in his own epistles. Of rival members of the cult of al-Ḥākim, the most prominent are al-Darazî and al-Bardha'î but in

Epistle XIX several more are mentioned. Then come the leaders of the Ismā'īlīs; the Walī 'Ahd al-Muslimīn, the Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn, the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, the 'Ālim al-'Ulamā' and the Dā'ī al-Du'āt, the son of al-Ḥākim, 'Alī, later the Caliph al-Ẓāhir, and Khumār b. Jaysh al-Sulaymānī al-'Akkāwī, said to be the cousin of al-Ḥākim. Then there are figures from earlier in al-Ḥākim's reign; the two previous chief Qāḍīs, Mālik b. Sa'īd and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān; the guardians of al-Ḥākim, Ibn 'Ammār and Barjawān and finally leaders of rebellions against the Caliph like Abū Rakwa and Mufarrij b. Daghfal. All these were more or less contemporary with Ḥamza and apart from his own and al-Darazī's own coteries are mostly well known historical figures. The only exceptions are Khumār b. Jaysh and, very surprisingly, the Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn, 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb, who does not appear to be mentioned by the historians either by name or title.

The only other specifically Fāṭimid figures are the Qarmaṭian leaders, Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī and his son Abū Ṭāhir, and the Imams themselves from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl to al-Ḥākim. The position of the two Qarmaṭian leaders is very strange for though they died in 301/913 and 332/943, Ḥamza transfers them to the very beginning of the human era and makes them dā'īs of al-Bār. The Qarāmiṭa, themselves, are seen as the first Unitarians who, though lapsed, would in the

time of Ḥamza return to the true religion.

The list of Imams throws some interesting light on that most complicated and vexed of all questions in Fāṭimid history, the ancestry of the Fāṭimids and the number, names and family of the "hidden" Imams between Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and 'Abdallāh, the first Fāṭimid Caliph.[1] First, following the views of the Qarāmiṭa and other early Ismā'īlīs, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is spoken of as the seventh and final nāṭiq. Then al-Tamīmī gives a list of seven Imams between Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and the Mahdī, instead of the usual four; Ismā'īl, Muḥammad and Aḥmad of the family of 'Alī, 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad, al-Ḥusayn and 'Abdallāh or Aḥmad of the line of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. Ḥamza speaks of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl being succeeded by three Caliphs and four Imams of whom the last was Sa'īd or 'Abdallāh the Mahdī. He, the first Fāṭimid Caliph, is called the Ḥujjat al-Qā'im and alone among the Fāṭimid Caliphs is not considered as an incarnation of God by the Druze.

The Qaddāḥid ancestry of the Fāṭimids is mentioned by almost all hostile sources from Ibn al-Rizām onwards but the idea of a mixed ancestry and also the question of whether the successors of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl were Caliphs or Imams

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1 See especially; B. Lewis, Origins of Ismā'īlism, pp.44-75, S.M.Stern, "Heterodox Ismā'īlism at the time of al-Mu'izz", H. al-Hamdānī, "On the Genealogy of Fāṭimid Caliphs", W. Madelung, "Das Imamat in der Frühen Ismā'īlitischen Lehre," pp.65-86.

is also found among the Ismā'īlīs. The Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, for example, relates[1] how al-Mu'izz contested such a claim about his own ancestry, put forward by one of his da'īs. That al-Mahdī was of a different line from the other Fāṭimids is also a common belief both among the Ismā'īlīs and among non-Ismā'īlī historians.[2] Al-Malījī, the writer of the Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya even gives him the same title as Ḥamza, Ḥujjat al-Qā'im, but explains it as referring not to the Imam al-Qā'im but the Qā'im at the end of time.[3] The figures in whom, according to al-Tamīmī, the 'Aql and Nafs were incarnate in the period of the hidden Imams, Qārūn and Abū Sa'īd al-Malaṭī, are not mentioned elsewhere although Qārūn is the name of an unbelieving minister of Pharaoh in the Qur'ān and al-Malaṭī suggests he is from Azerbayjān.

Another group to be mentioned are the founders of the different legal madhhabs; Mālik, Shāfi'ī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū Hanīfa and al-Nu'mān.

Then further back again are the sixth Nāṭiq, Muḥammad and his contemporaries but here the normal rôles are of course in many cases completely reversed. Muḥammad, 'Alī, and the first three orthodox Caliphs are the ministers of evil. Here again by his attitude to 'Alī, Ḥamza leaves the

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1 Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Al-Majālis wal-Musāyarāt, cf. also Stern, "Heterodox Ismā'īlism".

2 For the many examples see Madelung, "Das Imamat".

3 Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, p.32.

fold of even the most extreme Shi'i ghulāt. But in his attitude to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān , he is only following opinions widely held even among the orthodox Ismā'īlis. The Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, for instance, speaks of Abū Bakr as al-Didd al-awwal and 'Umar as al-Didd al-thānī in his Asās al-Ta'wīl.[1] Companions of the prophet like Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqas, Sa'īd b. Zayd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī and Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh al-Jarrāḥ (called by Ḥamza 'Ubaydallāh b. Jarrāḥ) are called his hujjas. Of Mu'āwiya, Ḥamza relates that Muḥammad appointed him his hujja before he appointed 'Alī his asās; thus leading Mu'āwiya to claim the caliphate on 'Uthmān's death. Salmān al-Fārisī and al-Miqdād are, however, as the incarnations of the 'Aql and Nafs, the only praiseworthy members of the Companions; a position which is not surprising for, with Abū Dharr, they form the central figures in many Shi'ite legends, not least in the Ummu'l-Kitāb. Perhaps stranger is the figure, named by al-Tamīmī as another incarnation of the 'Aql; Abū Ṭālib, who according to al-Tamīmī was related neither to Muḥammad nor 'Alī, though he too stood high in Shi'ite regard; the Shi'a claiming he became a believer before his death.

There are also a number of references to figures in the Qur'ān: Hābīl and Qābīl (Abel and Cain), Nūḥ, Sām (Shem), Ibrahīm, Isḥaq, Ismā'īl, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf, Mūsā, Hārūn

[1] Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Asās al-Ta'wīl, pp.361-366.

(Aaron), Yūsha' (Joshua), Zakariyyā, Maryam, 'Īsā, Yuhannā (John the Baptist) and Luqmān. All these hold the same rôles as they do in Ismā'īlism as nāṭiqs e.g. Nūḥ, waṣīs e.g. Sām, imams e.g. Zakariyyā or ḥujjas e.g. Maryam (who in most Ismā'īlī works is male, the ḥujja of the Ṣāḥib Zamānihi who is either 'Isā or Zakariyyā. (S)he was informed directly by the Khayāl of the appearance of the fifth nāṭiq and so became the spiritual "mother" of 'Īsā). All, however, are, for the Druze, representatives of the false sharī'as.

The only real element of mystery in the names and personalities described by Ḥamza is in the story of Adam, where not only are the main figures described by several different names but many of these names are otherwise unknown. This does not, of course, mean Ḥamza necessarily invented the names--they may have come from now unknown sources--but the probability is that he did, wishing thereby to introduce an air of rather exotic mystery into this, the beginning of his revelation to mankind.

Ādam al-Ṣafā', who is given the strange name of Shaṭnīl[1] b. Danīl, is said to have twelve ḥujjas. The first of these is Akhnūkh (Enoch), whom in the tradition of most

[1] Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn suggests that the name comes from a Chinese word for Christian holy men; Shantī (see Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz, p.114. Perhaps he is thinking of Shang-ti, a word for God; Shang-fu a holy father or Shen-ming Divine Brightness or Intelligence; (I am grateful to Professor Hawkes of Oxford for this information). None of these, however, seem a plausible source for Shaṭnīl.

post-Quranic writers, Ḥamza equates with Idrīs and with Hirmis.[1] Hirmis or Hermes Trismegiste was originally the Hellenistic name both of an Egyptian God, and the author(s) of certain philosophical, scientific and magical works. In Islam three Hermes are mentioned of whom the first is usually equated with Akhnūkh, though the great corpus of Hermetic writings is assigned indiscriminately to one or to all of the Harāmisa. But not only is the first hujja Akhnūkh, Idrīs and Hirmis, he is also the incarnation of the Nafs, Ādam al-'Āṣī, Ādam al-Juz'ī, Ādam al-Adnā, the second Adam, an imam of the era of Ādam al-Ṣafā', who rebels against the first Adam in the "garden".

The second hujja of Adam, the third Adam, Ādam al-Nāsī, is called both Sharkh, apparently another invention of Ḥamza's, and Shi't (Shīth or Seth); in the Bible the son of Adam, whom the Ismā'īlīs consider as the Asās of Adam, succeeding his brother Abel, on the latter's death. The other ten hujjas--Yūsha' b. 'Imrān, Dāwīd b. Hirmis, ʿĪsā b. Lamakh, 'Ābid b. Sirḥān, 'Azrawīl b. Salamū, Hābīl b. Bādis, Dānīl b. Hir'aṭāf, 'Ayyāsh b. Hābīl, Aflāṭūn[2] b. Qaysūn and Qaydār b. Lamak--are all mysterious figures though the names themselves

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[1] See articles on Idrīs and Hirmis by Vajda and Plessner in E.I. 2nd Ed. and Massignon, Inventaire de la litterature hermetique Arabe in Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste (Paris, 1950), Vol.I.

[2] Presumably Aflāṭūn (Plato) is meant though all vocalised manuscripts have Iflāṭūn.

are mostly not unfamiliar. Two other helpers of Adam are mentioned, an otherwise unknown Dā'ī, Ṣarṣar and finally Hawwā' (Eve) who is described as both wife and hujja of Adam, the former presumably only in a spiritual sense.

Of the ministers of evil those in the time of Ḥamza and in the time of Muḥammad have already been mentioned. But the Druze apostates are often equated with two much older figures: Fir'awn, Pharaoh of the Qur'ān and Bible, or indeed any haughty or insolent tyrant and Hāmān, in the Bible the Persian minister hostile to the Jews in the Book of Esther, and in the Qur'ān the Wazīr of Pharaoh. Finally there come four figures of the time of Adam; first Iblīs, the incarnation of the Didd, known in that era as Ḥārat b. Tarmāḥ; Ḥārat, being a colloquial form of Ḥārith, one of the names given to Iblīs in the time before his fall throughout Islamic literature. It is found in al-Ṭabarī (839-923) for example and, as Ḥārith b. Murra, is found in several Ismā'īlī works, especially those of the ghulāt.[1] The names of the Shayṭān, the Serpent and the Peacock who tempted Akhnūkh and Sharkh; al-Habbāl, Anīl and Ṭāyūkh are not found elsewhere.

The last group of names found in the scriptures are the names of the incarnations of God. Of these the first and

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[1] E.g., the Ummu'l-Kitāb (see above) and later post-Fāṭimid literature (e.g. Corbin, Trilogie Ismaelienne, Text, p.152 or Strothmann, Gnosis--Texte der Ismailiten (Gottingen, 1943), pp.46, 101).

fourth, al-Bār and al-Mu'ill[1] are simply descriptions used as proper names. The third, 'Alyā, is obviously of the same category though slightly changed. Indeed the only name which seems difficult to explain is the one given by al-Tamīmī to the second incarnation, Abū Zakariyyā Ṭālib. The last five are, of course, the names of the Fāṭimid Caliphs.

As for the terminology that Ḥamza employs, it is, with only two possible exceptions, derived from Ismā'īlism. Even in the two cases where the terms are not found in the extant Ismā'īlī literature; Dhū Ma'a, one of the names of the 'Aql, and some of the names of the peoples before Adam, they are, if not from lost Ismā'īlī sources, at least analagous to known Ismā'īlī terms.

The names that Ḥamza says are applicable to God present a considerable contrast to those used in Orthodox Islam. Allāh, for example, as in some early Ismā'īlī works like that of al-Murshid,[2] can apply to the Sābiq, as well as to God. Ḥamza even goes further and in one place[3] says that Allāh and al-Raḥmān refer to the dā'īs of the Tanzīl and Ta'wīl and in another[4] that Allāh can refer to Khatkīn or Ḥamza or al-Ḥākim. In fact both Allāh and al-Raḥmān are rare

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1 For the form Mu'ill see below pp 119, 121.

2 Para 11.

3 Vol.II, p.66.

4 Vol.II, p.74.

in the scriptures. Another name Ḥamza condemns as a name of God is Bārkhudhāya[1] which he says the Persians use by analogy with al-Bār but in fact the title should refer to Ḥamza himself.

The names by which God is most often referred to are the proper names of His incarnations on earth, especially al-Bār and al-Ḥākim, or else simply Our Lord (Mawlānā), a common Ismā'īlī name for the Imam. Also frequent are names which describe His power, like al-Bārī' or al-Mubdi', the Creator, al-'Allām, the Knowing, al-'Alī al-'A'lā, the Most High or al-Jabbār, the Omnipotent. None of these are, of course, special to the Ismā'īlīs though al-Mubdi' is perhaps commoner among the Ismā'īlī philosophers.

One description which while frequent in the Druze writings is rare even among the Ismā'īlīs is Mu'ill 'illat al-'ilal (Causer of the Cause of Causes). 'Illat al-'Ilal is identified both in the works of Ḥamza and of Ismā'īlī philosophers like al-Kirmānī,[2] with al-Mubda' al-awwal, the 'Aql al-Kullī, rather than with God as is usually the case among non-Ismā'īlī philosophers. Al-Kirmānī also equates al-Mubda' al-awwal with al-ibdā' and this he identifies with al-'illa al-ūlā, the First Cause, which Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī

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1 Vol.II, p.122.

2 Al-Kirmānī, Rahat al-'Aql, p.379

	Ismā'īlī Spiritual (early)	Ismā'īlī Spiritual (al-Kirmānī)	Ismā'īlī Physical or Earthly	Druze
1		Al-'Aql al-Kullī		Sāhib al-Zamān, Walī al-Zamān, Qā'im al-Zamān, Imām al-Zamān.
			Nāṭiq	Sābiq, Nāṭiq, Imām
	Sābiq			Al-Ḥujja al-A'ẓam
	Kalima	Al-Mubda' Al-Awwal 'Illat al-'Ilal		Al-'Aql al-Kullī, 'Illat al-'Ilal, Irāda
				Dhū Ma'a
2	Tālī	Al-Nafs al-Kulliyya Al-Mubda' Al-Thānī Al-Munba'ath Al-Awwal	Asās, Walī, Waṣī	Tālī, Al-Nafs, Al-Kulliyya, Mashī'a, Dhū Maṣṣa
3	Jadd	Al-'Aql al-Thālith	Imām, Mutimm	Kalima, Janāḥ
4	Fatḥ	Al-'Aql al-Rābi'	Bāb	Sābiq, Janāḥ al-Ayman
5	Khayāl	Al-'Aql al-Khāmis	Ḥujja	Tālī, Janāḥ al-Aysar
6		Al-'Aql al-Sādis	Dā'ī al-Balāgh	Jadd, Dā'ī
7		Al-'Aql al-Sābi'	Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq	Fatḥ, Ma'dhūn
8		Al-'Aql al-Thāmin	Dā'ī al-Maḥdud	Khayāl, Mukāsir
9		Al-'Aql al-Tāsi'	Ma'dhūn	
10		Al-'Aql al-'Āshir Al-'Aql al-Fa''āl	Mukāsir	

The Hudūd

in his turn equates with kalimat Allāh,[1] the Word of God. It is surprising therefore that, although al-Mu'ill clearly relates to 'illat al-'ilal and al-'illa al-ūlā just as al-Mubdi' relates to al-ibdā' and al-mubda' al-awwal, there seems to be no extant example of it in Ismā'īlī texts prior to Ḥamza. Later, however, it is found, for example in the first line of a poem by the late seventh century poet Abū Firās.[2]

For the names of the hudūd or ministers of God, Ḥamza relied directly on Ismā'īlism. In the accompanying table, the first column contains the names of the Hudūd al-'Ulwiyya used in the earliest Yemeni cosmology[3] and then in almost all later Ismā'īlī works. The introduction of Neo-Platonic philosophy in the fourth century led, however, to the introduction of the more philosophical names of the second column, which while found as early as the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān were systematised finally by al-Kirmānī.[4] The third column contains the names of the Hudūd al-Sufliyya as found in al-Kirmānī.[5] In other texts contemporary with al-Kirmānī and Ḥamza there are sometimes slight variations, for example the

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1 Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Kitāb al-Yanābī' in J.Corbin, Trilogie Ismaelienne, p.90.

2 Abū Firās, Al-Shāfiya, ed. S. Makārim (Beirut, 1966) p.31.

3 C. Van Arendonk, De Opkomst van Het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, pp.304-306.

4 Al-Kirmānī, Rahat al-'Aql, pp.132-139.

5 Ibid.

position of Lāhiq between Hujja and Dā'īs or Naqīb between Ma'dhūn and Mukāsir. The division of the position of dā'ī into three is also not universal; while all the ranks below that of the Bāb are sometimes said to be held by one man, sometimes by a whole class of men. The fourth column gives the commonest names of the Druze hudūd. Basically the names are a collation of the old Ismā'īlī spiritual terms, the later philosophical terms and the earthly ones.

With regard to the 'Aql, the first four titles and the eighth are commonly applied by the Ismā'īlīs either to the Imam or the Mahdī. The placing of the Imam equal to or above the Nāṭiq is found among the Ismā'īlī ghulāt and also among the Nizārīs.[1] The terms Irāda and Mashī'a are found throughout Islam. But while they are sometimes distinguished by the theologians it is only among certain Ismā'īlī writings that they become separate hypostases.[2] But of all the titles the only real mystery is Dhū Ma'a, which may have been invented by Ḥamza on the analogy of Dhū Massa, the second of the hudūd who "sucks" the knowledge from the first. This latter term, Dhū Massa, is also very rare but is, for example, found in a work of the Zaydī writer Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī, where he quotes the Riḍā' fīl-Bāṭin of Ja'far b. Manṣūr

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1 Cf. al-Anṭākī, p.220 and S.M. Makārim, The Philosophical Significance of the Imām in Ismā'īlism.

2 Cf. al-Murshid.

al-Yaman.[1] In this work Ja'far lists the hierarchy of ministers but with some odd variations from the later lists: Imam, Hujja, Dhū Massa, Bāb, Dā'ī, Mukallib and Mu'min. The very rarity of the term, however, suggests that Dhū Ma'a may also be drawn from some now lost work rather than being the invention of Ḥamza.

The Kalima is normally equated by the Ismā'īlīs with the Sābiq;[2] a belief which Ḥamza in his determination to show the Ismā'īlīs were ignorant of the higher hudūd strongly contests.[3] This is also the reason for the relatively low position of the Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fatḥ, and Khayāl in the Druze list compared with the Ismā'īlī one. The term Janāḥ or Wing is found in the Ismā'īlī philosophical writings: in the Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ of Abū Ḥātim as a rank equal to that of Ma'dhūn, in the Rahat al-'Aql of al-Kirmānī as the rank immediately below, while in the Asās al-Ta'wīl of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān it is synonymous with dā'ī;[4] lastly as in the case of the

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1 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī, Bayān Madhhab al-Bāṭiniyya wa Buṭlanihi, ed. Strothmann (Istanbul, 1939), p.55. Strothmann also mentions the writer in a lecture delivered in Bonn in 1934, cf. Z.D.M.G. LXXXVIII, p.*32*. Cf. also Ivanow's article on Ja'far b. Manṣūr in Ismaili Literature.

2 E.g. Abū Ya'qub al-Sijistānī, Kitāb al-Yanābī', p.90.

3 Vol.II, p.92.

4 Cf. Abū Ḥātim, Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ (Bombay MS.); al-Kirmānī, Rahat al-'Aql, p.242; Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Kitāb al-Yanābī', p.8 and al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Asās al-Ta'wīl, p.85.

Ismā'īlīs, the terms dā'ī, ma'dhūn and mukāsir refer sometimes to an individual, sometimes to a group.

The other terms Ḥamza uses for the prophets, the heavenly powers or the powers of evil are the common Islamic ones: Rasūl, Nabī, Masīḥ, Rūḥ, Karūbiyyūn,[1] Malā'ika, Iblīs and Shayṭān, while the Didd is found throughout the works of the Ismā'īlīs and also certain ghulāt groups.

As has been mentioned in the first chapter of this introduction the concepts of Ẓāhir and Bāṭin, the Tanzīl and Ta'wīl were always central to Ismā'īlism. A similar distinctinn was also made between Islām and Īmān,[2] for like the Imāmīs, the Ismā'īlīs were inclined to apply Islām to the faith common to all Muslims, Īmān only to themselves. In early Ismā'īlism and always among the ghulāt there had been a tendency to regard the Bāṭin as superior to the Ẓāhir, which was then regarded as a punishment for non-Ismā'īlīs. There was also a feeling in the more Messianic type of Ismā'īlism, for example in the works attributed to Ibn Hawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman, that with the appearance of the Mahdī-Qā'im, the need for Ta'wīl would be at an end and all would be made clear.

It was these more extreme attitudes that seem to have influenced Ḥamza in his use of these terms. For him[3]

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1 Cf. Index and al-Murshid.

2 E.g. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Da'ā'im al-Islām, Ch.1, Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im, Ch.2, or Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya, Ch.4.

3 Cf. also al-Tamīmī Vol.II, p.306.

the people of the Ẓāhir, the Tanzīl or Islām are the Sunnīs; the people of the Bāṭin, the Ta'wīl or Īmān the Ismā'īlīs.[1] The actual terms themselves keep more or less the meaning they have for the Ismā'īlīs. In Epistle VI, for example, Ḥamza gives the Ẓāhir and the Bāṭin of the seven pillars of Ismā'īlī Islam: the Bāṭin of the Ṣalāt is the link (Ṣila) between the Faithful and the Imam; the Bāṭin of the Zakāt is the service of 'Alī and the Imams and the avoidance of their enemies; the Bāṭin of the Ṣawm is Silence while in the Ḥajj, which itself represents the Da'wa, the Ka'ba is the Nāṭiq, the Black Stone the Asās and so on. All these interpretations by ta'wīl are similar to or the same as the ones found in the later Majālis of al-Malījī[2] or al-Mu'ayyad. Indeed when addressing people outside his own community, for example the Nuṣayrīs in Epistle XV, Ḥamza not only uses the terminology but stresses the continued importance of both Ẓāhir and Bāṭin. But to his own followers, from the very beginning of his mission, he makes clear that both are abrogated by al-Ḥākim and that their real significance is now to be seen in the true religion, Tawḥīd. What is a little ironic, though hardly surprising, is that

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[1] Hodgson suggests in his article "Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion" p.8, that the People of Tanzīl and the People of Ta'wīl can both refer to the Ismā'īlīs, the Ta'wīlīs being the ghulāt who believed in, for example, the Divinity of 'Alī. If this is so, and the evidence for it is scanty, being mainly based on later commentaries, such meanings are exceptional rather than the norm.

[2] E.g. In his account of the Bāṭin of the Shahāda, Ḥamza says the twelve letters of the first part are thetwelve ḥujjas. In his fourth Majlis, al-Malījī echoes him almost word for word. Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya, p.37.

while Ḥamza spurns the Ismā'īlī Bāṭin and their use of ta'wīl, he does not hesitate to use their methods for his own purposes. He uses allegorical interpretation and ḥisāb al-jummal or abjad (using the numerical value of words) as much as any Ismā'īlī scholar and his every sentence is imbued with the feeling that each object and each action has an inner meaning or significance which is more true or more real than the outward one.

Ḥamza's use of the word sharī'a is also typically Ismā'īlī. Like them he sees history as a series of cycles each introduced by a prophet who abrogates the previous religious law or sharī'a and introduces a new one; the whole series of cycles coming to an end with the appearance of the Mahdī, according to the Ismā'īlīs, or of al-Ḥākim, according to Ḥamza. The great difference is in the significance of the sharī'as, which for Ḥamza are completely false, while for the Ismā'īlīs, even when as by Abū Ya'qūb they are considered as punishments to man, they are true if incomplete.

Just as Ḥamza was aware of the debates of the Ismā'īlī philosophers[1] so also he used their specialised vocabulary.[2] The terms Ibdā' and Inbi'āth are usually contrasted both among the falāsifa and among the Ismā'īlīs.

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1 See above pp.106-107.

2 See the various articles by L. Gardet in E.I. 2nd Ed., especially those on Ibdā', Hayūlā, and 'Illa.

Ibdā' is mostly used to describe the creation of a thing out of nothing, the bringing into being of a thing "without anteriority of matter or of time,"[1] while Inbi'āth is used for the emanation or production of one thing from a higher one but without any act of will on the part of the higher power. In his use of this second term, Inbi'āth, Ḥamza keeps fairly strictly to the meaning assigned to it by the Ismā'īlī philosophers, using it for the production of the Nafs from the 'Aql, the Kalima from the 'Aql or the Sābiq from the Nafs.[2] Ibdā', on the other hand, is used more loosely. Primarily Ḥamza uses it for the creation of the 'Aql by God "before all worlds"--the primacy of the 'Aql being particularly stressed in Ḥamza's hymn in Epistle XIII[3]--but it is also used in a far wider sense in, for example, the description of the creation of the hudūd in Epistle XIV.[4] Here God is said to have created (abda'a) the 'Aql from His own light, to have created (still abda'a) the Nafs from the light of the 'Aql and so on.

Among the non-Ismā'īlī philosophers the terms, Hayūlā and Mādda are sometimes equated, sometimes distinguished as primary matter is from secondary matter but generally there is a depreciation of Matter which al-Fārābī calls the basest

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1 Gardet, Ibdā'.
2 Vol.II, pp.144, 257-258.
3 Vol.II, pp.148-149.
4 Vol.II, p.157.

of objects. Among the Ismā'īlī philosophers, on the other hand, Matter, usually called Hayūlā but also Mādda, is one of the emanations from God. Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī[1] for example, calls it the third emanation; for when the 'Aql imagines its follower, the Nafs, Matter comes into being. It is however only potential for it can only manifest itself through form or Nature (Ṭabī'a). The Ikhwān al-Safā' speak of the Hayūlā al-Ūlā, the primal matter which emanates from the Nafs which emanates from the 'Aql which emanates from God. But among the Ismā'īlīs another and completely different meaning of Mādda is found,[2] almost synonymous with Ta'yīd,[3] or Ilhām, Divine Inspiration.

With only two exceptions, Mādda is always used by Ḥamza in this sense of inspiration, though ta'yīd and ilhām are also commonly found. Hayūlā is usually described as the fifth nature or element (Ṭabī'a), which springs from the Tālī. He also speaks of the Tālī itself as the Hayūlā of the physical world.[4] Paradoxically he also calls the 'Aql the Hayūlā of everything or the Hayūlā of the five "natures",[5] while strongly attacking the philosophers for saying that Hayūlā is the cause ('illa) of everything when the only true

1 Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Kitāb al-Yanābī', p.33.
2 Cf. Corbin, Trilogie Ismaelienne, p.159 n.35.
3 Cf ibid., p.19 n.23.
4 Vol.II, p.104.
5 Vol.II, p.140.

'illa is the 'Aql.[1]

Two other words commonly equated by the falāsifa are Sabab and 'Illa, though al-Kindi only uses 'Illa and al-FarĀbī prefers Sabab. Ḥamza makes a fairly strict contrast between them, nearly always using 'illa for the First Cause, the 'Aql, and sabab for any secondary cause.

It is perhaps also worth mentioning here the use of Persian vocabulary in the scriptures. Hitti in his attempt to prove the Persian origins of the Druze says: "If we . . . investigate the technical terms current in the Druze religious vocabulary we find many of them, including the word for God, al-BĀr (from Barkhoda) of clear Persian origin."[2] It is thus curious to find that there are only two other words of obvious Persian origin in the writings of Ḥamza; Bīkār, compass or the dead point between cycles, and Tast, a basin, together with the sentence[3] which Salmān is supposed to have said at the time of Abū Bakr's election to the Caliphate and which was widely known in Shī'ī circles, though misquoted in every Druze manuscript extant. What is perhaps really surprising therefore is just how few words Ḥamza did introduce from what was

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[1] Vol.II, p.167. The importance of Hayūlā was emphasised in the later systematizations of Druze cosmology. See Guys, Théogonie des Druzes,(Paris, 1863), and Seybold, Die Drusenschrift; Kitāb al-Nuqāṭ wal-Dawā'ir (Leipzig, 1902).

[2] Hitti, The Origins of the Druze People and Religion, p.20; cf. also Sprengling, "The Berlin Druze Lexicon," pp.393-394.

[3] Vol.II, p.199.

almost certainly his native language. Far from proving any Persian origins for the race of the later converts or for Ḥamza's own religious ideas, the scarcity of Persian words shows yet again the overriding importance of the Arabic Ismā'īlī writings over all other possible influences.

The final point to be considered in this section is the great similarity in style and construction between the Druze rasā'il and many Ismā'īlī writings. In form the epistles composed for the instruction of the followers of Ḥamza[1] are similar both to each other and to the Ismā'īlī majālis. Almost all could be divided into three sections: Ḥamd--praise of al-Ḥākim and the hudūd; Maw'iẓa--religious exhortation; and 'Ilm--knowledge about the nature of al-Ḥākim and the hudūd and the history of the da'wa. In the Ismā'īlī majālis, in particular the great collections of the Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya and the Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya, the three sections are always in the same order and almost always entirely separate from each other. In the Druze rasā'il, on the other hand, the division is less obvious and, while the epistles usually begin with Ḥamd; Maw'iẓa and 'Ilm are often intertwined.

The rasā'il also usually end in the same way as the majālis; with the ḥasbala: "God is sufficient for us; How excellent a keeper is he." Then, of course, there are the

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[1] Viz. Epistles 6-14, 16-19, 29-31, 33-39.

obvious similarities mentioned above and found not only in the Majālis but in most Ismā'īlī writings; the use of ta'wīl and abjad. As for the use of saj' (rhymed prose) for most of these epistles, Ḥamza may have simply been following contemporary style. It is more likely, however, he was consciously copying the Qur'ān thereby showing the equal importance he gave to his own writings.

In those parts of the canon which are not specifically rasā'il, the Fāṭimid background is also very apparent in Ḥamza's use of diplomatic terms.[1] Three of the pieces are called Sijill,[2] the usual Fāṭimid word for any document, while the decree against wine is more specifically also called a Manshūr, which in the Fāṭimid Empire meant a document which had no address and was not sealed.[3] The letter of appointment or Taqlīd[4] of al-Muqtanā Bahā' al-Dīn[5] is particularly interesting for the way in which Ḥamza copies[6] the directions for registration commonly found in many Fāṭimid decrees.[7]

The Majālis al-Ḥikma in the Druze Scriptures

Their relationship to the Ismā'īlī Majālis is, for

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1 Cf. S.M. Stern, Fāṭimid Decrees (London, 1964).

2 Pieces 1, 2, 20.

3 Fāṭimid Decrees, pp.85-90.

4 Cf. Article on Taqlīd Pt.2 by J. Schacht in E.I. 1st Ed. Vol.II, p.229.

5 One curiosity is that every MS vocalises Yunsakh ("let it be copied") "Yansakh".

6 Fāṭimid Decrees, Ch.10.

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the student of Ismā'īlism, one of the more interesting aspects of the Druze scriptures. The similarities in style and construction between Ḥamza's epistles and the Majālis have already been mentioned but there were also similarities in their writing and publication. Certainly many of the Druze epistles were composed to be read to groups of men or women believers in Cairo and these readings may well have been modelled on the formal gatherings of the Ismā'īlis mentioned in the first chapter of this introduction. As for the meetings of the Druze 'Uqqāl in the Khalwāt or Majālis on a Thursday evening now, they bear a closer resemblance to these Ismā'īlī gatherings than to any other known Islamic communal meeting.

Then, just as the dā'ī submitted his sermon to the Imam for his official approval and acceptance, so too did Ḥamza claim to submit his writings to al-Ḥākim before publishing them. In Epistle VI, for example, he says; "This letter was submitted to the Divine Presence in the month of Ṣafar."[1] In Epistle XIV he answers an express accusation that he has not done this: "I come now to the second article of your letter . . . namely, the claim of those who say that I have invented this doctrine myself or that I have compiled this knowledge by myself and by my own ability; that Our Lord knows nothing of it nor does he approve it . . . He says: 'I

[1] Vol.II, p.50.

have seen it,' while really my understanding is greater than His."[1] All this Ḥamza absolutely denies.

Of references to the majālis as gatherings of the Ismā'īlīs rather than in the sense of the sermons preached at such gatherings there are only a few. Among these, however, are some interesting references to a suppression of the majālis by al-Ḥākim apart from the suppression of 400-401 mentioned by al-Musabbiḥī. The first mention is in the first piece in the canon of scriptures, the Sijill found on the door of the mosque after the ghayba of al-Ḥākim: "Among the signs of the Imam's anger are his closing of the door of the Da'wa, his suppressing the Majālis Hikmatihi and the throwing out from his palaces the offices of his officers and servants . . ."[2] The suppressing of the Majālis is also referred to again in Epistle XVIII where Ḥamza speaks[3] of the Majālis being suppressed after the appointment of Aḥmad b. al-'Awwām (in 405) and before the beginning of the Druze era (in 408).

But the majority of references to the majālis are to the collections of sermons and these often include quotations from Majālis which are no longer extant. These fragments are thus the earliest example of what was to be the most important vehicle for the exposition of Ismā'īlī doctrine.

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1 Vol.II, p.163.
2 Vol.II, p.8.
3 Vol.II, p.210.

For the Druze writers, the Majālis were certainly of comparable rank to the Qur'ān and the Bible; an attitude which was also held by later Druze scholars as is seen in a gloss found in at least two manuscripts of an epistle by al-Tamīmī.[1] The text is: "The doctrine of the wisdom has its premises, divisions, exact truths and a result." The gloss is: "The premises are the Four Books [i.e. the Pentateuch, Psalms, Gospels and Qur'ān); the divisions are the Majālis; the truths and the result are the decrees of al-Ḥākim."

But as with the Qur'ān and the Bible, the attitude of the Druze writers to the Majālis is ambivalent. On the one hand, they are the religious texts of a patently false religion and as such are often confuted. On the other hand, in form and style they are the prototype for the Druze epistles and, either directly or by ta'wīl, they are used either to prove or confirm some Druze belief or, rather curiously, to show the falsity of some facet of Ismā'īlī belief.

In the epistle refuting the doctrines of the Nuṣayrīs, Ḥamza speaks throughout from a viewpoint that is almost that of an orthodox Ismā'īlī. Here he particularly attacks the misrepresentations of a quotation from the majālis. "He [al-Nuṣayrī] has lied, may God curse him, and he has stolen the first part [of what he said], viz: 'he must not prevent his brother from taking his money or honour,' from

[1] MSS. W and Y. Vol.II, p.315.

the Majālis al-Ḥikma and thereby concealed his unbelief and his lying."[1] Addressing the women of the community in the same epistle, Ḥamza tells them if they study the false religions, the truth will become clear to them. "You will refrain from desires and calamities and you will meditate on the Majālis al-Bāṭiniyya al-Ta'wiliyya."[2]

In Epistle VI, however, Ḥamza mostly quotes the majālis only in order to disprove them. In this epistle he gives the ẓāhir and bāṭin of each of the pillars of Islām and then adds a third and "true" interpretation of his own, discarding both the previous ones.

"As for the bāṭin, you have heard in the majālis that the Prayer is the customary oath ('ahd) and it is named Ṣalāt because it is the link (Ṣila) between the Obedient and the Imam i.e. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[3] They prove this by this quotation: 'Prayer keeps [men] safe from sin and crime and whoever takes the oath to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has renounced any love for Abū Bakr and 'Umar.' But we have seen many men take the oath to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and still show love for Abū Bakr and 'Umar and who have passed into the party of Mu'āwiya and forsaken 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. They say that today the oath is the Prayer because it is the link between them and Our Lord

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1 Vol.II, p.174.

2 Vol.II, P.175.

3 Cf. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im, pp.258ff.

and the sin and crime are Abū Bakr and 'Umar. In the present period, a number of men have taken the oath to Our Lord, a body so great that they cannot be counted except by he to whom they have taken their oath. But they have not given up their love for Abū Bakr and 'Umar nor failed to disobey Our Lord and to contravene His orders. It is obviously contrary to what we have heard in the Majālis and we have seen that Our Lord has abrogated the inner sense (bāṭin) of what we have heard."[1]

After further examples of the abrogation of the inner sense of the Prayer, Ḥamza continues: "You have heard in the Majlis that the Right and the Left are the Ẓāhir and the Bāṭin but Our Lord has made them the same. We know that He has abolished the Bāṭin and He has abolished the Ẓāhir."[2]

"You have heard in the Majālis al-Hikma al-Bāṭiniyya that the Zakāt consists in the recognition of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Imams of his line and the renunciation of his enemies, Abū Bakr and 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Our Lord, however, has forbidden enmity against any of those who are opposed to 'Alī (the Nawāṣib). There has been a public announcement that nobody shall curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar. It has been read in the Majlis that the Right and the Left are the Nāṭiq and the Asās. Then there also followed in the Majlis that the two ways, the Right and the Left, are false and that the middle

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1 Vol.II, p.40.

2 Vol.II, p.41.

way is the easy way and the destination of the journey is the middle way, which frees you from the two others. So it has become clear to us that Our Lord has abolished the inner sense of the Zakāt, which refers to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, as He has abolished its outer sense; that the Zakāt is quite different from what is referred to in the majālis and that, in fact, it is the belief in the Unity of Our Lord and the purification (tazkiya) of your hearts."[1]

"There were read in the Majālis some descriptions of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib which the hearts of his opponents did not accept. There were many of those who had become initiated [or perhaps: pledged themselves to 'Alī] who were still hypocrites who went out from the Majlis and reported all that they had heard to the Nawāsib, the Imāmīs, the Zaydīs, the Qaṭ'īs and other opponents [of Ismā'īlism]. And we can see that Our Lord has abolished what was in the Majlis and what the Shaykhs described about the inner sense of the Fast (Sawm) i.e. Silence, and we can see that Our Lord has delivered men from the Fast in both its outward and inner meanings. In reality, the Fast is something other than the two sorts of Fast known from the two Shari'as and means, in fact, the keeping of your hearts safe in the belief in the Unity of Our Lord."[2]

"We have heard in the Majālis that the Left is the

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1 Vol.II, pp.42-43.

2 Vol.II, pp.44-45.

Nāṭiq and the Right the Asās. It has also been recited in the Majālis: 'Do not turn towards the Qibla,' i.e. the Imam, 'to urinate or excrete,' i.e. the doctrine of the Zāhir and the Bāṭin. Our Lord has abolished what we have heard in the Majālis and we know that the Pilgrimage (Hajj) signifies something other than the outward and inner meanings in which they believe."[1]

"As for what has been read in the Majlis and what the Shaykhs have written in their books, that the Jihād in its inner sense means war on the enemies of 'Alī . . . Our Lord has forbidden enmity to them or argument with them. We know that he has abolished the inner and the outward sense of the Jihād. The true Jihād is seeking and striving (Jahd) in the faith of the Unity of Our Lord and in knowledge of him; not associating any of his ministers with him and renouncing the world of non-being ('adam)."[2]

"Following what appears in the Majlis and the books of the Shaykhs, the inner meaning of the Wilāya and the knowledge of its real sense lies in the showing of love for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and in renunciation of his enemies . . . But Our Lord has abolished this precept by having this ordinance publicly read: 'Do not bow down to the Sun or the Moon,' i.e. the Nāṭiq and the Asās. 'Bow down to God who created them,'

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1 Vol.II, p.47.

2 Vol.II, p.48.

i.e. the Great Ḥujja who is the Mashī'a. 'If you truly worship him,' i.e. the Great Imam and worship here means obedience. We see, therefore, that Our Lord has abolished the inner meaning of the Wilāya, which refers to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as he has abolished the outer meaning."[1]

In Epistles XIII, XVI and in some of the quotations from Epistle XVIII, the majālis are used themselves to show the truth of Tawḥīd and the falsity of Sunnī and Ismā'īlī Islām.

Using the same metaphor of the three roads, of which the middle one represents Tawḥīd, Ḥamza quotes from a majlis: "The Right and the Left are misleading and the path of salvation is the middle road."[2]

The passage from the sixteenth epistle is the subject of considerable ta'wīl by Ḥamza: "You have heard in the Majālis al-Ḥikma that when the Qā'im bil-Ḥaqq appears, he will break the cross and kill the pig and turn the swords into scythes.[3] He will use the houses as dwellings. He will send down rain from the sky. The earth will bring forth plants. The earth will be filled with justice and equity, just as in the past it was filled with injustice and iniquity."[4]

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1 Vol.II, p.49.

2 Vol.II, p.153.

3 Cf. al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Al-Risāla al-Mudhhiba in Madelung, Das Imamat in der Frühen Ismailitischen Lehre, p.89.

4 Vol.II, p.188.

Ḥamza then shows how he has fulfilled all these prophecies. The Cross is the Nāṭiq, whose law he has destroyed; the Pig is the Didd, whom he has subdued, the Swords are the inspiration of al-Ḥākim by which Ḥamza has been inspired, together with His power, to cut down the hypocrites and the rebels. The houses are the Sābiq, Tālī, Nāṭiq, Asās, in whom men believe resides the Ma'nawiyya [here perhaps means the Truth], but whom Ḥamza has shown are all servants of al-Ḥākim. The rain is the true knowledge by which al-Ḥākim has strengthened him. The fertility of the earth is the listening of the Obedient to al-Ḥākim. In the next sentence the earth is the dā'ī and the justice and equity are "the Tawḥīd of Our Lord and the worship of him openly." The injustice and the iniquity are the two shari'as. Ḥamza continues: "You have heard what has been read to you in the Majālis al-Ḥikma concerning the testing of men by the Imam, of his being hidden and of his migration from place to place secretly but the migration is not one of changing (taghir)[1] nor disappearance (ghayba). The Imam is the servant and slave of Our Lord, Ḥamza b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the leader of the Obedient . . ."[2]

"You have heard in the Majlis that men study without relation to God and acquire knowledge without applying it to good works. They wear the skins of sheep but their hearts are

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1 Perhaps means reincarnation.

2 Vol.II, p.189.

those of wolves. Their tongues are sweeter than honey but their deeds are more bitter than aloes. Are you deceived in me or do you show your pride against me? I have sworn I will lead you into temptation (fitna), which will leave even the mild among you confused."[1]

Ḥamza explains the mild one is the dā'ī (a gloss in W says al-Darazī), the sheep's clothing the ẓāhir beliefs of the Mu'minūn. The hearts of the wolves are the Imams of deception. The tongues are the hujjas. Their deeds being more bitter than aloes signifies that the Lord should put far from his Raḥma the Didd al-Ruḥānī.

The next passages, from Epistle XVIII, were seen as prophecies of the appearance of Tawḥīd and the ending of the false sharī'as. "Have you not heard, you women that believe in Tawḥīd, that the reader of the Majlis said that what you hear is the Bāṭin but the books you have like the Da'ā'im, the Mukhtaṣar al-Athār and the Iqtiṣār are the Ẓāhir . . . He meant by the Ẓāhir the Nāṭiq and by the Bāṭin the Asās. He said to you: 'There will come a time after that in which your Bāṭin will become Ẓāhir; and it will be replaced by a Bāṭin which will be the Bāṭin of the Bāṭin; and the Ẓāhir which you have will disappear'."[2]

"Let us go back to what is told us in the Majlis

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1 Vol.II, p.190.

2 Vol.II, p.211.

that it is not possible to obey anyone nor accept his words. You women that believe in Tawhīd know that the reader of the Majlis spoke in warning about what would return after him and to announce what would come after that when he said: 'There will rise up on this pulpit of mine one of the goats of the Banū Umayya and after him an astute person who will devour the property of orphans and who will separate himself from the religion of the Merciful. A third will then appear, a man without religion who will not belong to the Da'wa and who will be lacking in knowledge. Then after an interval of trouble and confusion the truth will appear as a foreigner and a foreigner will undertake its defence.' We have considered his words: 'One of the goats of the Banū Umayya' and we realise it is 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad. We have considered his words: 'An astute person who will devour the property of the orphans and who will separate himself from the religion of the Merciful,' and we realise that it is Mālik b. Sa'īd. Then we have considered his words: 'A third will appear, a man without religion who will not belong to the Da'wa and who will be lacking in knowledge,' and we realise that it is Aḥmad b. al-'Awwām. Our Lord imposed on him the condition that he should not talk of the religion nor have any knowledge of it and we have found that he was indeed lacking in any knowledge of it. The Majālis were stopped and confusion arose. The people turned back and invented lies

until the contract reached its term, the promise was made good and there appeared what was hidden. Then the people who accepted the Unity of Our Lord made profession of this through the minister He had chosen and rendered worthy for that. He has manifested Himself and hidden Himself . . ."[1]

Ḥamza sees this last passage as a clear prophecy of the appointments of the last three Chief Qāḍīs, of the suppression of the Majālis, of his own appearance and of the manifestation of al-Ḥākim's divinity. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān b. Ḥayyūn was born in 355 A.H. and became Qāḍī in 394. He appointed Mālik b. Sa'īd and Aḥmad b. Abī al-'Awwām as his deputies. In the mosque, we are told, he would read the book of his grandfather, the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. Al-Ḥākim put him in charge of the Dār al-'Ilm which he had built. It is the Majālis of this 'Abd al-'Azīz that are mentioned in some of Bahā' al-Dīn's epistles. He was dismissed from the Qāḍīship in 398, arrested though later released in 399 and finally killed in 401 after an abortive flight from Cairo. He was an expert in fiqh, notably in the works of his family and especially his grandfather.

Mālik b. Sa'īd b. Mālik al-Fāraqī, who succeeded him in 398 was himself temporarily out of office from 398 to 399 but was reinstated and continued in office until al-Ḥākim ordered his death in 405.

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[1] Vol.II, p.210.

The last of the group, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Awwām, was Qāḍī from 405 to 416. Ḥamza's description of him is indeed based on fact for he was not an Ismā'īlī but a Sunnī of the Ḥanbalī madhhab and, consequently, unlike many of his predecessors he did not combine the posts of chief Qāḍī with chief Dā'ī, a post taken in his time by Khatkīn.[1] In Ḥamza's theology, al-'Awwām is also the fifth of the ḥudūd of evil in the time of al-Ḥākim.

Two passages complete those in which Ḥamza uses the Majālis to prove the falsity of the old religions and the truth of the new. The first is his interpretation of certain instructions about the performance of the Ṣalāt: "Did not the Majlis say that the man engaged in prayer may not turn to his right nor left nor raise his head nor turn round. He must only look at the place where he prostrates himself. Know that Prayer is the link with the Lord and turning to his right refers to the ḥadd of the Asās and turning to his left is a reference to the ḥadd of the Nāṭiq. Raising his head refers to the realm of non-existence and turning round refers to retreat . . ."[2]

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1 For information on the Qāḍīs see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Raf' al-Iṣr 'an Quḍāt al-Miṣr (Cairo, 1958), Vol.I, pp.101-106 and Vol.II, pp.359-365, and appendix to al-Kindī, The Governors and Judges of Egypt, ed. Guest (London, 1912), pp.599-608, 610-612. Cf. also A.A.A. Fyzee, "Qadi an-Nu'man," J.R.A.S., 1934, pp.1-32 and R. Gottheil, "A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Cadis (al-Nu'mān) in the Tenth Century," J.A.O.S., XXVII, 2, 1907, pp.217-296.

2 Vol.II, p.212.

"Does not the Majlis talk of these proofs? In the first of these the believer says: 'This is my ruin' and he escapes it. Then a second trial comes and he says: 'This is inevitably my ruin.' Then comes the third and it lasts a little while. This believer who fears the proofs is one of those who are called Mu'minūn but only metaphorically, not in reality. The true believer is the Muwaḥḥid."[1]

Other quotations from the Majālis by Ḥamza are proverbial, illustrative or exhortatory. The first is very common in Ismā'īlī literature and is normally said to be from a ḥadīth of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,[2] although Ḥamza attributes it to Muḥammad:[3] "Have you not heard in your Majālis that polytheism is more hidden than the crawling of the black ant on black material on a dark night."[4]

Speaking of the power of Iblīs, Ḥamza talks of Abū Yazīd who "is Iblīs, who put his spirit in the place of his Creator and quarreled with Him. He is the elephant about whom the Majlis says that he was ~~changed~~ a monster because he imitated the 'Ayn al-Zamān and the 'Ayn al-Zamān is the Sābiq and so Iblīs put his spirit in the place of the Sābiq and quarreled with him and we know that he meant by that Abū Yazīd."[5]

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1 Vol.II, p.214.

2 Cf. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im, p.89.

3 Vol.II, p.181.

4 Vol.II, pp. [181], 208.

5 Vol.II, p.38.

In a passage from Epistle XVIII, Ḥamza shows it is not enough only to recognise the Unity of God. A believer must also have knowledge of the ministers: "Have you not heard in your Majālis--the Majālis al-Hikma--the story of the candle? In its perfect state it represents the religion of Tawhid but when its parts are divided it ceases to be a candle. The wax can only be called wax, the wick can only be called wick, the flame only flame and the candlestick only a candlestick and it no longer has the name of candle. But when its parts are re-united . . . then it can be called a complete candle. So, women who believe in Tawhid, understand why I have told you this parable. It is so you can realise you can only have knowledge of Tawhid by having knowledge of all the ministers of the religion. Does your Majlis not say that the Qur'ān is a living being? When its chapters, divisions into ten and five parts and its verses are united it is called the complete Qur'ān. But when its chapters and verses are split up it cannot be called a complete Qur'ān. In its complete state it shows the Imam who is the servant of Our Lord and he is called the Word of God."[1]

Two admonitory pieces end Ḥamza's quotations: "The Majlis says: 'Do not take thought for yesterday nor look forward to tomorrow. Your duty rests on you today and it is about

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[1] Vol.II, p.209.

today that you will be asked.' "[1]

"Have you not heard in your Majālis that he who endures the judgement of God will be overtaken by His judgement and be rewarded while he who is unhappy about the judgement of God will still be overtaken by the judgement of God and will then be found to have sinned. If a man cannot avoid God's judgement coming upon him whether he be content with it or resents it, it is necessary that he bear it patiently and he is then praiseworthy for his attitude."[2]

Al-Tamīmī's sole quotation from the Majālis is very brief: "As the Majlis said: 'Know that God created everything as one of a pair while He is alone, unique, without anything like him'."[3]

The writings of Bahā' al-Dīn are mostly free of references to the Majālis but there are three major exceptions to this; Epistle XLII written in 422 A.H., Epistle LXXII, which is undated, and Epistle LXXVI written in 430 A.H. These epistles not only contain numerous and sometimes quite lengthy quotations but their exact provenance is also frequently given; the Majālis of the two chief Qāḍīs (and Dā'īs) mentioned above, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān and Mālik b. Sa'īd b. Mālik al-Fāraqī. As with the later Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya, the collections are grouped in hundreds (mi'as). The passages

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1 Vol.II, p.212.
2 Vol.II, p.213.
3 Vol.II, p.306.

quoted below are only a selection of the more interesting ones from these epistles.

In Epistle XLII, Bahā' al-Dīn pleads with the believers to make an open profession of their belief: "Do not be among those whom God has designated by those words which are in the 244th Majlis of those which Mālik b. Sa'īd has read, namely: 'Listen now to what was read to you describing hypocrisy and the hypocrites and how he has blamed deceit and the imposters and he has called the men who are capable of reflection to listen to his advice. As God, the truest of those who speak, has said through the Imam in the Qur'ān: "These are the people who lie in wait for you and if you have a victory from God they say to you: 'Were we not with you?' and if the infidels have some luck they say to them: 'Were we not stronger than you and did we not protect you from the believers?' But God will judge between you on the Day of the last Judgement and He will not give the infidels the advantage over the believers. The hypocrites try to deceive God but He deceives them. When they rise to the Prayer, they stand up indolently only so that men should see them and scarcely remembering God at all."[1] This is a portrait of you, O Jews of this Community (Umma). If those of intelligence among you return and do justice to themselves, they will recognise that this is indeed your state.'

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[1] Qur'ān, 4,141-142.

And in this Majlis there is another piece which accurately describes your desertion: 'Do not be among those just described who lie in wait for the believers, who do not leave the Dār al-Hijra[1] for the Dār al-Imān[2] and the Da'wa, before the triumph of the Truth and the Wisdom with the backing of the believers in the faith. Nor do they wait for the knowledge from the ministers of explanation and proof. For if the believers appear and are victorious and they are safe from fear and they multiply in numbers and they announce the Wisdom and conquer their enemies through the Bātin of the Rahma, then these men join them, to derive benefit from them, and seek to establish a link with them to wait for them to give information. But if the believers were affected by indifference and if division and heresy appeared among them, then these men would join their opponents, giving up the quest to find the true ministers. They would renounce the true religion and violate their faith and the oaths they had taken'."[3]

In Epistle LXXII there are three quotations of which two have exact references to the Majālis of 'Abd al-'Azīz. One is from the 17th Majlis of the second Mi'a, one from the 20th.[4]

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1 De Sacy equates this with the Tanzil.

2 De Sacy equates this with the Ta'wil. See Exposé, Vol.II, p.680n.

3 Bodleian Library, MS. Or.454, Fol.22Rev.-23Rev.

4 Bodleian Library, MS. Arab e90 fol.22-23.

The references in Epistle LXXVI are more numerous though mostly short but they too are often from the works of 'Abd al-'Azīz. The first is a prophecy of the appearance of Ḥamza:

"You have forgotten the words of the Majlis, namely that when the Qā'im appears, he will appear with the Unity (bil-wahdaniyya)."[1] This presumably refers to Ḥamza's declaration that he proclaims the true religion of Tawhīd.

"The word of the 38th Majlis: His first duty is knowledge of the absolute uniqueness and unity of God and denial of anthropomorphism . . . and knowledge of that in which the Creator of the Earth and Heavens is unique."[2]

"The chapters of the Majālis and the contents of the Da'wa have given proof to the world and shown that the Qā'im is the one who will appear with Tawhīd."[3]

"The Majlis has confirmed that the Day of Fiṭr points to the Ṣāḥib al-Kashf."[4]

"You are sure that the Majlis acts as a proof to the world through its wisdom. It points to the manifestation of Tawhīd and it teaches the world about the appearance of the Qā'im, the Imām al-Zamān."[5]

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1 Ibid., fol.63 ver.
2 Ibid., fol.63 rev.
3 Ibid., fol.64.
4 Ibid., fol.67.
5 Ibid., fol.73.

"This chapter is from the tenth Majlis of the Bayān [presumably another collection of Majālis]. The Call to Prayer is twofold as an illustration that whenever one of the Imams died, successors came after him. But after the Qā'im, there will arise no other."[1]

Among the other majālis mentioned in this epistle are two which are specifically assigned to 'Abd al-'Azīz; the 10th and 25th of the second mi'a, and four which are presumably his though only the numbers are given; the 26th, 103rd, 156th, and 171st.[2] Almost all are used as prophecies or confirmations of the coming of Hamza and the manifestation of Tawhīd.

Later Druze writers use references to the Majālis far more rarely, probably because their audience were no longer ex-Ismā'īlīs living in Cairo but the new converts in Syria and beyond, who would not have read or heard the Majālis. Even so, one or two do occur. In a commentary of the Mīthāq, the fifth piece of the Canon, written sometime in the first half century of the Druze era, for example, the writer tells how the "Majlis al-Karīm has said that there should be no enmity between relatives and here 'relatives' refer to the fellow members of the religion."[3]

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1 Ibid., fol.76.

2 Ibid., fol. 67,76,79,80,81.

3 Bodleian MS. Marsh 563, fol.143.

These passages from the early Ismā'īlī majālis are certainly very fragmentary but there is enough to show that both contents, in particular the Ta'wīl of Quranic passages, and style were very similar to those later majālis written by dā'īs in the reign of al-Mustanṣir which are still extant.

Other Ismā'īlī Writings Mentioned in the Druze Scriptures

Apart from references to the Majālis, the Druze writers also occasionally refer to other Ismā'īlī writings. A few of these references are to specific books; all of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān: the Da'ā'im al-Islām,[1] the Mukhtaṣar al-Āthār, and al-Iqtiṣār;[2] while in Epistle LXXVI[3] Bahā' al-Dīn quotes a passage from what he calls the Ta'wīl al-Ḥikma which is so similar to a passage in the Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im that it seems probable that it is to this book that he is referring. "It is said in the Ta'wīl of the Ḥikma," says Bahā' al-Dīn, "that in the seventh of the Imams there will appear strength and inspiration namely in Our Lord al-Mu'izz. In the third after him--namely the second after the second after him--will be the childbirth. The Perfection of childbirth after the seventh of the two sevens after which there shall be no seven is the successor of his successor, the Qā'im, the Ṣāḥib al-Kashf.

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1 Bodleian MS Arab e90 fol.61,68: Vol.II, p.211.

2 Ibid.

3 Bodleian MS. Arab e90 fol.62.

People of Justice, does he not tell you that Our Lord al-Mu'izz is the seventh of the sevens."

This is used by the Druze as a prophecy of the coming of al-Ḥākim but for the Ismā'īlīs it is of course a prophecy of the coming of the Qā'im. "It is also said, "says the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, "that the third Imam beginning from the seventh, the successor of the successor who follows after him is the seal."[1]

Then there are several references to different hadīths. The position of the 'Aql is proclaimed in a hadīth of obvious Neo-Platonic origin[2] normally attributed to Muḥammad but here attributed to al-Ḥākim instead and discussed by Goldziher in his article on Neo-Platonic elements in Ḥadīth.[3] Then there is the description of Shirk[4] mentioned above,[5] which is usually attributed to 'Alī but here to Muḥammad.

Finally there is the hadīth of Salmān found in all Shī'ī sources, Zaydī, Imāmī and Ismā'īlī, and according to Massignon in his article on Salmān, where he discussed the tradition in detail, dating back at least to the second

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1 Cf. Madelung, "Das Imamat" p.85.

2 Vol.II, pp.140-141.

3 Goldziher "Neoplatonische und gnostische Elemente in Ḥadīt" Zeitschrift für Assyriologie XXII, 1909, p.319.

4 Vol.II, pp.181,208.

5 See above p.145.

century.[1] Supposedly said by Salmān at the time of the election of Abū Bakr (or possibly 'Uthmān[2]) to the Caliphate, its ambiguous wording "You have done it and you have not done it" has led to various interpretations of which the most plausible is the Zaydī one "You were right to elect a leader but wrong to separate yourselves from the family of your Prophet."

But most of the exact quotations from Ismā'īlī works, apart from the vast mass of unattributed or slightly adapted quotations, are attributed to al-Shuyūkh al-Mutaqaddimūn, the former shaykhs.

These are the writers of books other than the majālis which are always quoted separately, and fall into two distinct groups; the jurists like the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and the philosophers like Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī.

In the first group are a series of quotations in Epistle VI where the Majālis and the Shaykhs are quoted together as both explaining some Ismā'īlī dogma which al-Ḥākim had abrogated:

"As for the Bāṭin of the Fast, the Shaykhs have said that the Fast is silence."[3]

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1 L. Massignon, Salmān Pāk (Paris, 1934), pp.19-21 and in Opera Minora (Beirut, 1963), Vol.I, pp.455-457.

2 Al-Maqdisī, Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Ta'rīkh, ed. and trans. by C.Huart (Paris, 1899-1919), Vol.V, Text p.193, Trans. p.201.

3 Vol.II, p.44.

"There has become clear to us the abrogation of what was in the Majlis and what the Shaykhs described concerning the Bāṭin of the Fast and its silence. But Our Lord has released men in the Ẓāhir of the Fast and he has released them in its Bāṭin."[1]

"The Shaykhs have said in the Bāṭin that the Sacred Area of Mecca is the Da'wa."[2]

"As for what one reads in the Majlis and what the Shaykhs write in their books, namely that the Jihād in its inner sense means war on the enemies of 'Alī, Our Lord has forbidden enmity with them."[3]

"Following what is written in the Majlis and the books of the Shaykhs, the inner meaning of the Wilāya and the knowledge of its real sense lies in the showing of love for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and in renunciation of his enemies . . . But Our Lord has abolished this principle."[4]

Perhaps also from these juristic writings comes the idea that "the Asās is the wife of the Nāṭiq and his likeness and his partner in the world of the Bāṭin."[5] But with this possible exception all the other references to the Shuyūkh are to the philosophers.

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1 Vol.II, p.45.
2 Vol.II, p.47.
3 Vol.II, p.48.
4 Vol.II, p.49.
5 Vol.II, p.180.

In all these references the philosophers are quoted only to show their lack of knowledge about the hudūd. Ḥamza's first criticism is of their belief in two separate hierarchies, spiritual and physical, instead of a single hierarchy present on earth, a belief which is found even in the primitive theology of al-Murshid: "It is shown that to everything that is created in the heavenly plane there is a counterpart corresponding it in the earthly,"[1] and is central to Ismā'īlism.

In Epistle VII, Ḥamza reminds his followers that "all the ministers whom the former Shaykhs put in ranks in their books and said that they are spiritual or physical were in fact the people of Ẓāhir and Bāṭin. They spoke of heavenly and earthly and by heavenly they meant those high in knowledge and by earthly those who have not reached the limit of perfection in the knowledge of the truth. They are all present at this time in which we live serving under the rule of Our Lord, acknowledging His divinity and worshipping His power."[2]

Ḥamza continues the same theme in Epistle XVII: "The former shaykhs have said that the Sābiq, the Tālī, the Jadd, the Fath and the Khayāl are spiritual beings on an exalted plane whom nobody can behold; whereby they hoped to deceive the faithful . . . Have you not considered their

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1 Al-Murshid, para.8 line 1.

2 Vol.II, p.56.

assertion that every minister on the heavenly, spiritual plane has a counterpart who corresponds to him on the bodily, earthly plane? Thus the Nāṭiq corresponds to the Sābiq; the the Asās to the Tālī, the Imam to the Jadd, the Hujja to the Fath and the Dā'ī to the Khayāl . . . The former shaykhs have assimilated the Nāṭiq to the Sābiq and have placed him above all the ministers out of fear for other men and out of love for the vain things of this world. The greatest and most elevated of all ranks is the Imam. It is he who is really the Sābiq whom the Creator created before all the ministers. He is the 'Aql whom the people say God created before all else. God said to him: "Advance" and he advanced. He said to him: "Go backwards" and he went backwards. He said: "I swear I have not created nor shall I create anything better than you." It is he who is the Imam of whom it is said God has counted all things in him. The true things are the ministers . . . He who has been established by the Imam is the Tālī for he follows him in knowledge. He is also called the Asās because he is the foundation of the Obedient . . . The Imam is also named the Sābiq because he came first before all others to the knowledge of Our Lord. In the true sense he is named the Nāṭiq for he announced the truth in all ages and called men to acknowledge the unity of Our Lord."[1]

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[1] Vol.II, pp.198-199.

Ḥamza goes on to explain how the names used by the Ismā'īlīs for their two hierarchies are all appropriate for the single true hierarchy: the Dā'ī (here meaning the third minister) can be called the Jadd; the Ma'dhūn, the Fath; and the Mukāsir, the Khayāl. "The Shuyūkh have said that the Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath and Khayāl are spiritual beings on the exalted plane whom men cannot perceive. In one sense they are right since these five are the spirits of the Obedient and are hidden from the eyes of the Ignorant but they have not explained to man how they take on human form."[1]

Ḥamza's second criticism of the shuyūkh is that they attribute a transcendental nature to the Sābiq, thus confusing him with God: "The former shaykhs were confused about the matter of the Sābiq and its opposite and the Tālī and its opposite. Some of them have said that the Sābiq is the limit and the utmost degree and worship is due to him alone and no other in every time and age. But this is the essence of unbelief. Some of them have said that the Sābiq is the light of the Creator but the light cannot be comprehended. This, too, is the essence of polytheism that the Creator cannot be comprehended and that His servant cannot be comprehended for where then is the difference between worshipper and worshipped? This is impossible and the essence of polytheism and error."[2]

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1 Vol.II, p.200.

2 Vol.II, p.138.

Writing to a dā'ī who has misunderstood certain points of Ḥamza's teaching: "You have mentioned that the Cause of Causes refers to the Sābiq in every time and age and he is present in the world but you have attributed to him the fables of the Shaykhs. You have said that the Cause, that is the Sābiq, cannot be comprehended."[1]

The third point on which Ḥamza took issue with the Shuyūkh was one on which, in spite of Ḥamza's assertion to the contrary, the philosophers were not themselves agreed:[2] "Then they all agree that the Sābiq is the root of rest and coldness while the Tālī is the root of heat and movement. They have given the world of nothingness ('adam) which cannot be perceived to the Sābiq and the world of existence to the Tālī. But this contradicts their saying that the Sābiq is to be worshipped; for how is that possible when they have given the Tālī the greater world?"[3]

Ḥamza's final accusation against the Shuyūkh is, as mentioned in Chapter 3 of this introduction,[4] that they had no knowledge of the first three ministers. Explaining a passage from the Qur'ān, Ḥamza says: "He meant by the male, the 'Aql, and the female is the Nafs while the Kalima is above

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1 Vol.II, p.159.

2 See above p.107 and al-Kirmānī, Kitāb al-Riyāḍ, pp.101ff.

3 Vol.II, p.139.

4 Cf. above p.63.

the Sābiq whom the Shaykhs had knowledge of. The Nafs is above the Kalima and the 'Aql is above all. He is their true spirit. He is the Sābiq in precedence and a light in the darkness. But the former Shaykhs have called the fourth minister Sābiq because he preceded the spiritual sharī'as and brought them to light. Then they said that every Nāṭiq had a sharī'a and he corresponded to the Sābiq, i.e.the legalistic sharī'a corresponded to the Sābiq of the lower order of ministers. But the true Sābiq is the 'Aql who preceded all the other spiritual and bodily predecessors, whose creation and light preceded everything."[1]

"All the former Shaykhs know only the Kalima above the Sābiq and they say the Sābiq and the Kalima are the same."[2]

"Know that all that you have mentioned comes from the fables of the former Shaykhs and from those things with which they cheated the Obedient . . . You have spoken according to what you have seen in the books of the heretic philosophers and polytheist logicians. For they do not know the Cause nor its Causer." They believe instead, says Ḥamza that Hayūlā, prime matter, is the cause of everything.[3]

Apart from references to the Qur'ān, of which there are many,[4] to the Gospels, of which there are only four,[5] and to a

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1 Vol.II, p.142.

2 Vol.II, p.153.

3 Vol.II, p.167.

4 From Suras 1-15,17,19-25,27-28,31,34,36,38-43,45,48-51,54-58 61,65,69,71-72,74,76-77,79,89,102,104-106,108,112,114.

5 To St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. John.

few Shi'i *hadiths*, these references to the *Majālis* and the *Shuyūkh* are the only direct references in the works of Ḥamza and al-Tamīmī to any writings beyond their own, yet another striking example of the almost total dependence of Ḥamza on Ismā'īlism rather than on any other creed.

NOTES ON THE EDITION

Chapter Five

THE CANON OF THE SCRIPTURES

(Authorship, dating, formation of the canon and the glosses)[1]

The writings which are peculiar to the Druze community can be conveniently classified under seven headings; first, the collection of canonical scriptures which together form the Druze "bible"; secondly, the glosses explaining and expanding certain points in those scriptures and written at a later date in the manuscripts of the canon; thirdly the commentaries[2] on the scriptures written by later scholars, of whom the most famous is 'Abd Allāh al-Tanūkhī;[3] fourthly a group of non-canonical writings[4] dating from the first centuries of the Druze era mainly concerned with expanding the philosophical ideas outlined by Ḥamza, al-Tamīmī and Bahā'

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[1] For the best account of the formation of the Canon, its dating and the authorship of the epistles see H. Wehr: "Zu den Schriften Ḥamza's im Drusenkanon" Z.D.M.G., XCVI, 1942, pp.187-207.

[2] E.g. Bodleian Marsh 563; British Museum Add.22485 and Or. 6852; Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 1436-1440; ? Berlin 4302 (Mq 320-321); Munich State Library 228 and 232; Vienna, Austrian State Library,1578.

[3] E.g. Garret Collection in Princeton University Library 1619. There will also be an article on al-Tanūkhī in the New Encyclopaedia of Islam.

[4] Guys, Théogonie des Druzes, Seybold, Die Drusenschrift: Kitāb al-Nuqaṭ wal-Dawā'ir. Cf. also Sprengling,"The Berlin Druze Lexicon,"pp.402-407.

al-Dīn. The fifth group are certain apocryphal writings attributed to one or other of the ministers but in fact dating from a slightly later period[1] and in at least two cases[2] containing information which is actually opposed to the teachings of Ḥamza. What is, however, common to all these writings today is that they are all available only to the 'uqqāl. The rest of the Druze writings are, with certain restrictions, open to the juhhāl as well. They include, on the one hand, catechisms,[3] prayers,[4] and sermons;[5] on the other, various secular writings including many poems.[6]

Of these, the canon of scriptures is, of course, the most important group of writings. It consists of one hundred and eleven pieces normally divided into five or six volumes;[7] the last two volumes sometimes being combined into a single

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1 E.g. Vienna, Austrian State Library MS.1577. The Kitāb Āl Yūnān, cf. Petermann, Reisen im Orient (Leipzig, 1850), Vol.1, p.377 and Wehr, "Zu den Schriften Ḥamza's", pp.201-206. Cf. also Cambridge University Library Add.1902[1-5]

2 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1429. Cf. De Sacy, Exposé CCCCXCV-VI.

3 Bodleian Arab c74; British Museum Or.11291, Paris Bibliothèque National 1444-1447, ?Berlin 4341 (Mo165), Munich 225, Copenhagen Royal Library 74, Yale University Library 1072, Library of St. Paul, Harissa, Lebanon 206.

4 Paris Bibliothèque National 1435 and 1439, Vatican 1337.

5 British Museum Add 22487, Cambridge University Library Or 195 and Or 465.

6 British Museum Add 22486, ? Berlin 4351, Tübingen 130, Vatican 914 and 1342, Leningrad Asiatic Museum 103.

7 The Druze themselves often speak of seven volumes but whether the seventh volume really exists is open to question. In any case it seems unlikely to be the Kitāb Āl Yūnān, but see Wehr, p.201.

volume. With only a few exceptions,[1] the division of the epistles into volumes and the order of the epistles in those volumes is constant in all manuscripts.

As for the authorship of the epistles there are few difficulties concerning the later works. XXXVI to XL are without any doubt by the second minister, al-Tamîmî, while XLI to CXI are all by Bahā' al-Dîn, with the possible exception of XLIV, which de Sacy in one place assigns to Ḥamza; in another to Bahā' al-Dîn.[2] His reasons for assigning it to Ḥamza--the style and the lack of honorifics following Ḥamza's name--do not, however, seem sufficient reason to think the compiler of the canon has made a mistake.

The authorship of the first thirty five pieces presents more difficult problems. The first four pieces are not specifically Druze but their connexion with al-Ḥākim has led to their being included. Piece I is a Sijill written in Dhū'l-Qa'da 411 immediately after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim. Its writer calls himself the Lord of the Da'wa of the Commander of the Faithful and al-Ḥākim's name is followed by the epithet normally used by the Ismā'īlīs for the Imam, something specifically forbidden by Ḥamza in a later epistle. Indeed the terminology of the whole piece is non-Druze and it is obviously written for all Muslims and not just the Muwaḥḥidūn. All this

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[1] Such exceptions are sometimes because of wrong binding e.g. (perhaps) Bodleian Arab e213; sometimes because certain epistles important doctrinally are put together especially Pieces V, VIII and XIII e.g. Bedleian Arab e87, Paris 1413 and 1414, and Vatican 1338.

[2] De Sacy, Exposé, Vol.II, p.193 and Vol.I, p.57.

has led Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn to suggest the writer was a Fāṭimid scribe or perhaps even Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī.[1] But such a conclusion does not seem necessarily to follow. Ḥamza was quite capable of varying his teaching according to the group he was addressing. If he was indeed the author of the refutation of the Nuṣayrīs, for example, his attitude to the Ẓāhir and Bāṭin is in complete variance to what he preaches elsewhere in his epistles. The title of Lord of the Da'wa of al-Ḥākim would, from Ḥamza's point of view, fit him as well as al-Kirmānī and it thus seems not at all improbable that it was Ḥamza himself who wrote this document, writing it in such a way as to appeal to the largest audience and causing the least offence to the Cairene public's feelings. Certainly the ability to write on quite different levels, in a way which to the outsider appears contradictory, is typical of most Ismā'īlī writers, not least the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān who, according to Ismā'īlī tradition, wrote not only the Da'ā'im al-Islām but the Risāla al-Mudhhiba! As for Hitti's suggestion that the writer's command was not to investigate the disappearance of al-Ḥākim may indicate that Ḥamza "had a hand in the conspiracy that resulted in the murder of al-Ḥākim,"[2] it can be completely discounted. Amid all the other uncertainties that surround the early days of the Druze, Ḥamza's loyalty and faith in

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1 Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz, 1968, p.90.

2 Hitti, The Origins of the Druze People and Religion, p.62.

al-Ḥākim stand out clear and sure. If he indeed plotted the murder of al-Ḥākim then everything he preached was a gigantic hoax in which Ḥamza only fought for his own power; a possibility which nobody who has read his writings can possibly believe.

Piece II is a Sijill of al-Ḥākim dated Dhū'l-Qa'da 400 and is no doubt included as being the only writing by al-Ḥākim available to the compiler of the canon. Similar motives have also led to the inclusion of the next two pieces. The account of the discussions between al-Ḥākim and the Jews and Christians probably dates from the period of their most serious persecutions, 403 or 404, and is presumably included to show the wisdom of al-Ḥākim. While piece IV, a supposed exchange of letters between the Qarmaṭian leader and al-Ḥākim at the time of a threatened Qarmaṭian invasion of Egypt, is apparently to show his power. This last piece, however, can hardly be what it purports to be for no record of such an invasion in the reign of al-Ḥākim exists. Perhaps the letters date from the Qarmaṭian expedition in 363, in the reign of al-Mu'izz.

Pieces V to XXXV have traditionally been accepted as the work of Ḥamza and certainly the compiler of the canon must have considered them so to place them all together between the works of al-Ḥākim and al-Tamīmī. The certainty with which one can assign them to Ḥamza, however, varies considerably from

one to another.[1] Pieces IX, X, XVII, XIX, XX-XXIV, XXVI-XXVIII and XXXIV all name Ḥamza as author. The title of XXV shows the work to be his. VI-VIII, XII-XIV, XVI, XVIII[2] and XXXIII are all probably his either because of the doctrines he introduces, by his use of the first person, by the definition of his own position or by his mentioning another writing of his. XXXV is presumably Ḥamza's last work, being placed by the founder of the canon at the end of his writings and bearing the same title as Bahā' al-Dīn gave to his own final epistle. Piece V, the Mīthāq, is probably by him as leader of the community. The prayers XXIX-XXXI have little to suggest their authorship except the title of the first, which would seem to mean it is by Ḥamza. In most manuscripts only the style would suggest Epistle XI is by Ḥamza but the Bodleian manuscript Arab e213 actually has a colophon[3] naming Ḥamza as author, which if the manuscript is not a forgery would carry much weight. Epistle XV, the refutation of the Nuṣayrīs, has little to suggest it is by Ḥamza except its position in the canon. If it is by him then its list of the ḥudūd,[4] its attitude to the Bāṭin and the Ẓāhir and its favourable references to the

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1 A more detailed discussion about their authorship is found in Wehr, "Zu den Schriften Hamza's", pp.191-200.

2 On stylistic grounds Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn suggests Epistle XVIII is by al-Tamīmī. See Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz, 1968, p.93.

3 Vol.II, p.113.

4 Vol.II, p.173 and cf. above p 61.

Ta'wīl and the Majālis al-Ḥikma suggest an early date, probably 408, and perhaps an audience which, while accepting the divinity of al-Ḥākim, still considered themselves Ismā'īlīs.[1] Finally, XXXII is almost certainly not by Ḥamza for the writer speaks of Ḥamza as "My Lord".

As with their authorship, so with their dating some of the early epistles present special problems. With the exception of pieces II, III and IV which date from 400, perhaps 403 and perhaps 363 respectively, the rest of the canonical writings date from the period 408 to 434. Dates, when given, are usually given according to the Druze era in which 408 corresponds to the Year 1 but in which 409 is excluded so that 410 is the Year 2. Although only a fraction of the epistles are thus dated, from these dated epistles one can hazard a reasonable guess at the date of the undated ones. The writings of Bahā' al-Dīn stretch over the longest period --from 418 to 434; al-Tamīmī only writing in the year 411 and perhaps 412 while Ḥamza's epistles are from the years 408, 410, 411, and possible 412.

Of Ḥamza's writings, twelve, or, if one accepts the colophon of MS. Arab e213, thirteen, are dated. VI and VII are from 408; IX to XIII, XVI, XVII, XIX and XXVIII from

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[1] For the importance of this epistle in connexion with Nuṣayrī history see C. Cahen, Note sur les Origines de la Communauté Syrienne des Nuṣayris, Revue des Etudes Islamiques, XXXVIII, Fas.2, 1970, p.249.

410 and XXII and XXIV from 411. Of the rest VIII and XV are probably from 408, XXXV perhaps from 412 and the remainder from 410 or 411. Against this comparatively simple scheme certain objections have, however, recently been raised. In an attempt to show that the Imam al-Ḥākim was in no way involved with Ḥamza, an Ismā'īlī, Mr. Assaad, has suggested[1] that all the Druze writings except XXVIII, Ḥamza's letter to the Chief Qāḍī, date from after the time of al-Ḥākim, the dates found in the colophons all being added later. To support this theory, he puts forward three pieces of evidence: the Sijill written after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim[2] makes no mention of any other Druze writings; Epistle VI contains two lines of a poem which also appear in the Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya, written half a century later and finally Epistle IX contains a passage which suggests al-Ḥākim's son has already succeeded his father: "As for anyone who says and believes that Our Lord has handed over his power and surrendered his majesty to the Amīr 'Alī[4] or has designated him as the one in whom divinity (ma'nawiyya) resides, he has associated (ashraka) with Our Lord another than He. He has spoken with precipitance and has opposed Him in His rule."[5]

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1 Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2nd March, 1970.

2 Piece I.

3 Vol.II, p.47.

4 Later the Imam al-Ẓāhir.

5 Vol.II, pp.71-72.

Such evidence, however, seems rather slender against the testimony both of the writings themselves and of the historians for if Ḥamza and his followers were as active in the last years of al-Ḥākim's reign as the historians make out, it seems inconceivable that Ḥamza began to write his epistles only after the ghayba of al-Ḥākim. The absence of any mention of the other Druze writings in the Sijill is quite understandable if one accepts Ḥamza was writing here for the whole Cairene population and not just his own followers. Secondly, the two lines of poetry in Epistle VI could either have come from an earlier source, as Ḥamza himself claims, being quoted both by Ḥamza and al-Mu'ayyad, or, less probably, they could have been added to the rest of the epistle at a later date, a suggestion made in his book by Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn.[1] If they were indeed copied from al-Mu'ayyad, then it would almost certainly necessitate a writer other than Ḥamza and it would also mean this epistle and presumably all the others claiming to be by Ḥamza were written half a century later at a time when all connexions between the Druze and Egypt had been cut--a complete impossibility if one considers the obvious Egyptian and Ismā'īlī ambience of all these early epistles. As for the passage in Epistle IX it may well be an insertion written after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim to combat those who believed the

[1] Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Tā'ifat al-Durūz, 1968, p.91.

divinity had passed to al-Ẓāhir. That such an insertion should have been made by Ḥamza himself is also likely for there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his belief that al-Ḥākim would soon return to initiate the triumph of His followers. If the epistles were read and re-read to the faithful much as the majālis were to the Ismā'īlīs, the theory that Ḥamza would later insert short passages like this seems quite plausible.

Although the six volumes of the scriptures contain all the extant writings of the first, second and fifth ministers; Ḥamza, al-Tamīmī and Bahā' al-Dīn, together with the handful of works by or about al-Ḥākim, it is clear that Ḥamza, at least, wrote other works which were not included in the canon and are no longer extant. In Epistle XV he mentions a book he has written on marriage;[1] in Epistle XVII he speaks of the Kitāb al-Munfarid bi dhātihi,[2] apparently a polemic against those who do not consider al-Ḥākim divine; in Epistle XXI he mentions a code of rules he has drawn up[3] and also a previous letter of appointment of al-Qurashī as dā'ī before he was promoted to the rank of Kalima.[4] Finally, in Epistle XXII, the letter of appointment of the fifth minister, the letter appointing the fourth minister is referred

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1 Vol.II, p.177.
2 Vol.II, p.197.
3 Vol.II, p.225.
4 Vol.II, p.226.

to.[1]

Just as the order of the epistles is constant in most manuscripts of the scriptures so too is their text. Although the Druze have never printed their sacred books, relying instead on hand written copies continually being produced by otherwise inactive 'uqqāl, there is quite remarkable agreement among the manuscripts thus produced; almost all the variants being of an orthographical or grammatical nature and of little importance. It would thus seem that both the form of the canon and the details of the text were established very early. Probably in the years immediately after the disappearance of Ḥamza several versions of each writing were circulating but very soon, presumably when the contents of the canon were fixed, one version of the text was accepted as correct. This must then have become the archetype for all succeeding manuscripts; the Bodleian manuscript Arab e213 to be discussed in Chapter Seven perhaps, if genuine, being one of these pre-archetypal manuscripts.

This then leads to the question of who gathered the one hundred and eleven writings, fixed their text, put them in order and divided them into volumes. Probably one man did all this, though possibly the division into volumes came a little later, the work being done early enough to prevent too many discrepancies having appeared in the text and

[1] Vol.II, p.233.

yet long enough after the break-up of the community in Cairo for some of Ḥamza's writings to have disappeared. The Druze scholar al-Tanūkhī, suggested by Mr. Assaad as the founder of the canon, is certainly too late a figure to be considered. At least three of the Paris manuscripts[1] contemporary with al-Tanūkhī show evidence of being only links in an already long tradition which, if reliance is to be placed in the ancient Bodleian manuscript, goes right back to the fifth/ eleventh century. Much more probable is the figure generally accepted by the Druze as the founder of the canon, Bahā' al-Dīn. The later Druze work, Mukhtasar al-Bayān fī Majrā al-Zamān[2] explicitly states that before his ghayba Bahā' al-Dīn put together his own works with those of Ḥamza and al-Tamīmī. Certainly Bahā' al-Dīn, as de facto leader of the community for more than twenty years, was in by far the best position to settle both the contents and the order of the canon. Indeed, the only real argument against accepting Bahā' al-Dīn as the compiler of the canon is the position of piece XXXII. The first two volumes contain, at the beginning, the works connected with al-Ḥākim; at the end, the epistles of al-Tamīmī; while the central group of works from V to XXXV are probably, as has been suggested above, by Ḥamza; the order of the pieces being more or less chronological

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1 Paris 1415,1416 and 1427.

2 See Guys, Théogonie des Druzes, pp.67-68 and Wehr pp.190-191.

though sometimes pieces of similar content are placed together even if this conflicts with the chronological principle.[1] The position of XXXII, which is certainly not by Ḥamza, within this group of works thus at first sight militates strongly against the TĀlī being the compiler of the canon for surely he could be presumed to have had a detailed knowledge of everything Ḥamza wrote and would thus not wrongly insert a piece by another author among Ḥamza's writings. One possible explanation is that Bahā' al-Dīn inserted it as a necessary guide to the surrounding works; rather as a map or plan drawn by someone other than the author can be inserted into a book. Certainly all the other evidence is in favour of accepting the fifth minister as the compiler of the scriptures.

The division of the rasā'il into volumes was no doubt largely a matter of convenience and may have occurred any time in the first century or two of the Druze era; the ancient Bodleian manuscript here being of little help in fixing a date for it. The only internal evidence for thinking this division dates back to the earliest times are the words found at the end of Epistle XIV, the last epistle of the first volume: "Here endeth the first section and the second will follow it if Our Lord wills."[2] If these are an addition and

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[1] For the order of the epistles see Wehr, "Zu den Schriften Hamza's," pp.188-201.

[2] Vol.II, p.170.

not by Ḥamza they must clearly have been inserted before the archetype of the extant manuscripts became fixed for they appear in all the manuscripts I have seen, though von Döbeln does exclude them in his edition of the epistle.[1] Indeed he makes no mention of them, possibly because they do not occur in his manuscript, more probably because he considered them separate from the epistle. On the other hand, it is also possible the words are by Ḥamza who refers here merely to a continuation of the ideas in this particular epistle. A later compiler might then have wrongly taken them to mean the end of the whole volume. The only other evidence for an early division of the epistles into volumes is discussed by De Sacy in his Exposé[2] and throws little further light on the question.

In certain manuscripts of the canon[3] glosses are found written above or beside the line explaining difficult words, giving a ta'wīl of certain words to show they really refer to the ḥudūd, giving the numbers of for example the dā'īs or showing how certain words used to refer to Muḥammad or 'Alī really have a much stronger meaning. Although found only in a minority of the manuscripts there is such similarity between the glosses in different manuscripts that they too must date from the first centuries of the Druze era. On the

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1 Ernst von Döbeln, "Ein Traktat aus den Schriften der Drusen".

2 De Sacy, Exposé de la Religion des Druzes, Vol.I, pp. CCCCLXII-V.

3 In MSS. A.D/J.O.U.W and Y in the edition forming Vol.II.

other hand, they were certainly written by Druze scholars who knew nothing of Ismā'īlism and who were far more hostile to the Prophet and Islam than ever Ḥamza had been.

That the writers of the glosses knew nothing of Ismā'īlī theology can for example be seen in a reference to Maryam in Epistle VI.[1] Here she is called the Ḥujja Ṣāḥib Zamānihi, the Ṣāḥib Zamānihi, according to the Ismā'īlī writers, being Zakariyyā.[2] The writer of the gloss, however, gives the perhaps more expected but non-Ismā'īlī interpretation that the Ṣāḥib Zamānihi is 'Īsā. The writers of the glosses show their ignorance of Ismā'īlism more clearly in Epistle XVII when the gloss explains the Kitāb al-Da'ā'im, the Mukhtaṣar al-Āthār and Al-Iqtiṣār, three of the most well known books on fiqh by the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, as referring to the Qur'ān. The hostility to Islam is shown in glosses like those in Epistle XV: the Nāṭiq is Iblīs; the Asās is al-Shayṭān.[3]

Clearly the glosses date from those early centuries when the Druze had become a closed community in the foothills of Mt. Hermon and in Mt. Lebanon, often struggling for their existence against their frequently hostile Muslim neighbours; while their main interest lies in their being one of the few

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1 Vol.II, p.44.

2 E.g. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Kitāb Asās al-Ta'wīl, pp.291-297.

3 Vol.II, p.181.

ways in which one can see how the religion of Ḥamza was developed in those centuries.

Chapter Six

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PUBLISHED MATERIAL USED IN THIS EDITION; THEIR ORNAMENTATION AND GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES

More than two hundred and fifty manuscripts of Druze writings are mentioned in the catalogues of European and N. American libraries. Most of these were acquired in the mid-nineteenth century following the Druze-Christian troubles in Lebanon when many Druze khalwāt were ransacked and their manuscripts stolen and sold to Europeans in Damascus. Some, however, were acquired earlier either by European travellers in the Levant or occasionally brought by Syrians as gifts to Europe. The earliest known of all such acquisitions is the presentation of a set of the canon of scriptures to Louis XIV in 1700 by a Syrian doctor Nasrallāh Ben-Gilda, who had stolen them from the home of Shaykh Nasreddīn in Ba'qlīn, the chief town of the Druze in Mount Lebanon.[1]

The manuscripts whose existence are thus vouched for by the catalogues are to be found in twenty five libraries

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[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. MSS. 1408, 1415 and 1427. These are three of the four manuscripts in Paris on which Silvestre de Sacy relied, cf. De Sacy, Exposé de la Religion des Druzes, Vol.I, pp.CCCLVff.

in Europe[1] and three in the U.S.A.[2] But these are certainly only a fraction of those that exist out of Druze hands. Even in libraries where some are catalogued, there are often many which are not. The Bodleian, for example, has only four of its fifteen Druze manuscripts in its catalogues while in Berlin it is still not clear what has happened to all the manuscripts that were in the State Library before the Second World War. Apart from these there are many Druze manuscripts in Lebanon, particularly in some Lebanese monasteries;[3] while in Syria, Palestine and Egypt there are no doubt others to be found. At the moment, however, the major available collections remain those of Paris and Berlin, followed by Munich, the Vatican, the British Museum and Oxford and Cambridge.

For the purposes of preparing this edition some eighty-five manuscripts were available; thirty of the first volume and fifty five of the second. From the few published epistles, based on collating of manuscripts in Berlin, Münich, Uppsala or Yale, and from those manuscripts which were examined in Britain and France it soon became clear that, apart from

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1 Bodleian, British Museum, Cambridge University (and Jesus and Trinity Colleges), John Rylands (Manchester), Leeds, Aberdeen, Chester Beatty (Dublin), Paris, Berlin, Tübingen, Bonn, Gotha, Munich, Leipzig, Vienna, Copenhagen, Leyden, Vatican, Institute of Oriental Languages and Asiatic Museum Leningrad, Uppsala, Madrid, Brussels, Stockholm, and Turin.

2 Princeton, Yale, and Chicago Universities.

3 E.g. Dayr al-Karā'im, Dayr al-Banāt and Harissa.

the Bodleian manuscript Arab e213, all manuscripts bore a remarkable similarity to each other. Accordingly the manuscripts used in the edition are those which were most easily available and come from the Bodleian, British Museum, Cambridge University Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is possible that some interesting variants have thus been overlooked but it seems unlikely.[1]

Sixteen manuscripts and four published works have been used in the preparation of the first volume of the scriptures.

The first six manuscripts are from the Bodleian Library:

A (Arab e156)(130 fols.) is a well written work of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries with a high degree of accuracy. It contains all fourteen epistles and is correctly bound except for the misplacing of Fol.52 and 57. It has many glosses.

B (Arab e213) is the most interesting and possibly the oldest of the manuscripts used and is discussed in the next chapter.

D (Arab d97) (56 fols.) contains only the first ten epistles; the other half of the manuscript being in the British Museum (Or. 7481). Probably of the seventeenth century it was bought by the library in 1909. It has some glosses and a large

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1 Cf. the remarks of Christian Seybold in Die Drusenschrift, p.XIV.

variety of ornamentation.

F (Arab e87)(126 fols.) contains epistles V, VIII and XIII together with XV-XL. It was bought from the executors of a Mr. E.W.B.Nicholson in 1912, having been previously bought in Damascus in 1858. There are a number of grammatical mistakes and omissions and it is less carefully written than some manuscripts. It has no glosses or ornamentation.

G (Arab e86)(82 fols.) contains epistles IV, V, VII and VIII and XV-XL. These are, however, put together in a curious order viz. XV-XXX, XXXIV-XL, IV, XXXI-XXXIII, V, VII and VIII. It was written in 1824 and bought by the Bodleian together with Fin 1912. It is poorly written, not very accurate and has no glosses.

H (In pieces V and XXV only: Marsh 563)(255 fols.) contains commentaries on pieces V and XXV. It is of the eighteenth century or earlier.

The next six manuscripts are from the British Museum:

E (Add 11558) (142 fols.) contains all fourteen epistles, is well written and is largely in agreement with A. It is probably of the eighteenth century and comes from the gift of Antoine Clot Bey, personal doctor to Ibrahim Pasha in Syria during the Egyptian occupation of the eighteen thirties.

J (Or. 7481) (52 fols.) contains epistles XI-XIV and is almost certainly the second half of the Bodleian manuscript d97 (D). It dates from the seventeenth century and was

acquired in 1910. It is highly ornamented with a number of glosses.

K (Or. 12620) (78 fols.) contains epistles I-III, IX-XII and XIV. It was acquired in 1961 and appears to be fairly modern. It has no glosses, is badly written and very inaccurate though some of its mistakes have been corrected in a different hand.

N (Or. 6852) (154 fols.) is a commentary on piece V, written in the seventeenth century and bought from a Marad Baroody in 1908. It follows H but is more expanded.

S (Add. 22485) (76 fols.) is part of a commentary on Epistle XIII bought from a Mr. Guaritch in 1858 covering pp.140-143 in this edition.

The next three manuscripts are from Cambridge University Library:

O (Add. 761) (197 fols.) contains all fourteen epistles. The last folio is from another manuscript and the end is missing. There is also one unnumbered folio between fol.194 and 195. It is clearly written, ornamented and with some glosses. Like P, it comes from the collection of a Professor Williams.

P (Add. 792) (121 fols.) contains all fourteen epistles. Two folios have been ripped out between fol.97 and 98. The manuscript is clearly written but much worn at the edges. There are no glosses.

Q (Add. 3432) (111 fols.) contains all fourteen epistles, is

clearly written and without glosses. Enclosed with the manuscript are several letters; three of 1895-9 between Professor Margoliouth, C.M. Doughty and Mr. Jenkinson, the Cambridge Librarian, and one of the nineteen twenties from S. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum to a Mr. Scholfield. The manuscript was given by Doughty to the library in 1896 on condition it was kept in a locked box and not seen by any "native" until 1916 and that his own name was kept secret.

The last manuscript is from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris:

R (1408) (117 fols.) contains all fourteen epistles and was written in the sixteenth century. It is clearly written, finely decorated, accurate and without glosses. This is one of the manuscripts given to Louis XIV in 1700 and used by De Sacy. Its earlier catalogue number is 1580.

The four published works used in the edition of the first volume are as follows:

C Vol.II of the Chrestomathie Arabe by De Sacy, published in 1826-7. This contains a text, translation and notes of Epistles I, II, IV and V, based on the Paris manuscript R.

H Tā'ifat al-Durūz by Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, published in Cairo in 1962 and again in 1968. This contains a number of extracts from Epistles XI-XIV.

I Die Drusenschrift edited by C. Seybold in 1902. It consists mainly of non-canonical works but also contains a text

of Epistle XIII based on two manuscripts, Berlin 4301 and Munich 227 (another gift of Antoine Clot Bey). Seybold corrects all vulgar forms.

M Monde Orientale Vol.III a journal published in Uppsala in 1909. It contains the text of Epistle XIV, edited by Ernst von Döbeln and based on the Uppsala manuscripts Nov.21, Nov.23 and Nov.56.[1]

Various translations and paraphrases are also referred to in the edition:

I The Exposé de la Religion des Druzes by De Sacy translates or paraphrases large portions of the text.

II Chrestomathie Arabe Vol.II, cf. C above.

III Mémoires de L'Institut Royal de France: Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres Vols. IX and X (1833). Here de Sacy summarises the first eleven epistles.

IV Journal Asiatique Vol.X, pp.321-351. In an article "Observations sur une pratique superstitieuse attribuée aux Druzes et sur la doctrine des Nusayris" de Sacy makes several references to Epistle VIII.

V The Appendix to the Memoirs of Baron de Tott (1786) contains paraphrases and inaccurate translations of parts of Epistles III, V, X, and XII.

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1 C.J.Tornberg, Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala, 1847, Nos. 501 and 506 and K.V. Zetterstéen, Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala, Uppsala, 1930, No.163.

Nine manuscripts and three published works have been used in the preparation of the second volume. With the exception of H (Marsh 563), the commentary on piece XXV, all the manuscripts are of the complete volume of twenty six epistles.

The first four manuscripts are from the Bodleian. F, G and H are described above.

T (Arab f7) (141 fols.) is a poorly written manuscript without glosses or ornamentation and even bound and numbered upside down. It was bought for £3 from a Mr. W.F. Connor in 1891 and probably dates from the nineteenth century.

The next two manuscripts are from the British Museum:

V (Or. 1435) (100 fols.) is a well written and very accurate manuscript without glosses, written in the sixteenth century. It was stolen from the Druze in 1860, given by a Jules Feretle to a Mrs. Denham in Dublin in 1862 and bought by the British Museum in 1877.

W (Add. 11559) (105 fols.) is a clearly written, accurate manuscript, ornamented and with glosses. Like E it comes from the gift of Antoine Clot Bey around 1840.

The next manuscript is from Cambridge University Library:

X (Add. 3431) (154 fols.) is well written and accurate with no glosses. It was probably written in the nineteenth century and was presented to the library by C.M.Doughty in 1896 under

the same conditions that he presented Q. The index at the front is by E.G.Browne.

The last two manuscripts are from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris:

Y (1415) (143 fols.) is a well written, accurate, fifteenth century manuscript with glosses. Like R it is one of the manuscripts presented to Louis XIV in 1700 and used by De Sacy. Its earlier catalogue number is 1581.

Z (1416) (136 fols.) is another fifteenth century manuscript well written but not quite so accurate as Y and without glosses.

The three published works used are as follows:

C Vol.II of the Chrestomathie Arabe by De Sacy. It contains a text, translation and notes on pieces XXV-XXVIII, based on the Paris manuscript Y.

H Ta'ifat al-Durūz by Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. It contains extracts from epistles XVI, XXVIII, XXXV and XXXVI.

U "Drusen-Antwort auf Nuṣairī-Angriff"by R. Strothmann in Der Islam, XXV, 1939. This is a text of Epistle XV, together with its glosses, based on the Berlin manuscripts: Mq.317,373, 424,470,524, We.1550, Lbg.214, No.1405,1406,1407,2099,2839, 3176, though occasionally Strothmann has added emendations not supported by any manuscript.

The only translations referred to are the two works of Silvestre de Sacy, the Exposé de la Religion des Druzes and Chrestomathie Arabe, Vol.II.

Almost all these manuscripts are, to a greater or lesser degree, ornamented. At the very least (e.g. F, G and T) the titles and the first words of sentences are coloured red. More often the decoration is more ornate with many colours --gold, blue, green, red, yellow and purple--and even glitter used to decorate the titles and distinguish new topics. This has led Sprengling to suggest that "the neat, clear but not ornate handwriting and illumination in gold, blue, green, red and yellow is another case" of Manichaean influence.[1] However, the complete absence of any overt connexion with Mani or Manichaeism, as pointed out by Hodgson,[2] suggests that any such similarities as the decoration of manuscripts is a co-incidence rather than an effect. Much more probably it is in imitation of the Qur'ān. A system of coloured dots is also used as a type of punctuation, red ones usually signifying new sentences, green ones quotations from the Qur'ān. In a number of manuscripts (e.g. A and D) the system is taken much further with different coloured dots and dashes used as glosses. The complete system is not entirely clear but certain signs can be guessed at with reasonable certainty. Five red dots above a word, for example, would mean it referred to the five true hudūd, while five green ones would refer to the five false

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1 M. Sprengling, "The Berlin Druze Lexicon," p.410.

2 M. Hodgson,"Al-Darazī and Hamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion," p.15, n.68.

ones. The "code" system is normally much more complicated than this however with dots of different colours interspersed along a line or grouped in circles in a way which makes it nearly impossible for anyone outside the ajāwīd (the initiates) to guess their meaning. There is considerable, but by no means total, agreement among manuscripts as to which words are thus further explained by such markings.

Another feature of the manuscripts, which while not of course confined to Druze manuscripts is invariable among them, is that there is an odd number of lines to each page.

The orthography, morphology and syntax of the manuscripts is basically that of "classical" Arabic but much modified by the influence of the spoken language. The resulting language bears strong similarities to what Blau, in his description of the Arabic written by Christians in South Palestine in the first millenium, calls Middle Arabic.[1] It differs from it, however, in that there is a constant striving after the correct classical form; the Middle Arabic forms being found usually as variants in one or two manuscripts, rarely as the accepted form in all manuscripts. On the other hand, while no manuscript uses the more colloquial forms consistently, equally no manuscript is entirely free from them.

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[1] J. Blau, A Grammar of Christian Arabic (Louvain, 1966).

The disappearance of the hamza is common, though often it is replaced by a yā.[1] No scribe is consistent in this and in the edition hamzas are often added where necessary.[2]

Alif maqsūra bi sūrat al-yā is very often represented by alif; a common enough tendency in all manuscripts of the period[3] but so inconsistent in the Druze ones, where the same scribe writes alif maqsūra once as yā and once as alif in the same line, that I have written every alif maqsura as yā.

Alif mamdūda is also occasionally written as yā,[4] particularly in Hawwā', Eve, which is normally with yā and without a hamza.[5]

Alif otiosum or the alif al-fāsila is found not only after the final waw in plural forms but very commonly after the final waw in the singular of defective verbs[6] and in proper names.[7]

The letter thā is often replaced by tā, particularly

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1 E.g. Vol.II, p.124. Cf. Blau, p.84.

2 Cf. Blau pp.81ff. and W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language (Cambridge, 1967), p.11.

3 Ibid.

4 Cf. Blau, p.90.

5 Vol.II, pp.119,288. A madda is commonly placed over an alif mamdūda in the manuscripts where it is written as alif. In the edition it has been omitted except in those places where it is necessary for the meaning. ~~Owing to an unfortunate oversight, however, it does appear in all positions in the first pages, which were typed earlier.~~

6 E.g. Vol.II, p. 124(8) or p.158(14).

7 E.g. Vol.II, p. 121(10). Cf. Blau, p.127.

in proper names e.g. Härit for Hārith;[1] a phenomenon entirely due to the disappearance of the sound /θ/ in all dialects of the area[2] and found in every manuscript except B.

In some manuscripts, particularly K and R,[3] the orthography does not show the assimilations of words containing as their second part mā.[4]

One point of spelling is peculiar to the Druze, the replacement of sād by sīn in the word sidq and its derivatives. Professor Bernard Lewis, perhaps following the ideas of L. Massignon about the Sīnīyya,[5] has suggested[6] it is because of the importance of Salmān for the Druze but there seems to be no evidence for this. Rather is it perhaps because the numerical value of sidq and kidhb are used to show the numbers of the true and false hudūd? Sād with its higher value in abjad would have given 194 whereas with sīn the word sidq adds up to 164; the number Ḥamza required. One cannot be sure.

The writing of numerals is often confused in the Druze manuscripts, particularly the numbers three and twelve. Thalātha is commonly written without either the full alif or with a perpendicular fatha, though where the full form occurs

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1 Vol.II, pp.34,38, etc.

2 Cf. Blau, p.106.

3 E.g. Vol.II, p.14(3)

4 Cf. Blau, p.45.

5 L. Massignon, Opera Minora, Vol.I, p.561.

6 Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2nd March 1970.

as it does often in K. R and Y, more rarely in other manuscripts, its existence is recorded in the apparatus.[1] Ithnā 'ashara most often appears in the more colloquial form as one word without alif and for the sake of consistency it is this form which is found throughout the text. The classical form does, however, also appear as also does the form yā instead of alif,[2] which as Blau points out in late Egyptian middle Arabic is used in all positions regardless of case and position.[3] Indeed, as Blau has also shown,[4] it is the numerals more than any other parts of speech which were affected by the linguistic developments; not only in their orthography but in their grammatical relations. Gradually the use of -a(t) endings on numerals with masculine nouns and zero endings with feminine nouns changed until the reverse became true. Certainly by the time the Druze scriptures came to be copied, the number of modifications in the already complicated classical system had grown so great that the comparatively uneducated Druze scribe had no idea which form was correct. This confusion between masculine and feminine forms is not however confined to numerals. Among nouns and relative pronouns the same uncertainty is only too plain.[5]

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1 E.g., Vol.II, p.116 (5 and 16).

2 E.g., Vol.II, p.125.

3 Blau, pp.239-240.

4 Ibid., pp.366ff.

5 E.g., Vol.II, pp. 40 (4), 49 (12), etc.

In nouns and adjectives the colloquial in very frequently replaces ūna and āni in the nominative of the sound masculine plural and dual.[1] Also frequent are the uses of ūna where classical grammar requires the accusative ina, presumably because of hyper-correction.[2] Sometimes, of course, the accusative form replaces the nominative not because the scribe prefers the more colloquial form but because he is simply unsure of the correct grammatical usage; in another place using the classical nominative form quite correctly. Less frequently but still fairly often the nūn of the plural normally dropped in idāfa is preserved.[3] The plural ending -iyyin is very often written without tashdīd but sometimes with ~~such inconsistency that a tashdīd has always been added in the edition, the exact form being recorded in the apparatus where any confusion could arise.~~[4] In other cases -iyin without tashdīd is found instead of the correct classical form -in. The confusion caused by this particular habit of the Druze scribes is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The disappearance of the final short vowel in many words is often because of the rhyme but in other cases it is clearly because of the influence of the colloquial language. The disappearance of the final alif in the accusative of the

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1 Cf. Blau, p.224.

2 Cf. Blau, p.225.

3 E.g. Vol.II, p.122(4) or 273(2). Cf. Blau, pp.226-227.

4 ~~E.g. Vol.II, p.91(8).~~

indefinite triptote singular and broken plural is also sometimes because of the rhyme.[1] Again, however, in other positions it is clearly because of colloquial influence, although just as in the manuscripts used by Blau, it "alternates freely with forms terminating in accusative alif in accordance with Classical usage."[2]

In the verbal forms the tendency noted by Blau[3] for moods to disappear in middle Arabic is very evident. Forms terminating in a long vowel with or without nūn, for example the third person masculine plurals, are often used indiscriminately.[4] Another tendency common in middle Arabic[5] frequently met with in the Druze manuscripts is the way in which a preceding verb is brought into strict concord in number with its subject; a plural subject for example being preceded by a verb in the plural.[6] On the whole, though if the lessened importance of the moods is excluded, the forms of the verbs follow the classical pattern. To this there seems to be only one notable exception; the purely colloquial first person singular of the perfect of the tenth form of

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1 E.g. Vol.II, pp. 18(6), 85(12) or 139(1-2).
2 Blau, p.323.
3 Ibid., pp.259ff.
4 E.g. Vol.II, p.290(15).
5 Cf. Blau, p.275.
6 E.g. Vol.II, p.119(9).

tamma:[1] istatammit.[2]

The final question to be considered in relation to the manuscripts used for this edition is how far they are related to each other. Owing to the very large numbers of Druze manuscripts that have been produced, the small number used in this edition and the chance way in which they have reached European libraries, there can be no question of working out any particular "traditions" or "families" of manuscripts.

Nevertheless, certain similarities are apparent. In the first volume manuscripts A, D/J, E,N,O and R only differ marginally from each other; all coming close to being "correct" versions of the archetype of the canon. B is a special case to be considered in the next chapter. F and G are both rather inaccurate but the variants found in one rarely coincide either with those in the other or in any one manuscript. Many of their variants; the omission, repetition or wrong ordering of words or phrases, their inconsistent orthography and their grammatical peculiarities are due to carelessness rather than to the influence of colloquial forms or indeed any of the considered attempts to correct an earlier manuscript which one finds in some other

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1 Cf. M.W. Cowell, A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic (Washington, 1964), p.105.

2 Vol.II, p. 95(8).

manuscripts.

K is by far the most inaccurate of the manuscripts and differs most widely from the supposed archetype. Of the two thousand or so variants in the first volume nearly a quarter (445) are places where K alone differs from all other manuscripts; together with B it differs another 20 times; with P, 9; with Q, 18; with P and Q, 19; with B, P, and Q, 15; with other manuscripts 95. Superficially this would suggest that the writer of K was perhaps making use of manuscripts related to B, P or Q; but, in fact, the ways in which K agrees with those manuscripts are in the sort of minor orthographical and grammatical points--the spelling of ḫyyin or the use of the accusative for the nominative--with which the Druze manuscripts abound and which is probably coincidental. The variants found in K alone, are more interesting. Many words are omitted; there are few assimilations in words whose second part is mā and most curiously the word sidq is spelt with a ṣād. The special spelling of sidq is made so much of in the scriptures that this reversion to the non-Druze spelling suggests that the scribe was, if a member of the ajāwid, a very lowly one indeed; a rarity for usually only the oldest and most respected of the initiated are entrusted with the copying of the scriptures.

Only P and Q show any real signs of being closely related and perhaps both originally descending from the same

manuscript. P differs from all other manuscripts 106 times; Q, 167 times; together P and Q differ from all other manuscripts 84 times, while P and Q together, plus one other manuscript, differ from the main stream another 92 times. Such statistics of course prove nothing but this time the ways in which P and Q agree together but with no other manuscripts are such as to suggest some connexion between them: reversing the order of words,[1] using different honorifics from other manuscripts[2] or both omitting the same words.[3]

In the second volume no such close connexion as between P and Q is apparent but the eight major manuscripts clearly divide into two main groups; V, W, X and Y which seem to represent the closer approach to the archetype; F, G, T and Z which have far more colloquial forms and inaccuracies. If de Slane is right in thinking that manuscript Z dates from the fifteenth century[4] then the forms found there, in order to appear again four hundred years later in such disparate manuscripts as F, G or T, must clearly have been accepted by a large number of the Druze scribes. In general, however, such attempts to trace connexions between manuscripts must remain extremely tentative.

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1 E.g. Vol.II, p.116(6) or p.134(2).

2 E.g. Vol.II, p.120(11).

3 E.g. Vol.II, p.136(9).

4 De Slane, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes (Paris, 1883-95), p.270.

Chapter Seven

THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT ARAB e213

The most interesting of the manuscripts used in this edition is certainly Arab e213 (B). This manuscript has already been described by Professor A.F.L.Beeston in the Bodleian Library Record[1] and is also referred to by Marshall Hodgson.[2] The first of these two articles suggests that the manuscript is in fact an autograph of Ḥamza and it is sad that a closer analysis of the text does not appear to confirm this.

The manuscript contains seven epistles (VI-XII); IX-XII being followed by VI-VIII. There are considerable portions of the text missing, more than a third of Epistle XII for example, but in most cases the missing portions are from the beginning or end of the epistles. The curious order could be early as the owners' marks are on the first folio.

The manuscript is divided as follows:[3]

Fol. 1 - 9	Epistle IX	End missing.
Fol.10 -21	Epistle X	Beginning and end missing.

[1] A.F.L.Beeston, "An Ancient Druze Manuscript," Bodleian Library Record, 1956, Vol.V, No.6, pp.286-290.

[2] M.G.S.Hodgson, "Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion," p.10.

[3] There is some variation here from the description in the Bodleian Library Record.

Fol. 22 - 33	Epistle XI	Beginning and one folio between 23 and 24 missing.
Fol. 34 - 43	Epistle XII	First third and end missing.
Fol. 44 - 57	Epistle VI	This epistle is in great disorder: it begins 44-46, then one folio missing, then 48, 47, 49-57. End missing.
Fol. 58 - 61	Epistle VII	Beginning and end missing.
Fol. 62 - 65	Epistle VIII	Beginning missing.

Until the Bodleian bought the manuscript in 1956, the earliest known Druze manuscripts were those of the fifteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[1] Certain aspects of this manuscript, however, point to its being some four centuries older than these. Indeed, leaving aside for the moment the suggestion that it is an autograph of Ḥamza's, there are only two possibilities about its date; either it is a very early copy dating from the early eleventh century or it is a forgery of the mid-twentieth century. If the former, it has great importance for showing the early date at which the epistles began to be collected together and the canon formed, it shows the comparative stability of the text over nearly a thousand years and it adds a few details of information like the authorship and date of Epistle XI[2] or alters a few of the accepted views about, for example, the claims of al-Darazī.[3] If, on the other hand, it is a

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1 1415, 1416, 1427, and 1429.

2 Cf. above, p.167.

3 See below, pp.206-210.

forgery, it is an interesting addition to a group of manuscripts of doubtful authenticity appearing on the market in the nineteen fifties but of far less interest for a study of the Druze.

Four main topics will therefore be discussed in this chapter: first, the evidence for thinking the manuscript is an autograph of Ḥamza; secondly, a consideration of the variants, some of which conclusively show it cannot be an autograph; thirdly the other evidence for thinking the manuscript dates from the eleventh century and lastly a consideration of the script used in the manuscript and a comparison with certain other manuscripts using a similar script.

The main evidence for thinking the manuscript is an autograph is a colophon on folio 33:[1] "The epistle has been completed in the hand (_'alā yad_) of one of the servants of Our Lord ..., Ḥamza b 'Alī, Guide of the Obedient, in the second year of his era."[2] This replaces the ending in all other manuscripts: "How excellent a protector and helper is He. The epistle has been completed. Praise be to Our Lord alone. It has been accepted and it is in order."

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[1] Vol.II, p.113.

[2] This is 410 not 409 as suggested in the _Bodleian Library Record_, p.288.

On the other hand, similar colophons are found at the end of other epistles in manuscripts which are clearly not autographs. The Taqlīd of al-Muqtanā Bahā' al-Dīn ends in the same way in all manuscripts:[1] "The Leader of the Obedient . . . wrote [this] in his own handwriting (bi-khaṭṭihi) on Friday the thirteenth of Sha'bān in the third year of his era . . ." It would seem, therefore, to have been a matter of chance whether such a colophon was included in the canonical version of the scriptures or left out.

A second reason for thinking the manuscript is an autograph is a lacuna at the beginning of Epistle IX. In all manuscripts except the Bodleian one, one finds the words:[2] "It was copied from the writing (khaṭṭ) of the Qā'im al-Zamān without distortion or change or addition or subtraction." Clearly this did not appear in Ḥamza's original letter and to that extent its non-appearance in a213 would support its being an autograph. However, this claim of an epistle being a correct copy of the original is not found in other epistles and it need not have appeared in all copies of this one.

A possible explanation for both the colophon in Epistle XI and the lacuna in Epistle IX is that the manuscript was written by an early scribe before a single version of the text of the scriptures was agreed on and while the canon was

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1 Vol.II, p.233.

2 Vol.II, p.66.

still being established.[1] As will be shown, the scribe was not only extremely careless but had a poor understanding of what he was copying. In the case of the colophon, he may have mechanically copied the colophon along with the rest of the text without really thinking what he was doing; while the passage in Epistle IX may have only been added in manuscripts when the archetype was fixed some years after the Bodleian manuscript was written.

In his article, Professor Beeston calls attention to "one or two interesting variants," one of which, the use of a nominative of the dual where a genitive is required,[2] he suggests it is tempting to relate to Ḥamza's Persian origin.[3] Such variants are worth examining in some detail. There are at least four hundred variants peculiar to this manuscript, not being found in any of the other manuscripts used in this edition. These can be divided into various groups.

Grammatical variants, all incorrect according to the rules of classical literary Arabic, are the most common --about 130 in all. Nominatives are used for accusatives (27 times),[4] accusatives for nominatives (12 times),[5]

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1 Cf. above, p.172.

2 Vol. II, p.66(15).

3 A.F.L. Beeston, "An Ancient Druze Manuscript," p.289.

4 E.g. Vol.II, p. 32(14).

5 E.g. Vol.II, p.38(9).

nominatives for genitives (twice)[1] and a genitive for an accusative (once).[2] Singulars are used for plurals (8 times)[3] and duals (5 times),[4] duals are used for singulars (twice),[5] and for a plural (once),[6] while plurals replace duals (3 times).[7] The perfect tense is used for the imperfect (once)[8] and vice versa (once).[9] The first, second, fourth, and eighth forms of the verb are each used once instead of the fourth,[10] first,[11] first,[12] and fifth[13] forms respectively. An article is wrongly put in, in idāfa, twice.[14] Particularly in numbers, but also in verbs, the feminine is used for the masculine (16 times)[15] and the masculine for the feminine (11 times).[16]

As has been shown in the previous chapter, however,

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1 E.g. Vol.II, p.123(8).
2 Vol.II, p.43(2).
3 E.g. Vol.II, p.60(12).
4 E.g. Vol.II, p.122(7).
5 E.g. Vol.II, p.122(4).
6 Vol.II, p.77(7).
7 E.g. Vol.II, p.123(3).
8 Vol.II, p.62(12).
9 Vol.II, p.68(12).
10 Vol.II, p.37(14).
11 Vol.II, p.57(5)
12 Vol.II, p.57(1)
13 Vol.II, p.41(5). (In these last six cases the different forms may in fact be no more than mistakes in orthography).
14 E.g. Vol.II, p.80(14).
15 E.g. Vol.II, p.41(13).
16 E.g. Vol.II, p.39(14).

such grammatical "errors" are not peculiar to this manuscript. The particular variants mentioned by Beeston--the use of the nominative of the dual for the genitive--are in fact found in one case in manuscript P as well, in the other in both P and Q. Nor are such variants peculiar to the writings of Ḥamza. They are clearly the work of the scribes and are found as much in the writings of the Arab al-Tamīmī as the Persian Ḥamza. Indeed, as Blau has shown, far from showing the scribes are non-Arabs, most of these variants are typical of the "Middle" Arabic of Syria and Palestine.

Next there are some thirty examples of variant spelling, again nearly all of them typical of Middle Arabic usage. Alif maqṣūra is frequently written as alif;[1] there are no assimilations of words ending in mā;[2] the numerals three and a hundred are written in a variety of ways;[3] the plural ending -iyyīn is frequently found with only one yā;[4] the elisions which are usual in weak verbs do not always appear[5] and the letter on which the hamza is written is often different from other manuscripts.[6] Nor is the writer always consistent in his variations: ṣalā(t), prayer, is once written with a

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1 E.g. Vol.II, p.127(6).
2 E.g. Vol.II, p.32(9).
3 E.g. Vol.II, p.92(10) or p.94(4).
4 E.g. Vol.II, p.68(8-9).
5 E.g. Vol.II, p.112(4).
6 E.g. Vol.II, p.72(1).

waw,[1] otherwise with an alif. More peculiar to this manuscript is the invariable spelling of ibn, son, without alif in all positions[2] and the spelling of sahrā', desert, with sīn instead of sād,[3] perhaps on the analogy of sidq.

About eighty of the variants found in the manuscript are, in varying degrees, possible and grammatically "correct" alternatives to the canonical text. First, there are a number of particles which vary: fa for wa[4] or wa for aw,[5] lam for lan,[6] idh for idhā[7] and so on. Then there are certain verbs which in the Bodleian manuscript are in the second form but elsewhere in the first;[8] or in the eighth but elsewhere in the tenth.[9] There are a number of words where the meaning is scarcely changed dhālikha for ya'nī,[10] yudallu for yudraku,[11] or jalla dhikruhu for subḥānahu[12] but there are other variants which while just conceivably possible are very unlikely: al-hadd for al-jadd[13] in a list of ministers or al-haqq for

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1 Vol.II, p.40(4).
2 E.g. Vol.II, p.37(13),
3 E.g. Vol.II, p.132 (10,12).
4 Vol.II, p.[illegible]1(5).
5 Vol.II, p.71(2)
6 Vol.II, p.43(9).
7 Vol.II, p.134(1).
8 E.g. Vol.II, p.34(8).
9 Vol.II, p.110(14-15).
10 Vol.II, p.60(7)
11 Vol.II, p.56(3)
12 Vol.II, p.133(12).
13 Vol.II, pp.45(7),55(10).

al-khalq.[1] There are certain proper names which are usually spelt according to the normal pronunciation but in this manuscript are spelt according to the conventions of the written language: Hārith for Ḥārat[2] and Shīth for Shi't.[3] On the other hand one finds Ghiṭrīsh for Ghiṭrīs.[4]

Lastly in this group are those variants which are not only possible but sometimes make a real difference in the meaning. Two of the epistles have different titles in B from all the other manuscripts. Epistle VI has the title Kitāb al-naqḍ al-khafiy wa naskh al-sharā'i' for the more usual Al-kitāb al-Ma'rūf bil-naqḍ al-khafiy.[5] Epistle IX has the word al-ta'alluh instead of al-nihāya in the title Risālat al-balāgh wal-nihāya fī'l-Tawhīd.[6] Beeston suggests that the original title was with ta'alluh and this was altered by later copyists "because of the fact that the word ta'alluh (piety) is (unless provided with vowel points) indistinguishable in writing from tālih (insane)."[7] But the most interesting collection of variants are in Epistle X. In the Qur'anic quotation "It is He who has sent His apostle with the direction and true religion" bil-hudā (with the direction) is replaced

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1 Vol.II, p.106(8).
2 E.g. Vol.II, p.34(5).
3 Vol.II, p.122(3).
4 Vol.II, p.90(14).
5 Vol.II, p.32.
6 Vol.II, p.66.
7 A.F.L.Beeston, "An Ancient Druze Manuscript," p.289.

by bil-mahdī;[1] possibly another slip but possibly intentional. In the same folio in a list of nations one finds the Sicilians instead of the Slavs found in all other manuscripts.[2]

The main interest in Epistle X, however, centres on the claims and titles of al-Darazī.[3] Our manuscript has several variants from the others in the passage in question but two are especially interesting. First instead of fa lam yarji' one finds fa raja'a. Second, instead of al-hādiyīn, one finds al-hādiyyīn.

The first point is rendered by De Sacy: "Il n'a point voulu renoncer à ce nom . . ."[4] Beeston comments: "The words 'Il n'a point voulu renoncer à ce nom' translate the reading fa lam yarji' 'an dhālik al-ism found in the text as hitherto known. Our manuscript however omits the negative and reads fa raja'a. This I think gives us better sense; the author informs us, according to this reading, that Darazī abandoned the comparatively innocuous (although in Ḥamza's view, absurd) title, 'Sword of the faith,' in order to assume the much more ambitious one of Sayyid al-Hādiyīn, 'Lord of the Guides'."[5]

The second point is more thorny. De Sacy originally

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1 Vol.II, p.86(16).
2 Vol.II, p.87(4).
3 See Vol.II, p.91(4-8).
4 De Sacy, Exposé de la Religion des Druzes, Vol.II, p.173.
5 A.F.L.Beeston, "An Ancient Druze Manuscript," p.290.

rendered the sentence in question: "Je suis le seigneur des directeurs."[1] In the introduction to the Exposé, which he wrote later, however, he says: "J'avais d'abord traduit ces mots Sayyid al-Hādiyyîn par le Seigneur des directeurs; mais Hādiyyîn étant l'adjectif ethnique ou patronymique, ism mansūb, de hādin directeur, il est évident qu'il faut traduire: le seigneur des partisans du directeur, c'est-à-dire des sectateurs de Ḥamza."[2]

In fact, in the manuscript De Sacy was using, R, it is unclear whether the word has a tashdîd or not. Probably like all other manuscripts except B and K, a carelessly written and unreliable manuscript, which has al-hādîn, it has al-hādiyîn without tashdîd. This latter form might well be merely a Druze form for al-hādîn, directeurs or guides, for, as has been shown, the scribes are notoriously careless about such endings. De Sacy refers to this in his Chrestomathie Arabe: "Il y a encore ici dans le manuscript al-mādiyîn pour al-Mādîn. Je corrigerai désormais les fautes de ce genre sans en faire la remarque."[3] In the article by Beeston the title is transcribed Sayyid al-Hādiyîn.

It is Hodgson, however, who has gone into the question

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1 De Sacy, Exposé de la Religion des Druzes, Vol.II, p.173.

2 De Sacy, Exposé de la Religion des Druzes, Vol.I, intro. p.CCCXCI.

3 De Sacy, Chrestomathie Arabe, Vol.II, p.236, note 2.

in most detail.[1] "He (al-Darazī) styled himself 'Sayyid al-Hādīn,' 'Lord of the Guides,' al-Hādī, 'the guide', being Ḥamza's own title, (or possibly 'Sayyid al-Hādiyyīn,' 'Lord of the followers of al-Hādī', which would be even more clearly a taunt, based on the number of men who had at first been attracted to Ḥamza but had come to prefer al-Darazī)." In a footnote Hodgson elaborates on this: "In the manuscripts the phrase is sayyid al-hādiyīn without tashdīd. Beeston translates this 'guides' as if it were an error for hādīn; he does not explain, but the rendering is legitimate because Druze manuscripts sometimes do put an extra yā' in plurals of this form. It was so translated at first by Sacy, but Sacy changed his mind. At first I followed Sacy's revised opinion,[2] but I incline now towards treating it as meant for hādīn. It would seem that an extra ya' would be less likely to be added than a shadda to be dropped." This view of Hodgson's is in fact supported by Najjār, the only Druze to publish any sizeable extracts of the scriptures, who writes al-hādīn.[3] Hodgson then quotes a parallel from Epistle XIX where all the manuscripts have Sayyid al-Hādiyīn al-nājiya.[4]

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[1] M.G.S.Hodgson, "Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion," p.10, notes 40 and 41.

[2] This is in the article on al-Darazī in the E.I. 2nd ed. where Hodgson writes "al-Darazī assumed instead a title, Sayyid al-Hādiyyīn, Chief of the Guided, which overreached Ḥamza's own title of al-Hādī, the Guide."

[3] 'Abdallāh Najjār, Madhhab al-Durūz wal-Tawhīd, p.113.14.

[4] Vol.II, p.217(17). For consistency I have added a tashdīd, though it does not appear in the manuscripts.

He then calls attention to De Sacy's first translation and goes on: "In both risālas [i.e. X and XIX], Ḥamza says the title implies shirk; this would all seem to imply a reading of guides, though not necessarily. Jamāl al-Dīn, in F. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen, has al-Darazī call himself 'Sanad al-hādī wa hayāt al-mustajībīn'[1] in the years 410 and 411, but this may well refer to a different man.[2] If hādiyīn is read as if intended for a nisba it implies a taunt against a man who has declined in power but, since it would allow him a considerable former dignity, such a title would probably not have been primary for al-Darazī and might have been used only in letters to Ḥamza. If hādiyīn is read as if intended to be the plural of hādī, it might imply an assertion of 'collective leadership'--a notion that there are many 'guides' and among them the primus inter pares is al-Darazī; and such an assertion might be levelled in defiance of a man who is not declining but rising. It is doubtful whether further manuscript readings are likely to settle the issue."

It is curious that it has not previously been pointed out that the missing tashdīd on which so much of the argument rests does in fact appear in e213. True, this does not settle

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[1] See above, pp.32-33.

[2] There seems no reason to doubt Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir and there is no evidence for thinking that he is not here referring to al-Darazī.

the matter--it is too unreliable a manuscript for that--but it does make the case for al-Darazī's calling himself "Lord of the followers of al-Hādī" at least as strong as that for calling himself "Lord of the Guides."

We now turn to the next group of variants in the manuscript, namely seven misquotations rom the Qur'ān, which are found correctly quoted in all other manuscripts. Most are minor differences of grammar[1] and orthography[2] but some by incorrect pointing make nonsense of the quotation[3] while there is one which may be only a slip of the pen.[4]

There are seventeen occasions where words are found in B which are not found elsewhere. These are almost all of little or no importance, for example the addition of a wa[5] or jalla dhikruhu,[6] and perhaps the only example of any interest at all is the addition duf'atayn[7] at the beginning of Epistle IX.

More numerous--indeed there are nearly seventy examples--are words or phrases which are not found or are misplaced in B but are found in all other manuscripts. A lot of these omissions in B are not of any importance, for example

1 E.g. Vol.II, p.44(7).
2 E.g. Vol.II, p.48(15).
3 Vol.II, pp.82(17), 83(8).
4 Vol.II, p.86(1).
5 E.g. Vol.II, p.93(4).
6 Vol.II, p.86(6).
7 Vol.II, p.66(8).

there are some eight occasions where wa is missed out and other omissions include qad, fa, huwa, 'an, fi, or slightly more significant muta'ammidan,[1] wuqūfuhum,[2] or al-hadhar.[3] Of whole phrases or sentences missed out, some could possibly be early glosses which later became fixed in the canon,[4] but at least one[5] can only be a copying mistake for it is scarcely possible that later scribes added it; the only explanation if the manuscript were indeed Ḥamza's autograph.

But what seems to be conclusive proof that this manuscript is not the autograph of Ḥamza are sixty or so cases where B has a variant which makes complete nonsense. Every one of these cases is explicable as an example of a careless scribe's copying of a largely unpointed original. One finds, for example, wajada for wahhada,[6], adwāt for adwār,[7] dawruhu for dawla,[8] wa min for mu'min,[9] al-sāis for al-asās[10] or tahibbu for tahta.[11]

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1 Vol.II, p.39(10).
2 Vol.II, p.60(6).
3 Vol.II, p.67(6)
4 E.g. Vol.II, pp.62(6), 67(13), 68(17), 74(7), 103(14), 113(4-5).
5 Vol.II, p.126(11).
6 Vol.II, p.42(1).
7 Vol.II, p.47(3).
8 Vol.II, p.90(16).
9 Vol.II, p.94(2).
10 Vol.II, p.111(13).
11 Vol.II, p.110(14).

So while the colophon in Epistle XI and the lack of the sentence at the beginning of Epistle IX would suggest this is the autograph of Ḥamza and while the orthographical and grammatical variants and the misquotations could just possibly be explained as being due to Ḥamza's poor knowledge of written Arabic, the missing passages make it very unlikely and the absurdities quoted immediately above make it all but impossible.

Nevertheless there is still considerable evidence in the manuscript to suggest it dates from the eleventh century A.D. First the script, to be discussed in the next section, is found only in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Then, it has various owners' marks including one of 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb dated 785/1383. More interesting still is the signature, Muḥammad b. al-'Alqamī,[1] the wazīr to the last 'Abbāsid Caliph, who died in 655/1257. There are also fragments of Arabic poetry in an early script on fol.1 and 44 and a twelve line Persian poem in a script and spelling which Professor Beeston places in the seventh/thirteenth century or earlier on fol.65.

All this would suggest the manuscript was an early copy of some of Ḥamza's writings, written by a scribe of little understanding or learning some time before the archetype

[1] The identical signature is found in a manuscript in Istanbul, cf. A.F.L.Beeston, "An Ancient Druze Manuscript," pp.288-289.

was finally established. Somehow the manuscript soon left Druze hands and within two centuries had reached the library of Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-'Alqamī, noted for his interest in and favour to the Shī'īs,[1] in 'Irāq. From there it presumably travelled to Persia and finally from there to Dublin, where a dealer called Khonsari sold it to the Bodleian in February 1956. Such a history is quite unique for a Druze manuscript, for without exception all the other manuscripts in European libraries have been acquired in the last three centuries from the present Druze homeland in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. The manuscript does, however, bear one or two curious similarities with certain other manuscripts and it is these coincidences which have led me very tentatively to question the authenticity of the manuscript.

One of the main points of interest of the Bodleian manuscript is its script, seen at its best in the titles of the epistles. This script, called the East Persian Kufic or Rhomboid script, is quite separate from the other common scripts of the medieval Islamic world; the Western or Maghribi Kufic, the Naskh and the Ta'līq. Peculiar to the Rhomboid script, for example, is the writing of the letter kha and the combination of lām and alif in the negative lā. An early description of the script is found in an article by Eric

[1] Cf. D.M.Donaldson, The Shi'ite Religion (London, 1933), p.206.

Schroeder.[1] He relates how from time to time pages of a singularly beautiful script have been published under a variety of names: late, flowering or East Persian Kufic; the script being placed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and originating from Persia or occasionally Cairo. Unlike various scripts "de fantaisie", he says, its neglect is unjustified and "it may even bid fair to be accounted the most handsome version of the Arabic alphabet ever written." It is "an art of singular beauty, the greatest vehicle of the Islamic Word of God and perhaps one fruit of the national revival which gave Iran in the tenth century a great dignity a great literature and a great architecture." Unfortunately, through a mistranslation, he sets out to prove the script is called Badi' and is the invention of Ibn Muqla; a mistake which was pointed out both by Moztaba Minovi and Schroeder[2] himself later the same year and by Nabia Abbott in an article published in 1939.[3]

A more detailed description of the script is found in a review by S.M.Stern of the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts

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[1] E. Schroeder, "What was the Badi' Script," Ars Islamica, 1937, pp.232-248.

[2] M.Minovi, "The So-called Badi' Script" and E.Schroeder, "The So-called Badi' Script: A Mistaken Identification," Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, V, 1937, pp.142-147.

[3] Nabia Abbott, "The Contribution of Ibn Muqla to the North-Arabic Script," A.J.S.L., LVI, 1939, pp.70-83.

in Istanbul University Library.[1] He calls particular attention to two manuscrips written by 'Alī b. Shādhān al-Rāzī of a Qur'ān and of Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī's History of Basran Grammarians. "Both are beautiful speciments--the earliest dated specimens--of the calligraphical Kufi sometimes called Iranian Kufi." This script Stern proposes to call the Rhomboid script from one of its most characteristic features. The Qur'ān is dated 361/971 thus establishing the earliest occurrence of the script, previously only known in the fifth and sixth centuries A.H. (eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.), when it was "a favourite of calligraphers." Stern then mentions that he hopes on another occasion to give a full list of the known manuscripts in the script, contenting himself here with mentioning three more manuscripts also in the Rhomboid script; another in Istanbul, Miskawayh's Jāwīdān Khirad dated 439/1047 in the Bodleian[2] and Ibn Khālawayh's Kitāb al-Badī' in the Chester Beatty collection in Dublin[3] and discussed below.

Although the list of manuscripts in the Rhomboid script never materialised, Stern returned to the subject

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1 S.M.Stern, "Review of Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu, Vol.I, Fasicle I, Istanbul 1951," in B.S.O.A.S., XVI, 1954, pp.398-399. Unfortunately this review was overlooked in the Bibliography of Stern's work in the Journal of Semitic Studies, XV, No.2, 1970, pp.226-238, where it should appear after item 97.

2 MS. Marsh 662.

3 MS. 3051.

fifteen years later in an article on one of the first known manuscripts apart from Qur'āns in the naskh script.[1] Talking of the various scripts used for writing Arabic in the early centuries of Islam he tells how in the fourth century A.H. a new Quranic script--the Rhomboid--was introduced and used alongside the Kufic which then died out and was itself replaced by the sixth century A.H. by naskh which began as a Quranic rather than a copying script in the fifth century A.H. In a footnote he says: "I hope to show that the rhomboid script is based on a certain type of naskh, which was, however, so profoundly modified that it is not quite inappropriate to speak of a 'new invention'."

Genuine manuscripts in the Rhomboid script are not uncommon; the three Istanbul manuscripts and the Miskawayh in the Bodleian are typical examples. Other good examples are to be found in the Freer Collection in Washington and in the Art Institute in Chicago. Probably genuine too is the Kitāb al-Badī' of Ibn Khālawayh, a treatise on canonical and non-canonical variant readings of the Qur'ān in the Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin. The manuscript, which is unique, is discussed in an article by A.J.Arberry.[2] Its paper is

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[1] S.M.Stern, "A manuscript from the library of the Ghaznavid amīr 'Abd al-Rashīd," in Paintings from Islamic Lands, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oriental Studies, Vol.IV, Oxford, 1969, p.18.

[2] A.J.Arberry,"The Kitāb al-Badī' of Ibn Khālawaih," in Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, ed. Lowinger and Somogyi, Pt.I, 1948, pp.183-190.

buff-toned, not of exceptional quality, much stained by water."It is a very large copy of noble proportion and design . . . The inks are brilliant and fast and with few exceptions have not been in the least affected by the passage of time. The script is extraordinarily interesting. The chapter headings are in thick solid cufic in a bold hand in various inks . . . The main body of the text is in splendid cufic of the variety which has been called Persian and miscalled Badi'. The margins are written in a hand very close to the oldest known specimens of calligraphic naskh not yet wholly liberated from cufic tendencies . . . The manuscript is a masterpiece of calligraphy and must rank as one of the finest specimens of Islamic art." Arberry places the manuscript in the fourth century, suggesting it may have been executed for Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo.

Five years later Arberry described another manuscript in the Rhomboid script purchased for the Chester Beatty collection in Dublin in 1952.[1] The manuscript purports to be an autograph fragment of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Niffarī.[2] It is "in 31 folios of brown stout paper, slightly glazed and a little water-stained. The page measures 20.5 x 11 cm.; the written area is 13.5 x 6.5 cms.; there are 13 lines to the page. The ink is black and remarkably clear, though two or

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[1] A.J.Arberry, "More Niffarī" in B.S.O.A.S., XV, 1, 1953, pp.29-42.

[2] MS. 4000.

three pages are somewhat faded as if through long exposure to bright light. The writing is a beautiful cufic, exhibiting tendencies towards what is commonly called the Persian hand. The transcript is signed Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, and is dated 344 (955-966).

The colophon gives the title of the manuscript as al-Mawāqif, and it is evident that by this the author meant that portion of his writings which was made during the year 344. It is a part not otherwise extant and thus constitutes an addition to the received text. It also shows how al-Niffarī would have arranged his work had he himself continued to be editor; it is an arrangement strikingly different from that found in all other copies."

After describing the contents of the manuscript, Arberry goes on: "It is obvious that the manuscript is not a brouillon, but the author's fair copy. This is proved by the presence of a number of cancellations and marginal insertions, as well as by the fact that in two or three passages a word or some words are wanting. Such errors in an author's fair copy are not without parallel; I have often come upon instances in my study of Arabic autograph manuscripts. The script is supplied with diacritical points almost throughout, but these appear to have been added by a slightly later hand. There is no vocalization."

Arberry next describes the owners' marks and then

continues: "The genuineness of the manuscript thus appears to be beyond reasonable dispute. It remains a puzzle how it escaped the attention of al-Niffarī's original editor; on this point one can only speculate. The date is eight years older than the earliest part otherwise mentioned; and the volume contains prayers and poetry, an exercise to which we did not previously know al-Niffarī was addicted. Can it be that this manuscript represents an earlier style of writing, abandoned afterwards, and that it was for this reason discarded when the definitive addition was made?" Arberry suggests that al-Niffarī edited these pages himself but that they passed out of his keeping within his life-time. "A lucky chance then has preserved for us, beyond the extremest hope, this autograph copy of a hitherto unknown part of al-Niffarī's writings."

In October 1954, two years after the appearance of the Niffarī manuscript, the British Museum acquired a manuscript in the Rhomboid script from the Dublin dealer Khonsari, the same dealer who sold the Bodleian the Druze manuscript in apparently identical handwriting on identical paper sixteen months later. The British Museum manuscript[1] is a collection of philosophical treatises and was described by Meredith-Owens in an article in 1955.[2] It is an octavo volume of forty three

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[1] MS. Or.12070.

[2] G. Meredith-Owens, "A Tenth-Century Arabic Miscellany," The British Museum Quarterly XX. 2. 1955-6. pp.33-34.

folios, containing six tracts and Meredith-Owens compares it both to the Niffarī manuscript and to a manuscript then on loan to the Bodleian of al-Madīna al-Fāḍila by al-Farābī, to be discussed below. The manuscript claims to be copied from a larger miscellany by a Persian scribe, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Durustawaih of Isfahān in 330/941, thus making it the earliest secular manuscript in the British Museum. It includes an "Epistle by Abu Nasr al-Farābī by way of commentary on the epistle of Zeno."

The manuscript of al-Madīna al-Fāḍila, mentioned above, was offered for sale by a Persian dealer in New York called Rabenou for ten thousand dollars in the early nineteen fifties. It is in a script of quite extraordinary similarity to that of the Niffarī manuscript and is quite certainly a forgery of the mid-twentieth century. The manuscript was examined by S.M.Stern and R. Walzer in about 1956 and in an unpublished article they called attention to some of the manuscript's peculiarities. It purports to be a copy of al-Madīna al-Fāḍila copied in 314/927 in the lifetime of al-Farābī. Alone of all the manuscripts of the text the name of al-Farābī at the beginning and in certain glosses, found otherwise only in the Oxford and Teheran manuscripts, is followed by an epithet for someone who is alive: "Adāma 'llāhu fawāḍilahu" or " 'Aṭāla 'llāhu baqā'ahu." This would make the manuscript the earliest dated example of the Rhomboid

script. Next Stern noticed certain peculiarities in the titles of the owners; and particularly the protocol in the ex-libris had certain noteworthy features e.g. the laqab Fakhr al-Dawla wal-Dīn for Fakhr al-Dīn. It was not until 1969 however, when it was collated with the manuscript[1] from which it was almost certainly copied that it became certain it was a forgery. In the genuine manuscript the text ends at the bottom of a page and another quite different text appears on the next. In the forgery this same text appears in the middle of the page without a break.

But does the falsity of this Farābī manuscript in any way help to decide the truth about the other manuscripts in the Rhomboid script which appeared in Dublin in the early nineteen fifties; notably the Niffarī, the British Museum Miscellany and the Bodleian Druze manuscript? In the final analysis, after stating their peculiarities, one can only rely on intuition and there is certainly no proof to back up my own feeling that they may be products of a Teheran workshop of the last thirty years.[2] Certain points can, however, be stressed. First, all the manuscripts, quite apart from their script, are of remarkable importance in their own fields. All claim to be written within the lifetime of their authors

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[1] Malik Library, Teheran, 5925.

[2] A view which in the case of the Niffarī manuscript I was interested to hear also put forward by Professor Ettinghausen of the Metropolitan Museum in New York in June 1971.

and in the case of the Niffarī and perhaps the Druze one to be actual autographs. Next, three of them antedate the earliest known manuscript in the Rhomboid script, of whose genuineness one can be sure; namely the Istanbul Qur'ān of 361/971. Both the Niffarī and the Druze manuscript are arranged in a way different from all other manuscripts of the text and more important both have lacunae which, whatever Arberry may say, are at the least surprising. More important is the similarity in the writing between the Niffarī and the Farābī, though this, of course, could be simply because the Niffarī was used as a model for the Farābī. More surprising is the even greater similarity in handwriting and paper between the British Museum Miscellany and the Druze manuscript; writings which, if genuine, were separated by eighty years of time and many hundreds of miles of space. The paper of the Niffarī sounds similar to and is the same height as the Druze manuscript but I have not seen it and it is therefore impossible to draw any conclusions from this. It would be interesting to know the price asked for such manuscripts but apart from al-Madīna al-Fāḍila, this has been impossible to find out, the Chester Beatty Collection and the British Museum having no note of it while the Oriental Department of the Bodleian, following its idiosyncratic policy, "was not willing to divulge the price."

Further than this in deciding the date of the Druze

manuscript it is difficult to go. It remains the most fascinating of Druze manuscripts and even if it is a forgery it may well be based on an as yet untraced early manuscript as was the manuscript of al-Madīna al-Fāḍila. Certainly, whatever the truth about the manuscript--modern forgery or a work pre-dating the archetype of all other Druze canonical writings--no edition of the epistles of Ḥamza can be made without taking it into consideration.

SUMMARY OF THE EPISTLES

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I. A Sijill written probably by Ḥamza in Dhū'l-Qa'da 411 immediately after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim. The writer reminds them of al-Ḥākim's good deeds and of his great beneficence towards them. In particular he is portrayed as a protector of Islām--he has built mosques, founded the Dār [al-]'Ilm and encouraged the carrying out of the pillars of Islam--and as a great antagonist of Christianity and Judaism whose churches and synagogues he has destroyed. However, the people angered him by their infidelity and ingratitude and in return he has punished them. He has closed the gates of the da'wa, ended the Majālis al-Ḥikma, forbidden the saying of his name by the muezzins and inflicted many restrictions on the people. Finally he has withdrawn from their sight. Only their penitence will make him return.

II. A Sijill of al-Ḥākim forbidding the use of wine and other alcoholic drinks. It is dated Dhū'l-Qa'da 400 and is non-Druze in terminology.

III. An account of discussions between al-Ḥākim and the Jews and Christians. The Jews and Christians meet al-Ḥākim in al-Qarāfa and after obtaining a guarantee of their safety from him, they complain to him of their sufferings. These are contrary to the promise made them by Muḥammad that they

should be free to worship so long as they paid the jizya. They ask al-Ḥākim the reason and justification for their persecution. Al-Ḥākim tells them to bring the heads of their sects to him. To them he recalls that Muḥammad made an agreement with the Jews and Christians of his time that they should have freedom of worship for four hundred years. He did this because they claimed the Paraclete, Aḥmad, would appear only then and that it could not therefore be Muḥammad who was thus announced. Muḥammad made this agreement on condition that if after four hundred years the promised prophet did not come their descendents should admit their mistake and the Imam of the time would give them the choice of conversion or persecution. The four hundred years were now over and the prophecy had not been fulfilled. Al-Ḥākim was only doing to them what their own ancestors had agreed to. The Jewish and Christian leaders, obliged to admit the truth of this, make no reply and withdraw in confusion.

IV. "The Qarmaṭian" has invaded Egypt and writes to al-Ḥākim promising him safety in return for his capitulation. Al-Ḥākim makes a haughty reply; he has no need for any promise of safety. It is the Qarmaṭian who will be defeated and he and his army slaughtered. God has brought him to Egypt in order to show His miraculous power by allowing him to be defeated.

V. The Mīthāq; the oath taken by the converts to Tawḥīd.

VI. This, the first of the epistles written only for a Druze audience, is dated Ṣafar 408 and is almost certainly by Ḥamza. It shows how all the fundamental precepts of Islam are now abolished both in their outward sense (Ẓāhir) as understood by the Sunnis and in their inner sense (Bāṭin) as understood by the Ismā'īlīs. The new doctrines must still be kept secret for a short time until the day when the Unitarians shall triumph over the rest of humanity including the Muslims. Ḥamza then considers the seven pillars of Shī'ī Islam: Shahāda, Ṣalāt, Zakāt, Ṣawm, Ḥajj, Jihād, and Wilāya. He shows their outward and inner meanings and then by various arguments --the actions of al-Ḥākim, abjad, quotations from the Qur'ān, Majālis and other Ismā'īlī writers--he shows they are all abolished. All the believers need do is confess the sole divinity of al-Ḥākim, submit to his commands, know the hierarchy of ministers and to renounce all other beliefs.

There are certain interesting details in the various sections. In the one of Shahāda he is particularly concerned with the number of words and letters and more especially the numbers 7 and 12. As there are seven planets so their are seven ḥudūd: Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fatḥ, Khayāl, Nāṭiq, and Asās; seven nāṭiqs: Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrahīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and Sa'īd (sic); and seven waṣīs: Shī't, Sām, Ismā'īl, Yūsha', Sham'ūn, 'Alī, and Qaddāḥ. (The list of the ḥudūd is

particularly interesting as perhaps being an earlier, more moderate position of Ḥamza's as compared with his later list where Nāṭiq and Asās become members of the rival hudūd.) The divine support of the first Fāṭimid and the divine nature of the later Fāṭimids is shown by their great victories which were won without either wealth or men and against the great opposition of Iblīs and this is compared to the position of 'Alī, who was defeated in spite of every sort of help.

In the section on Ṣawm he gives a list of thirty hudūd; Kalima, Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath, Khayāl, Nāṭiq, Asās, Mutimm, Ḥujja, Dā'ī, seven Imāms and twelve Ḥujjas. A little later explaining Tawḥīd by abjad he talks of thirty two hudūd both spiritual and corporeal: Irāda, Mashī'a, Kalima, Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath, Khayāl, seven Nāṭiqs, seven Asās, seven Imāms and three Caliphs.

In the section on Ḥajj come two lines of poetry found also in the Majālis al-Mu'ayyadīyya. These may be a later interpolation but perhaps more probably al-Mu'ayyad, himself, took them from an earlier source.

The whole epistle is strongly reminiscent of the majālis in its form, content and type of argument.

VII. In this epistle, written in Ramaḍān 408, Ḥamza recalls what he has said in the previous epistle concerning the abrogation of the precepts of Islam in their outward and inner senses. Each nāṭiq has abolished the previous sharī'a and

founded another. Al-Ḥākim has abolished the najwā, the zakāt and other taxes although, as is shown in a story about 'Alī, the zakāt is an indispensible pillar of Islām. The seven laws of Islam are thus abolished and in their place Ḥamza gives the seven new commandments of Tawḥīd.

He next explains how all the names in the Qur'ān refer to the Sābiq, Tālī, Jadd, Fath, Khayāl, Nāṭiq, Asās, Imām, Ḥujja, and Dā'ī. All these ten pointed to 'Alī who in his turn points to Sa'īd, the Mahdī. From a "thing" deposited with Sa'īd [presumably the human form of his "son" al-Qā'im] the Lord showed forth the power of his maqām (his human body) so that men could understand a little of his Nāsūt (his human nature) though nothing of his Lāhūt (his divine nature).

He then criticises the Ismā'īlī ideas about there being heavenly and earthly ḥudūd and concludes by announcing the imminent triumph of Tawḥīd.

VIII. A formula of initiation for women. It is to be read to women initiated by the Dā'ī or Ma'dhūn charged with teaching them the doctrine. The author [obviously Ḥamza] has been made Imam by al-Ḥākim. Ḥamza uses as his text the description of Hudaybiyya in 6 A.H. when the Meccans prevented Muḥammad carrying out the pilgrimage. When Muḥammad's followers murmured about not attacking Mecca, Muḥammad explained that God had allowed the Meccans indulgence so as to save the many Muslims by intention among them (Qur'ān, 48.25). Ḥamza gives

an allegorical interpretation of this passage. Then he shows how the Nāṭiq is male with regard to the Asās who is female but the Asās is male with regard to the Imām and so on through the Hujja, Ma'dhūn and Mukāsir. The converts are made by the union of the senior (male) and junior (female) ministers. Next he explains the duties of the women believers viz. chastity, fidelity to their husbands, the avoidance of even the appearance of evil. The dā'īs and ma'dhūns are recommended to read this only to women sincerely attached to the doctrine and to take every precaution against familiarity with the women. The women can ask the missionaries about their problems. They may resolve them if they can. If not they can submit them to Ḥamza or his ministers. Finally he recalls the seven commandments of Tawḥīd which replace those of Islam.

IX. The aim of the epistle, written by Ḥamza in Muḥarram 410 is to establish the divinity of al-Ḥākim and to show that the names applied to him in fact apply to his ministers, especially Ḥamza and to their rivals.

He mentions the five categories of individuals to which the "beautiful" names refer; Jismānī, Jirmānī, Rūḥānī, Nafsānī and Nūrānī. [De Sacy tries to give these names to particular groups but Ḥamza's use of them is too haphazard for any certainty about their meaning in any particular place]. Ḥamza then shows how the names Allāh and al-Raḥmān really refer to the dā'īs of tanzīl and ta'wīl. It is a type of polytheism

to use expressions like Sāhib al-Zamān to apply to al-Ḥākim or to ask him unnecessarily for favours, thus treating him as an ordinary ruler and not as God.

The Calf is mentioned as the Didd or rival; not of al-Ḥākim, who has no rival, but of the Qā'im al-Zamān. It refers here possibly to the 'Abbāsid Caliph but more probably to al-Darazī.

Islam (Sunni), Imān (Ismā'īlī) and Tawhīd are compared and Tawhīd is shown to be superior. The first commandment of truth in words is discussed. To say that al-Ḥākim is son of al-'Azīz or father to 'Alī (later the Caliph al-Ẓāhir) or that al-Ḥākim has transferred his power to 'Alī is prohibited. The words Sidq (sic) and Kidhb are explained by means of Abjad to show that the first refers to the four high ministers, the ninety nine dā'īs of the Imam, the sixty dā'īs who depend on the two Wings and finally to Tawhīd and the human nature of al-Ḥākim and the second to Iblīs, his wife and twenty-four children.

The name Allāh is again explained at different levels to mean Khatkīn, Ḥamza and the divinity of al-Ḥākim. To make the Unitarians understand the union of al-Ḥākim's divinity with his human form, Ḥamza compares it to our intelligent soul entering our body.

He exhorts the Unitarians to follow the precepts of Ṭawḥīd, reminding them again of the seven commandments.

He announces the triumph of Tawhīd. The Sunnis, Ismā'īlīs and Druze apostates will be forced to wear special clothes and pay a tax. The 'Abbāsid caliph will be taken to Balkh and executed and Tawhīd will triumph.

X. This epistle, written in Rabī' al-thānī 410, is addressed to apostate Unitarians. Ḥamza reproaches them and asks them why they have broken their oaths. He uses Quranic quotations to convince them of their mistake. He particularly reproaches them with having failed to recognise the grace of al-Ḥākim and of having associated with him Pharaoh, Hāmān, the Calf and Satan. He mentions a popular Sunni uprising [probably by Turks; see below] against himself and his followers and how though the mob burnt the wooden door of the mosque where they were they could not burn the stone door. Ḥamza interprets the wooden door as the Dā'ī al-Ihrām, a Muslim, and the stone door as the Imām al-Zamān, that is himself. He then interprets the Quranic verse: "It is God who has sent his apostle . . . to make his religion triumph over all others." This refers to Ḥamza and Tawhīd not Muḥammad and Islam. Islam, four hundred and ten years after the Hijra is still in the minority compared with Christianity, Judaism, and the peoples of India, Abyssinia, etc. It is Tawhīd which will triumph over the seventy two Muslim polytheist sects. Al-Ḥākim will make Ḥamza powerful over all the polytheists.

Another, probably Ismā'īlī, passage is interpreted

where Iblīs is equated with 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās and the proud one, Ghaṭrīs with al-Darazī. This leads into a tirade against al-Darazī who has taken on himself powers and titles which belong to Ḥamza alone.

A short, more philosophical passage follows where he shows how the people of Ta'wīl have no knowledge of the three higher ḥudūd. Now, however, the time of the manifestation of Tawḥīd has come and what was hidden will be revealed.

To show how he is protected by the miracles of al-Ḥākim, Ḥamza describes the "day of the mosque" when he sent a letter and twenty men to the chief Qāḍī. The Qāḍī refused to accept it and sent some two hundred men against the Unitarians. However, only three Unitarians were killed and the rest escaped unhurt. On another occasion the Unitarians won, though outnumbered ten to one and finally Ḥamza mentions the occasion when the Turks attacked with twenty thousand men for a whole day. Ḥamza and twelve men, of whom five were very old or children, were besieged in a mosque. At the end of the day the situation was becoming critical when help arrived from al-Ḥākim [cf. Epistle XIX]. Ḥamza ends this letter with a plea that they repent and a reminder of the commandments of Tawḥīd.

XI. People have criticised the apparently mad actions of al-Ḥākim and also the strange or obscene actions performed in his presence. The author, probably Ḥamza, shows how they

all have an allegorical sense of deep wisdom. They are condemned only by those who look at their outward meaning without understanding the inner significance. Ḥamza shows how all the actions of al-Ḥākim--growing his hair long, wearing woollen clothes, riding a donkey, having no silver or gold ornaments on the harness--and all the places, gardens and mosques he visits refer to the triumph of Tawḥīd and to its ministers or else to the overthrow of the previous Sharī'as and their ministers.

Many of al-Ḥākim's actions are only apparent. He only appears to walk, to stop etc. In fact, he does none of these things, nor does he sleep. Ḥamza then explains the games of the grooms and their obscene language all referring to the Nāṭiq and Asās and the previous religions. Thus everything points to the abolition of the Tanzīl and Ta'wīl and the triumph of Tawḥīd and its followers.

The epistle is undated except in the Bodleian MS. e213 where it is placed in the year 2, that is 410.

XII. This epistle, written in Jumādā al-awwal 410, one of the most interesting of the whole canon, gives a history of Tawḥīd from the beginning of the present, human, cycle on earth.

Ḥamza begins by explaining the truth about Adam's creation. He was not created from dust nor was he without father or mother. If Adam was born in a special way how much

more should the Muslims believe Muḥammad was. There are, in fact, three Adams; Ādam al-Ṣafā, Adam the Rebellious, and Adam the Forgetful--all born normally from male and female. Some of the Ismā'īlīs claim the Ḍidd is called Iblīs because he is without father and mother but then Adam and the Messiah would also deserve the name Iblīs and there would be no difference between them. Ḥamza now tells the true story of Adam and Iblīs. Ādam al-Ṣafā is Dhū Ma'a (i.e. he is the incarnation of the 'Aql). He had appeared in previous eras, for example to the Jinn, but in this era he was born in India in Adhīniyya and was called Shaṭnīl b. Danīl and appeared to be a doctor. He moved to Ṣirna in Yemen and called on the inhabitants to embrace Tawhīd. Half the people obeyed, separating from the polytheists who were called Binn. Iblīs, meanwhile, was a dā'ī among the Jinn and was obedient to God. He was Ḥārāt b. Tārmāḥ and was born in Isfahān though he lived in Ṣirna. Shaṭnīl was said to be without father and mother because he was Imam in his own right and he was said to be formed of dust because he appeared in the midst of the believers who were as dust. It is said that the Creator created him with his own hand because he created him from nothing out of his pure light and inspired him with the universal inspiration. Al-Bār, the first incarnation of God in this cycle, ordered the angels, i.e. the Dā'īs, to adore, i.e. obey, Adam. Only Ḥārit refused and he was expelled from

paradise, i.e. the da'wa.

Shaṭnīl with his wife, i.e. hujja, Ḥawwā (Eve), organised his ministers and then ordered his followers in Ṣirna not to mix with Iblīs and his faction, the Jinn. Ṣirna was accordingly named Hajar, the place where the inhabitants had escaped Iblīs. The people of al-Aḥsā' traded with Ṣirna and one of them, Ṣarṣar, became a dā'ī of Shaṭnīl in al-Aḥsā', where he made many conversions. Because of Ṣarṣar's order to his followers to put on a serious and frowning countenance when they met the followers of Ḥārit in Hajar, the Unitarians were called Qarāmiṭa, as also later were the Ismā'īlīs. Abū Sa'īd and others were dā'īs of al-Bār and were called sayyids or sāda.[1] However al-Bār did not allow the spread of Tawḥīd through them because he knew their successors would lose and falsify it. The time of manifestation and triumph of Tawḥīd has now come and the people of al-Aḥsā', Hajar, and Persia will return to Tawḥīd.

Ḥamza then resumes the story of the three Adams. The second Adam, Adam the Rebellious, Akhnūkh (Enoch) born in Basra and the third Adam, Adam the Forgetful, Sharkh or Shi't (Seth), born in Sarramanā, were the two chief hujjas of the twelve that Adam al-Ṣafā appointed. The Sharī'a of Adam had no legal observances.

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[1] The title is interesting as it is the official name for the ruling body of six appearing on all Qarmaṭian coins and official documents.

Adam made Akhnūkh and Sharkh Imams over those under them, called them both Adam and placed them in paradise. Al-Bār ordered them not to rebel against Shaṭnīl but they were tempted by the Shaytān, al-Habbāl, a ma'dhūn of Iblīs. Al-Habbāl used to go to Anīl, the serpent, and Tayūkh, the peacock, who were a dā'ī and ma'dhūn in the da'wa of Akhnūkh and tell them he had some good advice for Akhnūkh and Sharkh. Finally Anīl and Tayūkh took him to the two Adams. Al-Habbāl told Akhnūkh that al-Bār had made Akhnūkh his Imam and Sharkh his Caliph. After al-Habbāl swore he was speaking the truth, Akhnūkh was finally persuaded to eat of the tree, i.e. to rebel against Shaṭnīl. They then made themselves clothes, i.e. they tried to hide their exterior doctrine among the Unitarians. Finally they lost the ranks they held and spent many years in repentence before Shaṭnīl took pity on them and asked al-Bār to forgive them. He agreed and they were reinstated in their previous ranks.

In spite of al-Bar's grace to the men of that time they inclined towards polytheism. In anger al-Bār sent them a series of Nāṭiqs, each with a legalistic sharī'a and each urged men to worship nothingness ('adam). These Nāṭiqs: Nūḥ, Ibrahīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, each had an asās and twelve hujjas. Each abrogated the previous sharī'a and started his own. Muḥammad even persecuted those who clung to their old faiths. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, who sealed

the sharī'as and ended them, was succeeded by three Caliphs, three Imams and finally the Mahdī, Sa'īd. Then God revealed himself again as al-Qā'im, the first appearance of God in royal form. Other revelations of God are al-Mu'izz, al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim. Ḥamza then explains the difference between al-Qā'im, God, and Qā'im, himself.

The time of the triumph of Tawḥīd has arrived. To show all the marvels of al-Ḥākim is an immense task so Ḥamza selects a few examples: the killing of Barjawān and Ibn 'Ammār, his fearlessness when, unarmed, he walked among his opponents during the revolt of Abū Rakwa, his fearlessness during the revolt of Mufarrij b. Daghfal b. Jarrāḥ, his not being affected by the elements and his not eating, drinking or excreting. No king or other man resembles al-Ḥākim in that. The epistle ends with a reminder of the seven precepts of Tawḥīd.

XIII. The epistle, written in Ramaḍān 410, deals with the formation and hierarchy of the Ḥudūd. First Ḥamza discusses the relative positions of the Sābiq, Tālī and Kalima in the Ismā'īlī and Druze hierarchies, contesting much of what Ismā'īlī writers like al-Kirmānī have said. Next he explains how God from his own light created the Irāda or 'Aql. He named him Imam and Cause of Causes and gave him complete power. The 'Aql, however, became proud when he thought he had no equal or rival and so God created from him a rival. The 'Aql

recognised his own powerlessness and begged for forgiveness and help against the Rival. In answer God created the Nafs from the 'Aql.

Here Ḥamza digresses, first to attack the Ismā'īlīs who he says called the fourth minister the Sābiq whereas the true Sābiq is the 'Aql, and then to say he will at some other time give the names of the human nature of God, of the 'Aql and the Didd from the creation of the 'Aql to the appearance of Adam, a period of 343 million years. Ḥamza describes the nature of the 'Aql and the Didd, who is called Ḥārit, in more detail. Ḥamza then resumes the story of the formation of the hudūd. To "box in" the Didd, the 'Aql and the Nafs required two more supporters and so from the 'Aql emanated (Inba'atha) the Kalima and from the Nafs, the Sābiq. Ḥamza explains that the Didd was called Iblīs as he was without a father i.e. he had appeared from the 'Aql without the 'Aql's consent. The name Ḥārit is then explained by abjad.

Reincarnation (Tasawwur fī'l-aqmiṣa bil-takrār) is mentioned. The first Nāṭiq is also the last; only the body changes. Next follows a list of the hudūd and their helpers. The Nafs and Kalima each have twelve hujjas and seven dā'īs, the Sābiq and Tālī each twelve hujjas and finally there is the Dā'ī al-Mutlaq with a Ma'dhūn and two Mukāsirs. Above them comes the 'Aql who is the Imam. In an extended metaphor, the hudūd are compared with the links in the chain mentioned

in the Qur'ān (69,30-33).

Next comes a poem emphasising the fact that the 'Aql was created by God alone before any other thing existed and this is followed by a passage stressing the impossibility of speaking about or understanding the Godhead. Ḥamza then shows how the letters of the alphabet signify the hudūd, the sharī'as of the nāṭiq and asās, and tawḥīd and finally he gives the different names of the hudūd.

XIV. The epistle, the last in the first volume of the canon, is written by Ḥamza to a dā'ī who has not understood one of his epistles and has written to Ḥamza asking for further information.

Ḥamza speaks first of the creation by God of the 'Aql, Nafs, Kalima, Sābiq, and Tālī, each being created from the light of the one above, and how from the light of the Tālī, God created the earth, the celestial bodies, the signs of the Zodiac, the four elements and the primal matter (Hayūlā). He then stresses the importance of the Imām al-Zamān (himself) who is second only to God. It is the Imam who will teach mankind the true knowledge and who will reward or punish man as they deserve. He then explains the significance of the title 'Illat al-'Ilal, the Cause of Causes.

Ḥamza says the dā'ī has written epistles which he has attributed to him as a sign of devotion but it is not only wrong but impossible to show Ḥamza any special respect or

favour. Nor is it possible for anyone to criticize him for God chose him and created him from his own light at the very beginning of time 343 million years before he created Adam the Rebellious and Adam the Forgetful. Again he stresses his own superiority and promises to tell the names of God, the 'Aql and the Didd throughout the ages.

Secondly Ḥamza strongly contests the view put forward by certain people that the doctrines of Tawhid spring from Ḥamza and not al-Ḥākim or that al-Ḥākim does not know or approve what Ḥamza does.

Thirdly Ḥamza explains the formulae with which he began one of his letters. To those who reject the idea of God becoming incarnate in a human form he points out how much more suitable it is than the bush through which God is said to have spoken to Moses. The Bismillāh is also explained allegorically.

Ḥamza accuses the dā'ī of using the ideas of the Ismā'īlī writers and the philosophers who assign intelligence to things and who say the 'Illat al-'Ilal is the Hayūlā, the Primal Matter, whereas the real and ultimate 'Illa is the 'Aql, Ādam al-Ṣafā, who is present at all times. It is also wrong to say the 'Aql cannot be apprehended. This is only true of the Creator, not of one that is created.

He then explains the allegorical significance of various natural phenomena, e.g. the heavenly spheres are the

letters of Bismillāh which allude to the seven dā'īs. The first volume of the canon ends with Ḥamza repeating once again the impossibility of understanding or explaining the Godhead.

XV. Although its position in the canon would suggest that the writer of this epistle is Ḥamza it is by no means certain. The epistle refutes the ideas the writer claims to have found in a Nuṣayrī book which has come into his hands.

Having accused the Nuṣayrīs of polytheism, belief in metempsychosis and various illicit practices, the writer warns the Unitarian women to be faithful and not to stray from the path of Tawḥīd. He then refutes the dogmas of the Nuṣayrīs in detail: first it is absolutely wrong to say that if one knows (the truth about) God, all forbidden things like murder and theft are permitted. Second, when the Majālis al-Ḥikma says a believer must not prevent his brother from taking his wealth or his honour this is not to be interpreted, as the Nuṣayrīs do, that even a man's family is common property and adultery is allowed. Thirdly incest is absolutely forbidden and celibacy in no way detracts from one's spiritual standing. The Nuṣayrī allegorical interpretations of the sexual act are false. In any case, to know the inner meaning of something does not necessarily lead to the abandonment of the outward sense. For example, to know the inner meaning of ritual purification does not mean you cease

to wash.

Next he contests the Nuṣayrī claim that God forms man in his mother's womb. Men are formed by the sperm of the father, the heat of the womb, the influence of the heavenly spheres and the action (quwwa) of the elements. How else does one account for the different types of being and the different levels of intelligence within one species. The fifth point to be contested is the belief in transmigration of souls into animals. This is absurd as the animal would not understand the fault for which it was being punished. Rather, a man is rewarded or punished by moving to a higher or lower rank in the religious order. Next he attacks the bestowing of divine honours on 'Alī and calling Muḥammad the most excellent of the veils from which al-Ḥākim has appeared. He then discusses the names Hāmān, Shayṭān and Iblīs before ending with a series of curses against al-Nuṣayrī and warnings to the Unitarians.

XVI. The epistle, written in Rabī' al-Ākhir 410 by Ḥamza, begins with a paean of praise to al-Ḥākim. Ḥamza then re-assures those members of the community who have been worried by the closing of the da'wa in the previous year or who have faltered in their faith. Interpreting passages from the Majālis and the Gospels, he then speaks of the triumph of Tawhīd. The reason for the closing of the da'wa [in 409] was because of their lack of faith when they were offered

the chance of accepting Tawhīd [in 408] and because of their disobedience to the commandments. Ḥamza then attacks al-Darazī and al-Bardha'ī. Their teaching is without any foundation. Al-Darazī is filled with pride, and al-Bardha'ī has been bribed by al-Darazī to enter his party. As for his companions, they have all sworn to follow Ḥamza and have thus broken their oaths. Ḥamza then tells of an apparently conciliatory letter he sent to al-Darazī, pointing out he can only learn the truth from him, the Imam, a position which al-Darazī had himself once recognised belonged to Ḥamza. If al-Darazī would agree to this he could convert the followers of all the different sects to Tawhīd. The epistle continues with a description of the imminent triumph of Tawhīd and the subjugation of the other sects almost identical to the one in Epistle IX and ends with a final admonition to the waverers.

XVII. Ḥamza, writing in Jumādā al-Ākhir 410, praises al-Ḥākim and stresses the impossibility of assigning any attribute to him. He then explains how every minister in the da'wa of Tawhīd has an opposite number in the da'wa of polytheism and heresy (talhīd). Both groups of ministers are present in all times and their ranks carry the same names. He contests the idea of the Ismā'īlī philosophers that there are spiritual hudūd who cannot be perceived and earthly hudūd corresponding to but quite separate from them; the nāṭiq corresponding to the sābiq for example. Ḥamza illustrates his point with a

misquotation from his own previous incarnation, Salmān. Again confuting the Ismā'īlī comparison of Sābiq with Nāṭiq, he shows that the true Sābiq is the 'Aql, created before all worlds, the Imam with power over all the other hudūd. He is the true Nāṭiq because it is he who announces the truth. Ḥamza then shows that the true Asās, Dā'ī, Ma'dhūn and Mukāsir are the Tālī, Jadd, Fatḥ, and Khayāl. The Ismā'īlī philosophers have hidden them from the world, trying to stop with the Nāṭiq of the Sharī'a, his Asās, and their hudūd. Ḥamza then lists the ministers of the external Sharī'a who are in opposition to the true hudūd: 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, the Walī 'Ahd al-Muslimīn who is equivalent to Muḥammad; 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb, the Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn who is 'Alī; the Dā'ī Khatkīn who is Abū Bakr; their Lāḥiq Ja'far al-Darīr who is 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and finally the Qādī al-Quḍāt, Aḥmad b. Abī al-'Awwām who is 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

Ḥamza then again stresses the supreme importance of Dhū Ma'a, the Imam, over all the other hudūd. Even though their position is high, it is still low in relation to himself and he illustrates this by the example of the different ranks of the Imams, muezzins etc. in a mosque. He then explains the Salāt allegorically to illustrate the need for submission to al-Ḥākim and himself.

XVIII. The epistle is addressed to the women of the community and is mainly concerned with interpretations of the Majālis

al-Hikma. Ḥamza begins with praise of al-Ḥākim and veiled references to the closure of the da'wa in 409. Then comes a comparison of the need to know all the ḥudūd with the indivisibility of the candle. Next Ḥamza deals with a passage of the majālis foretelling the coming of three individuals, an interval of trouble and confusion and then the appearance of truth as a stranger with a stranger to uphold it. He interprets the three individuals as the three previous chief Qāḍis, the interval as the time when the majālis were stopped, the truth is Tawḥīd and he himself is the stranger who will uphold it. Ḥamza reminds them how the reader of the majālis told them the majālis were the bāṭin, the law books of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān the ẓāhir but the Ẓāhir and Bāṭin in this sense, says Ḥamza, only refer to the Nāṭiq and Asās.

Other texts of the majālis are then interpreted to refer to Tawḥīd, the necessity for submission to al-Ḥākim and so on. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās and Abū Hishām ('Abbās b. Shu'ayb) are again referred to as Nāṭiq and Asās. Ḥamza finally recalls the three tests mentioned in the majālis that the true believer will have to undergo and ends with an admonition to all the believers.

XIX. Ḥamza, writing in Sha'bān 410, to the followers of al-Darazī in prison prays that they may be led to a right understanding of the nature of al-Ḥākim, an understanding which depends on the nature and intelligence of the individual.

Ḥamza has received a letter from a dā'ī, Abū'l-Qāsim Mubārak b. 'Alī, mentioning that he has met a son and slave of al-Mu'ānid and asking Ḥamza to remind al-Ḥākim about the prisoners. Ḥamza now writes to the latter, reminding them that the Imamate belongs to him alone [i.e. al-Darazī has no share in it]. All of them have been given the chance of entering the community. Some, like his ma'dhūn, by whom al-Darazī was converted, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabbāl, Al-'Ajamī, Al-Aḥwal and Khuṭlukh Mājān, had been converted and then apostasised. These have been rightly punished by al-Ḥākim [it seems they were executed]. Others like Mu'ānid, Abū Manṣūr al-Bardha'ī and Abū Ja'far al-Ḥabbāl have been called to believe in Tawḥīd but all have refused except Abū Ja'far, who, having been converted by Mubārak b. 'Alī was only later dissuaded by his son 'Alī. They have all believed in a false Imam (al-Darazī) and given him false titles but in spite of this, Ḥamza will ask al-Ḥākim to forgive them.

Ḥamza then speaks to Mu'ānid and the people of 'Akka who are with him. He reminds him of the advice he had given him on the eve of the day of al-Kā'ina and then recalls the events of that day. Apparently Mu'ānid and about five hundred men were attacked and about forty of them were killed while as many as could fled. The rest were only saved by the mercy of al-Ḥākim and none of the opposing side were killed. [The glosses suggest the opposition were Sunnis but

this may be only later theorising]. The day after, however, Ḥamza with twelve men of whom only seven were ablebodied was himself attacked. This comparatively tiny force not only killed three of the enemy but wounded many more and won the day through the power of al-Ḥākim [cf. Epistle X].

Ḥamza points out this is but one of the enormous benefits his followers receive by being Unitarians. He ends by promising to bring their case before al-Ḥākim and promises them a speedy release.

XX. The document appointing Abū Ibrahīm Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī to the rank of Dhū Maṣṣa, the second of the hudūd. His various titles and the names of his previous incarnations are recalled and he is given power over all those below him in the hierarchy.

XXI. The appointment in Shawwāl 410 of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammd b. Wahab al-Qurashī to the rank of Kalima, the third of the hudūd. Apparently the previous holder of the rank, Murtaḍā, has died and al-Qurashī has been raised from a more junior rank to succeed him. He is junior only to al-Tamīmī and Ḥamza himself. Ḥamza advises him on his behaviour and his duties.

XXII. The appointment, made on 13th Sha'ban 411, of the Shaykh al-Muqtanā Bahā' al-Dīn Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sammūqī to the rank of Tālī, the fifth of the hudūd. The document begins with commands about its registration in the

same way as a normal Fāṭimid official decree. Then follows the names, titles and epithets of both the writer, Ḥamza, and of the addressee, Bahā' al-Dīn. He then tells him he has thirty dā'īs, ma'dhūns, nāqībs and mukāsirs. Ṣidq and Kidhb are explained by ta'wīl and abjad and then follows a list of all the ministers with their different names and titles. Finally Ḥamza gives more detailed orders about his work explaining how Bahā' al-Dīn must deal with the mīthāqs or agreements made by new initiates into the da'wa and how in matters concerning the punishment of the faithful he has only the same rights as his immediate superior, the Sābiq.

XXIII. A letter from Ḥamza to the people of al-Kudya al-Bayḍā' greeting them and giving them instructions about how to send their letters to him.

XXIV. A letter, written on 10th Jumādā al-Ākhira 411, to the people of al-Anṣinā, a town in Upper Egypt,[1] greeting them and encouraging them in their faith.

XXV. Ḥamza lays down the marriage and divorce laws of the community. Property shall be shared equally between the partners. In the event of divorce there are four possibilities. If the wife leaves her husband and her husband is an innocent party he takes half her property but if he treats her with

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[1] Cf. Yāqūt b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), Vol.I, p.381. In the Druze MSS. it is almost always written al-Inṣinā' or al-Anṣinā'.

violence she may take all her own property. If the husband demands a divorce and he does so because of his wife's disobedience he takes half her property but if he leaves her without cause she takes half of his property.

XXVI. A letter to the heir to the throne, 'Abd al-Rahîm b. Ilyās, the Walî 'Ahd al-Muslimîn. Ḥamza reminds him that in the past he was only allowed to call himself the nephew of al-Ḥākim because he was a leader of the Muslims, not because he was related in any real way; al-Ḥākim having neither father, son nor uncle. He should now stop claiming any relationship, seek al-Ḥākim's forgiveness and have his name removed from all official documents. The time of the triumph of Tawhîd has come and 'Abd al-Rahîm should confess himself al-Ḥākim's servant and slave.

XXVII. A letter to Khumār b. Jaysh al-Sulaymānî al-'Akkāwî, who has claimed to be a brother of al-Ḥākim [or, according to a gloss in a MS used by De Sacy, his first cousin]. In the strongest language, addressing him as Iblîs and Ḥārat, Ḥamza forbids him to make such a blasphemous claim. If he does not repent he will suffer a terrible fate. First he will be beaten with whips. If he still does not repent, he will be flayed alive, and his skin stuffed and hung up on the gates of the city. Similar punishments are decreed for those who believe similarly.

XXVIII. A letter to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Awwām, the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, dated Rabī' al-Awwal 410. Ḥamza calling him 'Uthmān b. 'Affān orders him to follow his predecessors, Abū Bakr and 'Umar (Khatkīn and Ja'far al-Ḍarīr) and wear special clothing. He tells him how to conduct himself as Qāḍī but warns him, not for the first time, that he does not have jurisdiction over the Unitarian community in matters of marriage, divorce, contracts, manumission or wills. In matters of this kind, a Unitarian is to be sent to be judged by Ḥamza according to the religious law proclaimed by al-Ḥākim.

XXIX. A hymn of praise to al-Ḥākim, an admonition to the believers to obey al-Ḥākim and to carry out his commandments and finally a prayer to al-Ḥākim to help and protect the Unitarians. Its author is probably Ḥamza although the use of the title al-Ḥākim bi Amr illāh instead of al-Ḥākim bi dhātihi is curious.

XXX. A prayer to al-Ḥākim. The writer praises al-Ḥākim for his creation of the 'Aql and the Nafs, continues with descriptions of the functions and relationship of the two senior ḥudūd and then prays for al-Ḥākim's grace. He asks al-Ḥākim to give him the strength to be faithful and obedient, to forgive him his sins and to give him knowledge of the truth.

XXXI. A prayer of the ministers to al-Ḥākim, asking him to bestow his good will on the Unitarian community. As with the

two other prayers it is probably but not certainly by Ḥamza.

XXXII. This writing is the only one between Epistles V and XXXV which is almost certainly not by Ḥamza; the Qā'im al-Zamān being called Mawlāya, My Lord, in all MSS. It gives an interesting list of the names, ranks, and titles of the five higher ḥudūd.

XXXIII. Ḥamza, after first praising al-Ḥākim, shows the greatness and importance of his own position. He tells the faithful of the rewards and the unbelievers of the punishments that await them. The Unitarians will not only gain the wealth of the unbelievers but also their wives and children will become their slaves. As for the men, their blood shall be mixed with that of their dogs.

He then warns them not to reveal the Ḥikma to people unworthy of it but to be sure to make it known to those who are worthy. Finally he orders the Unitarians to follow the second commandment and each to take care of his brother's safety.

XXXIV. In this epistle, apparently written after his disappearance, Ḥamza admonishes some of his followers who seem to have been tempted by the lying words of another leader. (According to a gloss, this is Ibn al-Barbarīyya). After the usual praise of al-Ḥākim, Ḥamza stresses his own position as Imam and warns the people to whom he writes against false

claims by others. The final judgement is in his hands and his own ghayba is only to test them. In mysterious terms he prophesies his own reappearance and warns them to wake from their sleep before it is too late. He tells of the imminent triumph of Tawhid and its followers and the punishment of the unbelievers.

XXXV. The last of Ḥamza's epistles, written some months after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim and circulated by a certain Abū Ya'la, is addressed to all those who have agreed to the Mithāq, particularly those in Syria. The epistle is in the form of a long admonition to the believers urging them to be steadfast and not to pursue the transient things of the material world. It is impossible to comprehend al-Ḥākim, his disappearance is only apparent and nothing but their evil deeds prevents them from seeing him. Ḥamza continues to reproach the Unitarians for their lack of faith and urges them to submit to al-Ḥākim and to carry out the promises they agreed to in the Mīthāg. The triumph of Tawhīd is at hand when the faithful will be rewarded and the apostates punished. Towards the end of the epistle, Ḥamza mentions the interesting detail that 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās who had blasphemously claimed partnership with al-Ḥākim has been disgraced. He concludes with a warning against the belief that the divinity will pass from al-Ḥākim to another figure (sūra).

XXXVI. This epistle, written in Muḥarram 411, is the first by the second minister, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Tamīmī. It is written on the orders of Ḥamza in response to a request, presumably from some Unitarian for clarification of certain points. Al-Tamīmī begins by speaking of al-Ḥākim. He cannot be comprehended; the human form we see is not him; it is more like the reflection one sees in a mirror. A man's understanding of the divinity depends on his intelligence. Al-Tamīmī then describes the high position of the 'Aql.

The main part of the epistle begins with an account of how it came to be written, how difficult al-Tamīmī found it to write and how he was helped and inspired by Ḥamza. Then follows his main theme, namely that knowledge[1] ('ilm) is fivefold; two divisions are concerned with religion, two with natural science but the fifth is the most excellent and the most true.

The first four divisions are subdivided many times but the fifth is indivisible. The first division is the Ẓāhir and its upholders are the nāṭiqs. Five of the nāṭiqs are Ulū'l-'Azm (cf. the controversy among the Ismā'īlī philosophers) and each has a waṣī or asās. The Ẓāhir is a punishment for men. The second division is the Bāṭin which is upheld by the Asās. As the Qur'ān shows; in the Bāṭin is

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[1] For a discussion on the importance of al-Tamīmī's theories about knowledge see F. Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant (Leiden, 1970), pp.150-154.

the Raḥma, that is to say the Bāṭin points to the Raḥma which is the third division of religion and the fifth division of knowledge. The other four divisions are concerned with metaphor not reality.

Al-Tamīmī then gives a brief history of the world. Before Adam there were beings like the Binn who worshipped the Lord who appeared among them. Later, however, they strayed from the truth and the Lord concealed Himself and sent Adam the Inferior (the gloss says this is Nūḥ and throughout this section there is some confusion as to whom the various Adams refer). According to the Qur'ān he was created from clay; the allegorical interpretation of this being the creation of religion.

In the time of Ādam al-Ṣafā, whose servants were Adam the partial and Adam the third, people corrupted their faith and the Jinn abandoned the Lord; Adam and his children born of Eve, i.e. the faithful Unitarians, being the only ones not to turn away. Adam did not found an external sharī'a and so was not one of the Ulū'l-'Azm; 'azm implying the foundation of a legalistic sharī'a.

The people of that generation having followed their own desires, there came Hābīl and Qābīl. Adam the Partial and his followers meanwhile established themselves on the mountain of Sarandīb and called people to embrace Tawhīd. Iblīs and his armies, however, filled all the world with

their unbelief until Nūḥ came as a nāṭiq, the first to bring a sharī'a. Nūḥ, who was also called Adam the second, forbade men to obey Ādam al-Ṣafā and instead urged them to the cult of nothingness and himself. He was followed by the other nāṭiqs, Ibrahīm, Mūsā and 'Īsā each with his asās; all of them were men of intelligence who knew about medicine, philosophy, geometry, astronomy, and rhetoric but none knew the Lord or the first three hudūd and all this time the Lord remained in concealment. Then came Muḥammad and his asās, 'Alī, and the Imams of their period ending with the last nāṭiq, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. He was followed by the Caliphs in whom the imamate was deposited until they reached Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh and his son Sa'īd b. al-Shalaghlagh the Mahdī.

Al-Tamīmī, throughout this recital of the various nāṭiqs compares their knowledge of Tawḥīd to the various stages in the formation of a man. By the time of Sa'īd, the knowledge of Tawḥīd, possessed by the nāṭiqs and imams is like the man who is complete except for his spirit. Muḥammad and 'Alī were stronger than those that preceded them but not knowing the Lord because of their evil beliefs the Lord did not reveal himself in their time. The 'Aql and his ḥujja (i.e. the Nafs) did, however, appear at that time to strengthen their work and thus prepare the way for the completing of the religion of Tawḥīd and the appearance of the Lord in human and

royal form with an earthly kingdom.

The 'Aql at this time appears to have been incarnate in Abū Ṭālib, who had a great reputation for wisdom, but neither Muḥammad nor 'Alī were related to him in a physical sense only in the sense that he brought them up; Muḥammad having been born in the Syrian mountains and at first brought up among the caravans until he came to the Ḥijāz where he looked after Abū Ṭālib's camels.

Al-Tamīmī then explains the reasons why people have wrongly attributed divinity to 'Alī. The figure, called in the Qur'ān al-'Alī al-'A'lā refers to 'Alyā [the third incarnation of the deity], not 'Alī. Similarly the figure looking like 'Alī whom Muḥammad saw, during his mi'rāj, in the fourth heaven was not 'Alī but an angel made like him. As for the mi'rāj itself, it signifies Muḥammad's rise in rank from a simple believer in the religion of 'Īsā to a mukāsir and finally to a nāṭiq.

Al-Tamīmī then returns to the description of the period after Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. The seven heavens represent the seven hidden Imams. The first is Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad; the second Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; the third Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. In his time the Lord appeared in human form as Abū Zakariyyā, the 'Aql as Qārūn and the Nafs as Abū Sa'īd al-Malaṭī. When he (presumably Qārūn) was an old man he sent the Mahdī to Yemen.

The fourth hidden Imam was 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad of the family of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and in his time the Lord appeared as 'Alyā. Then came the fifth Imam, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh of the families both of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and al-Ḥusayn and in his time the Lord appeared as al-Mu'ill, a merchant in Palmyra but also a "man" of great majesty and wisdom. The sixth Imam was al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad of the family of Maymūn and the seventh, 'Abdallāh also called Aḥmad, the father of the Mahdī, Sa'id b. Aḥmad. The Mahdī was the servant of al-Qā'im, the first appearance of the Lord in royal form. But all this knowledge of past events is not necessary for, since then, the Lord and his hujja (the 'Aql) has been always among us.

Al-Tamīmī then returns to the fivefold division of knowledge; what the third and fourth divisions are concerned with is ambiguous but probably he refers to the knowledge of human and animal medicine. However, both doctors and vets only experiment, they do not cure. They have taken their knowledge by blindly following the philosophers just as the Sunnīs took their knowledge from the nāṭiqs. They kill more patients than they cure. Thus it is proved that all four divisions are without any reality. Only the fifth is true and that is the knowledge of the Unity of the Lord.

Before the epistle ends, al-Tamīmī refers again to the history of the incarnations of God. After al-Bār went

into concealment in the time of Adam, men fell into disbelief and both the name and knowledge of the Lord were hidden and unknown except in the hearts of the faithful. This continued until the appearance of al-Qā'im but even then the doctrine of Tawḥīd remained hidden throughout the period of the appearance of al-Manṣūr, al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz. Only under al-Ḥākim was the truth again revealed and without fear of punishment could men again declare the truth of Tawḥīd.

XXXVII. This epistle, probably by al-Tamīmī, begins with a long eulogy of al-Ḥākim. He then explains various Quranic texts allegorically: for example in the verse "The paradise, the breadth of which is the heavens and the earth," the paradise is the da'wa, its length is the 'Aql and its breadth is the Nafs, the fruits of the garden are the divine sciences whereby the faithful are delivered from ignorance. As the length cannot be separated from the breadth, so the 'Aql cannot be separated from the Nafs, the Nafs receiving the divine mādda from the 'Aql.

Fire is explained in two senses; the fire which kindles the hearts is the 'Aql; the fire of hell is the sharī'a. He then talks of the punishment which the Lord will let fall on mankind because they have gone astray. Their perverse natures and the desires of the corporeal, animal soul have got the better of them. Man is made up of three parts; an active essence (Jawhar), which cannot be acted upon,

the intelligence; an essence both active and acted upon, the soul; and finally an accident (_'arad_) which is only acted upon, the body. The soul is susceptible both to ignorance and to intelligence, its essence being hidden in it. When the soul does not concern itself with the spiritual sciences it is dominated by the animal soul and returns to ignorance. On the other hand, if it does so concern itself, it unites with the spiritual knowledge, which is a trace of the intelligence, purifies it and makes it a spiritual form.

Two comparisons are made with this description of the make up of the man. The first is with the creation of fire. The soul is like tinder in which the fire, the spiritual knowledge, is hidden. It can only be brought out by the action of the flint, the intelligence, and the steel, the inspiration of the creator. As the fire, once produced, soon develops with no limits to its extent, so do the good effects of religious knowledge. Only by this combination of tinder and flint, soul and intelligence, male and female, can the "fire" be produced. The second comparison is with the sperm. As the sperm increases in size until the embryo acquires a perfect form and issues from its mother's womb forgetting that it was once a mere sperm, so the seeker of knowledge, when he has found knowledge, forgets his previous ignorance and is unaware of the rank he has attained.

The epistle ends with al-Tamîmî praying that the

Unitarians may be blessed with the spiritual fire and commanding them to give thanks for the grace they have received.

XXXVIII. This epistle of al-Tamîmî, though undated, is said to have been submitted to the divine presence and is therefore presumably written in 411 or earlier. He compares Tawhîd with a candle. The five letters شمعة (and a candle) represent the five hidden essences which make up Tawhîd: namely the Irāda, Mashî'a, Kalima, Sābiq, and Tālî. Similarly the five parts of the candle; the subtle red-blue flame at the top, the main flame, the wax, the wick, and the candelabrum also represent the five ministers. As one cannot talk of a candle except when it has all its parts so one cannot know Tawhîd unless one knows its ministers.

Illustrating his points from the Qur'ān, al-Tamîmî talks of three types of people; the people of the Zāhir, the Muslimūn; the people of the Bāṭin, the Mu'minūn and the people of the Qā'im al-Zamān, the Muwahhidūn. One cannot be a Unitarian if one still cleaves to the Zāhir or Bāṭin. Then quoting from a majlis he shows how God created everything in pairs except for Tawhîd.

He then returns to the candle; it is the product of the bees, the dā'īs. The honey is the doctrine of the Nāṭiq and Asās from which the wax, the Kalima, is quite separate. The cotton, the Sābiq, comes from the earth, the Asās, but it rises out of the earth and separates itself from

it. In the same way, the Sābiq has abandoned Tanzīl and Ta'wīl. The candelabrum is made of copper which in Arabic also means smoke, from which the heavens were created. Similarly the Sābiq instructed the Tālī from whom all gross material things were formed.

Just as the candelabrum has three feet, so the Tālī has three ḥudūd attached to him; the Jadd, Ayyūb b. 'Alī; the Fatḥ, Rifā'a b. 'Abd al-Wārith and the Khayāl, Muḥsin b. 'Alī. Al-Tamīmī ends by explaining that anything good in the epistle is to be attributed to al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza; what is mistaken, to himself.

XXXIX. Al-Tamīmī, after praising al-Ḥākim, describes how He created the 'Aql from his pure light and in him created all things at one time. God then created the writer, i.e. the Nafs, from the 'Aql, and from him the other ministers. Al-Tamīmī then urges the Unitarians to praise God and the Imam and to seek wisdom. They must be constantly prepared for the appearance [presumably the reappearance of al-Ḥākim on the Last Day] may come at any time. He tells the story of a man in a caravan; night falls and they camp in the middle of the desert. The man sleeps a little but then wakes and remains awake most of the night for fear of being left behind. Just before dawn however, he falls asleep. The caravan moves off and he wakes to find himself alone. Al-Tamīmī takes this as a metaphor for a man who, having once

accepted Tawhīd, is forgetful and careless of his faith. [The later glosses explain it differently and in more detail. The night is the period between the disappearance of al-Ḥākim and his return. The man's first sleep is when an imposter leads the Unitarians astray. His wakefulness is the da'wa of al-Muqtanā. His second sleep is from the ghayba of al-Muqtanā to the Qiyāma and his waking is the Qiyāma when he will be in complete despair]. They cannot repent and join the religion of Tawhīd once the Qiyāma has arrived. By then it will be too late. The unbelievers will be killed and the Unitarians rewarded.

XL. The last writing of al-Tamīmī is a poem in praise of al-Ḥākim addressed to the inhabitants of Jabal al-Summāq. After a eulogy of al-Ḥākim, he describes the Qiyāma ending with dire threats to the unbelievers.

I. Persons, Tribes, Peoples, and Sects

Al-'Abbās: Probably the 'Abbāsid Caliph, p.77(12)

'Abbās b. Shu'ayb: The Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn of al-Ḥākim; Neither his name nor title seem to appear in the works of the historians. D: the second of the ministers of evil: pp.201(9,12,14,19,21).

'Abdallāh al-Mahdī: The first Fāṭimid Caliph. Cf. Sa'īd b. Aḥmad, p.128(1).

'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad: D: the fourth Ismā'īlī hidden imam, p. 292(9).

'Abdallāh (alias Aḥmad) b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b.Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ: D: the seventh (or according to some Ismā'īlī writers the fourth) of the Ismā'īlī hidden imams. Cf. Vol.I, Ch.4, p.112. pp.289(16), 293(2-3).

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān: Qādī al-Quḍāt, 355/966-401/1011. He became qādī in 394/1003. Al-Ḥākim put him in charge of the Dār al-'Ilm. In 398/1007 he was dismissed and in 399/1008 arrested but forgiven. In 401/1010 he fled from Cairo, was given a safe conduct back but later killed by a band of Turks. Cf. Vol.I, Ch.4, p.143. p.210(8)

'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās: Walī 'Ahd al-Muslimīn, a cousin of al-Ḥākim and proclaimed heir by him in 404/1013. For a time he was delegated the affairs of state and more or less took the Caliph's place. On al-Ḥākim's death he was arrested and imprisoned on the orders of Sitt al-Mulk. D: the first of the ministers of evil. pp.201(8,11,13,18,21),212(19), 242(1),281(6).

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī: Early Muslim convert. One of the Shūra who elected 'Uthmān. Died c.31/652. p.126(5).

'Abīd b. Sirḥān: D: the sixth ḥujja of Adam. p.121(10).

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Wahab al-Qurashī: D: Shaykh al-Riḍā, Safīr al-Qudra, Fakhr al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Bashīr al Mu'minīn, etc. The Kalima and third of the five Great Ministers. pp.224(4,14,),232(9),264(12,18-19), 305(1).

Abbreviations: D - In Druze terminology:
I - In Ismā'īlī terminology.

Abū Bakr: First Orthodox Caliph (570-634 A.D.). D: also called al-Taymī and 'Abd allāt b. 'Uthmān. The third of the ministers of evil. pp.37(11),40(11-12, 14), 41(1,4), 43 (1-2), 47(7), 49(1), 54(2), 126(4), 173(13), 180(14,16), 182(8),202(1), 248(14), 249(4).

Abū Ḥanīfa: al-Nu'mān b. Thābit. Founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence (80/699-150/767). p.202(15).

Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ṭā'ī al-Samūqī: D: Bahā' al-dīn, al-Shaykh al-Muqtanā, Lisān al-Mu'minīn, Sanad al-Muwaḥḥidīn, the Tālī or left Wing. The fifth of the five great ministers. He took over the leadership of the Druze community after Ḥamza's Ghayba. pp. 229(1,7-8), 230(4-5), 264(15-19,22), 305(3).

Abū Hishām: Probably 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb, Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn, q.v. p.213(1).

Abū Ibrahīm Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Tamīmī: D: Nafs, al-Hujja al-Safiyya al-Riḍiyya, Akhnūkh al-Awān, Idrīs al-Zamān, Hirmis, Al-Shaykh al-Mujtabā. The second of the five Great Ministers. pp. 221(12,15), 225(7), 232(7), 264(9,18-19), 284(2), 304(7), 305(1), 317(3), 318(10), 318(15).

Abū Ja'far al-Ḥabbāl: Druze apostate. Father of 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabbāl. p.217(12,14).

Abū'l-Khayr Salāma b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sāmurrī: Al-Shaykh al-Muṣṭafā, the Sābiq or Right Wing. The fourth of the five great ministers. pp. 230(3,17), 264 (14, 18-19), 305(2).

Abū Manṣūr al-Bardha'ī: A Druze apostate often mentioned in connexion with al-Darazī. pp. 91(14), 191(14), 192(2,13), 217(12).

Abū'l-Qāsim Mubārak b. 'Alī: Adā'ī of Ḥamza's. p.216(18).

Abū Rakwa al-Walīd b. Hishām: He was an Umayyad prince driven out of Andalūs. Appeared in Syria and then Barqa. Won the support of the Banū Qurra and Zanāta Berbers. Set himself up as anti-Caliph. Defeated two armies of al-Ḥākim. Finally defeated in 396/1006 at Fayyūm. Captured by Nubians and executed in Cairo in 397/1007. Cf. De Sacy, I. pp.CCCXVIff. ;.132(8).

Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī: d.301/913. A founder of Qarmaṭian power in E. Arabia. By 286/899 he had subjugated a large part of Baḥrayn and taken Qaṭīf. In 291/903 he took Hajar. Cf. Vol.I. ch.4 p.111 . p.120(7).

Abū Sa'īd al-Malaṭī: D: A name of the Nafs in the Incarnation of God as Abū Zakariyyā. The name suggests he is from Azerbayjan. p.292(8).

Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannabī: (294/907-332/943-4). A Qarmaṭian leader who succeeded his brother, the elder son of Abū Sa'īd, c.311/923. Attacked Basra, Kufa and in 318/930 Mecca where he seized the Black Stone and for the next nine years obstructed the pilgrimage. Cf. Vol.I, ch.4, p. 111 . p.120(7).

Abū Ṭālib: Father of 'Alī, died c.619A.D. Also called 'Abd Manāf. D: An incarnation of the 'Aql and not the real father of 'Alī. Cf. Vol.I, Ch.4, p. 114, p.291(1).

Abū Yazīd: D: Ḥārit: Iblīs. p.38(3,11,14,15).

Abū Zakariyyā Ṭālib: D: The second incarnation of God in the human era. p.292(5,10).

'Ād: A tribe destroyed for their hostility to the prophed Hūd. pp. 7(8), 255(1).

Ādam al-Adnā: D: usually Akhnūkh but on two occasions refers to Nūḥ. pp.288(6), 289(4).

Ādam al-'Āṣī (Adam the Rebellious), Ādam al-Juz'ī (Adam the Partial) or sometimes Ādam al-Adnā (Adam the Inferior): D: The second Adam, Akhnūkh, Idrīs, Hirmis, the incarnation of the nafs, who rebels against Ādam al-Ṣafā. Cf. Vol.I, Ch.4, pp. pp. 116(5), 122(1), 123(10), 162(10), 221(10), 288(7,14).

Ādam al-Ṣafā' al-Kullī: D: the first incarnation of the 'Aql in the human cycle of the universe. Called Shaṭnīl. Cf. Vol.I, pp. 104-106 . pp. 22(4), 35(13), 107(15), (115(6-7),115(9,16), 116(5,14,16(2)), 117(5,8-9,11,13-14), 118(11,19), 119(4,6,9,16), 121(4(2),6,15), 122(2,4), 123(16), 124(5,9), 125(4), 142(14), 144(15), 168(18), 178(10,12), 286(12-13), 288(1,5,8-9,11), 289(3), 295(4),317(10).

Ādam al-Nāsī: Adam the Forgetful: D: the third Adam, Sharkh or Shī't, who rebels against Ādam al-Ṣafā', cf. Vol.I, 104-106 . pp.116(6), 122(2), 162(10), 288(8).

Aḥmad: Name of the prophet who according to the Qur'ān was to follow 'Īsā. pp.22(16), 23(2).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad: D: the third Ismā'īlī hidden imam. p.292(3-4).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Awwām: Qāḍī al-Quḍāt 405/1014-418/1027. A Ḥanbalī although he administered Ismā'īlī law, cf. Vol.I, p.144 . D: the fifth of the ministers of evil. pp.74(4), 202(2), 210(11).

Al-Aḥwal: A Druze apostate. p.217(9).

'Ajamī: Persian. p.292(6).

Al-'Ajamī: A Druze apostate. p.217(9).

Akhnūkh: Enoch. Equated by post-Quranic writers with Idrīs, while the Greeks are said to know him as Hermes Trismegistes. D: Ādam al-Juz'ī, the first ḥujja of Adam. The incarnation of the nafs. pp.121(5), 122(1,5(2),15), 123(6,8-10,13-14,16), 124(4), 221(11), 225(7), 232(6), 264(7), 310(2).
Also equated with Āzar, father of Ibrahīm. p.125(6).

Al-'Akkāwiyyūn: The People of 'Akka. p.218(1).

'Alī: Son of al-Ḥākim and later the seventh Fāṭimid Caliph, al-Ẓāhir, 396/1005-427/1036. p.71(3,13).

'Alī: A Ma'dhūn and possible a son of Ḥamza. p.227(3).

'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Lawwātī: A Druze dā'ī. p.92(7).

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: I and D: The Asās of Muḥammad. D: the second of the ministers of evil. pp. 35(14), 37(11, 13,15), 40(9-10,12-13), 42(14), 43(6) 44(10(2),12), 47(7), 48(4), 49(1,6,8,12), 54(4-5,7), 55(13), 102(6), 106(1), 126(6(2),8), 154(12), 179(6), 180(12), 180(15(2)-16), 181(8-10,16), 201(22), 213(2), 286(16), 287(16,18), 289(14), 291(3,10-12), 292(11), 306(4), 307(5).
Also called 'Alī b. 'Abd Manāf, pp.55(12), 126(3).

'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabbāl: D: Druze apostate equated with Hāmān. Previously a Ma'dhūn. pp.91(14), 217(8,15).

Allāh [in specialised meanings]: D: often explained by ta'wīl and abjad to refer to figures other than God, cf. Vol.I, p.118 . pp.36(1-11), 66(14), 74(10-15), 122(11), 129(6), 131(14), 152(4), 164(10), 166(4-5, 10-11), 169(19), 179(2-3), 186(12), 188(1), 192(8), 197(4), 208(13), 209(11), 216(4), 224(9), 304(3).

Alyā: D: the third Incarnation of God; confused by some with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. pp. 291(4(2)-6), 292(10-11).

Anīl: D: the serpent which tempted Akhnūkh. He was a dā'ī in Akhnūkh's mission. p.123(6-7).

Al-Anṣār: The followers of the Prophet Muḥammad; from Medina. pp.3(18), 54(3).

Al-'Arab: The Arabs. pp.17(6),17(8), 28(4), 70(1), 123(5), 133(2), 307(12).

Aṣḥāb al-Ayka: The People of the Thicket to whom was sent the Prophet Shu'ayb (cf. Qur'ān 50.13). In later sīras these people were equated with Midian and in later commentaries Shu'ayb was equated with Jethro. In much later tradition Shu'ayb's grave is placed at Ḥaṭṭīn near Tiberias. D: Shu'ayb, who is never mentioned by Ḥamza, in later Druze theology becomes to be regarded as an incarnation of the 'Aql and his grave becomes a major Druze shrine. p.7(7).

'Ayyāsh b. Hābil: D: the tenth hujja of Adam. p.121(11).

Ayyūb b. 'Alī: D: The Jadd--the first of the three subordinate ministers. p.307(15).

Āzar: The father of Ibrahīm. The name is found in the Qur'ān 6.74. Perhaps derived from Eleazar, the name of his servant in Genesis. D: Equated with Akhnūkh. p.125(6(2)).

Al-'Azīz: the fifth Fāṭimid Caliph, 344/955-386/996 and D: the eighth incarnation of God. p. 71(2), 128(6-7), 130(9), 138(10), 245(8), 258(6), 295(9).

'Azrawīl b. Salamūw: D: The seventh hujja of Adam. p.121(10).

Badr b. Rabī'a: A tribe which revolted against al-Ḥākim. p.133(1).

Bahā' al-Dīn: see under Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ṭā'ī al-Samūqī.

Banū al-'Abbās: The Abbāsids. pp.18(5), 49(2), 120(13).

Banū Ḥanīf: a tribe conquered by Abū Bakr with the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. p.54(2-3).

Banū Isrā'īl: The Israelites. pp.5(17), 115(8).

Banū Umayya: The Umayyads. pp.18(5),49(2),210(5),210(8).

Al-Bār: D: the first incarnation of God in the human era. pp.30(11,12), 52(2), 57(6), 98(3), 115(2), 118(11), 120(3,8), 122(6,8-9,15), 123(12-13), 124(8,13), 125(1), 130(9), 138(2,10), 139(14,16), 141(8), 148(10), 149(12,16), 150(6), 157(2), 161(4), 197(3,13), 198(6), 203(5), 208(2), 216(3), 224(7), 284(5), 286(2,5), 295(4).

Al-Bardha'ī: See under Abū Manṣūr al-Bardha'ī.

Barjawān: A slave brought up at the court of al-'Azīz. He was a eunuch and possibly a Negro, Sicilian or Slav in origin. He was appointed guardian of al-Ḥākim. At first power lay with Ibn 'Ammār (q.v.) but finally Barjawān defeated him and became Wasīṭa in 387/997. He acted vigorously against all rebels but became too overbearing with al-Ḥākim and was murdered in 391/1000. pp.103(3), 132(11,3).

Bārkhudhāya: D: A name according to Ḥamza derived from al-Bār by the Persians who used it as an alternative for Allāh. As Allāh was a name of the 'Aql and not al-Ḥākim it was blasphemous to describe the latter by this title. p.122(10(3)-11).

Binn: D: a pre-Adamite race. pp.90(12), 92(6), 118(1), 288(2(2)).

Dānīl: D: father of Shaṭnīl. pp.117(15), 118(5,13).

Dānīl b. Hir'aṭāf: D: the ninth hujja of Adam. p.121(11).

Al-Darazī: See under Nashtakīn al-Darazī.

Dā'ūd: David. According to the Qur'ān, 34.10-11, David had received from God the skill to forge iron and make armour. p.28(4).

Dāwīd b. Hirmīs: D: the fourth hujja of Adam. p.121(9).

Fīl: The Elephant (in Qur'ān 105.1) interpreted as Abū Yazīd or Iblīs. p. 38(12,15).

Fir'awn: King of Egypt but also any haughty and insolent tyrant. D: Equated with Druze apostates like al-Darazī and al-Bardha'ī. pp.81(3), 90(10), 91(14(2)), 248(13).

Al-Ḥabash: The Abyssinians. p.87(3).

Al-Habbāl: In the Qur'ān (2,36) al-Shayṭān is said to have driven Adam and Eve out (of their state of bliss). D: The Shayṭān is not Iblīs but a ma'dhūn of Iblīs

called variously Hubal (q.v.) and al-Habbāl. He leagued himself with Iblīs against Akhnūkh and Sharkh and having first persuaded Anīl and Tayūkh to take him to them, he tempted them. pp. 123(7,11), 124(5).

Hābīl: Abel, son of Adam, killed by Cain. p.288(13).

Hābīl b. Bādis: D: The eighth ḥujja of Adam. p.121(10).

Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh: The official name of al-Ḥākim, the sixth Fāṭimid Caliph 375/985-411/1021. D: the name was condemned by Ḥamza as being blasphemous. pp.16(2,7), 28(2), 67(12), 74(6,8), 253(5).

Al-Ḥamām: One of two wrestlers murdered by al-Ḥākim. p.111(11).

Hāmān: In the Bible the Persian minister hostile to the Jews in the Book of Esther. In the Qur'ān, he was Wazīr to Pharaoh. D: Like Pharaoh he is equated with the Druze apostates. pp. 81(3), 90(10), 91(14), 92(1), 108(17), 181(14), 182(6,8).

Ḥamza b. Alī b. Aḥmad: The founder of the Druze religion and D: the incarnation of the 'Aql. pp. 30(16), 78(10), 80(3), 91(2), 96(6), 107(10), 121(15), 136(10), 189(10), 195(11), 197(7), 206(17), 216(6), 219(15), 221(7), 224(11), 227(11), 229(6), 248(6), 264(5), 284(3,5), 285(8), 204(8,19).

Ḥārat b.Tarmāḥ al-Iṣbahānī: The oponent of Shaṭnīl and incarnation of the Didd, cf. Vol.I, p.117. pp.34(5), 38(2), 118(2,12,18), 119(2,9), 120(2), 143(9), 144(7,16-17,19-20), 145(2), 153(18), 154(1), 245(7).

Hārūn: Aaron. I: The Asās of Mūsa (before Joshua). pp.125(9), 286(16), 289(7).

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār: leader of the Kutāma Berbers entrusted by al-'Azīz with the care of al-Ḥākim. Appointed Wāsiṭa over Berbers. Quarrelled with Barjawān, who allied with Mangūtekīn against him. The latter was defeated. Later, however, a Berber revolt broke out against him and he was defeated and Barjawān took over his position. Ibn 'Ammār was at first pardoned but later assassinated. p.132(1,3).

Ḥasan b. Hiba al-Raffā: D: Chief Naqīb which a gloss in MS Z equates with the Chief Mukāsir. pp.232(16), 235(7).

Ḥassān b. Ulayyān al-Kalbī: Commander in the rebellion of Abū Rakwa Walīd b. Hishām (q.v.). p.132(10).

Ḥawārī 'Īsā: The Disciples of Jesus. p.125(13).

Ḥawwā or more properly **Ḥawwā'**: Eve. The name is not found in the Qur'ān. I and D: The ḥujja of Adam. pp. 119(6-7), 288(9).

Ḥinn: I and D: A pre-Adamite race, cf. Vol.I, p.103. pp. 90(11), 92(5), 288(2).

Hirmis: Hermes Trismegistes. D. Equated with Idrīs and so is an incarnation of the Nafs, cf. Vol.I, pp.115-116. pp. 221(11), 225(7), 232(6), 264(8), 310(2).

Hubal: See under al-Habbāl, but also the name of an idol adored in Mecca in pre-Islamic times.

Ḥusayn: Son of 'Alī, the third Imam, 4/626-61/680. p.292(13).

Ḥusayn: D: Possibly a son of Ḥamza; a Ma'dhūn. p.227(3).

Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad: D: The sixth of the Ismā'īlī hidden imams, a Qaddāḥid. p.292(16).

Ḥusayn b. Ja'far al-Ḥusaynī: Sultan of the Ḥijāz who at first supported Mufarrij b. Daghfal b. al-Jarrāh but later quarrelled with him and deserted him. pp. 133(2,5,8).

Iblīs: The Didd--the supreme devil. In the Qur'ān the angel who refused to bow down to Adam. D: A dā'ī among the Jinn who was at first obedient to God but later refused to obey Shaṭnīl and was expelled from the da'wa. Also called Ḥārit. pp. 22(4), 25(5), 34(2), 38(3,7,9,11(2),13), 52(7-8), 64(3), 73(1-2), 90(4-6,9,13), 91(4), 99(15), 117(4,6,9), 118(2), 119(11-13), 120(1), 123(4(2), 11), 144(8,12,16,19-20), 146(9),153(18), 161(12), 162(4), 172(6-7), 181(15), 182(6,8), 183(9(2)), 194(2), 204(6-7), 231(7), 245(4,7), 289(1), 295(18).

Iblīs: Any devil or devils. pp.32(7), 55(4), 69(10), 64(1), 110(2), 176(6), 198(1).

Ibrāhīm: Abraham. I: The third Nāṭiq. D: The second Nāṭiq, a prophet of the false sharī'as. pp. 6(2), 35(13), 125(6,8-9), 286(11,15), 289(5).

Idrīs al-Zamān: Equated with Enoch and Hermes in Muslim legend. D: the incarnation of the nafs. pp. 92(2), 221(11), 225(7), 232(6), 264(7), 310(2).

Iflāṭūn b. Qaysūn: D: the eleventh hujja of Adam. Presumably Iflāṭūn is intended for Aflāṭūn, Plato. p.121(12).

Imāmiyya: A Shī'ī Sect--The Twelvers. p.44(14).

'Īsā b. Lamakh: D: The fifth hujja of Adam. p.121(9).

'Īsā b. Yūsuf: Jesus. I: The fifth Nāṭiq. D: A prophet of the false sharī'as. pp. 17(16,18), 35(13), 125(11,14), 188(11), 286(11,16), 289(8), 291(13).

Isḥaq: Isaac; the son of Ibrahīm. p.17(17).

Ismā'īl: Ishmael; Son of Ibrahīm. pp.17(16), 35(14), 125(6), 286(15), 289(5).

Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad: D: The first Ismā'īlī hidden imam. p.292(1).

Al-Shī'a al-Ismā'īliyya: The Ismā'īlī sect: a rare use of this description, cf. Vol.I, p.110. pp.117(3), 120(7).

Jabra'īl: Gabriel. p.291(6,8).

Ja'far al-Ḍarīr: 'Ālim al-'Ulamā'. An account of him is to be found in Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, Raf' al-Iṣr'an Quḍāt al-Miṣr, Vol.I, pp.101-102. D: lāhiq of 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās and 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb (q.v.). Equated with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The fourth of the ministers of evil. p.202(1).

Ja'far b. Muḥammad: Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; I: the sixth Imam 80/699-148/756. pp.69(2), 99(2), 99(6-7), 127(11), 144(13).

Jinn: I and D: A pre-Adamite race. pp.90(11), 92(5), 117(13), 118(2), 119(11), 288(2,8).

Al-Kā'ina: D: The day of the battle between the people of Tawḥīd and the people of Tanzīl and Ta'wīl, cf. Vol.I, Ch.2 especially pp.47-48. pp.216(1),218(7.10).

Khumār b. Jaysh al-Sulaymānī al-'Akkāwī: The recipient of a letter of Ḥamza's. Apparently a cousin of al-Ḥākim. pp.245(1,5,7).

Khatkīn: The Chief Dā'ī of the Ismā'īlīs, cf. Vol.I, p.18. D: The third of the ministers of evil. pp.74(7), 201(22).

Khaṭlakh Mājān: A Druze apostate. p.217(10).

Al-Khazar: The Khazars--a people of the Caucasus whose kingdom lasted until the eleventh century A.D. p.6(17).

Khurramiyya: Various groups who believed in the imamate of Abū Muslim of Khurasān after his execution in 136/754 or of his daughter Fāṭima. The most famous Khurramī was Bābak who led a rebellion and was subsequently executed in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. They were said to be tolerant of other religions, to believe in reincarnation, to be dualists and to be promiscuous; but such polemics are typical of the descriptions of most heretical groups. p.174(15).

The Kutāma: A Berber tribe which originally supported the Fāṭimids in N. Africa. Its kings were killed by al-Ḥākim. p.132(5).

Luqmān: A sage whose life equalled that of seven vultures and to whom many proverbs are attributed; see Qur'ān, 31.19. p.100(9).

Al-Mahdī: 'Abdallāh or 'Ubaydallāh--the first Fāṭimid Caliph. See under Sa'īd b. Aḥmad. pp. 37(3,6,8,9,14(2)), 39(5), 55(13-14), 127(12), 128(1), 182(3), 289(17), 292(7,12).

Majūs: The Magians or Zoroastrians. pp.77(8), 174(21), 195(1).

Mālik [b. Anas]: Jurist and founder of the Mālikī school of Law. Wrote Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭa'. Born between 90/708 and 97/715 and died 179/795. p.202(15).

Mālik b. Sa'īd [b. Mālik al-Fāraqī]: The Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in succession to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān. Became Qāḍī in 398/1007 and again in 399/1008. Killed by al-Ḥākim in 405/1014, cf. Vol.I, p.143. p.210(9).

Al-Manṣūr: The third Fāṭimid Caliph 302/914-341/953. D: The sixth incarnation of God. pp.47(12), 295(9), 317(6).

Maryam: Mary. I and D: The ḥujja of the Ṣāḥib Zamānihi, Zakariyyā; and mother of Jesus only in a spiritual sense. Sometimes equated by the Ismā'īlīs with John the Baptist (e.g. in Al-Ṣūrī: Al-Qaṣīda al-Ṣūrīya ed. 'Ārif Tāmir (Damascus, 1955), p.54). p.44(5)

Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ: D: The ancestor of the last three hidden Ismā'īlī Imams. Either he or his son often suggested as the founder of Ismā'īlism by writers hostile to the sect. pp. 289(16), 292(9,13,16).

Al-Miqdād: A companion of the Prophet who died in 33/654. Honoured by all Shī'a sects (although the Sunnīs, especially 'Abd al-Jabbār, say he supported Abū Bakr and others) and grouped with Salmān and Abū Dharr as faithful to 'Alī. D: The incarnation of the Tālī, probably referring here to the second minister, in the time of Muḥammad. p.101(15).

Mu'ānid: A follower of al-Darazī to whom Ḥamza wrote a letter in prison. pp. 217(12), 218(1).

Mu'āwiya b. Sakhr: The first Umayyad Caliph d.61/680. D: according to Ḥamza, Muḥammad appointed him his Hujja but later replaced him by 'Alī whom he made his Asās. Mu'āwiya thus considered himself superior to 'Alī, and more qualified to be Caliph on 'Uthmān's death. pp. 37(11-12(2)), 40(12), 126(5-8).

Mubārak b. 'Alī: A Druze Dā'ī. pp. 92(8), 217(14).

Mufarrij b. Daghfal b. Jarrāḥ: A Bedouin leader of a clan of the tribe of Tayy who like his father Daghfal played an important role in relations with the Fāṭimids and Byzantines from c.367/977 until 405/1013-14. At one point he supported the Fāṭimid governor of Damascus against Ibn 'Ammār but later deserted. Helped al-Ḥākim against Abū Rakwa. In 403/1012 in Ramla he proclaimed an anti-Caliph to al-Ḥākim, an 'Alīd Sharīf in Mecca. Al-Ḥākim was about to attack Mufarrij when he died 405/1013-14 perhaps from poison. pp. 133(1,3,5,7-9).

Al-Muhājirūn: The followers of Muḥammad who emigrated from Mecca to Medina. pp. 3(18), 54(3).

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh: The Prophet Muḥammad 570-632 A.D. I: The sixth Nāṭiq. D: A prophet of the false sharī'as and first of the ministers of evil. See especially Vol.I, Ch.3, section "The Relation of Tawḥīd to other religions" pp.69ff. pp. 2(10), 11(4), 13(3), 17(1,5), 23(2), 25(10), 33(3,9,), 35(13), 36(12), 37(6), 38(14), 39(5), 48(7), 53(1,4, 8), 54(6), 77(3,5,8), 81(6), 87(2), 87(5), 89(12), 90(3), 100(5,11), 101(15), 115(17), 116(1-2), 126(1,9-10), 127(9), 128(3), 154(9,12), 180(19), 181(13,16), 194(11,14), 195(1), 201(21), 203(4), 213(2), 286(12,16), 289(14), 290(15) 307(5-6).

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh: D: The fifth Ismā'īlī hidden imam; a Qaddāḥid. p.292(12).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya: Son of 'Alī and Khawla. 16/637 -81/700. After Ḥusayn's death in 60/680 many turned to him as leader e.g. Mukhtar but he gave little support to such movements. p.54(5).

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl: I: For the early and always for the more extreme Ismā'īlīs the seventh Nāṭiq cf. Vol.I, pp. 1-3. pp.107(15), 127(10,12-13), 289(15).

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl: D. The second Ismā'īlī hidden imam. p.292(2).

Muḥsin b. 'Alī: D: The Khayāl, the third of the three subordinate ministers. p.307(16).

Al-Mu'ill: D: the fourth incarnation of God. Literally, the Causer. pp.292(13), 293(5).

Al-Mu'izz: The fourth Fāṭimid Caliph, 319/931-365/975, in whose reign Egypt was conquered. D: The seventh incarnation of God. pp. 42(8), 128(7), 130(10), 216(4), 295(9).

Al-Murtaḍā: D: First holder of the position of the Kalima under Ḥamza. Died c.408/1017-18 and succeeded by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Wahab al-Qurashī. See above. p.225(3).

Mūsā b. 'Imrān: Moses. I: The fourth nāṭiq. D: a prophet of the false sharī'as. pp. 5(17), 6(2), 9(3), 17(16,18), 35(13), 125(9,11-12), 151(6,13), 165(4-5), 286(11,16), 289(6).

Al-Naṣārā: The Christians. pp. 16(1,10), 19(12), 20(7), 21(9), 77(5), 87(3), 89(3), 151(6), 174(21), 178(2), 194(14), 214(8-9).

Nashtakīn al-Darazī: Perhaps a Turk. Proclaimed the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Quarrelled with Ḥamza and was killed in Cairo or Lebanon c.410/1019. See especially Vol.I, Ch.2. pp.90(15), 91(1,4), 191(14), 192(2, 15), 216(2), 217(9).

Al-Nawāṣib: Those who hate 'Alī. I and D: Usually the Sunnī Muslims. pp. 41(4), 43(2), 44(14), 48(11), 77(1), 179(10), 180(14), 194(9).

Al-Nūba: The Nubians. p.87(4).

Nūḥ b. Lamak: Noah. I: The second nāṭiq. D: the first of the prophets sent with false sharī'as to punish men for not accepting Tawḥīd. pp.35(13), 125(1, 5-6), 286(11,15), 289(2).

Al-Nuṣayrī: Ibn Nuṣayr. Eponymous founder of the Nuṣayrīs who proclaimed himself the bāb of the tenth Shī'ī imam in 245/859-60. pp. 172(1,13), 174(5), 175(5,17), 177(12), 178(14), 181(4,16), 183(8).

Al-Nuṣayriyya: The Nuṣayrīs or 'Alawīs, a religious sect of N.W. Syria much attacked by Ḥamza in his writings especially Epistle XV. pp.172(3),172(5),180(12).

Qābīl: Cain, cf. Qur'ān, 5,27-32. p.288(13).

Qaddāḥ: D: Waṣī of Sa'īd the Mahdī and presumably a descendant of Maymūn, q.v. p.35(14).

Al-Qā'im: The second Fāṭimid Caliph, 280/893-334/946. D: the fifth incarnation of God and the first royal incarnation. pp.37(4,10), 125(14), 128(2,7,11), 129(3-5,7,12), 130(2,4,6), 182(3), 253(5), 293(5-6).

Al-Qarāmiṭa: The Qarmaṭians, cf. Vol.I, pp.111-112. p.120 (5,7-8).

Qarmaṭī: Qarmaṭian. D: here used for an early group of true Unitarians. p. 120(7).

Al-Qarmāṭī: D: A Qarmaṭian leader who attacked Egypt in the time of al-Ḥākim. More probably the attack took place in 363/973 in the reign of al-Mu'izz or possible in the reign of al-'Azīz. p.28(1).

Qārūn: The name occurs in the Qur'ān 28 and 40 as an unbelieving minister of Fir'awn (q.v.). D: the incarnation of the 'Aql in the time of God's appearance as Abū Zakariyyā (q.v.). p.292(6).

Qaṭ'iyya: A Shī'ī sect or group of sects who believe the death of the Imam is definite and so continue the line of Imams. (Cf. the Wāqifiyya--any sect which "stoppped" at a certain member of the 'Alid dynasty). p.44(14).

Qaydār b. Lamak: D: the twelfth ḥujja of Adam. p.121(12).

Al-Qurashī: See under Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Wahab al-Qurashī.

Raydān: A Mosque visited by al-Ḥākim and the home of Ḥamza. Cf. Vol.I, p. 47 . pp.104(14-15), 105(2,13), 106(2, 5,7), 107(3).

Rifā'a b. 'Abd al-Wārith: D: The Fath--the second of the three subordinate ministers. p.307(15).

Rimm: D: a pre-Adamite race. p.288(2).

Al-Rūm: The Byzantines. p.6(17).

Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ]: A Companion of Muḥammad. Conqueror of Persia. Founded Kūfa. One of the electors of 'Uthmān. d.50/670-71 or 55/674-675. p.126(4).

Al-Sāda: The official title used by the Qarāmiṭa on their coins and on documents for their Collegium of Six. D: According to Ḥamza, a title given them by God. pp.120(9), 240(5).

Sa'id b. Aḥmad or Sa'id b. al-Shalaghlagh: 'Abdallāh or 'Ubaydallāh, the first Fāṭimid Caliph. pp. 35(13), 46(2), 55(14), 127(12), 289(17), 293(3).

Sa'id [b. Zayd Abū Thawr]: An early convert to Islam and a Companion of the Prophet. One of the 10 promised Paradise. Died 50/670 or 51/671. p.126(4).

Salmān al-Fārisī: Companion of the Prophet. Centre of many Shī'ī legends; D: An incarnation of the 'Aql. pp. 100(10-11), 199(4).

Sām: Shem: I and D: The Asās or Waṣī of Nūḥ. pp.35(14), 125(4), 286(15), 289(5).

Saqāliba: The Slavs (but cf. Ivanow, Rise of the Fāṭimids, p.21n. for the frequent confusion with the Sicilians). p.87(4).

Ṣarṣar: A dā'ī of Adam's in Al-Aḥsā'. Converted many to Tawḥīd. pp.119(15), 120(5).

Al-Shāfi'ī: The founder of the Shāfi'ī school of law. 150/767-205/820. p.202(15).

Sham'ūn al-Ṣafā': Simon Peter; I and D: The Asās of 'Īsā. pp. 35(14), 125(12), 286(16), 289(8).

Sharkh: D: The third Adam, Seth, the second hujja of Ādam al-Ṣafā', the wife, brother or khalīfa of Akhnūkh. pp. 121(6), 122(2,15), 123(8-9,13), 288(8).

Shaṭnil: D: The first Adam, an incarnation of the 'Aql. pp. 117(15,19), 118(5,13), 119(4,10,16,18), 120(4), 122(3,7-8), 123(2,5,12), 124(8,10), 144(16), 146(13), 170(7).

Shi't or Shīt: Seth, the Son of Adam. D: The third Adam, Sharkh or Eve. pp. 35(14), 121(8), 122(3,5-6).

Al-Ṣūfiyya: The Sufis. p.110(5).

Sufyān al-Thawrī: 97/715-161/778. Theologian, Traditionist and Ascetic. p.202(15).

Suwayd: One of two wrestlers murdered by al-Ḥākim. p.111(11).

Ṭalḥa: Companion of the Prophet. One of the Shūra. Opponent of 'Uthmān and then of 'Alī. Killed in the Battle of the Camel 36/656. p.126(4).

Al-Tamīmī: See under Abū Ibrahīm Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Tamīmī.

Ṭayūkh: D: Name of the ma'dhūn, who is called the peacock in the garden of Eden. p.123(7(2)).

Thamūd: An old Arabian race destroyed for scoffing at their prophet Ṣāliḥ. p.255(1).

Ṭimm: A pre-Adamite Race. p.288(1).

Tirmāḥ: D: Father of Ḥārit--Iblīs. p.118(3).

Tubba': Its people, like the people of the thicket, rebelled against their prophet, cf. Qur'ān 50.14. p.7(7).

Tuḥfa al-Ḥanafiyya: Wife of 'Alī and mother of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Elsewhere called Khawla. p.54(5).

The Turks: 28(3), 85(9), 87(4), 94(8).

'Ubaydallāh b. Jarrāḥ: Probably Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ who, according to the Shī'a, with Abū Bakr and 'Umar conspired to take the rule from 'Alī. One of the ten promised paradise. D: A hujja of Muḥammad. p.126(5).

'Umar b. al-Khattāb: Second Orthodox Caliph, d.23/644. D: The fourth of the ministers of evil. pp. 37(11), 40(11-12,14), 41(1,4), 43(1-2), 47(7), 49(1) 126(4), 173(13), 180(14,16), 182(8), 202(1), 248(14,18), 249(4).

'Uthmān b. 'Affān: The third Caliph d.35/655. D: The fifth of the ministers of evil. pp. 37(11), 43(1), 49(1), 126(4,7), 173(13), 180(15-16), 182(8), 202(2), 248(13).

Al-Yahūd: The Jews. pp. 16(1,10), 19(12), 20(6), 21(9), 77(3), 87(3), 89(3), 115(7), 151(6), 174(21), 178(2), 194(11), 214(8(2)).

Ya'qūb: Jacob, son of Isaac. In the Qur'ān he becomes Isaac's brother. p.17(17).

Yuḥannā: A variant for Yūḥannā; probably John the Baptist. p.17(17).

Yūsha' b. 'Imrān: D. The third hujja of Adam. p.121(9).

Yūsha' b. al-Nūn: Joshua son of Nun. I: Waṣī and Asās of Moses, successor of Aaron. pp.17(16), 35(14), 286(16).

Yūsuf: Joseph son of Jacob. p.17(17).

Zaghāwa: A people of Sūdān also called Shama and by Ibn Khaldūn Mulaththamūn now only East of Chad. Originally a ruling aristocracy over negroes from Abyssinia to Senegal. Cognate to Tuaregs. p.87(4).

Zakariyyā: An Imam or according to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī a Lāhiq. p.17(17).

Zanj: Negro tribes of E. Africa, but especially the rebel slaves who rebelled in Iraq in 75/694, and 254/868-270/883. pp.57(8), 87(3).

Zaydiyya: The Shī'ī sect of the Zaydīs. p.44(14).

Al-Zubayr: Cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and fifth convert. Died in the Battle of the Camel aged c.60-67. p.126(4).

II. Places

Admīniyya: D: Birthplace in Hind of Ādam al-Ṣafā'. pp.117(14), 121(4).

Al-Aḥsā': E. Arabia or a fortress in al-Baḥrayn near al-Hajar founded by Abū Ṭāhir. D: the centre of Shaṭnīl's da'wa. pp.119(14-17), 120(15).

Al-Anṣinā': or al-Anṣinā, a town in Upper Egypt. Cf. Vol.I, p.248. pp.237(1,4).

'Arafāt: A plain near Mecca, climbed during the Pilgrimage. pp.46(6), 47(3).

Al-'Aṣṣār: A Garden in Cairo visited by al-Ḥākim. pp. 10 4(5(2),7,15), 105(13).

Al-Azhar: One of the chief mosques of Cairo (where al-Ḥākim ended certain prayers) built as the main mosque of al-Qāhira by the Fāṭimids 363/972. p.40(6).

Bāb al-Futūḥ: A Gate of Cairo. p.246(6).

Bāb Zawīla: A Gate of Cairo. p. 246(6).

Baghdād: The 'Abbāsid Capital. p.77(12).

Balkh: A city in Khurasān. p.78(1).

Baṣra: A city in Lower 'Irāq. p.121(5).

Bayt Allāh: The Ka'ba. pp.5(7), 46(5), 47(2,13-15,), 48(1-2).

Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem. p.147(5).

Bi'r al-Ḥufra: A well in Cairo. p.111(3).

Bi'r al-Zībaq: A well in Cairo. pp.110(7), 111(4).

Al-Dakka: A garden visited by al-Ḥākim p.103(4-6,8).

Damīr: D: According to Ḥamza the Greek name for Isfahān, home of the father of Ḥārit. (There is a Muslim tradition that the serpent was sent to Isfahān). p.118(4).

Dār 'Ilm: The Dār al-'Ilm or Dār al-Ḥikma, the University founded by al-Ḥākim and presided over by the Dā'ī al-Du'āt. See article by D. Sourdel in E.I. 2nd Ed.. p.5(19).

Dimashq: Damascus. p.77(11).

Al-Furs: Persia. pp.120(6,15), 122(10).

Hajar: Capital of al-Aḥsā' (al-Ḥasā). D: Another name for Ṣirna, headquarters of Shaṭnīl. pp.119(12), 120(1,15).

Al-Ḥajar al-Aswad: The Black Stone of the Ka'ba. p.47(2,6).

Al-Ḥijāz: Region in W. Arabia. pp.133(2), 290(18).

Ḥijāzī: The garden of Barjawān visited by al-Ḥākim. p.103(3,17).

Hind: India; at first the non-Muslim part; later all India. pp. 28(4), 87(3), 117(14), 121(4).

Iṣbahān: Isfahān. p. 118(3(2)).

Jabal al-Summāq: Mountain area near Aleppo. One of the first areas in which conversions to Tawhīd were made. In 423/1032 the amīrs of Antioch and Aleppo suppressed a revolt there. p.318(15).

Jāmi' 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ: Most ancient mosque in Cairo--or rather Fusṭāṭ. p.77(11).

Jāmi' Mu'āwiya: The great mosque of Damascus though in fact this is the work of al-Walīd I. p.77(11).

The Ka'ba: pp.35(16), 46(9,12).

Al-Khaṭṭ: A place in Yamāma or on the coast of Baḥrayn where wood of lances from India is sold. p.28(4).

Khurasān: An area to the North West of Persia. pp.28(3), 78(2), 120(6).

Al-Kudya al-Bayḍā': Epistle XXIII is addressed to the inhabitants of this place, which I have been unable to identify. pp. 235(1,3).

Makka: Mecca. pp. 46(6-7), 133(3,8), 291(1).

Al-Maqs: An area of Cairo. pp.103(3,10(2)), 108(14).

Miṣr: (a) Egypt. (b) Old cities South of Fāṭimid Cairo. pp. 28(2), 77(11), 109(1), 225(12), 246(4).

Al-Mukhtaṣṣ: A garden in Cairo visited by al-Ḥākim. pp. 104(1,5,8,15), 105(14).

Al-Nahrawān: The area between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ where 'Alī defeated the Khawārij in 38/658. p.180(17).

Al-Qāhira: Cairo. pp.40(7), 133(5-6), 225(12), 246(4).

Al-Qarāfa: The cemetery below the Muqattam hills in Cairo --most significant of Muslim cemeteries. Contains the cave of the seven sleepers. Especially visited by women. Also called Imam Shafi'ī,cf. Massignon, "La Cité des Morts au Caire" in Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, LVII (1958), pp.25-80. pp.16(8), 110(2).

Qibāb al-Ṭayr: Tombs in the cemetery in Qarāfa. p.16(9).

Al-Ramla: A city in Palestine. p.133(3).

Rāshida: a mosque built by al-Ḥākim in 393 and visited by him on his trips round Cairo, cf. De Sacy, Exposé, Introduction CCCI. pp.109(7), 109(13).

Saḥrā' al-Jubb: Plain of the Well. D: Plain visited by al-Ḥākim. pp.132(10,12), 133(6), 134(3).

Jabal Sarandīb: Ceylon or Adam's Peak in Ceylon. In Muslim legend it is the home of Ādam. D: The home of the second Adam, Adam the Partial. p.289(1).

Sarramanā: D: A city from which the second Ḥujja of Ādam (viz. Sharkh) came. p.121(6). Perhaps Samarra

Al-Shām: Syria. pp.275(3), 290(18).

Al-Ṣinā'a: A dockyard visited by al-Ḥākim in Cairo. p.103 (13-14).

Sind: The Punjab and N.W.India. p. 87(3).

Ṣirna: D: A town in Yemen ~~called~~ said to mean in Arabic al-Mu'jiza, the headquarters of Shaṭnīl, later called Hajar. pp.117(17), 119(4,12), 121(5).

Al-Sūdān: The Sudan. p.87(4).

Sūq Māzin: An area of Cairo. According to Maqrīzī it was in the street of Barjawān. p.202(6).

Tadmur: Palmyra. p.292(14).

Tibetan (Shields): p.28(4).

Tibr: One of the mosques visited by al-Ḥākim. pp. 104 (14-16(2)), 105(14).

Al-Yaman: Yemen. pp. 117(16), 292(7).

Al-Yūnāniyya: The Greek language. p.118(3).

III. Books

Akhbār al-Anbiyā': Traditions of the Prophets. Khabar is often synonymous with ḥadīth but here the meaning seems to be in a more general sense: stories about the prophets. pp.20(3,6,16).

Al-Injīl: The Gospels. pp.17(12), 20(3).

Al-Iqtiṣār: A work on fiqh in two volumes by the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. An abridgement of the Kitāb al-Ikhbār. p.211(7).

Kitāb al-Balāgh wal-Nihāya: The ninth piece in the Druze Canon.pp.65-78. 191(15), 194(9).

Kitāb al-Da'ā'im: The Da'ā'im al-Islām by the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. The principal book of Ismā'īlī fiqh. pp.211(6), 231(4).

Kitāb al-Ghāya wal-Naṣīḥa: The tenth piece of the Druze canon. pp.79-96, 222(4).

Al-Kitāb al-ma'rūf bil-Naqḍ al-Khafī: The sixth piece of the Druze canon. pp.31-50, 53(17).

Kitāb al-Sīra: Al-Sīra al-Mustaqīma--the twelfth piece of the Druze canon. p.39(3).

Mukhtaṣar al-Āthār: by the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. An abridgement of the Da'ā'im al-Islām. p.211(6).

Al-Qur'ān: pp.2(10), 17(16), 35(15), 38(4), 55(10), 66(13), 74(6,8,12), 81(6), 86(9,15), 94(1,4), 101(14), 105(4), 110(11), 115(7,12), 122(1), 124(6), 128(2, 16(2)), 131(12), 146(4,8), 151(20), 170(11), 177(15), 189(16), 193(17), 200(10), 209(9(2)-10, 13), 284(11), 287(3), 291(3), 306(3), 307(4). There are also many quotations from the Qur'ān shown below the text in the edition.

Al-Tawrā: The Torah, Pentateuch or Old Testament. pp. 17 (12,14), 20(3), 115(7), 193(17).

Zabūr: The Psalms. p.193(16).

IV. Technical Terms

Adhān: Call to Prayer. pp. 8(8), 108(7-8), 109(5), 205(2,6).

Ahl al-Dhimma: The non-Muslim communities who pay the jizya. pp.16(10), 33(2), 48(8), 201(11), 272(16).

Amīr al-Mu'minīn: Not used in Druze terminology but for the Ismā'īlīs here usually refers to al-Ḥākim. pp. 2(3), 3(10), 4(12), 6(11,12), 7(2,5,13), 9(2,9), 10(2,7), 11(3,8), 13(5,9,14), 14(4,9.10,12,13), 16(2,8,14), 17(2,5), 18(11), 19(15,16), 20(1), 21(10,14,16), 22(6,7,10), 23(13,14,18), 25(7), 28(2), 50(4,6), 80(2-4), 87(10), 96(7), 221(8), 242(3-4,6,12), 245(2-4,14,16,19), 246(7), 248(2,6-7), 249(8), 249(10).

'Aql: The Universal Intelligence. I and D: The first of the hudūd. D: Incarnate as Ḥamza; (only recorded in this sense). pp.75(9-12), 90(2), 106(3), 130(3), 140(6(2),12,16), 141(8,13-14,16-17), 142(5-7,11,14, 16), 143(2,6-7(2),10(2)-12), 143(17(2)-18), 144 (3-6,8,10,13-15), 145(6,8-11), 146(2), 147(13-14), 148(1,10-11), 151(9), 152(11,13-14), 153(4), 154(16), 157(7(2)), 159(18), 168(1), 169(6,8,10,16), 170(5),

186(14,18), 199(10), 203(15), 229(18), 251(21), 252(4), 253(9), 257(6,13), 262(3-5), 264(4), 285(3), 289(12), 290(8,12,14), 292(5), 299(8,10,12,17), 300(8,16), 301(1,3-4,10,14), 302(4,6,16), 314(11).

Asad: The constellation of Leo. p.35(1)

Asās: I: the walī or lieutenant of the Nāṭiq who will explain the bāṭin to man. D: In particular it refers to 'Alī. pp. 25(9), 32(9) 33(5,8,11), 34(6,8), 35(6,7,10), 36(10,11,14,15), 37(8), 38(2), 39(1,8), 42(9), 43(3,12-13), 45(7,15), 47(2,4-6,9), 48(3), 49(10), 49(15), 50(3), 54(4), 55(11-12), 56(10), 59(7-8), 61(14), 67(1), 68(10), 72(2), 75(3), 80(6), 81(8), 83(7), 84(11), 86(13), 89(14), 91(12), 102(7), 104(2,11(2)), 105(5,10), 107(13), 109(11-12(2)), 110(10), 111(3,5,13), 112(1-3,7), 113(2), 121(7-8), 125(4,7,10,12), 126(3,6(2),8), 133(13), 135(14), 138(3), 153(12,14), 154(4,11,13), 170(2),173(11), 179(6), 181(1), 189(3), 192(3), 194(11), 197(12,19), 198(13), 199(5,15(2)), 200(3,17), 201(7,10,22), 205(11), 211(2,10,13,16), 212(3,10,19), 213(2), 216(12), 224(16), 257(12), 286(15,17-18), 287(8-9,15), 289(5(2)-6,8,14), 290(6,9,16-17), 291(1,3,10), 293(17), 306(3,5,18), 307(8,10).

Bāb: I: a title of the chief Dā'ī. D: a title of the Sābiq, the fourth of the hudūd. pp.73(12), 106(4), 187(19).

Al-Bari': God. pp. 3(3), 34(3,11), 38(12), 92(5), 115(6,10), 116(7,10,14,17), 117(1,4),118(2,7,18), 119(1), 128(15), 129(1), 138(13), 140(5), 140(10), 150(12), 151(4,11-12,17), 159(12), 161(6), 165(1-2), 169(15), 199(10), 306(9), 216(7), 239(14), 251(3,7), 252(1), 258(7(2)), 273(16), 276(15), 277(6,10), 281(2), 299(2), 302(6).

Bāṭin: I: the inner meaning of religion: known through the process of ta'wīl. D: often synonymous with Ismā'īlism. pp. 3(10,11), 4(13), 5(1), 32(13,14,15), 36(14), 40(8), 41(3,6,8,14), 42(1,10,14), 43(6,10), 44(5,7), 45(2-3), 47(1,10-11), 48(11-12), 49(5,7, 12,15), 53(9,18), 56(6), 57(1), 69(8), 76(6), 81(10), 89(4), 96(3), 107(1), 108(15),109(12),110(4), 111(5), 113(4), 116(3), 128(17(2)), 131(3), 136(5), 147(11), 149(19), 150(1), 154(11-13), 161(15), 162(1,3), 163(6), 164(3), 170(15), 174(19), 175(3), 176(1,3-4, 6-7,10-12,15), 179(4,6), 181(1), 193(9,17), 211(6, 7-10), 214(9(2)), 219(5), 251(8,17), 254(9-10,), 258(6), 281(4), 286(10), 287(3,5-6,8), 293(14-16), 294(12), 295(1), 306(4-9,13-14), 307(1), 310(12).

Al-Bāṭiniyya: Bāṭin normally refers to the Ismā'īlīs but here the reference seems rather to be to the Druze. p.180(9).

Burj: Constellation or Sign of the Zodiac. pp.33(12), 34(9.14,15), 35(1), 157(9), 166(8), 169(20).

Burūda: Cold, cf. p.139 note and also Vol.I, p.107. pp.34(2,7), 139(7), 141(14), 167(8).

Da'ā'im al-Islām: The pillars of Islam. pp.5(7), 13(8), 53(18), 54(14), 55(1), 63(8), 67(4).

Dā'ī: Missionary in both the Ismā'īlī and Druze da'was. Passim.

Da'wa: The religious organization of both the Ismā'īlīs and the Druze. pp. 5(12,18), 8(4), 9(14), 14(10), 18(7), 22(1), 24(14), 25(13), 47(1-2),52(1,5), 55(15),59(4), 60(10), 73(10), 75(4), 80(7), 84(2,4,15), 86(12), 92(12), 101(3,7), 102(2), 117(12), 118(14-15,18), 119(3), 121(13), 122(3), 123(1,7,14), 125(4,7-8, 11-12), 126(3(2),9), 138(7), 140(2), 145(8), 146 (12,14), 157(3), 161(1,12), 184(3), 192(13), 197(18), 198(14(2)), 203(8(2)), 204(7), 205(6,15-16), 206(3, 13(2)), 210(6,10,12), 216(9), 217(8), 222(1), 225(10), 226(13), 227(3), 231(11), 254(11), 285(7(2)), 292(6), 298(13), 299(6), 311(1), 314(13), 315(5).

Dhū Ma'a: D: The 'Aql, the first of the hudūd, cf. Vol.I. pp.122-123. pp.42(4), 73(12), 84(5), 90(2,14), 92 3,10), 101(5), 102(17), 103(1), 105(13), 106(3), 117(11), 203(9,11,15), 232(3),264(4),305(5),308(1).

Dhū Maṣṣa: I: In Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman the third minister of the da'wa, cf. Vol.I, pp.122-123. D: The Nafs, the second of the hudūd. pp.42(4), 73(12), 92(10), 103(2), 106(4), 142(3), 203(9), 221(10,19), 232(4), 284(2), 308(1).

Ḍidd: I and D: The opposing Principle. D: (a) Iblīs, (b) al-Darazī (c) any opponent. pp.6(13), 52(7), 68(4-6,9), 73(3,6), 81(1), 83(1), 90(1-2,8,15), 105(12), 117(4,6), 121(1), 138(11), 141(9-11,19,21), 142(1-2), 143(6-9,16,18), 144(1-3,5-7,11-12(2)), 146(8,13), 147(15), 152(14-16(2)), 160(2,7,11), 163(3), 165(10), 169(17), 173(14), 174(1), 179(10), 180(9), 188(14), 190(15), 191(16), 198(1,15), 213(6), 217(4), 225(17), 231(3-5), 252(5), 258(7), 267(5), 275(7), 279(10), 281(3), 298(5), 310(11).

Fatḥ: I: The fourth of the hudūd. D: The second of the lower hudūd (after the first five). pp.35(9), 41(13), 45(7,15), 55(10), 173(11), 198(13,16), 199(1), 200(14), 307(15), 317(9).

Ḥadd (pl.Ḥudūd): Minister or Dignitary. I: Each of the group of heavenly powers; the 'aql, nafs, etc. and each of the group of earthly powers the nāṭiq, wasī, imām, etc. Cf. Vol.I, pp. 11-12.
D: The two groups are made one; Ḥamza being both 'Aql and Imām. Passim.

Ḥajj: The Pilgrimage. pp. 5(6), 46(5(2)-6,10-11), 47(7,10), 252(19).

Ḥamal: Constellation of Aries: The Ram. pp.34(15), 35(1).

Ḥaraka: Movement, cf. 139 note and Vol.I. p. 107. pp.34(2,7,8), 139(3,6), 140(12), 142(4), 251(20), 271(8).

Ḥarāra: Heat, cf. p.139 note and also Vol.I, p. 107. pp.34(2,7), 139(3,6), 141(5,13), 167(8).

Hayūlā: Primordial matter. D: (a) The fifth element, nature, which springs from the Tālī. (b) The Tālī. Cf. Vol.I, pp. 127-129. Pp.104(2) 140 (5,13), 141(14), 152(6), 157(10), 167(7,13), 170(3), 186(19), 251(21).

Ḥisāb al-Jumal: Abjad--the method of giving letters of the alphabet numerical value. pp.45(13), 129(14), 145(7,10), 154(4), 231(5).

Ḥujja: Proof; I: An assistant to a Prophet or Imam (being a proof of God's existence). In Ismā'īlism each Imam has twelve Ḥujjas, cf. E.I. 2nd Ed.
D: The Great Ḥujja is the Nafs, also sometimes the 'Aql but usually Ḥujjas are lower ministers above Dā'īs, Ma'dhūns, and Mukāsirs. pp. 2(3), 3(3), 33(8,11), 36(6,14(2),15), 41(10), 44(6), 45(7-8), 47(2), 49(10), 54(13-14), 55(11), 59(9-10), 61(2,15), 75(3), 81(7), 82(3), 82(9), 83(3), 101(4-5), 105(2), 106(6), 107(16), 108(7), 109(10,13), 118(4), 119 (4,6), 121(5(2),9), 122(2), 125(4), 125(7,10,13-14), 126(3,6), 128(4),130(3), 133(13), 139(5), 145 (13-15(2)), 146(8), 147(2), 148(6), 152(14), 153(16-17), 154(1(2)), 170(2), 173(12), 181(11), 182(3), 184(1), 187(19), 190(14), 198(13), 199(1), 205(8), 232(5), 242(15), 254(12), 262(16), 264(7), 271(13), 278(11), 280(7), 289(12), 290(8,12), 292(8), 293(12), 294(14), 305(1,17), 306(18), 308(3-4), 310(3(2),10,21), 312(5).

Ibdā': Creation of a thing "without anteriority of matter or of time." D: Sometimes used to mean creation in a more general sense, cf. Vol.I, p.127 Passim. 71.9, 76.10, 140.16, 141.16, 142.14, 157.7-9, 257.5-6, 258.1, 262.4, 275.15, 285.1, 310.21.

'Ijl: Calf. D: Sometimes equated with al-Darazī. Later polemics against the Druze often speak of their worshipping a calf. This seems singularly unlikely given the meaning assigned to it by Hamza. pp.68(3-5), 81(3), 121(14), 135(13).

Ilhām: Inspiration. ~~Passim~~. 308.4.

'Illat al-'Ilal: I and D: Cause of Causes i.e. the 'Aql (or for the Ismā'īlīs it sometimes refers to God). pp.34(1), 140(12,16), 157(18), 158(3,16), 159(14-16, 18), 160(1,3,11,15-16), 163(18), 164(9), 165(15,19), 166(3-5,11,15-17), 167(5(2),9.11-12(2),14), 168(1,10,16,18-19), 169(7), 170(5-6,8), 186(12), 201(2), 221(5), 248(5), 251(17), 257(8,10), 264(3), 310(19(2)).

Imām: I and D: Ismā'īlī Imams i.e. the Imams between each Nāṭiq; especially 'Alī and al-Ḥākim. D: (a) Incarnations of the 'Aql, especially Adam and Ḥamza. (b) Anti-Imams i.e. incarnations of the Didd. Passim.

Imāma: The Imamate. pp. 67(1), 73(8), 119(18), 123(13), 124(9), 130(1), 145(12), 146(13), 163(13), 166(1), 180(8), 193(16), 202(15), 203(2,13), 204(3), 206(11), 217(2-4,6), 267(4,8), 271(5), 273(8).

Īmān: I and D: Isma'īlī Islām; the Ta'wīl. pp. 3(14), 4(15, 16), 5(1), 7(2), 52(12), 57(12), 61(5), 69(2), 69(4(2)-5,15), 70(1,3,9), 80(7), 82(12) 91(5(2)), 94(1,4), 95(4-5), 105(6(2)-7), 167(9), 174(9,13), 193(15), 197(6), 198(3), 201(16), 202(13), 211(14), 214(5), 245(17), 251(11), 254(18), 268(19), 312(8).

Inbi'āth: Emanation, the process by which each of the hudūd proceeded from the one above, cf. Vol.I, p.127 pp. 36(5), 144(5), 257(7), 258(14), 285(2).

Irāda: I and D: The divine will; a name of the 'Aql. pp.45(14), 102(15-16), 140(5), 146(4), 153(6), 167(17), 168(1), 170(5), 193(5), 193(7), 231(15), 232(3), 264(4), 304(14), 308(1).

Islām: I and D: Sunni Islam; the Tanzīl. pp.5(1), 7(2), 13(1,11), 20(17,19), 21(8), 48(7), 49(7), 53(4), 54(10), 69(4-5), 86(8), 89(10), 128(8), 201(16).

Istaqiṣ: for Istaqis = στοιχεῖον , Element. p.167(14).

Jadd: I: The third of the hudūd. D: The first of the lower hudūd (i.e. after the first five). pp.35(9), 41(13), 45(7,15), 55(10), 173(11), 198(13,16), 199(1), 200(5(2),14), 307(15), 317(9).

Jahannam: Hell. pp.83(9), 116(3), 148(3).

Jāmūs: Buffalo. D: as with the Calf (Ijl) a symbol of the Didd. pp.121(14), 135(14).

Al-Janāḥ: I: A subordinate dā'ī. D. The fourth or fifth of the hudūd, cf. Vol.I, p.123. pp.42(4), 73(11), 92(11), 106(4), 203(9).

Al-Janāḥ al-Ayman: The Right Wing. D: The Sābiq, the fourth of the hudūd. pp.101(2), 106(4), 108(1), 153(2), 230(17), 231(2,12), 264(12,20).

Al-Janāḥ al-Aysar: The Left Wing. D: The Tālī, the fifth of the hudūd. pp.108(1), 230(17), 231(12), 264(15,20).

Jawzā': The constellation of Gemini. p.35(1).

Jazīra: I: a diocese; the world being divided up, in theory, into twelve such dioceses each controlled for religious purposes by a hujja or dā'ī. D: Usually seems to mean only a geographical area. ~~Rasāʾil~~. 34.1, 145.13, 166.7, 170.1, 221.18, 275.3.

Jihād: A duty of Islām and among the Ismā'īlīs a sixth fundamental duty. pp.5(6), 48(7,10-11,13(2)), 95(2-3).

Jizya: Tax paid by non-Muslims. pp.17(9), 24(3,4,10), 33(1), 76(14), 126(15), 267(10-11), 272(16), 299(11(2)).

Kalima: The Word. D: the third of the hudūd, cf. Vol.I, p.123. pp.45(7,15), 73(12), [78(2)], 89(6-7), 92(9(2)), 98(2), 103(4,17), 130(3), 138(16), 142(6-7), 144(5-7,14(2)), 153(1,6-7), 157(8(2)), 170(4), 203(9), 224(5,14), 231(15), 232(1,8-9), 264(10-11), 275(9), 304(14), 305(1,18), 307(8).

Karūbiyyūn: Heavenly Beings. Originally the Cherubim of Jewish-Christian angelology, they are found in Islam from an early date though they play a comparatively minor part. Mentioned by al-Murshid in his account of early Ismā'īlī cosmology. pp.60(2), 253(15).

Khalīfa: Caliph. Khalīfat Allāh. D: Sometimes refers to Ḥamza, sometimes to Adam. pp.2(3), 3(3,9), 17(10), 18(4,12,13), 19(2), 25(11), 46(1-2), 49(3), 63(1), 67(11), 91(10), 116(7), 119(2), 123(13), 127(13), 142(1), 154(2), 165(8), 200(3), 217(7), 221(17), 242(4), 286(15), 289(15).

Khalwa: In later times the name for the Druze place of worship. p.62(3).

Khayāl: I: The fifth of the hudūd. D: The third of the lower hudūd (after the first five). pp. 35(10), 41(13), 45(7,15), 55(11), 173(11), 198(13,16), 199(1), 200(7-8,14), 307(16), 317(9).

Khilāfa: Caliphate. p.126(7).

Lāḥiq: I: In the Ismā'īlī da'wa the lāḥiq was one rank below a hujja q.v. According to Abū Ḥātim they do not have the privilege of direct inspiration from the tālī q.v. but only from the mutimm q.v. When there was no Imam the mission was administered by a lāḥiq (e.g. Lot, Samuel, David and Solomon). pp.32(9), 61(15), 67(2), 202(1).

Lāhūt: D: The divine nature of God which can never be comprehended by Man. pp. 32(8), 38(8), 56(2), 61(14), 68(16), 74(13-14), 75(1,4,13-14), 81(3,7-8), 84(10), 86(9,14), 89(12), 102(1), 107(2,6), 128(3,18), 136(6), 149(16), 150(14), 154(19), 157(12), 163(1), 164(11), 170(14), 186(3), 187(4,13), 188(1), 192(8), 197(10,17), 203(7), 206(4), 209(11,13), 216(14), 284(15), 317(12).

Mādda: I and D: (a) Matter (b) the divine influence, inspiration, or energy, cf. Vol.I, pp. 127-128 . pp.4 (11), 36(5), 100(10), 104(10), 139(10), 162(3), 167(14), 205(7), 252(9), 257(2), 299(12), 302(6), 310(18,21).

Ma'dhūn: I and D: One of the ranks of missionaries below a Dā'ī but above a Mukāsir. pp. 36(6), 59(11-12), 61(2), 62(1,4,8), 92(5), 101(16), 106(6), 107(14), 123(4,6), 146(1), 147(1), 158(1,18), 200(6), 217(9), 221(17), 225(5,19), 227(3,7), 231(2).

Majlis (pl. Majālis) al-Ḥikma: I: The sermons or readings of the sermons which formed the focal point of Ismā'īlī religious life. Cf. above, VolI, pp. 18-20,132-152 . pp.8(4), 38(12), 40(8), 41(2,6), 42(14), 43(3-4,7), 44(12-14), 45(2), 47(8-10), 48(10), 49(5), 153(14), 174(13), 175(3), 188(6), 189(8), 190(8), 208(16-17), 209(3,8), 210(2-3,13), 211(5), 212(3,5,7), 213(9), 214(3), 306(15), 307(4).

Majlis Shaṭnīl: p.120(4).

Malak: Angel. pp. 52(9), 52(11), 60(1,4), 64(2), 71(1), 72(4), 105(8), 118(11), 121(13), 128(4), 135(13), 142(15), 148(16), 175(10), 204(9), 206(8), 230(11), 262(15), 291(8,10).

Ma'nawiyya: The true sense i.e. divinity. The word is especially used by the Nuṣayrīs: ma'na - the signifaction of divine authority identified with 'Alī. pp.36(10), 55(13), 71(14), 180(12),189(3), 287(16).

Manshūr: A decree; usually an unsealed document without address. Cf. Vol.I, p. 131. p.13(14).

Mashī'a: Will or Wish. D: The Nafs, the second of the hudūd. pp. 10(13), 45(14), 49(11), 102(15,17), 107(15-16), 153(6), 167(16(2)), 170(4(2)-5), 193(5, 7), 231(15), 232(4), 304(14), 308(1,5).

Al-Masīḥ: The Messiah, Jesus. pp.22(15), 117(5), 179(4), 266(19).

Al-Mi'rāj: Muḥammad's ascension to the seven heavens on the 27th Rajab. p.291(7,12,14).

Mirrīkh: The planet Mars. p.34(13).

Mīthāq: Contract made by a men when becoming a Unitarian e.g. pieces V and VIII of the canon. pp.30(1), 59(1), 62(2), 68(2), 141(4), 146(11), 200(7), 217(10), 227(1), 232(11,13-14), 251(15), 252(15), 254(8,19), 276(4), 278(11), 279(4), 280(4,8), 312(7).

Mīzān: Constellation of Libra. pp. 34(15), 35(1).

Al-Mubdi': The Creator, A title of God. Passim.

Mu'ill 'illat al-'ilal: Causer of the Cause of Causes. D: God (also found in later Ismā'īlī works). Cf. Vol.I, pp. 118, 120-121. pp.56(2), 68(8), 72(2), 157(18(2)), 159(12,14), 160(2), 163(17), 164(9), 165(11-12), 166(3,12), 167(5), 168(19), 170(19), 186(11,13), 221(4), 237(5), 248(4), 251(3), 262(3), 284(6).

Mu'jiza: A miracle. pp.28(10), 37(14), 39(1,2), 93(2,5,12), 94(5(2)-6), 117(17), 118(3), 157(12(2)), 208(5), 230(13), 237(17).

Mukāsir: I and D: One of the ranks of missionaries below Dā'ī and Ma'dhūn. pp.59(12), 61(2), 92(6), 101(16), 106(6), 146(1), 158(1,18), 180(7), 200(7), 221(18), 225(5), 227(8), 231(2), 291(14).

Mu'min: Believer. D: Usually refers to the Ismā'īlīs but occasionally it is used for a Druze. Passim.

al-Mushtarī: The planet Jupiter. p.34(13).

Muslim: D: Usually refers to the Sunnī Muslims. pp.13(11), 39(9,11,12), 43(15), 44(2), 48(7,9), 49(1,3), 54(6), 69(10), 87(3-4,6(2)8), 89(3), 90(13), 116(1), 126(10), 128(9), 151(5), 163(4), 201(17), 202(14), 210(17), 212(19), 306(9).

Mutimm: I: Imam. In Ismā'īlī theology according to Abū Ḥātim the Mutimm is directly inspired by the Khayāl (q.v.)from the Tālī (q.v.) pp.45(7), 59(8-9), 195(8), 200(13).

Muwaḥḥid: Unitarian: D: A member of the Druze Community. Passim.

Nabī: Prophet. pp. 11(5), 17(17), 18(10), 21(1), 22(13), 26(7), 52(11), 60(3), 64(2), 94(3), 105(8).

Nafs: The Universal Soul. I and D: The first emanation from the 'Aql. The second of the hudūd. D: Incarnate as al-Tamīmī. pp.106(4), 130(3), 142(3,6-7), 143(6), 144(3-6,13-14), 145(7-9,11(2),13,15), 147(13-14), 152(14), 153(1), 154(17), 157(7-8), 170(5), 186(14), 232(4), 257(7-8,13), 264(7), 264(19), 292(8), 299(10,12), 300(12,16-17), 301 (3,6,8,14), 302(4-5), 305(17), 310(2), 311(3,18), 317(1).

Naqīb: I and D: Usually an intermediate rank between mā'dhūns and mukāsirs, although one Druze gloss says naqīb and mukāsir are synonymous. pp.221(18), 225(5,11,19), 227(7), 229(10), 229(12), 231(2), 232(16), 235(7).

Nāsūt: The human nature of God which can be comprehended by Man. pp. 38(8), 39(3), 56(1), 68(14-15), 74(1,15), 75(1,13), 107(1,8), 122(9), 130(13), 131(14), 142 (13), 157(12), 164(19), 170(14), 197(10), 206(4), 209(12), 216(15), 217(5), 251(18(2)), 252(2), 275(10), 317(12).

Nāṭiq: I: One of the six or seven major prophets who brought a sharī'a. Cf. Vol.I, pp. 1-4.
D: It can refer to any of the prophets of the false sharī'as but particularly to Muḥammad. (The seventh nāṭiq is given not as Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl but as Sa'īd the Mahdī (see p.35(13)). Passim.

Nubūwa: Prophethood. p.22(14).

Qāḍī al-Quḍāt: The Chief Qāḍī of the Fāṭimids. Cf. Vol.I. pp. 17-18. pp.74(4), 93(6-7), 202(1), 248(1,8,11).

Qā'im al-Qiyāma: D: Ḥamza, pp.127(7), 218(4).

Qā'im al-Zamān: I: usually the Mahdī who will return at the end of the era. Cf. Vol.I. pp. 2-3.
D: The 'Aql, i.e. Ḥamza. pp.57(11,15), 61(1), 62(14), 63(4,6), 66(4), 67(11), 68(6), 70(12), 92(3), 95(5), 98(2), 129(4-5), 146(10-11,14), 153(15-18), 154(1,4,13-14), 186(2), 206(7), 218(4), 224(3), 229(5,14), 231(14), 232(3), 235(9), 239(7), 264(3), 267(1), 278(10), 280(7), 281(17), 284(3,5), 285(12), 295(14), 299(8), 302(13), 304(8,19), 305(16), 306(10), 307(2), 308(2-3, 7-9,12), 310(3), 315(9,18).

Qamar: Moon. pp. 34(14), 35(2), 49(10), 88(5), 139(1), 149(1(2)), 177(10), 184(3), 189(4), 212(1-2), 242(16), 311(4).

Qibla: Direction to which Muslims turn to pray; recess in a mosque indicating the direction of the Ka'ba. pp. 47(9), 77(11), 88(8), 138(7), 159(11), 266(18).

Ramaḍān: The ninth month of the Muslim Calendar. pp. 8(7), 35(5), 43(17), 54(7), 57(15), 155(5).

Al-Rasūl: The Apostle; D: usually Muḥammad. pp. 5(14), 6(11), 7(2), 9(6,11), 10(6), 14(14), 17(6,11,15), 18(2,3,7), 21(8), 22(16), 33(3,9), 36(12), 48(15), 54(6), 86(13(2)-14,16), 87(5,7), 90(9,12), 95(5), 126(14), 192(15), 226(9), 243(6), 275(6), 314(1).

Al-Rūḥ or Rūḥ al-Qudus: The spirit through which God inspires his ministers and human beings. pp. 72(4), 75(11-12), 83(15), 84(1), 177(15(2)), 178(1), 186(18), 202(3), 266(10,12), 268(17), 298(4), 311(8).

Ruṭūba: Moisture. p.167(8).

Sābiq: The preceding. I and D: First of the hudūd; The 'Aql. D: Fourth of the hudūd; The Right Wing. pp. 33(5,10), 34(1,3,5,6,7,15), 35(4,6,9(2)),36(2,6,8,12, 14), 38(13(2)), 41(13), 45(7,15), 55(10), 71(9), 85(12), 92(7,9(2)), 100(10-11), 101(1,4), 103(5,7,9), 104(12(2)), 105(11), 106(4), 110(12), 111(1-2), 112(8), 130(3), 138(11-13,16), 139(2,4(2),6-7,9), 140(9(2)), 142(6,8-11(3)), 144(5-7), 145(15), 146(1), 153(2,5,7,8(2)), 159(15-16), 166(15), 169(7(2)), 170(3), 173(11), 189(2), 197(12), 198(13,16,19), 199(8-9), 200(1,13), 203(10(3)-11), 216(12), 224(16) 230(2(2),19(2)), 231(14), 252(19), 264(3), 285(3), 289(12), 298(2), 304(15), 305(2), 305(19), 306(17), 307(11,13), 317(9).

Ṣāḥib al-Qiyāma: D: Ḥamza. pp.126(15), 300(5).

Ṣāḥib al-Sharī'a: D: usually refers to Muḥammad. pp. 17(5,13-14), 18(7,8-9,11,13), 20(5,16), 21(8,16), 25(7), 90(3,6), 103(14), 192(6).

Ṣāḥib al-Zamān: D: The 'Aql i.e. Ḥamza. pp.50(4), 67(10), 80(8), 187(10).

Ṣalāt: The ritual prayer of Islam. pp.5(6), 8(7), 39(9-11, 13-15), 40(2,4,6-10,13), 41(11,14(2)), 42(2), 54(2, 6), 100(5,11), 105(1), 108(8), 109(5,8), 204(15-16, 19), 205(10), 212(9).

Saraṭān: The constellation of Cancer. p.35(1).

Ṣawm: The fast during Ramaḍān. pp.43(15,17-18), 44(1, 3(2), 5(2)), 45(2-4), 54(6).

Shahāda: Confession of faith in Islam. pp. 33(3), 54(7), 266(19), 272(11).

Shams: The Sun. pp. 34(14), 49(10), 88(5), 133(14), 139(1(2)), 148(19(2)), 177(10), 212(1(2)), 242(16(2)), 311(4).

Sharī'a: D: Usually refers to the previous religions sent by God as a punishment to man and especially Islam. Cf. Vol.I, pp. 69-93, 126 . Passim.

Al-Shayṭān: D: (a) The chief devil; Iblīs (b) any devil. pp. 52(8), 81(4), 108(17), 109(1), 123(3), 124(5), 181(14), 182(7-9,11(2)), 183(5,9), 254(15), 272(15, 17), 281(3,16), 200(6), 302(10).

Al-Shuyūkh al-Mutaqaddimūn: D: IsmĀ'īlī writers of works other than Majālis e.g. al-Nasafī, Abū Ḥātim, Abū Ya'qūb, al-Kirmānī and the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. Cf. Vol.I, pp. 152-161. pp.44(5), 45(2), 47(1), 48(11), 49(5), 56(5), 138(11), 142(7-8), 153(7), 159(16), 167(2), 180(18), 198(16), 199(8), 200(11).

Sijill: Decree. Cf. Vol.I. p. 131. pp.1(1), 13(1), 41(4), 43(2), 49(9), 54(11), 201(9), 211(11,15), 212(4), 221(1).

Sukūna: Rest, cf. p.139 note and Vol.I, p. 107. pp. 34(2), 34(7), 139(3,7), 271(8).

Sunbula: The Constellation of Virgo. p.35(1).

Sunna: The norms of Islam, the legally binding precedents of the Prophet's sayings and doings. p.5(1).

Talḥīd: Heresy. D: Sometimes refers to Ismā'īlism, sometimes to Islam as a whole. pp.56(14), 66(1), 69(12), 111(14), 198(15), 200(20), 203(8), 206(13), 295(14).

Tālī: The follower. I and D: The second of the hudūd, the Nafs. D: The fifth of the hudūd, the Left Wing. pp. 33(5,9), 34(2,3,5,6,7), 35(5,7,9), 36(5,7,8,9, 15), 37(2), 41(13), 45(7,15), 55(2), 71(9), 85(12), 92(8), 101(14), 102(17), 104(1(2), 3(2)-4,6,10-11), 105(11,14), 106(5), 111(1-2), 112(8), 130(3), 138 (11), 139(3-6), 142(4), 145(15), 157(8-9), 170(3), 173(11), 189(2), 197(12), 198(13,16,19), 199(15), 200(4,14), 203(10), 216(12), 221(10), 224(16), 230(2(2),18,20-21), 289(12), 304(15), 305(3), 306(17), 307(13-14), 310(21).

Tanāsukh: Transmigration of souls into animalsas well as humans. Attributed to the Nuṣayrīs by Ḥamza. pp.172(7), 180(12).

Tanzil: The outward form of Islam.
D: Sunnī Islam, cf. Vol.I,pp.5-6.
pp. 23(5), 66(14), 100(4), 112(12), 174(7), 193(17), 307(11).

Taqlid: Used generally first to mean installation in a military office, then in any administrative office including that of Qāḍī. Cf. E.I. 1st Ed.
D: The conferment of rank on the ḥudūd by Ḥamza.
pp. 222(7), 224(1), 226(12), 227(14), 229(1),232(18).

Tashbih: Ascription of human qualities to God. pp. 40(1), 138(8), 237(6), 258(5,14), 262(13).

Tawḥid: Belief in the Unity of God. D: The proper name of Ḥamza's religion. Passim.

Ta'wil: Allegorical Interpretation; D: In contrast to Tanzil; Ismā'īlī Islam. pp. 14(4), 60(6-7), 66(14), 77(3), 86(12), 92(9), 100(4), 102(6), 103(6), 104(2), 110(14), 111(14), 112(12), 153(13), 154(12), 174(7), 175(3), 176(5), 177(9), 179(4), 193(18), 286(18), 306(13), 307(11), 318(5).

Ṭāwūs: Peacock. D: Used once in conjunction with the buffalo as a symbol of falsity. In the second mention it is in the Garden of Eden story with the serpent and is a Ma'dhūn called Ṭāyūkh (q.v.). Cf. Vol.I,pp. 104-105.pp.99(9), 123(6).

Thawr: The Constellation of Taurus. p.35(1).

'Uṭārid: The planet Mercury. p.34(14).

Ulū'l-'Azm: I: The prophets with resolution. Usually considered to be those who both propound and abrogate a sharī'a. Cf. Vol.I, pp.2-4.
pp. 286(13), 288(11-12).

Walī: Guardian, representative, or assistant. pp. 2(3), 3(2,9.19), 4(3,4,11,15), 5(14,18), 6(8,12), 7(2,5, 13), 8(2), 9(1,5,8), 10(5,9), 11(8), 38(8), 47(16), 67(11), 73(4,6), 81(9), 90(7), 99(12), 105(15), 108(18), 117(7), 120(18), 145(4), 151(9), 174(1), 183(16), 187(17), 197(15), 199(6), 212(14), 221(14), 222(7), 231(3), 239(3), 251(1), 252(12,15), 253(5, 10), 254(12), 255(6), 262(11,19), 271(3), 284(5), 286(1), 302(12), 310(5(2),11), 315(15).

Walī 'Ahd al-Mu'minīn: The Deputy to the Heir Apparent. Here refers to 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb (q.v.). The title does not seem to be found elsewhere. pp.201(13,18), 213(2).

Walī 'Ahd al-Muslimīn: Heir to the Throne. Here refers to 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, (q.v.) pp.201(12,19), 203(3), 213(1), 242(1,4-5,10), 281(6).

Walī al-Zamān: D: Ḥamza. pp. 30(1), 68(4), 252(10), 262(13).

Waṣī: I: The Asās; Assistant to the Nāṭiq. pp. 25(8), 33(6), 35(14,19), 67(1), 100(11), 105(8), 128(5), 154(9), 181(11), 183(17), 286(15).

Waṣiyya: I: The being of a Waṣī. p.273(18).

Wilāya: Being a Walī. pp. 42(14), 48(15), 49(1,3,5,12), [62(7)], 189(14), 219(6), 252(12).

Yubūsa: Dryness. pp.34(8), 167(8).

Ẓāhir: I and D: The outer, obvious meaning of religion. D: Sunni Islam. Passim.

Zakāt: The Alms Tax paid by all Muslims. pp.5(6), 32(11,12), 42(13-14), 43(6-7), 54(1,8(2),10,12), 100(5,12).

Zuḥal: The Planet Saturn. p.34(13).

Zuhara: The Planet Venus. pp.34(14), 230(15).

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APPENDIX

The Druze have inspired only two works of verse in the English language; the first is a five-act epic drama by Robert Browning, The Return of the Druses--A Tragedy. The second, a rather shorter Rhapsody, I reproduce here by kind permission of the Abbess and Community of the Benedictine Abbey of Stanbrook.

DRUSES--A Rhapsody

The more one muses
Upon the Druses,
The more it confuses
One's views:
Their nomenclature fuses
Both Druids and Muses;
Is a male one a Dru,
His wife Druse?
They are someone's descendants, but whose?
The blue and grey hues
Of their eyes you'ld confuse
With those of an H.M.S. crew.
They have regular "do"s
When both Druses and Drus
On separate pews
Are wont to peruse
Hieratic reviews.
Attired in loose trews,
Eschatological news

They await as they quake in their shoes.
It seems they run cruises
To China: one loses
Account of the ruses
They use
To prevent themselves getting too few.
Yet the sect still refuses
All neophyte Druses;
You can't just be one when you choose.

Apologia

Altruism excuses,
If this poem amuses
A few.
Adieu!

Anon.(Oxon.)