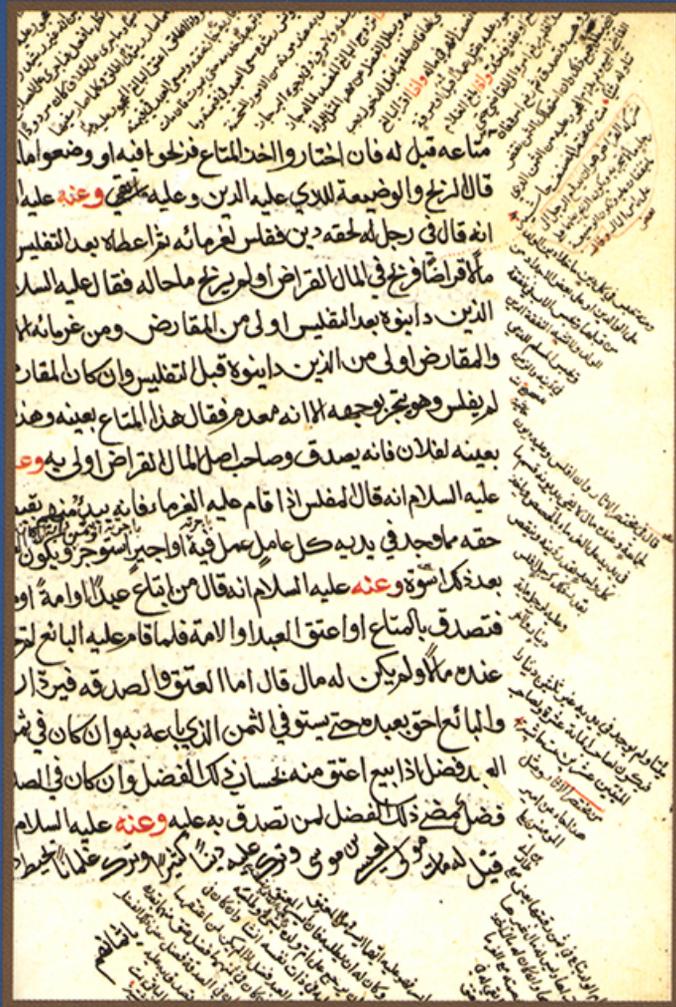


Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts

The Hamdani Collection



FRANÇOIS DE BLOIS

Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

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1. Adam Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*, vol. 1 (1984)
2. Adam Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*, vol. 2 (1985)
3. Delia Cortese, *Ismaili and Other Arabic Manuscripts: A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (2000)
4. Delia Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zāhid ‘Alī Collection in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (2003)

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts

*The Hamdani Collection in the Library of
The Institute of Ismaili Studies*

François de Blois

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

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The Institute of Ismaili Studies

The Institute of Ismaili Studies was established in 1977 with the object of promoting scholarship and learning on Islam, in the historical as well as contemporary contexts, and a better understanding of its relationship with other societies and faiths.

The Institute's programmes encourage a perspective which is not confined to the theological and religious heritage of Islam, but seeks to explore the relationship of religious ideas to broader dimensions of society and culture. The programmes thus encourage an interdisciplinary approach to the materials of Islamic history and thought. Particular attention is also given to issues of modernity that arise as Muslims seek to relate their heritage to the contemporary situation.

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This book falls into category seven listed above.

In facilitating these and other publications, the Institute's sole aim is to encourage original research and analysis of relevant issues. While every effort is made to ensure that the publications are of a high academic standard, there is naturally bound to be a diversity of views, ideas and interpretations. As such, the opinions expressed in these publications must be understood as belonging to their authors alone.

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My first word of thanks must go to my old friend Professor Abbas Hamdani. We have been working together on Ismaili matters for more than 30 years, during which time I have continually benefited from his intimate knowledge of these manuscripts and of all things relating to the Ismailis. It was at his suggestion that I was honoured to be asked to catalogue this collection.

At the time when the donation of the manuscripts was finalised, Professor Eric Ormsby, who was at that time the Head Librarian of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, travelled to Milwaukee where, in consultation with Professor Hamdani, he compiled a numbered handlist of the books in the Hamdani collection. Unfortunately, the handlist numbers were not attached to the manuscripts themselves, so when I began working with them in London I had to inventorise them again; however, once I had worked out which book was which, the existing handlist did prove to be of considerable use.

During the time that I was working on this catalogue I benefited from the help and kindness of all the members of the staff of the Institute's library, and especially the current Head Librarian, Alnoor Merchant, who gave me free access to the rich collections of printed books and manuscripts already in the hands of the Institute. A by-product of my work has been that it was possible to suggest a few corrections to the existing catalogues of the parts of the IIS collection published by Gacek and Cortese.

My friend and colleague Dr Sunil Sharma has helped with some of the Gujarati and Urdu material. My indebtedness to the published

literature on Ismaili studies is obvious to the reader, but I must underscore yet again the enormous usefulness of Poonawala's great work. For the identification of Indian place names mentioned in the manuscripts I have found Irfan Habib's *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi, 1982) immensely useful.

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

Introduction

The manuscripts described in this volume represent a large segment of the library collected over seven generations by an eminent family of scholars from the Dā'ūdī Bohra community. The largest part of the manuscripts are of Ismaili religious writings, many of them until recently regarded as secret and thus not accessible to anyone outside the Bohra denomination, but there are also a good number of interesting books of general Islamic, or indeed secular content, and these give us a unique insight into the whole range of culture of a learned family of Indian religious scholars. The overwhelming majority of the books are in Arabic, the language of learning among the Bohras, but there are also a small number in Persian and in Bohra Gujarati (that is, Gujarati written in Arabic script and with a very large admixture of Arabic vocabulary). Most of the manuscripts were produced in India, but some of the most interesting ones are from the Yemen, the ancestral home of the Hamdani family. Although a few of them are very old (the oldest is from the 14th Christian century, or perhaps earlier), the great majority are from the 19th or even the 20th century. Newcomers to Ismaili studies will doubtless be surprised to learn how prolific the production of hand-made books remained long after the introduction of printing in the Islamic and Indian worlds, including the Indian Muslim community, but this is precisely because these books were for the most part secret and consequently could not be entrusted to the publicity of the printed word. But such newcomers will surely also be surprised by the often excellent quality of these manuscripts, the high level of Arabic scholarship in a community living far from the Arab world, and the persistence of traditional techniques of book

production. One final element of surprise is the fact that at least four of these manuscripts were copied by women, among them one of ultra-secret content, attesting to the access of female devotees to the inner sanctum of esoteric learning.

The kernel of this collection is formed by the manuscripts that ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd al-Ya‘burī al-Hamdānī (who was born ca. 1132/1718 and died in 1212/1798) brought with him when he emigrated from the Yemen to Gujarat around the middle of the 18th century, and of those that he himself copied, before or after his arrival in India. The collection catalogued here contains three manuscripts in the hand of ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd. The collection expanded under his descendants, and in particular under his great-grandson, the pre-eminent Bohra scholar and educator Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī (1249–1315/1833–1898). It was his grandson, ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī (H.F. Hamdani, 1319–1381/1901–1962), who opened the doors of the family library to international scholarship, and notably to the great Arabist and pioneering student of Ismaili studies Paul Kraus, and it is in turn his son, Professor Abbas Hamdani, who has re-assembled a large portion of the family collection, previously scattered among various members of the family, and, in an act of enormous generosity, donated them to The Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, thus making them freely accessible to all students of Ismailism, and of Islam more generally.

Historical Background

The roots of the Hamdani Collection, of the Hamdani family and of the Bohra community in India are in the Yemen. The progenitor of the Indian branch of the family, ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ḥarāzī al-Ya‘burī al-Hamdānī identifies himself with these names as a member of the Hamdān tribal confederation, famous in the Yemen in pre-Islamic and in Islamic times, of the sub-tribe known as Ya‘bur, and as a native of the Ḥarāz region, the cradle and perennial stronghold of Ismailism in the Yemen.

The Ismaili *da‘wa* (mission) in south-western Arabia begins with the work of Abu’l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Faraj b. Ḥawshab, known as ‘the conqueror of the Yemen’ – Maṣṣūr al-Yaman – who preached on behalf of the Imam al-Mahdī at the time when the latter was still residing in Syria, before his public declaration as the first Fatimid caliph,

in North Africa, in 297/909. But after the death of this Ibn Ḥawshab (probably in 302/914), the Fatimid *da'wa* in the Yemen was reduced to a local movement in the Ḥarāz mountains, and remained so for nearly a century and a half, until the time of 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (a Hamdānī tribesman), who came to prominence around 439/1047, and soon afterwards subjugated the greater part of the Yemen in the name of the Fatimid caliph in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, combining in his person the roles of sultan or ruler of the Yemen and *da'i* (missionary) for the Fatimid imam. 'Alī b. Muḥammad was killed on the road to Mecca in 459/1067 and was succeeded as ruler (though not apparently as *da'i*) by his son Aḥmad b. 'Alī, with the regnal name al-Malik al-Mukarram. When the latter died, in 477/1084, he was succeeded – at least nominally – by his son 'Alī b. Aḥmad, called al-Mukarram al-Aṣghar; but since he was a minor, the real power was wielded by 'Alī's mother, whom contemporary and other early sources call al-Sayyida bint Aḥmad, but to whom later Yemeni tradition assigns (rightly or wrongly) the personal name Arwā. Al-Sayyida continued to rule after the death of her son (the exact date of which is not known), despite a purely nominal second marriage to Saba' b. Aḥmad al-Ṣulayḥī (d. 491/1097–8), until her own death in 532/1138, at an age of at least 85. After the demise of this formidable queen the Ṣulayḥid kingdom disintegrated.

During these years the Fatimid empire was shaken by two serious succession crises. When the Caliph al-Mustanṣir died in 487/1094 the Armenian praetorian guard, who were the effective rulers of the empire, rejected his designated successor, Nizār, and declared Nizār's brother al-Musta'li as caliph. Nizār rebelled and the largest portion of the *da'is* in Syria and Persia threw their support behind him. The Ṣulayḥids, on the other hand, declared their continued loyalty to the rulers of Egypt, and recognised the Imamate of al-Musta'li and then that of his son al-Āmir. Al-Āmir was killed by an assassin in 524/1130, leaving an infant son, al-Ṭayyib, who disappeared under mysterious circumstances, and after some complicated machinations a cousin of the murdered caliph was proclaimed caliph and imam in 526/1132 under the regnal name al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, but a significant number of dissenters refused to recognise him and clung to the belief that al-Ṭayyib was still alive and in concealment. The Zuray'id rulers (who took over much of the territory previously ruled by the Ṣulayḥids) supported al-Ḥāfiẓ and his successors, but a small faction in the old Ismaili

stronghold of the Ḥarāz mountains declared themselves for al-Ṭayyib. (The Ṭayyibī sources unanimously claim that the aged Queen al-Sayyida supported their party, but the non-Ṭayyibī sources contradict this claim.) At first, they expected the return in glory of al-Ṭayyib, but eventually they accepted that he had died and that the imamate was perpetuated by his (hidden) descendants. During the prolonged occultation of the imam the effective leader of the Ṭayyibī community was *al-dā'ī al-muṭlaq* (we shall refer to him simply as 'the da'ī'), the deputy and representative of the hidden imam, the first da'ī being Dhu'ayb b. Musā al-Wādī'ī. The rank of da'ī is not strictly speaking hereditary, though it has mostly remained in the same small number of families, and is passed on by an obligatory public declaration (*naṣṣ*) of the successor by the reigning da'ī.¹ After the fall of Fatimid Egypt to the Ayyūbids in 567/1171 the Ḥāfiẓī community disappeared completely, but the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* has succeeded in maintaining a tenuous presence in the Yemen until the present day.

At an early date (the tradition says it was already at the time of the Sulayḥids, but this still needs to be examined critically) the Ṭayyibīs established a foothold in Gujarat, where they became known as Bohras, the Bohra community being evidently a mixture of Hindu converts and emigrants from the Yemen. The increasingly strained situation of the Ṭayyibī community in the Yemen and their constant harassment by the armies of the Zaydī imams led to an accelerated emigration to India. In 946/1539 an Indian, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, was proclaimed as 24th da'ī, and his successor, the 25th da'ī, Jalāl b. Ḥasan, moved the headquarters of the sect to Gujarat. When his successor, the 26th da'ī, Dā'ūd b. 'Ajab, died (either in 997/1589 or in 999/1591) the community

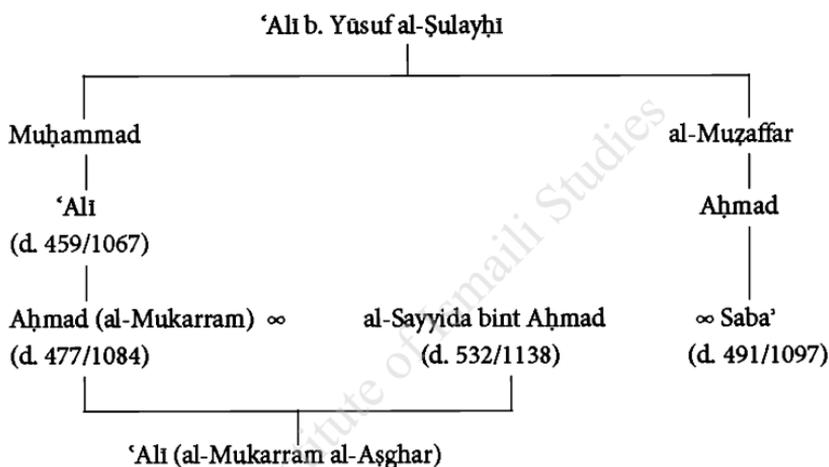
1. Until the appointment of the Indian Yūsuf b. Sulaymān in 946/1539, all the da'īs came from just three families: the al-Wādī'ī lineage produced the 1st da'ī (Dhu'ayb), the 6th ('Alī b. Ḥanẓala) and the 10th (his grandson 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī); the al-Ḥāmīdī lineage produced the 2nd da'ī (Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn), the 3rd (his son Ḥātim), and the 4th (the latter's son 'Alī); all the other da'īs come from Banu'l-Walid, namely the 5th ('Alī b. Muḥammad), the 7th (his nephew Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad), the 8th (Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad), the 9th (his son 'Alī), and then all the others from the 11th to 23rd, the succession passing sometimes from father to son, sometimes from brother to brother, and sometimes from uncle to nephew.

split: one faction supported Dā'ūd b. Quṭb-shāh, while another supported Sulaymān b. Ḥasan. Eventually, the latter (Sulaymānī) faction won the allegiance of the majority of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis in south-western Arabia (but also of a small group in India); the present (51st) Sulaymānī da'ī, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (acceded in 2005), resides in Najrān in Saudi Arabia. The Dā'ūdī faction was supported by the majority of the Ṭayyibīs in India, where all their da'īs have resided, but they also have had a small number of followers in the Yemen, among them the already mentioned 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, who moved to India at the invitation of the 39th Dā'ūdī da'ī, Ibrāhīm Wajih al-Dīn (r. 1150–1168/1737–1754). The subsequent history of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa*, the split in the community after the death of the 46th da'ī, and the prominent role played by the Hamdānī family in these events are discussed below in Abbas Hamdani's sketch of his family's history. We can thus dispense with a discussion of them at this point.

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

Genealogical Tables

The Şulayhids



The Hamdani Family

'Ali b. Sa'id b. Ḥusayn b. 'Ali al-Ya'burī al-Hamdānī (ca. 1719–1798)

Ibrāhīm (d. 1842)

Fayḍ Allāh (ca. 1798–1876)

Muḥammad 'Alī (1833–1898)

Ibrāhīm Şafīyya 'Alī Fayḍ Allāh Ṭāhīr Ruqayya
(d. 1911) (d. 1938) (1877–1969) (d. 1928) (d. 1950)

+ Faṭīma Ḍīyā'iyya bint Shaykh Ādam
b. Sayyidunā Ḥusamuddīn (48th da'i) (1881–1968)

Ḥusayn ('Abd al-Ḥusayn) (1901–1962)

Ḥatīm (1905–1989)

+ Zaynab (1907–1991)

bint Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyīb b. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Sayyidī Şādiq 'Alī

Abbas (1926–)

Şafīyya (1928–)

+ Zubayda

Sumaiya (1962–)

Amal (1964–1994)

Notes on the Catalogue Entries

In the present catalogue the manuscripts have been separated, first of all, into works by Ismaili authors and those by non-Ismaili authors – in general I prefer to speak of ‘Ismaili authors’ rather than ‘Ismaili works’: a man like Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī was undeniably an Ismaili author, but his *Kitāb al-zīna* is not an Ismaili work in any meaningful sense of the word, but a work of general Muslim learning. Amongst the former category I have separated, first of all, the *Fihrist* of al-Majdū‘, as the fundamental source of bibliographic reference to which I refer constantly in the ensuing catalogue, then (proceeding in broadly chronological order) the works of the older Yemeni school (that is, the works ascribed, for the most part doubtless wrongly, to the aforementioned Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman and his son Ja‘far, probably the oldest surviving Ismaili writings), and then authors attached to the Fatimid court, first in North Africa and then in Cairo, and their contemporaries in Persia. The treatises ascribed to the ‘sincere brethren’ (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*), whose date and place of composition are still debated, have been assigned to a separate section. Then we continue with the writings of Yemeni authors of the Ṣulayḥid and post-Ṣulayḥid periods and finally with the rich literature of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis in India.

In describing the manuscripts my aim has been to focus on what is important and interesting in the given manuscript (in some cases the rare or unique nature of the work contained in it, in other cases codicological features of the manuscript itself), and not to give a complete bibliography of each and every work. The fundamental work for Ismaili bibliography remains I. K. Poonawala’s great *Biobibliography* of 1977, which not only synthesised all previously published catalogues, but also

listed a very large number of manuscripts which the author himself had inspected, including most of those described in the present volume. I have not repeated most of the information found in Poonawala, but instead refer the reader to it for further enlightenment; however, I have added references to the catalogues that have been published in the intervening years. I have also referred to F. Daftary's recent bibliography of published Ismaili literature, without reiterating all his references to the secondary sources. In short, my goal has been to complement rather than replace these invaluable works. I have, on the other hand, consistently referred to W. Ivanow's bibliographies of 1933 and 1963, but mainly so as to help readers to trace the genealogy of many of the persistent errors with which Ismaili studies have become entangled. The well-known general Arabic bibliographies by C. Brockelmann and F. Sezgin have been cited only in connection with the non-Ismaili manuscripts; what they have to say about Ismaili writings is almost entirely dependent on Ivanow's writings and thus has little independent value.

The physical description of the manuscripts is intentionally brief, and comprises the following elements (working broadly from the exterior to the interior of each book):

- binding
- number of folios or pages (unfortunately, some of the manuscripts are foliated, while others are paginated; I have used the available numbering and not re-foliated the books)
- number and size of quires (but only if the quires are numbered by the scribe)
- catchwords
- size of the page and (in brackets) size of the written area (measuring from the bottom of the top line to the bottom of last line, in both cases the measurement being rounded up or down to the nearest half-centimetre)
- number of lines per page
- colour of ink
- style of writing (but without aiming at any general typology of Arabic scripts)
- marginalia
- other rubrics and illumination
- scribe, date and place (according to the colophon)
- title page, labels, other owner's notes, seals, etc.

da‘i, sometimes for the names of persons like Abū Bakr or ‘Umar who are revered by some other Muslim groups, but generally condemned by the Shi‘a. Of course, these ‘secret’ scripts are now no more secret than the ‘secret’ books in which they appear. They have been discussed notably in Strothmann (1943) and Strothmann (1952), with conversion tables for two different types of secret script, but in the manuscripts in this collection only the form that Strothmann calls ‘the first script’ is used. A table for converting it into ordinary Arabic script is found on the first folio of Ms.1455 [see Figure 1].

By contrast, the copy of the *Kanz al-walad* in the hand of Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī [Ms. 1499] is not written in the ordinary secret script, but in a script apparently especially invented by the copyist.

A Note on Dates

Differently from other Muslim denominations, who reckon the beginning of each month from the actual local sighting on the new crescent, the Fatimid and Ṭayyibī Ismailis have used a calendar based on mathematical calculation of mean lunations, similar to – but not entirely identical with – the purely notional calendars used in medieval Islamic astronomical handbooks and in most modern conversion tables and programmes. All versions of the calculated (or ‘tabular’) calendar agree in assigning a fixed length of 30 days to the odd months and of 29 days to the even months as well as in adding a 30th day to the last month 11 times in 30 years, but they differ as to which years in the 30-year cycle receive the extra day, and also as to whether the beginning of the Muslim era is calculated from 15 or 16 July, CE 622.

The Fatimid/Ṭayyibī calendar operates with the following parameters: the epoch of the era is Thursday 15 July 622, and the extra day is added to the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 21st, 24th, 27th and 29th year of the 30-year cycle. Applying these parameters, one can calculate the exact Julian or Gregorian equivalent of any date mentioned in Ismaili texts and also determine the corresponding day of the week.² I have examined a large number of dates in Ismaili documents

2. There is at least one Bohra website with a usable conversion facility and this form of the calendar is also included on the Utrecht University site www.phys.uu.nl/~vgent/islam/islam_tabcals.htm, where it is called the ‘Fātimid, astronomical’ variant.

ranging from *al-Sijillāt al-mustanshiriyya* of the 11th century CE down to the present and (apart from a very small number of errors) the day of the week indicated in the documents agrees consistently with the one calculated according to these parameters. It is, however, important to realise that most of the commonly available conversion tables and computer programs operate with slightly different parameters and that consequently the Julian or Gregorian equivalents indicated in this catalogue often differ from those given by these tables or programs by one or two days. The moral of the story is: trust me, do not trust the tables.

The non-Ismaili texts in this collection do not, of course, follow the same system and an exact conversion of the dates contained in these manuscripts is possible only if the day of the week is mentioned. In other cases only an approximate Julian or Gregorian equivalent has been provided. For further discussion of this whole complex I respectfully refer the reader to my article "Ta'rikh, I" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd edition, hereafter referred to as *EI2*).

History of the Hamdani Collection of Manuscripts

by Abbas Hamdani

The provenance of the manuscripts donated by Abbas Hamdani to The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, needs an explanation. The authorship of most of these manuscripts is Ismaili, dating from the pre-Fatimid period up to the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in India and then to the present day. However, the earlier manuscripts are copies from the post-Şulayḥid period. Some old ones might still be found in private libraries in the Yemen.

During the 11th century, the Fatimid state in Yemen was ravaged by political and military conflicts, bankruptcy and impending divisions of rival dynastic claims. During this tumultuous period, an attempt was made to preserve the religious heritage of the Fatimids by a Yemeni mission under the da'i Lamak b. Mālik to the central *da'wa* headquarters in Cairo, then headed by the chief da'i, al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Din al-Şirāzī (d. 470/1078). One of the purposes of this mission may have been to transfer the Ismaili manuscripts to the Yemen for safekeeping. The Yemen was then under the rule of the powerful Şulayḥid dynasty, who were still loyal to the Fatimids.

In the post-Şulayḥid period beginning in 533/1138, the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* inherited and preserved these manuscripts by remaining on good terms with the new rulers – the Ayyūbids, Rasūlids and the Ṭāhirids – whereas the main opposition was led by the Zaydī imams. Most of the Hamdān, in Şan'ā' and the north, supported the Zaydīs. However, a group of them known as the Ya'buris crossed over to the Ṭayyibī enclave in the Ḥarāz region and assisted the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*.

The situation changed in the 16th century, with the advent of the Mamlūks and the Ottomans in the Middle East. The Ṭayyibī community,

which had in the meantime grown on both the Yemeni and Indian coasts of the Arabian sea, now decided to shift its headquarters (the seat of its *al-dā'i al-muṭlaq*) to India in 1539. Soon after, efforts were made to collect and preserve the literary heritage of the community.

Manuscripts from Yemen had been trickling in, but a major breakthrough came with the invitation by the 39th Dā'ūdī Ṭayyibī da'i Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754) to 'Alī b. Sa'īd b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ya'burī al-Hamdānī al-Ḥarāzī (1132–1212/1718–1798) to come to India with his large collection of Ismaili and other manuscripts. 'Alī was known for his lineage and his scholarship. He hailed from the family of the Amir Saba' b. Yūsuf al-Ya'burī, the military supporter of the third Ṭayyibī da'i *muṭlaq* Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī (d. 596/1199), but he and his family had been living in straitened circumstances and were in need of assistance. So he migrated to India with his wife and son Ibrāhīm. He settled in Sūrāt and served under four da'is – the 39th Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn, the 40th Hibat Allah al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn (d. 1193/1779), the 41st 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1200/1785) and 42nd Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn (d. 1213/1798).

Copying of old Yemeni manuscripts proliferated in the study circles (*ḥalqas*) of his grandson Fayḍ Allāh (d. 1876) and his great-grandson Muḥammad 'Alī (1249–1315/1833–1898) who built a large library during the time of four da'is – the 46th Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn (d. 1256/1840), 47th 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (d. 1302/1885), 48th 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn (d. 1308/1891) and 49th Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1323/1906). Many manuscripts of this library bear his seal dated 1284 H (1867–1868).

On Sayyidi Muḥammad 'Alī's death, his daughter Ṣafiyya distributed the manuscripts among her three younger brothers, 'Alī, Ṭāhir and Fayḍ Allāh, all of whom were approached unsuccessfully by the then da'i – the 51st Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965) – to donate the manuscripts to his own private collection, to which only his immediate family had access. 'Alī lived in Hyderabad (Deccan) and having died childless, donated many of the manuscripts to his friend and colleague Dr Zāhid 'Alī (1888–1958), whose collection is now preserved and catalogued in the library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London. Ṭāhir's attitude was ambivalent. Outwardly, he supported the da'i but, nevertheless, he did not wish to part with his manuscripts. He distributed some of them to his younger brother, Fayḍ Allāh, and the rest to his second son, Muḥsin, who shared the same attitude as his father.

Muḥsin's portion of the collection found its way to the da'ī's library, while the rest is still in the possession of his son Shabbir, who currently resides in Dallas in the United States.

The younger and second son of Fayḍ Allāh (d. 1969), Ḥātim, reassembled a collection of manuscripts of the Khizāna Muḥammadiyya, and his elder son, Ḥusayn, later provided access for Western scholars to study them. In 1968, when Fayḍ Allāh was very ill, some manuscripts were taken without authorisation from his library and sold to the University Library in Tübingen, Germany. On his death, Ḥātim gave some manuscripts to Bombay University Library. But before his death, Fayḍ Allāh asked his grandson Abbas (son of Ḥusayn), who was then in Cairo, to visit him in Sūrat where he gave him most of what remained of his collection. Abbas added these manuscripts to those in the collection of his father Ḥusayn in Cairo. Ḥātim's daughter Surayya also owned some non-Ismaili manuscripts which she eventually sent to her cousin Abbas. Thus much of the Khizāna Muḥammadiyya literary treasure was reconstructed by Abbas. Ḥusayn, while studying in Europe, had given copies of some of these manuscripts to Dr Paul Kraus (1904–1944), and through him to the libraries of Leiden and Paris.

Abbas, now in his old age, has donated his manuscripts to the library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London in an attempt to stop the collection from becoming further dispersed, and to perpetuate the name and memory of Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī, who was the greatest Hamdānī collector of all. This donation also ensures that the manuscripts are preserved by modern scientific methods and that they are made available to scholars for study and research with proper acknowledgement to the collection and the Institute.

What follows are short biographies of Sayyidī 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī and Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī (both taken from a manuscript of Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī's biography of his father Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī in the possession of Dr Abbas Hamdani, and written in Bohra Gujarati), and further biographies of Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī and Professor Ḥusayn Hamdānī.

'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī

Sayyidī 'Alī b. Sa'īd b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ya'buri al-Hamdānī al-Ḥarāzī died in Sūrat on 1 Ramaḍān 1212 H/16 February 1798. As he is

suspected to have lived for about 80 years, he must have been born ca. 1131/1718.

He was a native of Ḥarāz and claimed descent from the famous Amīr Saba' b. Yūsuf al-Ya'burī al-Hamdānī of the 6th/12th century. His renown as a scholar prompted the 39th da'i *muṭṭlaq* Ibrāhīm Wajih al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754) to invite him to India. He came with his large collection of manuscripts, both Ismaili and general, his wife and his son Ibrāhīm. He served four successive da'is. He was considered one of the two most learned men of the *da'wa*; the other being Sayyidī Hibat Allāh b. Walībḥā'ī, the mentor of the 43rd da'i Sayyidunā 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817). At the request of the da'i, Sayyidī 'Alī put in verse the book *Salwān al-matā'* which contains his name as well as those of his father and grandfather. He was also an expert calligrapher. The Hamdānī Collection contains in his hand the second volume of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's (d. 363/974) *Da'ā'im al-Islām* copied in 1161/1748.

Perhaps the most interesting episode of his life was his involvement in the dissident Hiptia movement of al-Shaykh Hibat Allāh b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rasūl, known as al-Majdū', who hailed from Ujjayn. Al-Majdū' had declared that he was in contact with the hidden Ṭayyibi imam, and that the latter had appointed him *ḥujja*, higher in rank than da'i *muṭṭlaq*, then the 40th in the series, Hibat Allāh al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn (d. 1193/1779). The two pre-eminent learned men of the time – Sayyidī 'Alī Hamdānī and Sayyidī Hibat Allāh b. Walībḥā'ī, mentioned above – became followers of the pretender al-Majdū', for a time. Sayyidī 'Alī even wrote a booklet inviting a fellow Ya'burī – Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Ya'burī al-Hamdānī – to join the Hiptias. Later, however, both of these learned scholars withdrew their support from al-Majdū'. Sayyidī 'Alī even wrote a *risāla* in refutation of al-Majdū's claims.

Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī

Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī was born on 19 Ṣafar 1249/6 July 1833 and died in Sūrāt on 9 Sha'bān 1315/1 January 1898 at the age of 65. Most of his life he was afflicted with acute colic and eye diseases. Despite this, he rose to be one of the moving spirits of his time in the *da'wa*. His early training

was with his father. From 1261/1845 onwards, he remained the pupil of his maternal uncle, 'Abd al-'Alī Walī Allāh, until the latter's death in 1274/1857. He taught his own group of students from 1270/1853, during and after the last years of his mentor's life. He was a contemporary of four da'is – the 46th Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn (d. 1256/1840), 47th 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (d. 1302/1885), 48th 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn (d. 1308/1891) and 49th Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1323/1906).

The death of Sayyidunā Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn in 1256/1840 created consternation among the 'ulāmā' of the community. The majority of them maintained that the da'i had died without designating a successor, in which case the hidden Ṭayyibi imam should appear, and they acknowledged the next head of the *da'wa*, 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn, only as a *nāẓim* and not as a da'i *muṭlaq*; and they did not mind paying homage to Najm al-Dīn in public for the sake of communal unity. Najm al-Dīn, in order to establish his position began to weaken that of the 'ulāmā' by appointing his own family members to the various offices of the *da'wa*. Against this a protest group, called the Ḥilf al-faḍā'il, was formed, for which Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī's *Risālat Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* became a manifesto. Najm al-Dīn tried to placate Muḥammad 'Alī by bestowing on him an investiture for the hierarchical dignity of *ḥadd* in 1277/1860, but this did not deter the latter from his stand. In any case, after his father's death in 1293/1876, Muḥammad 'Alī left India for Mecca in the company of four other 'ulāmā'. Making Mecca his base, he travelled to Turkey and visited Istanbul, then visited Syria, Palestine, Jerusalem and other holy places, before arriving in Egypt and travelling across North Africa to Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. These journeys were in pursuit of the hidden Ṭayyibi imam, whom he believed should now appear.

His Meccan interlude lasted for approximately 11 years, until 1305/1887. During this period he did not break contact with India, maintaining correspondence with the members of the Ḥilf al-faḍā'il as well as with the da'i 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn and the future da'i, Ḥusām al-Dīn. In 1297/1880, he sent a *risāla* (letter) to Najm al-Dīn, at the request of the Ḥilf, which contains the history of the discontinuance of *naṣṣ* (designation) on the death of the 46th da'i.

Muḥammad 'Alī returned to India in 1305/1887 at the insistence of his wife and children. The next year Sayyidunā Ḥusām al-Dīn became the chief da'i and was followed in 1308/1891 by Muḥammad Burhān

al-Dīn. These two da'is remained on cordial terms with Muḥammad 'Alī. Ḥusām al-Dīn even gave his granddaughter, Fāṭima, in marriage to Muḥammad 'Alī's youngest son Fayḍ Allāh. Sayyidunā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn entrusted the management of a madrasa to Muḥammad 'Alī in place of the official Sayfī Dars, in Sūrat, that had remained closed for a long time, and made him an adviser for the appointment of 'āmils (Dā'udī representatives) in various regions and a chief polemicist against a new rival group led by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Kaparwanjī of Mahdībāgh, in Nagpur, who himself had claimed to be a *ḥujja* (proof) in contact with the Ṭayyibī imam. In this connection, Muḥammad 'Alī composed a *risāla*, *Mutabayyana bihi buṭlān al-mudda'ī*, and supervised the composition of several other *risālas*.

Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī's loyalty to the *da'wa* was the result of an important document written by the da'i Burhān al-Dīn in 1309/1891 in which the latter confessed that he did not claim the rank of da'i *muṣṭafaq* or any other rank except that of the *nāẓim* or organiser of the community; and that the previous da'is Ḥusām al-Dīn and Najm al-Dīn had also held the same belief. Muḥammad 'Alī's opposition was internal and reformist and not for the purpose of setting up an external opposition group.

Muḥammad 'Alī's other interests were poetry and astronomy (his nickname was *durbīn*, lit. 'the user of a telescope'). His *Dīwān* exists in the Hamdānī Collection, with some general scientific non-Ismaili manuscripts. This seems to have been built upon the earlier interest of his great-grandfather, Sayyidī 'Alī al-Hamdānī.

Many manuscripts are copies of earlier *da'wa* literature made by his pupils, then examined and corrected by him. Some of them bear his seal dated 1284 H. A part of his collection has found its way to the libraries of the Universities of Tübingen and Bombay.

Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī

Sayyidī Fayḍ Allāh, the youngest son of Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī was born in Sūrat on 29 Ramaḍān 1294/5 October 1877 and died there on Shawwāl 1388/4 January 1969 at the advanced age of 91.

His relations with the da'i Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1323/1906) were very cordial as both acknowledged the fact that the da'i was merely a *nāẓim* of the community. Burhān al-Dīn was followed briefly by 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn (d. 1333/1915), who was

followed by Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn. The latter took over charge of the *da'wa* on the sudden death of his older brother, who had been originally designated to succeed and then decided that the time had come to put an end to the da'i's subservience to the 'ulamā'. He declared that he was the da'i *muṭlaq* proper and not just a *nāẓim*, that he was the sole owner of the *jān* (soul) and *māl* (property) of his flock. This led to litigation that went to the Privy Council in London. When called upon to testify



Figure 2. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī (ca. 1798–1876).

in a court case, Sayyidī Fayḍ Allāh gave the history of how the *naṣṣ* (designation) had been broken since the sudden death of the 46th da'i in 1256/1840. This led to the excommunication and complete social ostracism of him and his family.

Sayyidī Fayḍ Allāh lived a long life of poverty and deprivation but full of dedication to the education of his people. He managed the Madrasa Muḥammadiyya started by his father. He founded the City High School in Sūrat, which was the first English language school in the community. He was an active member of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference and the General Secretary of the Alavi Trust Fund, a charitable foundation, until his death. He was also responsible for reassembling and preserving the family library of Ismaili literature (manuscripts as well as printed works), known as *al-Khizāna al-Muḥammadiyya*, and making manuscripts from this collection available to Western scholars through his elder son Ḥusayn.

His two works of historical importance are *'Aqīda Burhāniyya* (published in Sūrat, 1966) and *Sawāniḥ 'umār Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī Hamdānī* (in Bohra Gujarati, part of the Hamdani Collection).

Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī³

Ḥusayn Hamdānī, the elder son of Fayḍ Allāh, was born in Sūrat on 4 Muḥarram 1319 H/22 April 1901. Being born in Muḥarram, he was originally named 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, which he later shortened to Ḥusayn. His mother was Faṭīma Diyā'iyya, a granddaughter of the 48th da'i Sayyidunā Ḥusām al-Dīn. He was married to Zaynab, the great-granddaughter of Sayyidī Ṣādiq 'Alī, the renowned poet of the community.

His first teachers in Arabic and Islamic studies were Shaykh Ishāq 'Alī Shāh-japūri and his own father. He was one of the first members of the community to receive a modern Western education. He obtained his Master's degree from Bombay University in 1927, before travelling in 1928 to England to study at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. He wrote his thesis under the supervision of Professor H.A.R. Gibb and received his doctorate in

3. For an overview of Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī's pioneering studies, see Farhad Daftary's *Ismaili Literature* (London, 2004), pp. 287–288.

1931. His unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted that year was titled 'The da'i Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn and his *Kitāb zahr al-ma'ānī*'. He was closely associated with his friend and mentor, Dr Paul Kraus, and donated copies of several Ismaili manuscripts from his family collection to libraries in Paris and Leiden. He introduced Western scholars to the Ismaili and Fatimid works, and to the Ṭayyibī tradition and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*.

On his return to India, he briefly taught Arabic and Persian at the M.T.B. College in his hometown, Sūrāt, then at the Ismail Yusuf College of Bombay University from 1932 to 1948. His friends, Dr Daud Pota, Dr Inyatulla and Dr Zāhid 'Alī had a common mission to promote at their respective universities of Sindh, Panjab and Hyderabad (Deccan) the teaching of Arabic, which had been ignored in preference to Persian. He also made available manuscripts from his family collection to Wladimir Ivanow and Asaf A. A. Fyzee, which contributed to their pioneering efforts in discovering, cataloguing and studying Ismaili manuscripts.

After the partition of India, he went to Lahore, Pakistan, in 1948 to become the Deputy Director of the Institute of Islamic Reconstruction under the Directorship of Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss). But soon both of them became disillusioned with the narrow requirements of their jobs and within the same year left Lahore for the then Pakistani capital of Karachi to join the foreign service. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī was appointed the first Pakistani Cultural Counsellor in Egypt at the same time as A. A. A. Fyzee was appointed Indian Ambassador to Cairo. After two years (1948–1950), he tired of the diplomatic service and, at the invitation of the then Minister of Education, Dr Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, he became Professor of Semitic Philology and Persian at the prestigious Kulliyat Dār al-'Ulūm, affiliated with both Azhar and Cairo Universities.

The publication of his book *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn* (1955), which still remains the most comprehensive history of the Ṣulayhid dynasty of Yemen, made him so popular in Yemen that he was made the Cultural Counsellor at the Yemeni Embassy in Cairo in 1958. An agreement was made that he and his family would become Yemeni citizens while continuing to live in Cairo, where he also maintained his professorial position. Three of his most prominent pupils in Cairo were Ismail Poonawala, Ḥasan Sulaymān al-Juḥānī and Bāqir 'Alī Tirmidhī.

Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī was engaged in the monumental undertaking of publishing the entire text of the *Kitāb al-zīna* of the da'i Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad al-Rāzī as well as a study on comparative Semitic terminology when he suddenly died of a stroke on 25 May 1962 and was buried in the enclosure in Cairo of his friend Shaykh 'Abd al-Mutaal al-Sa'īdī. Subsequently, only two fascicules of the *Kitāb al-zīna*, as edited by him, were published in Cairo during 1956–1958.

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

The Catalogue

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

I. Bibliographical Works

Ms. 1401 [Handlist 4]

Fihrist al-kutub wa'l-rasā'il

by Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Majdū'

Arabic manuscript dated 1902

This important work is a catalogue of Ismaili writings (and a few non-Ismaili writings studied by the Ismailis) arranged thematically according to ascending order of secrecy, with a description – often very detailed – of the contents of each. It was compiled by Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rasūl, known as al-Majdū' ('the amputee'; since the sources state that it was not he, but his son, Hibat Allāh, who had his nose chopped off as a punishment for rebellion against the reigning da'i, it is not really clear why this epithet was attached to Ismā'il). He died in 1183 or 1184 (1769 or 1770). Ivanow's *A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (1933) is basically an English summary of this book.

The *Fihrist* has been edited by 'Alī Naqī Munzawī, ostensibly working from three modern manuscripts, two of which were in fact transcribed from the third, with the result that in reality the edition is based on only one manuscript, which was copied in Jumādā II 1335 (1917). I take this opportunity to point out that al-Majdū's book ends on page 277 of the edition; the remaining pages (what the editor calls 'section 12') are an anonymous appendix, listing works that had been overlooked (or in some cases passed over in silence due to their secrecy) by the author. This appendix is absent from the present manuscript.

This manuscript leaves a number of blank spaces, some of them of considerable size (a whole page or more, e.g. on pp. 271, 282–283, 363, etc.), presumably because of gaps in the archetype. None of these gaps are indicated in the printed edition, nor does the latter seem to supply any text missing in our manuscript at the points in question.

EDITION: ed. 'Alī Naqī Munzawī (Tehran, 1344 Sh./1966).

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), pp. 20–21; Ivanow (1963), pp. 15–16; Poonawala (1977), pp. 204–205, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 27; Daftary (2004), p. 129.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded, the spine restored; 206 folios (410 pages, numbered in part in ink, in part in pencil), preceded by 6 unnumbered folios (title page signed by Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī; 5-page

table of contents of the first 140 pp. only, in a different hand from the text; 6 blank pages); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (14 × 7.5 to 8 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; the titles of the books discussed are repeated in the margins in red; running title ('*kitāb al-fihrist*') on all pages, running chapter headings only on some pages; completed on 1 Sha'bān 1310 (2 November 1902); title and author's names stamped on spine; seals.

II. Ismaili Writings of the Older Yemeni School

Ms. 1402 [Handlist 29]

Kitāb al-‘ālim wa’l-ghulām

here ascribed to Manṣūr al-Yaman

Arabic manuscript dated 1702

This much discussed little book presents itself as a series of dialogues between a ‘boy’ (*ghulām*) – late in the text we are told that his name is Šāliḥ – and a number of other persons. Its first section describes his encounter with an unnamed ‘knower’ (*‘ālim*), who, after extracting from the boy an oath of secrecy, initiates him in the esoteric meaning of the Muslim faith and converts him to his views. In the second section, the knower leads the boy into the presence of a ‘greater knower’ or ‘shaykh’ (perhaps the imam?), who imparts to the boy the things ‘which pens cannot express’ and which must not be mentioned in sermons or in books (and which consequently are not spelt out here). The knower then accompanies the boy to the abode of the latter’s father and leaves him. The third section describes the boy’s discussions with his father and the fairly rapid conversion of the latter. The fourth and final section contains a long account of the boy’s debate with a Mu‘tazilī teacher called Abū Mālik ‘Abd al-Jabbār – the similarity of his name with that of the famous Mu‘tazilī *qāḍī al-quḍāt* Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Asadābādī (ca. 320/932 to 415/1024) is astonishing, but it can only be a coincidence; our book must have been composed well before his time – and ends with Abū Mālik’s conversion to the true faith.

The frame story of this book is clearly (though this does not seem to be mentioned in any of the previous literature) modelled on that of the book of Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf (see Ms. 1633): here, too, we have first the story of the conversion of the boy prince Būdhāsaf by a mysterious sage from a distant country, then, after the master’s departure, the boy’s debates with and eventual conversion of his own father, and then of a false teacher. It is also remarkable that the first of the two characters mentioned in the two titles (Bilawhar and al-‘Ālim respectively) figures only in the first, relatively short, section of each of the two texts, while in the remainder of the stories the second character (Būdhāsaf and al-Ghulām) has to fend for himself. I would, in any case, maintain that the formal similarity of our book with the Būdhāsaf novel

(a work famously known to and preserved by Ismailis) is much greater than its alleged similarity with Plato's dialogues (of which medieval Ismailis, and indeed other Muslims of the classical period, had no direct knowledge).

The most interesting part of the book is surely the elaborate cosmology put into the mouth of the knower, a cosmology in which there is no hint of the Neoplatonic emanation theory dominant in Ismaili writings from the time of al-Nasafi onwards, that is to say, from about the first quarter of the 4th/10th century. Instead, we have a quasi-Kabbalistic cosmology in which God creates the world out of the letters of the alphabet.

The *Kitāb al-‘ālim wa’l-ghulām* was summarised by Ivanow (1955) and by Corbin (1970), and discussed further in Corbin (1972). It was edited in a critical edition, with a complete English translation, extensive introduction and notes by James Morris (see below: editions); the earlier 'edition' by Muṣṭafā Ghālib is mentioned only for the sake of bibliographic completeness.

The authorship of this text has been the subject of considerable discussion. Following al-Majdū', Ivanow (1933) included it among the works of Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, but this attribution was rejected by Kraus in his review of Ivanow's book (Kraus, 1932, p. 215), for two reasons: first, because 'the Ismaili tradition attributes it rather to the father, Maṣṣūr al-Yaman', and second, because the doctrines defended in this work suggest a pre-Fatimid dating. Consequently, Ivanow (1963) reascribed the book to Maṣṣūr and this attribution was followed by other authors. But Morris, in his recent edition/translation, presents it once again as the work of Ja'far, stating (p. 27, n. 57) – this is in fact his only argument – that Ja'far's authorship is 'indicated by all the manuscripts'. But this is wrong. According to the information contained in Morris's own edition, one of his five manuscripts (the one he cites as *kāf*) has no indication of the author either in the superscription or in the colophon, while another of his manuscripts (*jīm*) ascribes it to Ja'far only in the colophon, but not in the superscription. So 'all the manuscripts' means 'at best four of the five manuscripts consulted by the present author'. But more significantly, in the manuscript under discussion here the book is expressly ascribed to Maṣṣūr; Kraus (who worked closely with Ḥusayn Hamdānī and had access to his collection of manuscripts) presumably found Maṣṣūr's name in this very copy and then made the (erroneous) deduction that it is the name accepted

by 'la tradition ismaëlienne'. So we need to say that both Kraus and Morris have extrapolated their remarks about 'all the manuscripts' and 'la tradition ismaëlienne' from a rather too narrow textual basis. Incidentally, it is very strange that Morris did not consult this manuscript in preparing his edition, especially seeing that he speaks (p. xii) of his 'long conversations' with (among others) Abbas Hamdani.

The first two lines in this copy (fol. 1b; see Figure 3) read namely:

كتاب العالم والغلام تاليف سيدنا من
من صور اليمن قدس الله روحه

As can be seen, the letters m-n- are written twice: at the end of the first line and again at the beginning of the second, where they are badly linked to the remainder of the name. There are enough other examples in this manuscript (and in other Ismaili manuscripts) of the wrong division of words at the end of a line. Despite this, and despite the diplography, it is quite clear that our manuscript ascribes the book to Manşūr, and not to his son.

As for Kraus's other point – the allegedly unique content of the doctrines enunciated in the book – it seems to me that this question must be deferred until a time when all the works ascribed to Ja'far have been published and studied. What is in any event clear is that the doctrines presented in all the works that have been attributed to Ja'far are strikingly different from, and also more archaic than, those in the 'classical' Ismaili writings. The present book is very likely to be an anonymous work from the pre-Fatimid or early Fatimid period which the tradition subsequently ascribed, now to Ja'far, and now to his father.

The present copy is written in a very clear, if rather uncouth, script; one is tempted to think that it was copied by a child, or by someone who was not used to writing Arabic. The latter suspicion is reinforced by the fact that in the colophon the scribe has left a blank after the word for 'year' (*sana*); the date '1114' is written (I should think by the original scribe, but it is hard to say this for certain), not in that blank, but below the word *sana*, not in Arabic, but in Gujarati numerals; this might suggest that the scribe did not know how to write Arabic numerals. (The date 1114 is reiterated, evidently on the basis of the colophon, in Arabic numerals, in an obviously recent pencilled note on fol. 1a.) Despite its unusual script, the manuscript is very carefully copied, richly vocalised, and displays some striking archaic scribal features,

كتاب العالم والغلام تاليف سيدنا من
من صور اليمن قدس الله روحه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بلغنا ان طواحق من المؤمنين ونفرا من
دعاة الدين قالوا العالم لهم قد اعتقتنا بانك
قد عرفتنا امرًا ووجب لك علينا فيه الشكر
لثلاثة وجوه: شكر في ما دعوتنا اليه وشكر
العلم الذي دللتنا عليه وشكر العلم الذي امر
تنايه فبين لنا من ذلك ما يقوم به من

من دعوات

اراد شكرًا ثم عرفنا من حدود الواجب
فيما لنا وعلينا وما يجب على الطالب في مسألته
وعلى المطلوب في جوابه وعرفنا من مذاهب
الضالحين واداب الطالبين ما نيسر من
القول قال لهم العالم ان الامر الذي دعوتكم

شكرًا

اليه

Figure 3. *Kitāb al-‘ālim wa’l-ghulam*, ascribed to Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (Ms. 1402/ fol.1b).

which suggest that it was copied from a very old master copy. I mention in particular the 'crouching' shape of the letter *kāf*, occurring in initial, medial or final position, and the fairly frequent use (especially in the first few pages) of the *ishārat al-ihmāl* to mark unpointed letters. The first of these features is also shared by the manuscript described by Gacek, no. 6 (Morris's *alif*), dated 1098/1686, just 16 years before this copy; it is the oldest recorded copy. It is possible that this copy and *alif* derive from a common, perhaps very old, prototype.

EDITIONS: M. Ghālib, in his *Arba' kutub haqqāniyya* (Beirut, 1403/1983), pp. 13–78; J. Morris, *The Master and the Disciple* (based on 5 Mss., with introduction, English translation and notes) (London, 2001).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 134–135; Ivanow (1933), no. 42; Ivanow (1963), no. 10; Goriawala (1965), no. 17; Poonawala (1977), pp. 74–75, no. 14; Gacek (1984), no. 6 (1 copy: see the more detailed description in Morris's edition, pp. 30–31); Cortese (2000), no. 52; Daftary (2004), pp. 121–122.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 70 fols; catchwords; 22.5 × 14.5 cm (17 × 10 to 11 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; very distinctive *naskh*, frequently vocalised; marginal and interlineal corrections; completed 26 Muḥarram 1114 (the year in Gujarati numerals; 21 June 1702); copied by Yūsuf Walad Ṭayyib; label on spine; seals.

Ms. 1403 [Handlist 31]

Kitāb asrār al-nuṭaqā'

ascribed to Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman

Arabic manuscript, 19th century

The Ṭayyibis have preserved two closely related works, both attributed to Ja'far, with the nearly identical titles *Asrār al-nuṭaqā'* and *Sarā'ir al-nuṭaqā'*. Both contain, in for the most part the same wording, detailed accounts of the first six of the seven 'speakers' (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad) and of the seven imams in each of the 'cycles' following each of the speakers. The name of the seventh imam of the sixth cycle – who is also the seventh and last of the speakers – is not mentioned, but it cannot escape the attentive reader that he is none other than Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. The principal difference

between the *Asrār* and the *Sarāʿir* seems to be that the former has a long additional section (begins in this copy on fol. 101b) discussing in a polemical form the (non-Ismaili) Shiʿi sects that emerged after the time of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq, where we read (here on fol. 106a) that now 120 years have elapsed since the death of Ḥasan al-ʿAskari, the 11th of the 12 imams of the Ithnāʿasharī sect. Ḥasan died in 260/873, so this section at least must have been written in about 380/990. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman died – according to the best source – in 302/914;¹ it is perhaps physically possible that his son Jaʿfar was still alive 76 years later, but this does not seem very likely, especially since there is no indication in the available sources that Jaʿfar was active after the time of the Caliph al-Muʿizz (d. 365/975). This would seem to suggest that the *Asrār* is a reworking of the *Sarāʿir* from the time of al-ʿAzīz.

Both the *Asrār* and the *Sarāʿir* are contained in an old Yemeni manuscript dated 742 (1341–1342). That copy was at one time in the possession of Fyzee, and was examined by Poonawala, but it is not included in the collection given by Fyzee to Bombay University and catalogued by Goriawala and I am not aware of its current location. Al-Majdūf does not mention either of these books in the main body of his *Fihrist*, but the anonymous appendix to that work (see Munzawī’s edition, p. 278) lists in succession *Asrār al-nuṣṣaqāʿ* and *Sarāʿir al-nuṣṣaqāʿ* as works of Jaʿfar, but without any information concerning their contents.

This copy, like three of the other four copies in the library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS),² begins with the story of Abraham; the introduction and the first two sections are thus missing. A fragment of some text (presumably from the first part of the *Asrār*) is copied, together with its catchword, and evidently by the same scribe, on fol. 1b, the next page was left blank, and the Abraham story begins on fol. 2b.

EDITIONS: ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1984). (Ostensibly a composite edition of the *Asrār* and the *Sarāʿir*, but in fact apparently an edition of the version of the former contained in the Ms. described in Cortese (2000), no. 51.)

1. See Madelung’s article ‘Maṣṣūr al-Yaman’, *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 438–439.

2. Of the copies in the IIS library, only Cortese (2000), no. 51, is complete; the three copies catalogued by Gacek, and the one described in Cortese (2003) all begin with the account of Abraham. I say this having examined the four manuscripts myself, as the information contained in the published catalogues is ambiguous.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 43; Ivanow (1963), no. 14; Poonawala (1977), p. 72, no. 3; Gacek (1984), no. 11 (3 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 51; Cortese (2003), no. 13; Daftary (2004), p. 122.

After the end of the *Asrār* we find, in a different hand, a short text with the heading *Mas'ala 'an abwāb al-jinān al-thamāniya* (fol. 116a–117a). The same text also follows the *Asrār* in Gacek's no. 11B.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled, with a cloth wrapper; 117 folios (numbered with Arabic and Gujarati numerals, but the numbering is wrong from fol. 11 onwards; I quote the true folio numbers); 16 numbered quires of usually 8 folios each (the 9th and 12th quires have 6 folios each, while the 16th has 4 folios, of which only the first 2 are inscribed; the bottom half of fol. 116a, and the whole of 116b–117a are in a different hand); catchwords; 24 × 13 cm (17 × 8 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red (frequent until fol. 95; sporadic thereafter); *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title on fol. 1a and on labels on the cover and the wrapper; seals of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1404 [Handlist 32]

Kitāb al-shawāhid wa'l-bayān

by Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman

Arabic manuscript dated 1884

A treatise on the cycles of speakers and imams, attributed here (in the superscription), and consistently in the Ismaili tradition, to Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman. The author states absolutely clearly (here on fol. 11a) that the apocalyptic figure of al-Qā'im al-Mahdī 'who will fill the world with justice' is 'the seventh of the seven speakers from Adam and the eighth of eight from the sons of 'Alī'; similarly (fol. 15b) when he speaks of 'the seven imams from his sons, and the eighth of them is the seventh speaker'. In other words: the Mahdī is not Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, but evidently his son. The statement that the Mahdī is the eighth imam is found also in the *Kitāb al-rushd wa'l-hidāya* ascribed to Ja'far's father.

This manuscript and those catalogued by Gacek and Cortese derive from a common master copy, referred to in the marginalia and colophon as *al-umm*. This prototype was evidently incomplete at the beginning, and there was also a gap of indeterminate size early on in the text, where all three mentioned copies (this one on fol. 7a, Gacek's copy on

p. 19, the *Zāhid* 'Ali copy on p. 15) have left a blank space; in this copy only there is a marginal note of 'a gap in the master copy' (*kharm fi'l-umm*). All three copies also end with statements to the effect that the master copy mentioned the fact that some manuscripts of the work contained notes in the handwriting of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (the 2nd da'i, 1151–1162) and that the master copy also contained a note in the hand of Shams al-Dīn 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs al-Anf (the 30th da'i, 1631–1632); if this information is correct the master copy must be from the time of the latter, if not earlier.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 190–191; Ivanow (1933), no. 49; Ivanow (1963), no. 16; Goriawala (1965), no. 24; Poonawala (1977), pp. 71–72, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 142; Cortese (2003), no. 153.

DESCRIPTION: green cloth binding with leather trim; 91 folios (the first 44 pages only are numbered in the hand of the scribe); 11 numbered quires of 8 folios each, followed by one unnumbered quire; catchwords; 23 × 15 cm (15.5 × 9.5 to 10 cm); 16 lines; black ink with superscription and rubrics in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections; signed by Ṭayyib 'Ali b. Mullā Ḥabīb Allāh b. Miyyān-Ṣāhib Sulṭān 'Alī Burhānpūrī and dated Friday 15 Sha'bān 1301 (this date corresponds to Monday 9 June 1884, so there is some mistake); title and author indicated in the superscription and on the label on the front cover; title also indicated in the explicit (fol. 91a).

Ms. 1405 [Handlist 110]
an incomplete copy of the same
Arabic manuscript

This pile of detached quires has no indication of the title or author of the work contained in them, but it is in fact another incomplete copy of the *Kitāb al-shawāhid wa'l-bayān*. On fol. 11b there is the same lacuna as in the copies mentioned in the previous entry, but here the text runs on without leaving the necessary gap. The text breaks off at the bottom of fol. 58a, corresponding to Ms. 1404 fol. 30a, 2nd line from the bottom; fol. 58b is blank. Consequently this manuscript contains only about a third of the extant text.

DESCRIPTION: 7 unbound quires; 58 folios; catchwords; 23 × 14 cm (11.5 × 7 cm); 13 lines; black ink (no rubrics); *naskh*; no colophon, title page or seals.

Ms. 1406 [Handlist 48]

Kitāb al-farā'iq wa ḥudūd al-dīn

by Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman

Arabic manuscript dated 1889

This work contains an esoteric exegesis of verses from a few *sūras* of the Qur'ān, focusing on justifying the Ismaili doctrine of the prophets and imams, and in this context the author quotes the much discussed letter of the Caliph al-Mahdī to the Ismailis in the Yemen in which he discusses his genealogy. This book has still not been published, but the letter by al-Mahdī was published (from this manuscript) by Husain Hamdani in his booklet *On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs* (Cairo, 1958), and then translated and copiously discussed by Abbas Hamdani and François de Blois in their article 'A Re-examination of al-Mahdī's Letter to the Yemenites on the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1983), pp. 173–207.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 187–188; Ivanow (1933), no. 45; Ivanow (1963), no. 19; Goriawala (1965), no. 20; Poonawala (1977), p. 73, no. 6; Gacek (1984), no. 49; Cortese (2000), no. 53; Cortese (2003), no. 53 (3 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 129.

Al-Majdū' states that the *Kitāb al-farā'iq* is followed by an extract from the same author's *Kitāb al-adilla wa'l-shawāhid* and this is indeed the case in the present manuscript (pp. 183–184) and in all other recorded copies.³ This short extract enumerates the seven 'speakers' and 'foundations' of the seven cycles, as follows:

The first speaker is Adam; his foundation is Seth; then six unnamed concealed imams.

The second speaker is Noah; his foundation is Shem; then six unnamed concealed imams.

The third speaker is Abraham; his foundation is Ishmael; then six unnamed concealed imams.

3. As is stated by Poonawala (1977) and in the relevant entries in Goriawala (1965) and Gacek (1984). The appendix is also found in the four Mss. catalogued by Cortese (2000, 2003), though this is not noted in the catalogues.

The fourth speaker is Moses; his foundation is Aaron; then six unnamed concealed imams.

The fifth speaker is Jesus; his foundation is Simon Peter; then six unnamed concealed imams.

The sixth speaker is Muḥammad; his foundation is 'Alī; then six named imams (al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, 'Alī, Muḥammad, Ja'far, Ismā'il).

The seventh speaker is Muḥammad b. Ismā'il; then 'his caliphs, the seventh of whom is the Mahdī with whom this world will be sealed and the other world will be opened'.

The doctrine expounded here is markedly different from that in the cited letter of the first Fatimid caliph, but also from what we find in *al-Shawāhid al-bayān* and *Asrār al-nuṭaqā'* in that here the Mahdī is not identified (implicitly) as Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, nor as his son, but as his descendant in the seventh generation (by implication: the Caliph al-Mu'izz). The author then goes on to say that every speaker and imam has 12 *hujjas* and 30 da'is, who proclaim the faith in the 12 provinces, which are enumerated as Rūm, Hind, Sind, Zanj, Ṣīn, 'Arab, Ḥabash, Barbar, Khazar, Ṣaqāliba, Turk and Nūba (Persia is strangely absent).

For the *Adilla*, of which only this extract seems to survive, see Poonawala (1977), p. 72, no. 4.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 94 folios (182 numbered pages of the *Farā'id*, plus 2 unnumbered pages of the *Adilla* plus the title page); 11 numbered quires of 8 folios each, plus an unnumbered quire of 6 folios; catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); 18 lines; black ink with the Qur'ānic quotations, rubrics, vowel signs and running headers in red; very neat *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; running headers (page number, title, chapter); the colophon on p. 184 says that it was copied by 'Isā b. Dā'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Sayfī and completed in Sha'bān 1306 (April 1889); title and author on title page, p. 185, and title on labels on front cover and spine; seal inscribed 1284.

III. Ismaili Authors in North Africa, Egypt and Persia during the Fatimid Period

Ms. 1407 [Handlist 10]

Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ

by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī

Arabic manuscript

Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī was the head of the Ismaili *da'wa* in his native town of Rayy (near modern Tehran), and later in Ṭabaristān. He is reported to have died in 322/934–935, the same year as the first Fatimid caliph, al-Mahdī, but there does not seem to be any indication in Abū Ḥātim's extant writings that he recognised the Imamate of al-Mahdī. He is one of the major representatives of the early Persian school of Ismailism.

The *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* is a response to the lost *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* of his contemporary, Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (in Persian: Nakhshabī), who was killed in 332/943. Later, al-Sijistānī responded to Abū Ḥātim and defended al-Nasafī in his *Kitāb al-nuṣra* (which is also lost), and al-Kirmānī attempted to harmonise the teachings of his three predecessors in his *Kitāb al-riyāḍ* (extant, notably in the old manuscript described below as Ms. 1458).

The *Iṣlāḥ* has recently been published in Tehran on the basis of three modern manuscripts (mentioned, but not identified very clearly, on page *hasht* of the Persian introduction), edited by Ḥasan Mīnūchihr and Mahdī Muḥaqqiq and with an introduction in English by Shin Nomoto. The edition is certainly very reader-friendly in so far as the Arabic text is set in a large typeface and entirely vocalised, and the variants from the three manuscripts are clearly indicated in the apparatus. A really definitive edition of the *Iṣlāḥ* will (one hopes) one day make use also of the quotations included in the *Riyāḍ*, including those from the lost segments of the former work.

The prototype of the present copy, and of the three manuscripts used for the edition (and perhaps of all surviving copies), was incomplete at the beginning and end and had at least one gap in the body of the text as well. On p. 193 (=edition, p. 192) of the present copy the scribe has left most of the page blank and noted (twice) in the margin that one leaf was missing in the master copy (the same note is found in two of the three manuscripts used in the edition; the third manuscript

has the same lacuna, but apparently does not mark it as such). The layout of the last two pages (pp. 337–338) suggests that the corresponding pages in the prototype were torn and only partially legible (the text here is more or less identical with what is transcribed in the footnote on p. 331 of the edition from manuscript *alif*; the other two manuscripts omit the fragmentary final section).

The work is divided into at least five parts (sing. *juz'*). The end of part one (or rather the very small fragment of this part that survives) and the beginning of part two is indicated on p. 18 (=edition, p. 23). The text of part two ends (or perhaps rather, breaks off; the expected terminal benedictions are lacking) on p. 128 (=edition, p. 131) and part three begins on p. 129 (=edition, p. 135). The end of part three and the beginning of part four is announced on p. 198 (=edition, p. 196). But the end of part four and the beginning of part five is not indicated in the manuscript. In two letters to Shin Nomoto (dated 27 September 1995 and 3 January 2001) Abbas Hamdani suggested that the fifth part might begin on p. 231 of this manuscript. In the printed edition of 1998 the corresponding place (p. 233) is likewise treated as the beginning of part five, although this is not indicated (as far as one can see from the apparatus) in any of the three manuscripts consulted by the editors, nor is the suggestion by Abbas Hamdani credited in any way. Then, on p. 315 of this copy the scribe announces the end of part '...' and the beginning of part '...', leaving a gap for the relevant ordinal numbers. At this point, the edition (p. 308) has 'the end of part five', but according to the apparatus, the three manuscripts used by the editor actually have 'part six'. This confused state of affairs suggests that there is another unnoticed lacuna in the latter part of the text.

The *Iṣlah* is not mentioned as a separate work by al-Majdū', who seems to have known it only from citations. This is the only copy of this very important work in the library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies.

EDITIONS: ed. Ḥasan Minūchihr and Mahdī Muḥaqqiq (Tehran, 1998; 2nd edn, 2004).

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 20a; Ivanow (1963), no. 29; Goriawala (1965), no. 11; Poonawala (1977), p. 38, no. 2; Daftary (2004), p. 148.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 169 folios (338 pp., numbered some in ink and some in pencil); catchwords; 21.5 × 13.5 cm (14 × 7.5 cm); 16 lines; neat *naskh*; very few marginal and interlinear corrections; black ink; no date of scribe indicated, but a note on the

title page (p. 0) records its acquisition by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī on 17 Rabi‘ II 1328, here equated (correctly) with 26 April 1910; seals and stamps; label on spine.

Ms. 1408 [Handlist 11]

A‘lām al-nubuwwa

by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī

Arabic manuscript

This very interesting work is a detailed refutation of an ‘atheist’ (*mulḥid*), whose name is not mentioned in the extant part of the work, but who is clearly none other than the author’s contemporary and compatriot, the celebrated doctor, philosopher and alchemist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī, known in medieval Europe as Rhazes. The latter is explicitly identified as the target of Abū Ḥātim’s polemic by al-Kirmānī in his *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya* (see Ms. 1457), but even without this information the doctrines attacked in this book are clearly those of the famous physician. The first part of the work gives an ostensibly verbatim transcript of a debate between the two Rāzīs in the presence of an unnamed ruler, the one attacking, the other defending the notion of prophecy, while the larger part of the book contains quotations from an unnamed treatise by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ (probably his *Fī naqḍ al-adyān*), attacking all established religions and unmasking their prophets as swindlers, with a verbose refutation by Abū Ḥātim.

A pioneering study of this book was undertaken by Paul Kraus while preparing his unfinished collection of the philosophical works of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī, in his article ‘Raziana II’ in *Orientalia*, NS, 5 (1936), pp. 35–56, 358–378, where he published (on the basis of one of the two manuscripts in the Hamdani collection) the first section of this book (the debate between the two Rāzīs) and the quotations from the book by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ cited in the remainder of the book. The first section is also printed in the first (and only published) volume of Kraus’s *Rasā’il falsafiyya li Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī* (Cairo, 1939). The whole of the *A‘lām al-nubuwwa* is now available in an edition (see below).

All recorded copies of this work are incomplete at the beginning, with probably one page missing (the extant text has the last words of an introduction with its concluding doxology). The present copy is in two

hands, whereby the second hand copied from a mutilated prototype and consequently left a large number of empty spaces.

EDITIONS: ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣawī and Ghulām Riḍā Aʿwani (Tehran, 1977).

REFERENCES: al-Majdūʿ, pp. 112–114; Ivanow (1933), no. 19; Ivanow (1963), no. 30; Goriawala (1965), no. 10; Poonawala (1977), p. 39, no. 3; Daftary (2004), pp. 147–148 (with further secondary literature).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap; 163 folios (of which fols 1 and 143–163 are in a second hand); catchwords; 23 × 14 cm (first hand: 14 × 8 cm; second hand: 14.5 to 15 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink, with rubrics and punctuation in red (in the older section throughout, in the more recent section on fol. 1 only); *naskh*; marginal corrections in the older section; no scribes or dates indicated; labels on the front cover and spine.

Ms. 1409 [Handlist 12]

another copy

Arabic manuscript dated 1889

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap; 141 folios (280 pp. numbered by the scribe); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); 18 lines; black ink, with marginalia, vocalisation etc. in red; neat *naskh*; marginal corrections and notes; running heading with title, page numbers and (sometimes) indication of subject; completed on 16 Dhu'l-ḥijja 1306 (9 August 1889) and copied by ʿIsā b. Dāʿūd-bhāʾī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm-ji al-Sayfi; seals.

Ms. 1410 [Handlist 14a]

Kitāb al-zīna

by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī

Arabic manuscript dated 1888

This big book is ostensibly a dictionary of technical terms of the Islamic sciences arranged not alphabetically, but thematically. Besides much else, there is a detailed account of the various Muslim communities. Differently from Abū Ḥātim's other extant works, this book does not seem to contain anything that could be considered specifically Ismaili doctrine. Rather, it is a compendium of standard Islamic scholarship.

Iḍrīs, in the fifth volume of his *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (see Ms. 1524, fol. 122b–123b) tells a long story about how Abū Ḥātim sent his *Kitāb al-zīna* in instalments to the Caliph al-Qā’im, but the fact that the text of this book contains no hint of a dedication speaks against the veracity of this account.

The first part of the *Zīna* was published in two fascicles by Ḥ. F. al-Hamdānī (Cairo 1956–1958). The section on sects was published by ‘Abd Allāh Sallūm al-Sāmarrā’ī in his book *al-Ghuluww wa’l-firaq al-ghāliya fi’l-ḥadāra al-islāmiyya* (Baghdad, 1972), pp. 225–312. A large part of the book, however, remains unpublished.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 18; Ivanow (1963), no. 28; Poonawala (1977), p. 38, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 68 (3 Mss. of the first part and 2 of the second); Daftary (2004), p. 148.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 198 folios (395 numbered pages in at least five hands: **first hand** = pp. 1–78; **second hand** = pp. 79–113; **third hand** = pp. 114–182; **fourth hand** = pp. 183–234; **fifth hand** = pp. 235–385); catchwords; 23 × 16.5 cm (16.5 to 17 × 10 cm); variable number of lines (first hand: 21; second hand: 26 to 29; third hand: 28; fourth hand: 26 to 34; fifth hand: 28); black ink, with rubrics, marginalia, vocalisation etc. in red; different varieties of *naskh*; numerous marginal corrections; page numbers, running title and running chapter titles in red; completed on the 22nd day of Ṣafar (but the month-name is crossed out) of the year 1306 (thus in figures in the margin, and in words in the text, but in the latter case corrected from ‘1206’! 22 Ṣafar 1306 corresponds to 27 October 1888) and signed by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī Ḥasan (evidently the fifth hand). A second colophon (in red) states ‘he wrote it’ for Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh (sc. al-Hamdānī); title and author embossed on spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1411 [Handlist 14b]

the same

Arabic manuscript

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap, gilded; 680 folios (1349 pages of text, of which the first 134 are numbered in red ink, and the remainder in pencil, preceded by a table of contents in the same hand on 9 unnumbered pages followed by 2 blank folios); catchwords; 22 × 14 cm (13 × 7 to 7.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics and some

punctuation in red; neat *naskh*; the rubrics are usually repeated in red in the margins; very few marginal corrections; no indication of date or scribe.

Ms. 1412 [Handlist 44]

Tathbīt al-imāma

ascribed to the Fatimid Caliph al-Manṣūr

Arabic manuscript dated 1893

This is a treatise on the imamate, and especially in support of the general Shi'i position that 'Alī was the legitimate successor to the Prophet. A detailed summary of the work has recently been published by Madelung (2003), who based his work on the manuscript in the Zāhid 'Alī collection catalogued by Cortese. In the Zāhid 'Alī manuscript, the text is preceded by a superscription (apparently in the same hand) ascribing the work to the imam *mawlānā* Ismā'īl al-Manṣūr b. Naṣr Allāh, that is, the third Fatimid caliph, and Madelung took this attribution for granted. But I think there are reasons for doubting it. The name of the caliph does not occur anywhere in the body of the text. In the present manuscript there is a title page, evidently not in the same hand as the text, identifying it as:

تثبيت الإمامة للإمام المنصور بالله
 أمير المؤمنين مولانا اسمعيل بن مولانا معد
 المعز لدين الله عليها الصلوة والسلام

The first difficulty is that al-Manṣūr was not the son, but the father of al-Mu'izz. It could be that *ibn* is a scribal error for *abī*, but even in this case the elements of the name are not in the correct order. More significantly: at the end of the text (p. 288) we read:

وقع الفراغ من تنسيخ هذا الكتاب المسمى بتثبيت
 الإمامة تأليف

and then a long gap, followed by the date of transcription. It is thus very clear that the copyist of this manuscript did not know who the author of the treatise was and consequently left a gap for another to fill in the name.

It is true that al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, in the chapter on the imamate in his *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (Fyzee's edition, i, p. 48) does say that the Imam al-Manṣūr wrote an extensive treatise on that subject, but he does not quote from it or say anything explicit about its contents. It is thus not certain that he was referring to this work. Then, al-Majdū', in his *Fihrist* (p. 114 of the edition; also Ms. 1401, p. 159, without significant variants), devotes a very brief entry to a work of this title, stating only that it is by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (*li mawlānā amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib...*), but then adding that it is 'the composition' of al-Manṣūr (*taṣnīf mawlānā al-imām al-Manṣūr...*); this is the entire content of the entry. The second sentence seems to be a correction (either an after-thought by the author, or a correction by a scribe); in any case, the fact that al-Majdū' says nothing about the contents of the work suggests that he had no access to a manuscript of the same.

What is striking is that in the present work the author makes no claim to be the imam himself. He refers constantly to 'Alī, but never once (as far as I can see) claims 'Alī as his own ancestor and never makes any attempt to defend his genealogy or his claim to the imamate. Madelung writes correctly (p. 77) that 'except for the minor instances noted, the treatise could be read as an Imami Shi'i work'. There is no mention of the specifically Ismaili doctrine that the imam is the repository of esoteric knowledge, to say nothing of the elaborate cosmological speculation about the supernatural pre-existence of the imam so characteristic of Ismaili writings on this subject. The author seems to be looking at the imamate very much 'from the outside'. I add that this work is extremely rare in Ismaili collections. Poonawala knew of only three manuscripts (including this one), and it seems strange that a work attributed to one of the most famous of the Fatimid imams should have been so sparsely circulated. So it is perhaps more likely that what we have here is an otherwise unknown Imami Shi'i work which an Ismaili copyist has arbitrarily identified as the lost treatise by al-Manṣūr mentioned in the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 45, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 164.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 146 folios (288 pp., numbered in pencil); catchwords; 14 × 11 cm (8 × 5 to 5.5 cm); 10 lines; black ink; neat *naskh*; very few interlinear corrections; completed in *shahr Allāh* (Ramaḍān) 1310 (March/April 1893); scribe not mentioned; labels on front cover and spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1413 [Handlist 33a]

Da'ā'im al-islām

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript of the second volume dated 1748 [see Plate 1]

Al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī is the most important Ismaili authority on law (*fiqh*), but he also wrote extensively of esoteric doctrine (*ḥaqā'iq*). He was a native of Qayrawān, in North Africa, served the first four Fatimid caliphs, from al-Mahdī to al-Mu'izz, and died in Cairo in 363/974.

His *Da'ā'im al-islām* is the principal law book of the Fatimid state. Most manuscripts divide it into two volumes, the first dealing with more specifically religious law (prayer, fasting, etc.), the second with what we would regard as civil and criminal law (marriage, inheritance, etc.). The Ṭayyibī tradition maintains that it was written by order of the Caliph al-Mu'izz, but there is no mention of him in the author's introduction, nor – as far as I can see – anywhere in the book. There is, however, one single tradition ascribed to that caliph's father, al-Manṣūr (edition, I, p. 55), which gives us a *terminus post quem* for its compilation.

The *Da'ā'im* has been expertly edited by Fyzee, and Fyzee's complete English translation, carefully revised and copiously annotated by Poonawala (1977), has been published in two thick volumes.

The present copy is a beautiful old manuscript of the second half of the work and it ends with a colophon stating that it was completed on (in words) Thursday 13 Ramaḍān 'year 61 of the hijra', corrected in the upper margin – I think in the first hand – to 1161 (again in words); the same correction is repeated – possibly in a different hand – in the left margin; the date 1161 is also written (in figures) above the word *sana*, but possibly not in the first hand. Thus corrected, the date corresponds to Thursday 5 September 1748. The dating formula is followed, clearly in a different hand, by a colophon stating that the Ms. is in the hand of (I omit the fulsome honorifics) 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Yamanī al-Ḥarāzī al-Hamdānī, and that it was written during the time of the da'i Wajih al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (da'i from 1150/1737 to 1168/1754). As I do not know the exact date of the migration of 'Alī b. Sa'īd from the Yemen to India, I cannot say in which of those two countries this copy was produced.

EDITIONS: ed. Aṣaf b. 'Alī Aṣghar Fayḍī (A. A. A. Fyzee) (Cairo, 1951–1961), 2 vols; repr. (Cairo, 1963–1967), a fine critical edition, from

numerous manuscripts, including this one; ed. 'Arif Tāmīr (Beirut, 1995), 2 vols (essentially based on the Fyzee edition).

TRANSLATION: *The Pillars of Islam*, tr. A. A. A. Fyzee and completely revised and annotated by Ismaili K. Poonawala, vol. 1 (New Delhi, 2002); vol. 2 (New Delhi, 2004).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 18–31; Ivanow (1933), no. 64; Ivanow (1963), no. 64; Goriawala (1965), nos 28, 29, 30, 31 (apparently all containing vol. 1 only); Fyzee (1973), nos 211–212; Gacek (1981), no. 48 (vol. 1); Gacek (1984), no. 12 (1 copy of the first volume and 3 of the second); Poonawala (1977), pp. 56–57, no. 16; Cortese (2000), no. 75 (vol. 1); Cortese (2003), no. 14 (2 copies of the first volume and 1 of the second); Daftary (2004), pp. 142–143 (with further references).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 262 folios (522 pages, of which the first 434 are numbered in the first hand); catchwords; 23.5 × 17.5 cm (17 × 12 cm, with some variation); usually 16 or 17 lines (the last line on the page is often written at a bias); black ink with rubrics in red; very neat *naskh*, partially vocalised; very copious marginal glosses (often quotations from other works of the same author); headers with page number, book title and (usually) chapter title (down to p. 434 only); copied by 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Yamanī al-Ḥarāzī al-Hamdānī and completed on Thursday 13 Ramaḍān 1161 (5 September 1748, as discussed above); title at the beginning, and on labels on the front cover and spine; owners' notes and seals.

Ms. 1414 [Handlist 33b]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the first volume, dated 1827

This copy of the first volume is signed by Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, the grandson of the copyist of the manuscript described in the previous entry.

DESCRIPTION: dark green cloth binding; 297 folios (493 pages, numbered by the scribe), followed by 3 blank folios and then 3 folios (5 inscribed pages) with a list of the chapters; 29 numbered quires usually of 8 or 10 folios each; catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (15.5 × 8 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; marginal glosses (frequent only at the beginning of the volume) and some corrections; one black line and two red lines around the text; running heading with page numbers, book title and chapter title; completed in the morning of Friday 17 Ramaḍān 1242 (13 April 1827), at the time of Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn, by Fayḍ Allāh

شئ تنزل الفريضة ثم تنزل الفريضة الاخرى فكانت الواحدة
 الاخرى الفريضة فانزل الله عز وجل اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واتممت
 عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام ديناً قال ابو جعفر يقول
 الله عز وجل لا انزل عليكم بعد هذه الفريضة فريضة قد اكملت
 لكم الفريضة ورسيا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قال اوصيني من
 امن بالله وصدقتي بولاية علي بن ابي طالب صلوات الله عليه فان
 ولاءه ووالي امرني به وبني عمه محمد الي وامرني ان افكرو
 عنده ورسيا عن علي صلوات الله عليه ان قال لما انزل الله عز وجل
 وانذر عشيرتک الاقربين جمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بن عبد المطلب
 علي نحو نشأة وقدم من اهل بيته وان فيهم يومئذ عشرة
 منهم وجل الاياكل الجذعة ويشرب الفرق وهم بضع واربعون
 رجلان فاكلوا حتى اصدروا وشربوا حتى اوتوا فيهم من
 ابولهب قال لهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يا بني عبد المطلب اطيعوني
 تكونوا مملوك الارض محكماتها ان الله لم يدع نبيا
 الا جعل له وصيا ووليا وارثا ووزيرا واخا فان لم يكون
 وصي ووارثي وولي ووزيري واخي فماتوا فجعل يرضي
 ذلك عليهم جبالا ليس منهم احد يقبل حتى لم يبق منهم

انزل الله عز وجل
 اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم
 واتممت عليكم نعمتي
 ورضيت لكم الاسلام
 ديناً
 قال ابو جعفر يقول
 الله عز وجل لا انزل
 عليكم بعد هذه
 الفريضة فريضة
 قد اكملت لكم
 الفريضة
 ورسيا عن رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه
 وآله قال اوصيني
 من امن بالله
 وصدقتي بولاية
 علي بن ابي طالب
 صلوات الله عليه
 فان ولاءه
 ووالي امرني به
 وبني عمه محمد
 الي وامرني ان
 افكرو عنده
 ورسيا عن علي
 صلوات الله عليه
 ان قال لما انزل
 الله عز وجل
 وانذر عشيرتک
 الاقربين جمع
 رسول الله صلى
 الله عليه وآله
 بن عبد المطلب
 علي نحو نشأة
 وقدم من اهل
 بيته وان فيهم
 يومئذ عشرة
 منهم وجل
 الاياكل الجذعة
 ويشرب الفرق
 وهم بضع
 واربعون رجلان
 فاكلوا حتى
 اصدروا وشربوا
 حتى اوتوا فيهم
 من ابولهب قال
 لهم رسول الله
 صلى الله عليه
 وآله يا بني عبد
 المطلب اطيعوني
 تكونوا مملوك
 الارض محكماتها
 ان الله لم يدع
 نبيا الا جعل له
 وصيا ووليا
 وارثا ووزيرا
 واخا فان لم
 يكون وصي
 ووارثي وولي
 ووزيري واخي
 فماتوا فجعل
 يرضي ذلك
 عليهم جبالا
 ليس منهم احد
 يقبل حتى لم
 يبق منهم

انزل الله عز وجل
 اليوم اكملت لكم
 دينكم واتممت
 عليكم نعمتي
 ورضيت لكم
 الاسلام ديناً
 قال ابو جعفر
 يقول الله عز
 وجل لا انزل
 عليكم بعد هذه
 الفريضة فريضة
 قد اكملت لكم
 الفريضة ورسيا
 عن رسول الله
 صلى الله عليه
 وآله قال اوصيني
 من امن بالله
 وصدقتي بولاية
 علي بن ابي طالب
 صلوات الله
 عليه فان ولاءه
 ووالي امرني به
 وبني عمه محمد
 الي وامرني ان
 افكرو عنده
 ورسيا عن علي
 صلوات الله
 عليه ان قال لما
 انزل الله عز
 وجل وانذر
 عشيرتک الاقربين
 جمع رسول الله
 صلى الله عليه
 وآله بن عبد
 المطلب علي
 نحو نشأة
 وقدم من اهل
 بيته وان فيهم
 يومئذ عشرة
 منهم وجل
 الاياكل الجذعة
 ويشرب الفرق
 وهم بضع
 واربعون
 رجلان فاكلوا
 حتى اصدروا
 وشربوا حتى
 اوتوا فيهم
 من ابولهب
 قال لهم
 رسول الله
 صلى الله
 عليه وآله
 يا بني عبد
 المطلب
 اطيعوني
 تكونوا
 مملوك
 الارض
 محكماتها
 ان الله
 لم يدع
 نبيا
 الا
 جعل
 له
 وصيا
 ووليا
 وارثا
 ووزيرا
 واخا
 فان
 لم
 يكون
 وصي
 ووارثي
 وولي
 ووزيري
 واخي
 فماتوا
 فجعل
 يرضي
 ذلك
 عليهم
 جبالا
 ليس
 منهم
 احد
 يقبل
 حتى
 لم
 يبق
 منهم

Figure 4. Da'a'im al-Islam, al-Qāḍi al-Nu'mān (Ms. 1414/p. 20).

b. Mullā Ibrāhīm-jī b. al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil Shaykh ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd [sc. al-Hamdānī]; seals inscribed 1274 and 1284.

Ms. 1415 [Handlist 33c]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the first volume, dated 1844

DESCRIPTION: red cloth binding; 206 folios; catchwords; 25.5 × 15 cm (19 to 20 cm × 12 cm); 19 to 22 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (but in the latter part of the Ms. the spaces for most of the rubrics have been left blank); uneven *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; completed on 2 Dhu'l-qa'da 1260 (22 November 1844), in the time of ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (da‘i from 1256/1840 to 1302/1885); title at beginning, on both pages of fol. 0 and on the label on the front cover.

Ms. 1416 and 1417 [Handlist 33d–e]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the first volume, dated 1895–1896

This is another copy of the first *jild*, bound as two volumes, with continuous pagination. The binder has broken the text in the middle of a sentence. The scribe has prefixed the text with several extracts from the ‘*Uyūn al-akhbār* of Idrīs (see Ms. 1522 et seqq.) describing the supposed circumstances of the compilation of the *Da‘ā‘im*. This is followed by a table of contents of the sections contained in the first (physical) volume; the remainder of the table is prefixed to the second volume.

DESCRIPTION: two (physical) volumes with brown cloth bindings; the text of the *Da‘ā‘im* consists of 867 pages, numbered by the scribe, of which 1–533 are bound as the first volume (preceded by 21 unnumbered folios with the extracts from Idrīs and the table of contents), and 534–868 are bound as the second volume (preceded by 3 folios with the table of contents); catchwords; 21 × 13 cm (12 × 6.5 cm); 12 lines; *naskh*; black ink with rubrics in red; some marginal corrections and glosses; outer border in black and inner border of one black line and two red lines; running header with page numbers, book title and chapter title; at the end, a note signed by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī states that it is in the hand of Iṣḥāq ‘Alī b. al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil Sulaymān-jī, with the date 1313 (1895–1896), which I assume to be the date of copying (it is

close to the date of the other Mss. in this collection signed by Iṣḥāq 'Alī); seals inscribed 1345; embossed stamp of 'Taher M. F. Hamdani'.

Ms. 1418 [Handlist 33f]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the first volume, copied before 1899

This is yet another copy of the first volume. The largest part is written in a hand that looks to me very much like the one that wrote Ms. 1415. After fol. 231 there are 16 blank folios, and indeed a substantial chunk of the text (the last part of *Kitāb al-zakāt* and the greater part of *Kitāb al-ṣawm*) is missing at this point. From fol. 296b (beginning of *Kitāb al-jihād*) the handwriting is different.

DESCRIPTION: grey cloth binding; 343 folios (fols 1–231 and 248–296a are in the first hand, 232–247 are blank, 296b–343 are in the second hand); catchwords; 21.5 × 14 cm (14 × 9 cm); 14 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (the spaces for most of the rubrics have been left blank in the last section); very few marginal corrections; no colophon, but an effaced owner's note on fol. 1a records its acquisition in 1317 (1899–1900); title and author at the beginning.

Ms. 1419 [Handlist 84/1 fols 33–112]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the beginning of the first book

This is a fragment of the first book of the *Da'ā'im* (*Kitāb al-wilāya*), beginning with the introduction (edition, I, p. 1) down to page 41 line 2 of the edition, where it breaks off with a loose catchword.

DESCRIPTION: 10 unbound quires, of which the first 5 are numbered; 80 folios (now numbered 33 to 112; original page numbering from 1 to 16 only); catchwords; 12 × 7.5 cm (7 × 3.5 cm); 11 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; copious marginalia on the first few pages only; the first 16 pages have running headers (volume number, chapter name, page number); title on the first page (fol. 33a).

Ms. 1420 [Handlist 84/1 fols 113–138]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the beginning of the first book

This is another fragmentary copy of the first book of the *Da'ā'im*, again from the beginning, down to page 13 line 1 of the edition, with a loose catchword.

DESCRIPTION: 4 unbound quires; 27 folios (now numbered 113 to 138); catchwords; 11 × 7 cm (6 × 3 cm); black ink with very few rubrics in red (the spaces for most of the rubrics are left blank); *naskh*; no indication of title or author.

Ms. 1421 [Handlist 84/6 fols 35–41]

the same

Arabic manuscript of part of the first volume

This is a fragment of the *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* from the *Da'ā'im* (edition, I, pp. 99 to 102 line 3).

DESCRIPTION: 1 unbound quire; 7 folios; catchwords; 11.5 × 7 cm (5.5 × 3.5 cm without the glosses); 9–11 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; uncouth *naskh*; copious glosses in the margins; title (*Kitāb al-ṭahāra*) given at the beginning.

Ms. 1422 [Handlist 111/3]

Kitāb tarbiyat al-mu'minīn

elsewhere ascribed to al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript of a fragment of part 2

The *Kitāb tarbiyat al-mu'minīn*, also called *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im*, is an elucidation of the esoteric meaning of some of the legal prescriptions contained in the sections that make up the first volume of the *Da'ā'im al-islām*; possibly what we have is only a fragment of a complete commentary on the *Da'ā'im*. As it stands, it is divided into 12 parts (sing. *juz'*), each containing 10 'sessions' (sing. *majlis*). Al-Majdū', and the Ismaili tradition in general, regards it as a work by al-Nu'mān himself, but his name is not mentioned in the present copy. Although the author refers continuously to the *Da'ā'im*, he never seems to describe it as his own work, and indeed on its first mention he refers to the author of the *Da'ā'im* as 'the friend of God' (Cairo edition, vol. 1, p. 48: *wa qad basaṭa lakum dhālik walī allāh fī kitāb da'ā'im al-islām*), presumably meaning: the Imam al-Mu'izz. This, I think, would explain the impersonal way in which the author of the present work consistently refers to the *Da'ā'im* and does not necessarily

militate against the attribution of this work to al-Nu'mān. From an Ismaili standpoint the imam is the 'author' both of the exoteric law book and of its esoteric interpretation, regardless of who has actually written it down.

The present manuscript is a small fragment of the beginning of the second *juz'*: the first session begins on fol. 1b (Cairo edition, vol. 1, p. 109); the second begins on fol. 6b; the third begins on fol. 12a and breaks off at the bottom of fol. 14a (Cairo edition, vol. 1, p. 121, line 6); fol. 14b is blank.

EDITIONS: ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A'ẓamī (Cairo, 1967–1972), 3 vols; ed. 'Arif Tāmīr (Beirut, 1995), 3 vols; the first part only is published also by 'Adil al-'Awwā in his *Muntakhabāt ismā'iliyya*, pp. 3–85.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū' pp. 135–136; Ivanow (1933), no. 69; Ivanow (1963), no. 66; Goriawala (1965), no. 46 (parts 7–12); Poonawala (1977), p. 64, no. 40; Gacek (1981), no. 358 (from *juz'* 9 *majlis* 7 to the end of *juz'* 11), no. 359 (*juz'* 1–7); Gacek (1984), no. 153 (3 copies of parts 1–6, and 3 of parts 7–12); Cortese (2000), no. 89 (parts 1–3), no. 90 (parts 4–6); Cortese (2003), no. 165 (2 copies, together comprising all 12 parts); Daftary (2004), p. 145.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound quires; 14 folios; catchwords; 20 × 13.5 cm (14.5 × 8.5 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; rough *naskh*; no colophon; title on fol. 1a and in the superscription.

Ms. 1423 [Handlist 34]

Kitāb al-ṭahāra

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript dated 1864

The title of this treatise is cited as it appears in the explicit (here: fol. 92b) and also (though not in the hand of the scribe) at the beginning of the text and on the labels, although in fact it discusses, in succession, not only ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), but also prayer (begins on fol. 27b: *Jummā' abwāb al-ṣalāh*) and funerals (begins on fol. 90b: *Dhikr ghusl al-mawtā*), thus in accordance with the brief description of its contents by al-Majdū'. Although these same three topics are covered by three successive sections of the *Da'ā'im*, their treatment here is quite different.

The treatise ends on fol. 92b and is followed by an elaborate and somewhat confusing colophon. The scribe says first that he completed writing

it on Saturday 21 Sha‘bān ‘of the hijra’, but he neglects to mention the year. Then he gives his own name (after the usual flood of self-depreciation) as Nāṣir b. ‘Iwaḍ al-Shaybānī. And finally, on the last page (fol. 93b) there is a dating formula spread over two lines, which, despite the unusual arrangement of the text elements on the page, has to be read as follows:

line 4, second half: *tārikh al-yawm al-ḥādī*
 line 4, first half: *wa’l-‘ishrīn sanat*
 line 5: *thamānīn wa mi’atayn wa alf*

Combining the day and year mentioned here with the day of the week, day and month mentioned on the previous page we get Saturday 21 Sha‘bān 1280 (Saturday 30 January 1864). It is true that in the last line of the last page someone else has written ‘year 1281’ (and this is repeated on the label on the front cover), but this is evidently a misunderstanding of the information conveyed in the two preceding lines; in any case, in 1281 the mentioned date is not a Saturday, but a Wednesday.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, p. 18; Ivanow (1933), no. 86; Ivanow (1963), no. 72; Poonawala (1977), p. 55, no. 11; Gacek (1984), no. 61; Cortese (2000), no. 88; Cortese (2003), no. 66 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with red leather trim; 93 folios; catchwords; 24 × 14 cm (15 × 8 to 9 cm); 14 to 19 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; border with red and black lines on all pages and decorative motive at the beginning and end; copied by Nāṣir b. ‘Iwaḍ al-Shaybānī and completed on Saturday 21 Sha‘bān 1280 (30 January 1864, as discussed above); title in explicit, at the beginning and on labels on the front cover and spine; author’s name indicated at the beginning.

Ms. 1424 [Handlist 15]

Dhāt al-bayān

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān

Arabic manuscript dated 1874

A juridical treatise containing polemics against some views of the well-known Muslim writer Ibn Qutayba. It is not mentioned by al-Majdū‘. Fyzee (1973) says that his copy is ‘incomplete’ and that ‘only 8 parts are included’, and Poonawala (1977) says that ‘only the first half of this

book seems to have survived'. But the present copy has nine numbered parts (*al-juz' al-tāsi'* begins on p. 92) and announces on p. 105 the end of the treatise (*tammāt al-risāla* etc.).

On pp. 106–107, after the end of the *Dhāt al-bayān*, we find (in a different hand) a note stating that 'there is found at the end of *Dhāt al-bayān* a section in the handwriting of Sayyidunā 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Anf', which is then quoted, and on p. 107 there is a further note (in yet another hand) copied from what was 'in the handwriting of Sayyidnā 'Alī b. Ḥasan'.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 82; Ivanow (1963), no. 74; Fyzee (1973), no. 15; Poonawala (1977), p. 63, no. 32.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 55 folios (108 numbered pages); catchwords; 26.5 × 15.5 cm (16.5 to 19.5 × 9 to 9.5 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics and vocalisation in red; cursive *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; completed on 23 Sha'bān 1291 (4 October 1874); scribe not named; two additional pages of text (pp. 106–107) as described above; table of contents in a different hand on p. 0 and continued on p. 108; labels on cover and spine; seals inscribed 1248.

Mss. 1425 and 1426 [Handlist 16a–b]

al-Muntakhaba al-manzūma

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript in two volumes, copied between 1893 and 1895

This work, known in other copies also as *al-Urjūza* (or, *al-Qaṣīda*) *al-muntakhaba*, is a compendium of Ismaili law in rhymed couplets. The present copy consists of two uniform volumes containing the entire work. The first volume ends with a colophon stating that it was copied by Ishāq b. Sulaymān-jī al-Shāhjahānpūrī in 1312 (1895), while the colophon in the second volume says that it was copied in 1310 (1893) jointly by Yūsuf 'Alī (b.) 'Abd 'Alī and by the aforementioned Ishāq b. Sulaymān-jī. But I have to admit that I cannot see any difference between the two hands; it seems that the two scribes tried very hard to produce a uniform work.

Poonawala writes that he saw in the collection of Kulthūm-bā'ī Kinkhābwālā another copy of this work, transcribed by the same Ishāq b. Sulaymān-jī al-Shāhjahānpūrī in 1310 and copied (according to the colophon) from a Yemeni manuscript dated 822/1419 and collated twice with a manuscript in the hand of the author.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 34–35; Ivanow (1933), no. 63; Ivanow (1963), no. 70; Poonawala (1977), pp. 53–54, no. 4; Fyze (1973), p. 211; Gacek (1984), no. 161 (3 copies of the first volume and 1 of the second); Cortese (2000), no. 93 (2-volume set dated 1199/1785), no. 94 (first volume).

DESCRIPTION: two-volume set; brown leather bindings, gilded; 102 folios (203 numbered pages) and 149 folios (297 numbered pages) respectively; catchwords; 15 × 11 cm (8.5 × 6 cm); 10 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*, sparsely vocalised; numerous marginal glosses; chapter headings repeated in the margins; running headings with title of the book, chapter title and page numbers; vol. 1 copied by Iṣḥāq b. Sulaymān-jī al-Shāhjahānpūri 'for his benefactor' Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh (sc. al-Hamdānī) and completed on Friday 5 Ramaḍān 1312 (1 March 1895); vol. 2 copied by Yūsuf 'Alī (b.) 'Abd 'Alī and Iṣḥāq b. Sulaymān-jī and dated Saturday 5 Dhu'l-qa'da 1310 (20 May 1893); title page in first volume, label on the spine of the second volume; seals.

Ms. 1427 [Handlist 16c]

the same (first volume only)

Arabic manuscript dated 1903

This copy is signed by 'the contemptible sinful lady, Fāṭima bint al-Sayyid al-Ajall Bhā'ī Ṣāhib Ādam Ḍiyā' al-Dīn najl Sayyidinā wa Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn' – that is: the granddaughter of the 48th da'ī, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn – who identifies herself further as the spouse (*'aqīla*) of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding; 79 folios; catchwords; 20 × 13.5 cm (14.5 × 8.5 cm); 13 lines; black ink, with chapter headings in red (the latter usually repeated in the margins); the half verses are separated by three red dots from fol. 70a to 75a only; rather rough *naskh*; some marginal and interlinear corrections and glosses; headers with title, chapter title and page numbers on fols 3b, 4a, 4b, 5b to 7b only; copied by Fāṭima bint Ādam Ḍiyā' al-Dīn b. Sayyidinā Ḥusām al-Dīn and completed on 15 (*niṣf*) of Rab' II 1321, which the copyist equates (correctly) with 10 July 1903; labels with the title on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1428 [Handlist 16d]

the same (first volume only)

Arabic manuscript, dated 1920

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding; 64 folios (127 numbered pages); the beginning of the first four quires only is marked; minimal catchwords (often only the first letter, or first two letters of the first word on the next folio is indicated); 22 × 14 cm (16 × 9 cm); 16 lines; black ink with chapter headings in red; *naskh*; very few marginal and interlinear corrections; copied by Ḥusayn b. Dā'ūd b. al-Shaykh Ḥusaynī and completed 6 Sha'ban 1338 (24 April 1920); title on the first folio, front cover and spine.

Ms. 1428 a [Handlist 21]

al-Urjūza al-mukhtāra

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript

A long didactic poem in rhymed couplets defending the Fatimid imamate and attacking the other Muslim sects. It is quoted *in extenso* in al-Bharūchī's *al-Azhār*. The present manuscript is a recent copy in a checked copy-book.

EDITIONS: ed. Ismail K. Poonawala (Montreal, 1970), from 11 Mss.; ed. Yūsuf al-Biqā'ī (Beirut, 1999).

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 84; Ivanow (1963), no. 292 (bottom of page 85, where Ivanow confuses it with *al-Qaṣīda al-muntakhaba* of the same author); Fyze (1973), pp. 214–215; Poonawala (1977), p. 62, no. 25; Cortese (2000), nos 91, 92; Daftary (2004), p. 146.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 71 folios; no catchwords; 21.5 × 13 cm (15.5 × 8 cm); text in blue and black ink with rubrics in red; cursive *naskh*; marginal corrections; title on the label on the front cover, which also says the Ms. was copied by al-Mawlā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Ṣāhib; this name is not found in the Ms. itself.

Ms. 1429 [Handlist 17]

Mukhtaṣar al-āthār

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript of the second volume dated 1716

A concise handbook of law, covering broadly the same ground, and in much the same order, as his *Da'ā'im al-islām*. The present manuscript contains only the second of its two volumes.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 32; Ivanow (1933), no. 61; Ivanow (1963), no. 65; Poonawala (1977), pp. 54–55, no. 7; Gacek (1984), no. 95 (1 copy of the first volume and 1 of the second); Cortese (2000), nos 83, 84 (2 copies of the first volume); Cortese (2003), no. 103 (2 copies of the first volume).

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 233 folios; catchwords; 18.5 × 12 cm (14 × 7 cm); greatly variable number of lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; rough *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; the colophon is partially torn: the date of completion is given as 22 Jumādā I 1128 (13 May 1716) – but it is just possible that the year might be 1138 (then 25 January 1726) – and the scribe is Ādam b. Najm Khān; on the title page there is a note stating again that the Ms. was copied by Ādam b. Najm Khān in 1128 (1716) and acquired by Walī Allāh b. Luqmān b. Ḥabīb Allāh in 1149 (1736–1737), and another note to the effect that the manuscript was collated (*bi taṣhīḥ tāmm*) by the late Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī, while on the last folio there is a note reiterating the name of the scribe and the date (1128, but the '2' is again not very clear), and also a seal of the mentioned Walī Allāh (b.) Luqmān (b.) Ḥabīb inscribed 1149; title indicated in the explicit.

Ms. 1430 [Handlist 18]

Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyarāt

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript of the second part, dated 1840

This big work consists mainly of conversations between the author and the Caliph al-Mu'izz, but also has information on the activities of the first three Fatimid caliphs. The present manuscript contains the second half of the work.

EDITION: ed. Ḥabīb al-Faqī, Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ and Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī (Tunis, 1978; 2nd edn, Beirut, 1997).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 52–53; Ivanow (1933), no. 100; Ivanow (1963), no. 79; Goriawala (1965), no. 35 (second volume); Poonawala (1977), pp. 61–62, no. 23; Gacek (1981), no. 188; Gacek (1984), no. 83 (4 copies of the first volume and 3 of the second); Cortese (2000), no. 79 (first volume), 80 (second volume); Cortese (2003), no. 81 (1 copy of the first volume, and 1 of the second); Daftary (2004), p. 144.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled, with medallions; 313 folios (624 pp., of which the first 86 are numbered, apparently by the scribe; the

Ms. seems to be written all by the same scribe, but from p. 510 onwards the written area is larger); catchwords; 20.5 × 12 cm (13.5 × 7 cm; then 15 × 7.5 cm); 13 (from p. 510: 14) lines; black ink with a few rubrics in red, but most of the spaces for the rubrics have been left blank; legible *naskh*; the first 23 pages only have a double red border and the first page has all the lines underscored in red; copied by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Mullā Miyān Khān and completed on 7 Muḥarram 1256 (10 March 1840); title on labels on back cover and spine.

Mss. 1431, 1432, 1433 [Handlist 19a–c]

Sharḥ al-akhbār fī faḍā’il al-a’imma al-aṭḥār

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān

three uniform volumes containing the first three parts

Arabic manuscripts copied in 1831 and 1832

This is a collection of traditions of the imams, with lots of historical information about the early history of the Fatimid movement in North Africa.

The work consists of 16 parts (sing. *juzʿ*). The copy under discussion comprises three uniform volumes (presumably three of a set of four) containing the first 12 parts, four parts per volume, produced by two scribes. The second hand copied parts 3 and 12, while the other 10 parts are all in the first hand (a very irregular hand, generally starting off quite neatly at the beginning of each part and then becoming more cramped). There are four dates mentioned in the colophons to the parts in the first hand, and one in the colophon of a part written in the second hand. Of the former, the clearest is at the end of part 11 (vol. 3, fol. 80b), which says that the copying of that part was completed on 29 Rabīʿ I 1247, after the dawn prayer. The colophon to part 9 (vol. 3, fol. 27a) says that it was completed on Friday 25 Rabīʿ I, without indication of the year, but in the mentioned year 1247, this date was indeed a Friday according to the computational calendar used by the Bohras, so I conclude that part 9 was completed just four days before part 11. Part 10 is dated (vol. 3, fol. 53b) 14 Rabīʿ II ‘2247’, which must be a mistake for 1247. Part 8 is also dated (vol. 2, fol. 113b), but the date has been altered: the scribe originally wrote the date as 24 Rabīʿ I, but someone has crossed out the 24 and corrected it in the margin to 13 (in both cases the number is spelt out). The year is indicated in figures; it looks to me as though the scribe first wrote ‘2247’ (as at the end of part 9), but then someone crossed out the first 2 and altered the final digit to 9. I assume thus that the scribe wrote all of the sections for which he was responsible in very quick succession, completing:

part 8 on 13th (as corrected) Rabi' I 1247 (21 August 1831)

part 9 on Friday, 25th Rabi' I (sc., of the same year, that is: 2 September 1831)

part 11 on 29th Rabi' I 1247 (6 September 1831)

part 10 on 14th Rabi' II 1247 (21 September 1831)

The second hand gave the date of his completion of part 12 (colophon in vol. 3, fol. 113) as 18 Rabi' II of a year written as 248, preceded by a crossed-out digit; presumably he too miswrote '1248' as '2248'; the corrected date corresponds to 13 September 1832.

The scribes have left one or more folios blank between the parts; most of these were subsequently filled with assorted scribblings in various hands.

EDITION: ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī (Qumm, 1988–1992; repr. Beirut, 1994), 3 vols.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 69–72; Ivanow (1933), no. 68; Ivanow (1963), no. 78; Goriawala (1965), nos 40 (parts 1–4), 41 (parts 5–6), 42 (parts 7–8), 43 (parts 9–10), 44 (parts 9–12), 45 (parts 15–16); Poonawala (1977), pp. 60–61, no. 22 (many copies); Gacek (1981), no. 309 (parts 13–14); Gacek (1984), no. 139 (31 copies, together encompassing all 16 parts); Cortese (2000), no. 85 (fragment of part 4), no. 86 (parts 7–16); Cortese (2003), no. 145 (8 copies, together encompassing all 16 parts); Daftary (2004), p. 145.

DESCRIPTION: 3 volumes, bound in cloth, with brown leather trim; volume 1 has 258 numbered pages (and 2 unnumbered pages between pp. 59 and 60); volume 2 has 113 folios; volume 3 has 113 folios; catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (size of written area varies); variable number of lines; black ink with rubrics in red; various styles of *naskh*; marginal corrections and glosses; dates as discussed above; seals dated 1284.

Ms. 1434 [Handlist 19d]

the same

part 13 only

Arabic manuscript, copied before 1898

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 55 folios; catchwords; 20 × 12 cm (13 × 7.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very neat *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; copied by Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad 'Alī Kātib, a resident of Sūrat-Bandar; title at beginning and on a label on the front cover; a note on fol. 1a states that it was donated by Mullā Sulṭān-'Alī

Hibat Allāh to the Madrasa Muḥammadiyya in Muḥarram 1316 (1898); seals of Sulṭān-‘Alī inscribed 1278.

Ms. 1435 [Handlist 84/6 fols 59–114]
the same
incomplete Arabic manuscript of part 7

These loose quires contain the beginning of part 7 of the same work. It ends with a loose catchword.

DESCRIPTION: 7 unbound quires containing 56 folios (now numbered 59–114); catchwords; 11.5 × 7 cm (6.5 × 3 cm); 11 lines; black ink; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title and author indicated in the margin of fol. 59b.

Ms. 1436 [Handlist 121d]
the same
fragments of an Arabic manuscript of part 2

These loose pages contain the beginning of part 2.

DESCRIPTION: 11 unbound folios; 25 × 15 cm (16.5 × 8.5 cm); 17 lines; catchwords; black ink; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date, nor of the title and author.

Ms. 1437 [Handlist 121c]
the same
fragment of an Arabic manuscript of part 3

These loose pages contain the beginning of part 3.

DESCRIPTION: 1 unbound quire of 7 folios; 26 × 15.5 cm (16.5 × 8.5 cm); 18 lines; catchwords; black ink; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date, nor of the title and author.

Ms. 1438 [Handlist 22a]
Iftitāḥ al-da‘wa wa ibtidā’ al-dawla
by al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān
Arabic manuscript completed in 1897

A well-known historical account of the inception of the Fatimid empire. The date of composition, Muḥarram 346/957, is indicated at the end of the text.

EDITIONS: ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1970), from a photocopy of Ms. 1438 and two Mss. in Beirut; ed. Farhat Dachraoui (Tunis, 1975), from a photocopy of Handlist 1438 and a Ms. in the possession of L. Massignon.

TRANSLATION: *Founding the Fatimid State*, tr. Hamid Haji (London, 2006).

PARTIAL EDITION AND TRANSLATION: W. Ivanow in his *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (London, 1942).

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 103; Ivanow (1963), no. 76; Poonawala (1977), pp. 58–60, no. 20; Gacek (1984), no. 33 (3 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 76, 77; Cortese (2003), no. 36 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 143.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 145 folios (the older foliation and the pagination in the Ms. are both wrong; fols 1a and 2b contain some unidentified text in the same hand as the first part of the main text; fol. 3a has a secondary title page; fol. 4 is blank on both sides; fol. 5a has the title and 5b the beginning of the text); the text seems to be written in two hands: **first hand** = fols 1, 2, and 5–68; **second hand** = fols 69–145; catchwords of the usual sort on the verso of fols 5 to 12, the next section (fols 13 to 68, that is, until the end of the part in the first hand) has catchwords incorporated in the text (that is, the last word or words of the verso are repeated on the following recto), while the part in the second hand (fols 69 to the end) has again ordinary catchwords, though occasionally repeating the last word of the preceding verso by mistake; 22 × 13.5 cm (14 to 14.5 × 7 to 8 cm); 16 lines on fols 5–71 (that is: the first hand and the first 2 fols of the second hand), then 17 lines in the remainder; *naskh*; black ink with chapter headings in red; a few marginal corrections and glosses; completed on Friday 7 Sha‘bān 1315 (31 December 1897, this refers naturally only to the section in the second hand); scribe not indicated; a note on fol. 145b identifies it as part of the library of Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh Hamdāni in Surat and the same information is indicated on the later of the two title pages (fol. 3a), while a note on the older title page (fol. 5a) says that ‘my sanctified father Sayyidi Muḥammad ‘Alī corrected these parts completely’

Ms. 1439 [Handlist 22b]

the same

Arabic manuscript, copied before 1901

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 149 folios (the two sides of fol. 1 are two separate sheets pasted together; some writing is visible on what was once the recto of the second leaf); catchwords; 20 × 13.5 cm (15.5 × 10 cm); 13 lines; black ink with chapter headings in red; rough *naskh*; marginal corrections; date and scribe not indicated, but a note on fol. 1a says that it is one of the books from the library of Rāj-bhā'ī Ādam-jī given as a *waqf* for the students of the Muḥammadiyya Madrasa so that they could read it during the instruction at Laylat al-qadr in the year 1318 (1901). Below this there is a (presumably older) note stating that it belongs to Ismā'īl-jī b. al-Shaykh Rāj-bhā'ī; labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1440 [Handlist 35]

[Extracts on marriage law] from works by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Arabic manuscript

This manuscript contains extracts from several works of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān concerning marriage law, but the pages seem to be partially out of order, with some parts missing. Unfortunately most folios of the manuscript have no catchwords, so it is not always easy to see how it all fits together. I have managed to distinguish the following components:

1. fols 1b–24b
Kitāb al-nikāḥ from *Da'ā'im al-Islām*.
2. fols 25a–56b
Jummā' abwāb al-nikāḥ from *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār*.
There is evidently something missing after fol. 56b.
3. fols 57a–64b
According to the superscription this is *Kitāb al-nikāḥ* in 14 chapters. It breaks off in the middle of the 12th chapter.
4. fols 65a–72b
Kitāb al-nikāḥ from *al-Muntakhaba* (in verse); the end is missing.
5. fols 73a–77a
Kitāb al-nikāḥ from *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār*.
6. fols 77a–80b
Min al-masā'il al-madhkūra and other extracts; fragmentary.

7. fols 81a–88 b

Kitāb al-ṭalāq from *Kitāb al-iqtiṣār*; again the end is missing.

DESCRIPTION: blue and red cloth binding; 88 folios; catchwords only sporadically; 22 × 14 cm (14 × 8 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; there is no colophon, but the label on the front cover says it was copied by ‘Alī al-Hamdānī (sc. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad ‘Alī).

Ms. 1441 [Handlist 49]

Kitāb asās al-ta’wīl (Bunyād-i ta’wīl)

by al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān

in the Persian translation attributed to al-Mu‘ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shirāzī
Persian manuscript dated 1890

The *Asās al-ta’wīl* of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān gives an esoteric interpretation of a large number of verses from the Qur’ān relevant to the nature of prophethood and imamate. Copies are common in Ismaili libraries, though there is no copy of the Arabic original in the Hamdani collection. What we do have here is a copy of a very rare Persian rendering of the work, with an introduction in which the author says that he has translated it from Arabic to Persian by order of the Imam al-Mustanṣir bi’llāh Amīr al-Mu’minīn, so that the believers in the Persian-speaking province (*andar jazīra i pārsī-gōyān*) might have the benefit of the esoteric knowledge contained in it. The body of the translation quotes (in Arabic, and, in this manuscript, in red ink) the verses in question, then (often, but not always) a literal Persian translation of the verse, and lastly the Persian rendering of the esoteric interpretation given in al-Nu‘mān’s book.

The only other recorded copy of this translation is a manuscript in the Zāhid ‘Alī collection, catalogued by Cortese, dated 1300 (1883), eight years before the Ms. in the Hamdani collection. In the Zāhid ‘Alī manuscript the text is preceded (on fol. 1a) by a note in Arabic, in the same hand as the rest of the text, giving the title as *Kitāb asās al-ta’wīl al-mutarjam bi’l-fārisiyya*, and stating that it was translated by Sayyidunā al-Mu‘ayyad al-Shirāzī. The same title (but not the name of the translator) is repeated on fol. 1b. In the Hamdani Ms. there is no indication either of the title or of the name of the translator in the hand of the scribe, but there are two notes, in two different hands, on

the recto of the first folio, one giving the title as *Asās al-ta'wīl*, the other giving the title (in Persian) as *Bunyād-i ta'wīl* (the title appears in this form also in the explicit, on p. 299) and stating that it was translated by al-Mu'ayyad. This information is repeated on the labels on the front cover and spine.

In my opinion, the attribution of this translation to al-Mu'ayyad is open to debate. For one thing, there does not seem to be any indication in our sources that al-Mu'ayyad wrote anything in his native tongue and no mention – specifically – of this translation, not even in al-Majdū'. All of the many authentic texts from the Fatimid period preserved by the Bohras came to them through the Yemen, but it does not seem likely that anyone in the Ṭayyibī community in the Yemen would have been able to read or copy a Persian work like this. It would seem much more plausible to think that this indubitably old translation was preserved in the same milieu as were the authentic works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and other early Ismaili writings in Persian and that it was acquired in India by the Bohras, who, seeing that it is clearly stated that it was composed at the time of al-Mustanṣir, imagined that it might be the work of the – for them – very famous Persian-born *dā'ī al-du'āt*. These doubts obviously do not in the least diminish the importance of this translation for the history of Ismaili writing in Persian.

After the end of the text there is (on p. 300) a list of the six imams in each of the five 'cycles' before that of Muḥammad.

For the Arabic original:

EDITION: ed. 'Ārif Tāmīr (Beirut [1960]).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 134; Ivanow (1933), no. 71; Ivanow (1963), no. 75; Goriawala (1965), nos 25–27; Poonawala (1977), pp. 63–64, no. 38; Gacek (1981), no. 27; Cortese (2000), nos 72, 73, 74; Cortese (2003), no. 11 (2 copies).

For the Persian translation: Ivanow (1933), no. 165; Ivanow (1963), no. 169; Poonawala (1977), p. 199, no. 17; Cortese (2003), p. 199, no. B1; Daftary (2004), p. 143.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 300 numbered pages; catch-words; 21.5 × 13.5 cm (15 × 9 cm); 17 lines; black ink with the Qur'an verses mostly in red (but occasionally in blue, and very often left blank or inserted in the margins); small *naskh* with cursive features; a few marginal corrections; chapter headings in the margin; the colophon states that the Ms. was copied by the order of al-Ḥadd al-'Allāma

(etc., etc.) Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh (sc. al-Hamdānī), with the date 30 Rabī' I 1308 (12 November 1890), in Udaypur; this is followed by a note in a different hand stating that it was copied by the late (*al-marḥūm*) 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il al-Shahīd al-Udaypūrī.

Ms. 1442 [Handlist 24a]

Kitāb al-yanābī'

by Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī

Arabic manuscript dated 1889

Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (or al-Sijzī, or in Persian Sagzī) was the leader of the Ismaili *da'wa* in Persia after Abū Ḥātim. In his *Kitāb al-iftikhār* he indicates that he was in Iraq at the time of the deposition of the Abbasid Caliph al-Qāhir, that is, in 322/934. In two of his works he mentions the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim, implying that he was still alive after 386/996. He seems to have been the first representative of the Persian school who demonstrably accepted the imamate of the Fatimid caliphs.

The *Kitāb al-yanābī'* is an extensive presentation of al-Sijistānī's doctrine of cosmology, in 40 chapters, well known to students of Ismaili studies through the edition and richly annotated French translation by Corbin, and the more recent English translation by Walker.

EDITIONS: ed. H. Corbin, in his *Trilogie ismaélienne* (Tehran and Paris, 1961), with French translation and notes; ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1965).

TRANSLATIONS: Corbin (see above); Paul E. Walker, *The Wellsprings of Wisdom* (Salt Lake City, 1994). Persian paraphrase (with some added material) in Naṣir-i Khusraw, *Khawān al-ikhwān*, ed. Yahyā al-Kashshāb (Cairo, 1940); ed. 'Alī Qawīm (Tehran, 1959).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 142–144; Ivanow (1933), no. 30; Ivanow (1963), no. 38; Goriawala (1965), no. 16; Poonawala (1977), p. 85, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 63; Cortese (2000), nos 113, 114; Daftary (2004), p. 154.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 46 folios (90 pages, of which only the first 18 were numbered by the scribe, preceded by an unnumbered folio, here called 'fol. 0'); catchwords; 22 × 14 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); black ink with rubrics in red (the places for some of the chapter headings have been left blank); very neat *naskh*; numerous marginalia with

glosses and variant readings and a few corrections; diagrams in the text (p. 13) or in the margins (p. 12), with spaces left blank for other diagrams (pp. 38, 53–54, 69, 75); completed in Shawwāl 1306 (June 1889); copied by ‘Isā b. Dā’ūd-bhā’ī b. ‘Abd al-‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm-jī Sayfī; seals; ownership notice of al-Maktaba al-Muḥammadiyya al-Hamdāniyya on fol. 0.; torn labels on the cover and spine.

Mss. 1443 and 1444 [Handlist 24b–c]

the same

Arabic manuscript in two uniform volumes, dated 1912

This is another copy of the *Yanābir* in two volumes, of which the first contains the introduction and chapters 1–23, the second chapters 24–40.

DESCRIPTION: half leather binding with red (vol. 1) and brown (vol. 2) boards; volume 1 has 56 folios in two hands (**first hand**: fols 1b–24b; these pages are (mis-)numbered by the scribe; **second hand**: fols 25–56), while volume 2 has 37 fols all in the second hand; catchwords; 18 × 11 cm (10.5 × 5 cm); black ink with rubrics in red and occasionally blue (but the second hand has left blank the space for most of the chapter headings); neat *naskh* (first hand) and rough *naskh* (second hand); marginal glosses (frequent in volume 1 fols 1–10 and 26–29, otherwise rare); diagrams (1/14b, 1/41a) and blank spaces for diagrams (1/56a, 2/21b–22a); the colophon (2/37a–b) is dated Monday 10 Ṣafar 1330 (29 January 1912) and signed by Ṭāhir b. ‘Abd al-Qādir-bhā’ī Ṣāhib b. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn, ‘and I wrote it for my own benefit and (that of) Sayyidī Ṭāhir-bhā’ī Ṣāhib’ [that is, Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī]; the ownership of the Ms. by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī is affirmed in his own hand in a marginal note on 1/1a, in notes in a different hand on the flyleaf of both volumes and by his embossed stamp (“Taḥer M. F. Hamdani”) on 1/1, 2/1, 2/36, 2/37; a note on 1/1a says that it is ‘from the books of Sayyidī Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī al-Ya’burī’, but this is wrong, as the Ms. was copied after Muḥammad ‘Alī’s death.

Ms. 1445 [Handlist 23]

al-Risāla al-bāhira fī’l-ma‘ād

elsewhere ascribed to Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sijistānī

Arabic manuscript

This little treatise on the 'return' has been edited, translated and copiously annotated in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Boustan Hirji. It is (at least in this copy and in the manuscript described by Gacek (1984), that is, the two copies available to the editor) evidently incomplete at the beginning. The extant text begins with the tail end of a eulogy addressed to some unnamed patron. Hirji says (p. 76) that 'it appears to be private correspondence between Sijistānī and a Fātimid imām', but this can hardly be correct. The wording of the eulogies is not the sort that a da'ī would address to his imam; moreover, the dedicatee is described as having asked the author to explain to him the doctrine of resurrection in a manner 'closer to your understanding and easier for your comprehension', a decidedly patronising formulation which a believer would hardly direct to the imam, who is the source of esoteric knowledge. One has rather the impression that the dedicatee is a worldly ruler who to some degree sympathised with the Ismailis.

The title of the treatise is indicated here (by a later hand) on the title page (fol. 1a) and in the label on the cover, but al-Sijistānī's authorship is not indicated anywhere in this copy; it can, however, hardly be doubted given the fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in his *Zād al-musāfirīn* (ed. Muḥammad Badhl al-Raḥmān, Berlin, n.d. [preface dated Jumādā II 1341], pp. 421–422) explicitly mentions the '*Risāla i bāhira*' as one of the books in which Abū Ya'qūb i Sagzī upheld the doctrine of reincarnation, as is indeed the case in the present work.

EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Boustan Hirji, 'A study of *al-Risālah al-Bāhira*', Ph.D. thesis (McGill University, 1994), edition on the basis of this manuscript and the copy described by Gacek; the same edition, together with a Persian translation, was printed in the journal *Tahqiqāt i islām*, 7 (1371 Sh./1992), pp. 21–62.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 25; Ivanow (1963), no. 43; Poonawala (1977), p. 87, no. 13; Gacek (1984), no. 112 (with other texts); Daftary (2004), p. 154.

DESCRIPTION: half leather binding; 18 folios; catchwords; 12.5 × 10 cm (7.5 × 5.5 cm); 10 lines; black ink; *naskh*; marginal and interlinear corrections; a colophon (not in the same hand as the text) on fol. 18a states that it was copied by al-Shaykh Ishāq 'Alī b. Sulaymān-jī Shājāpūrwālā, who (Abbas Hamdani writes) 'was a student of my great grandfather Shaykh Muhammad Ali Hamdani'; the title page (fol. 1a) has two

different notes recording its acquisition by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī, whose seal appears on the Ms.; label on cover.

Ms. 1446 [Handlist 25]

Kitāb al-maqālīd

by Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī

Arabic manuscript dated 1889

This is the (significantly) older of the two recorded copies of an important treatise of Ismaili esoteric doctrine. A brief description of the present manuscript, with a translation of the titles of the 70 chapters, was published by Poonawala in his article 'al-Sijistānī and his *Kitāb al-maqālīd*' (1967).

The manuscript begins immediately with a table of contents of the 70 'keys' (singular: *iqḷīd*; the form *maqālīd* in the title is the plural of the synonymous *miqlād*) that make up the work, followed (fol. 4a, line 1) by the text of the first *iqḷīd*. It is thus evident that the introduction is missing. Moreover, at a large number of places the scribe has left blank spaces of various sizes, evidently at points where his archetype was damaged; towards the end of the manuscript these lacunae become more and more frequent until the whole thing becomes an incomprehensible fragment.

This work must have been rare for a long time. Al-Majdū' does not have an entry on it in (the extant part of) his *Fihrist*, but he does mention (p. 145) that al-Kirmānī, in his treatise *al-Muḍī'a*, refuted what al-Sijistānī had written 'in the 28th *iqḷīd* of his book known as *al-Maqālīd*' and indeed, in the printed text of al-Kirmānī's book (ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib in his *Majmū'at rasā'il al-Kirmānī* (Beirut, 1403/1983), p. 49) the author quotes a passage that we find in the present manuscript (beginning on fol. 53a), though al-Kirmānī does not cite the author by name but refers to him only as 'the author of *al-Maqālīd*'. In the present manuscript the title (*Kitāb al-maqālīd*) and the author (Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī) are mentioned only on the title page and after the colophon in (apparently) a different hand from the body of the manuscript, but the information given by al-Majdū' makes it likely that they are correct.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 33; Ivanow (1963), no. 39; Poonawala (1977), p. 85, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 59 (Ms. dated 1359/1940).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 145 folios; catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); 18 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; a very

small number of marginal corrections; some key words are repeated in the margin in red; copied by 'Isā b. Dā'ūd-bhā'ī b. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Ibrāhīm-ji Sayfī, completed on Thursday 29 Shawwāl 1306 (27 June 1889); seals; labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1447 [Handlist 26]

Ithbāt al-nubuwwāt

by Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī

Arabic manuscript dated 1889

This extensive treatise on the 'confirmation of the prophetic missions' (the forms *nubuwwāt* and *nubū'āt* are both correct) begins with an introduction (evidently truncated at the beginning: it begins with the connecting particle *fa-*), followed (here on fols 6b to 9a) by a table of contents of the seven chapters (singular *maqāla*), each of which is subdivided into 12 sections (singular *faṣl*). Then we have the text of the first five *maqālāt*, the first beginning on fol. 9a, the second on 37a, the third on 69b, the fourth on 98b, and the fifth beginning on 120a and ending on 153b. The bottom half of 153b is left blank, and the remaining 14 pages (fols 154a to 160b) contain what is here called an 'extract' (*muntaza'a*) from the *Ithbāt al-nubuwwāt*, consisting of what are stated to be passages from five of the 12 sections of the sixth *maqāla* in the following order: from sections two (154a), five (156a), three (157b), four and eight (158b). There is no trace of the seventh *maqāla*. Poonawala (1977) implies that the work is found in this truncated form 'in all MSS'. Al-Majdū' lists the names of the sections of all seven chapters (presumably on the basis of the table of contents), as does Ivanow (presumably on the authority of al-Majdū').

The edition of this book by 'Arif Tāmīr, which is based mainly on the present manuscript, collated with one other copy, contains on pp. 181 to 193 what is claimed to be the 12 sections of the sixth *maqāla* (here too there is no trace of the seventh *maqāla*); in fact what we find here are the extracts from sections two, three, four, five and eight as found in the present manuscript (but rearranged in numerical order), but also what are claimed to be sections one, six and nine to twelve, becoming (it must be said) increasingly scrappy towards the end. The textual basis for these sections remains to be established.

A fragment of the mentioned epitome of the sixth chapter is found also in Ms. 1518.

EDITION: ed. 'Arif Tāmīr (Beirut, 1966), based on this and one other manuscript.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 183–185; Ivanow (1933), no. 27; Ivanow (1963), no. 33; Goriawala (1965), no. 13; Poonawala (1977), p. 86, no. 3; Gacek (1984), no. 37 (only the extracts from *maqāla* 6); Daftary (2004), p. 153.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 160 folios (319 numbered pages); catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); 18 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; some marginal corrections; page numbers and running title on most (but not all) pages; diagrams on fols 12b, 17b, 28a–b, 34b, 40a, 66a, 72b, 83b, 104b, 109a, 127a; copied by 'Isā b. Dā'ūd-bhā'ī b. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Ibrāhīm-jī al-Sayfī and completed on 29 Rabi' I 1307 (22 November 1889); title and author on title page and on labels on front cover and spine; seals.

Ms. 1448 [Handlist 28]

Kitāb al-iftikhār

by Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī

Arabic manuscript from between 1718 and 1737

This relatively short treatise on cosmology has been edited by Poonawala on the basis of 14 manuscripts, among them this one, together with extensive commentary in Arabic as well as a concise summary of its contents in English.

The manuscript in the Hamdani collection was copied by a woman, who is also responsible for Ms. 1634 (*Nahj al-balāgha*), by the name of Raḥmat (in Ms. 1634 apparently: Raḥmat-bar, i.e. an Arabo-Persian compound, 'bearer of mercy') bint Walī-jī b. 'Isā-jī, a resident of Nawānaghar. In this manuscript the name is preceded by three words which Poonawala (p. 64 of his edition) vocalises as *tamm al-kitāb li-kaṭm*, apparently meaning 'the book was completed for the purpose of secrecy', but I do not think that this makes any sense, especially since the phrase is followed immediately by the lady's name without any syntactic connection. In the colophon to Ms. 1634 we also have a word written ك with three dots under the -k-, followed by what looks like *min mamlūka* and then the lady's name. The only thing that I can suggest is that this is Sanskrit *likhtam* ('written', perfect passive participle with ending for the nominative singular neuter), a book-word in this bookish context. The same word can be found in Platts's Urdu

dictionary with the spelling *لكم*. So the colophon would mean: 'completed is the book, the *scriptum* of Raḥmat, daughter of Walī-jī' etc.

EDITIONS: ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1980); ed. Ismail K. Poonawala (Beirut, 2000).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 140–141; Ivanow (1933), no. 26; Ivanow (1963), no. 36; Goriawala, no. 12; Poonawala (1977), p. 86, no. 7; Gacek (1984), no. 53 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 112; Cortese (2003), no. 57; Daftary (2004), pp. 153–154.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with plain leather trim; 42 folios; catchwords; 22 × 14.5 cm (15.5 × 9.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (the spaces for some of the chapter headings have been left blank); distinctive *naskh*; some marginal corrections; space for a diagram left blank on fol. 31a; copied by Raḥmat bint Walī-jī b. 'Isā-jī, resident in Nawānaghar during the time of Sayyidnā Badr al-Dīn Ismā'īl (da'i from 1130/1718 to 1150/1737); title and author at the beginning, and embossed on the spine; title and author in the superscription and embossed on the spine; seal of Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm engraved 1272 and that apparently of Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh engraved 1284.

Ms. 1449 [Handlist 27]

Sarā'ir al-ma'ād wa'l-ma'āsh

elsewhere ascribed to Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī

Arabic manuscript

This is an esoteric treatise of disputed authorship. Al-Majdū' has a very brief entry devoted to this title, where he says that it is by the author as his preceding entry (that is, the *Sulam al-najāt* of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī), that it consists of seven sections, and that it is 'extremely difficult to comprehend'. But Poonawala (1977) writes that in the manuscript in the 'Abd al-Qayyūm collection it is 'ascribed to Rāzī on the title page'. In the present manuscript too there is a title page naming Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī as the author, but this name was subsequently crossed out. There seems to be no indication of the authorship in the body of the manuscript.

The work does indeed contain seven sections (the titles are listed in Poonawala), the first beginning on fol. 3b, the second on 25a, the third on 34a, the fourth on 47b, the fifth on 60a, the sixth (by far the longest) on 89b, and the seventh beginning on 165a and ending with an explicit

on fol. 182a. The explicit is followed by a eulogy on the prophet and the imams and names the current imam as al-Manşūr Abū ‘Alī al-Āmir bi Aḥkām Allāh (reigned 495/1101 to 524/1130). If this eulogy is really part of the original text then it cannot be the work either of al-Rāzī or al-Sijistānī, but it is of course possible that the explicit is copied from an older manuscript (as is clearly the case with Ms. 1456), especially since al-Āmir is not mentioned in the author’s introduction. It can be noted that Walker (1993), p. 165, n. 79, states that the book ‘was written in the time of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir and therefore has little [?!] to do with al-Sijistānī’. In my opinion the question of its authorship remains open.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, p. 196; Ivanow (1933), no. 35; Ivanow (1963), no. 50; Poonawala (1977), p. 87, no. 11.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 182 folios (363 numbered pages); catchwords; 14.5 × 11.5 cm (8 to 8.5 × 5.5 to 6 cm); 10 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections, and some extensive additions; running headers on only a few pages; diagram on fol. 8a; no colophon; title and (effaced) author name on title page; title on label on spine; seals.

Ms. 1450 [Handlist 30]

Kitāb al-akwār wa’l-adwār

elsewhere attributed to Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi

Arabic manuscript written before 1898

Poonawala (1977) reports that the manuscript of this work in the ‘Abd al-Qayyūm collection gives the author’s name as al-Shaykh Mas‘ūd al-Nasafi, that is: the son of the famous early Ismaili missionary Abū’l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi (Persian: Nakhshabī), who was killed in 332/943, and likewise in the manuscript described by Gacek there is a superscription (but I am not sure whether it is in the same hand as the rest) giving al-Shaykh Mas‘ūd al-Nakhshabī as the name of the author. In the present copy the title *Kitāb al-akwār wa’l-adwār* is indicated on the flyleaf (fol. 0a) and on two labels on the front and back covers, but there is no indication of the name of the author. The appendix to the *Fihrist* of al-Majdū‘ (edition, p. 279) has a title *Kitāb al-adwār wa’l-akwār* (sic) by Sayyidunā al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (presumably meaning the 8th da‘i, who died in 667/1268), without any account of its contents, but the work described here must be a lot earlier.

The text is evidently incomplete and the copyist has left a large number of blank spaces of various sizes to signal the lacunae in his master copy. On fol. 1a (that is: before the beginning of the text) there is a page of writing which looks like a detached fragment of this, or possibly some other, treatise.

The text is concerned mainly with number symbolism and in particular with the argument that various groups of seven – for example on fols 60b–61a, the seven components of the body (hair, skin, flesh, bones, veins, nerves, marrow) – prove that there are only seven imams in each ‘cycle’. At the same time there is ample discussion of the first and second intellect and similar notions close to the heart of the Persian school.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 376; Ivanow (1963), no. 367; Poonawala (1977), p. 75, no. 1 and p. 165, no. 6; Gacek (1984), no. 5.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with medallions on both covers; 72 folios; catchwords; 17 × 11.5 cm (size of written area varies); 9 lines; black ink with just a few words in red; irregular *naskh* (possibly two hands?); a few marginal corrections; no colophon; title on flyleaf and on labels on the front and back covers; a note on the flyleaf (fol. 0a) states that this is one of the books donated by the late Mullā Sulṭān-‘Alī Hibat Allāh as a *waqf* for the students of al-Madrassa al-Muḥammadiyya in the year 1316 (1898–1899); seals with the name of the same Sulṭān-‘Alī Hibat Allāh and the year 1268.

Ms. 1451 [Handlist 37a]

Kitāb al-maṣābiḥ fi ithbāt al-imāma

by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī

Arabic manuscript written before 1913

Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī was the foremost religious writer at the time of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim.

This treatise on the ‘confirmation of the imamate’ has recently been edited by Walker, from six manuscripts, including the two in this collection, together with a complete English translation and a valuable introduction. It begins with a presentation of proofs of the existence of God and the necessity for an imam in general, but soon homes in on the author’s specific purpose, which is to confirm the legitimacy of the current imam, al-Ḥākim. It stands apart from most of Ismaili doctrinal literature in that it has a very clear-cut historical context. It begins with

a dedication to Fakhr al-Mulūk, the wazir of the Būyid amirs Bahā' al-Dawla and Sulṭān al-Dawla from 401/1011 to 407/1016, and must consequently have been written during that short period. The fact that one of the tables in this book (see Walker's edition, p. 87) refers to Bahā' al-Dawla as 'the late amir' (*al-amīr al-sa'īd*; Walker translates differently) and follows his name by a eulogy (though the eulogy is missing in Ms. 1452, fol. 76a; the whole table is missing in Ms. 1451) would seem to indicate that the book was written after the death of Bahā' al-Dawla in 403/1012. It is also particularly interesting that the author contrasts the arguments for al-Ḥākim's imamate in detail with the alleged deficiencies of other contemporary claimants, namely, the Abbasid Caliph Aḥmad b. Ishāk (alias al-Qādir); the Zaydi Imam al-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī (alias al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh) in Hawsam; the (here unnamed) Umayyad caliph in al-Andalus; 'those who called themselves *al-sāda* in al-Aḥsā' (that is: the leaders of the so-called Qarmaṭīs of Bahrayn); the 'expected' 12th imam of the Ithnā'ashariyya; and also (tantalisingly) an otherwise unknown Ibaḏī imam in Uman called 'Umar al-Nazwānī.

The text in all of the copies examined by Walker ends with blessings on the Caliphs al-Ḥākim and al-Mustaṣfir, indicating that all copies go back to an archetype produced during the reign of the latter.

In this copy, one quire has been bound in the wrong place (see the physical description below), and four of the seven diagrams are missing, as indicated in the following table:

Walker's edition	Ms. 1451	Ms. 1452
table 1 (pp. 60–62)	fols 99b–100a	fols 53b–55a
table 2 (pp. 66–88)	fols 104a–105b	fols 56b–58a
'circular table' (pp. 70–71)	pasted to fol. 106b	fol. 58b
tables 3 and 4 (pp. 76–78)	both missing	fols 63b–64b
table 5 (pp. 86–89)	missing	fols 75b–77a
table 6 (pp. 93–94)	missing	fols 77b–78b

(but fol. 97a–b has been left blank for it)

EDITIONS: M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1969); Paul E. Walker, *Master of the Age: An Islamic Treatise on the Necessity of the Imamate* (London, 2007) (with a translation).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 121–123; Ivanow (1933), no. 116; Ivanow (1963), no. 125; Goriawala (1965), no. 52; Poonawala (1977), p. 98, no. 7; Gacek (1984), no. 55 (6 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 57, 58, 59; Cortese (2003), no. 60; Daftary (2004), p. 127.

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with leather trim; 115 folios (the correct order of the folios is: 1 to 82, then 99 to 114, then 83 to 98 (fol. 115a is a discarded first draft of fol. 76a); catchwords; 17.5 × 10.5 cm (the size of the written area is variable); 11 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; tables, and spaces for tables, as discussed above; the colophon on the page now numbered fol. 98b says it was copied by Karīm-jī b. ‘Alī-bhā’i; title indicated on fol. 0a and on the label on the front cover; a note on fol. 0a records the acquisition of the manuscript by Ṭāhīr b. Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī in 1331 (1913) and his stamp appears on several pages.

Ms. 1452 [Handlist 37b]

the same

Arabic manuscript dated 1858

DESCRIPTION: black cloth binding; 80 folios; catchwords; 19 × 11.5 cm (12.5 × 7.5 cm); black ink with rubrics in red (but most of the spaces for the chapter headings have been left blank); cursive *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; completed on Saturday 17 Šafar 1275 (25 September 1858), at the time of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (da’i from 1256/1840 to 1302/1885) by Sharaf ‘Alī b. Mullā ‘Alī-bhā’i b. Mullā Ḥasan-bhā’i Shāhjahānpūrī for Mullā Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Mullā Ḥabīb Allāh-jī; title and author indicated in the superscription and on the labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1453 [Handlist 40a]

Rāḥat al-‘aql

by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī

Arabic manuscript completed in 1861, with older pages

This is a famous compendium of Ismaili esoteric doctrine, focusing on the theory of the ‘ten intellects’.

Near the beginning of the book (p. 20 of the older edition; fol. 12a of this copy; fol. 21a in Ms. 1446) there is a passage that has caused a lot of confusion in previous studies. The text shifts back and forth between the first person plural (this is the author speaking) and the third person singular (obviously a scribal interpolation); in my view the interpolated passages are the two halves of a single gloss, presumably originally

written in the margin, and then wrongly inserted into two different points in the text of the master copy. The first half of the gloss states:

And its author is Ḥamid al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh, the da‘i in the province of Iraq and the adjacent regions on behalf of Imam al-Ḥākim bi amr Allāh, commander of the faithful (...), the successor appointed by those who deputised the Prophet.

The authorial voice then continues:

in accordance with what we have explained in our books *Kitāb al-maṣābiḥ fi’l-imāma* and *Mabāsīm al-bishārāt* and *Risālat al-kāfiya* and *Kitāb tanbih al-hādī wa’l-mustahdī*

And then the continuation of the gloss:

He composed it in the year 411 in the district of Iraq and apart from this book he also wrote other treatises and books which are mentioned in the *Risālat al-fihrist*.

The mentioned *Fihrist* is evidently that of al-Majdū‘. If (as I argue) the two interpolated passages are part of one and the same gloss, it follows that 411/1020–1021 is the year proposed by the glossator for the composition of the *Rāḥat al-‘aql* and not (as some have suggested) of the *Kitāb tanbih al-hādī wa’l-mustahdī*. Whether the information contained in this obviously late gloss (later in any case than the time of al-Majdū‘ in the middle of the 18th century) is actually true is a question that still requires elucidation. But the fact that the supposed date of composition is the same as the date of al-Ḥākim’s death speaks against it: it could be that ‘he composed it in 411’ is merely shorthand for ‘he composed it during the time of al-Ḥākim, that is, not later than 411’.

The *Rāḥat al-‘aql* was edited in 1952 by two Egyptian scholars, Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, on the basis of one manuscript of the whole work, and one of each of the two parts. The so-called edition by Muṣṭafā Ghālīb claims to be based on two manuscripts in India, but is in fact plagiarised from the 1952 edition (see the discussion in de Smet, 1995, p. 9 fn. 25).

The *Rāḥat al-‘aql* is divided into seven chapters (or rather ‘ram-parts’, sing. *sūr*), whereby the seventh chapter accounts for nearly half

of the whole book. The division of the chapters into (usually) two volumes is not uniform in the manuscript tradition. The present copy contains the whole work in a single volume: the introduction (begins fol. 1b); the table of contents (fol. 3b); the 1st chapter (fol. 8b); the 2nd chapter (fol. 21b); the 3rd chapter (fol. 34b); the 4th chapter (fol. 71b); the 5th chapter (fol. 122b); the 6th chapter (fol. 166a); the 7th chapter (fols 222a to 415a). It seems to have been copied by three different scribes.

The first 31 folios (quires 1–3) are in a very neat small hand on pages originally measuring 21 × 13 cm (written surface 15 × 7 cm), but later remargined to the size of the pages in the rest of the manuscript. The main part of the manuscript (fols 36–383; that is the quires numbered 4 to 45, and the first pages of quire 46) is in a very irregular script (the scribe evidently changed pens several times, so the writing varies a lot in thickness), on pages measuring 22 × 14 cm (written surface 14 to 15 × 9 cm). Between the quires numbered 3 and 4 there is an unnumbered mini-quire of just 4 folios (fols 32–35), of the same size (prior to remargining) as the first three quires, but in a different hand; I think they were copied by the same scribe as fols 36–383, but with a small stylus. The last part of the manuscript (fols 384–415) is in a third, very cursive, but regular hand. It ends with a colophon.

A note at the top of fol. 1b states that the marginalia in this manuscript were copied from those in the handwriting of al-Sulṭān al-Ajall Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī (da'i from 546/1151 to 557/1162). The marginalia are frequent at the beginning, then become sporadic.

EDITIONS: ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī (Leiden, 1952); ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1967; repr. 1983); Analysis in D. de Smet, *La Quiétude de l'intellect* (Louvain, 1995).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū' (appendix), pp. 280–284; Ivanow (1933), no. 117; Ivanow (1963), no. 124; Goriawala (1965), no. 53 (chs 1–5), no. 54 (chr 6–7); Poonawala (1977), p. 96, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 107 (1 copy of chs 1–6; 2 copies of chs 1–5; 2 copies of chs 6–7); Cortese (2000), no. 60 (old copy of ch. 7 only); Cortese (2003), no. 115; Daftary (2004), pp. 127–128.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded, with flap; 415 folios in three hands (see above); 50 quires of unequal size (mostly 8 or 10 folios), all, other than the first, numbered with Gujarati numerals; catchwords from fol. 36 onwards (so not in the oldest part); 19 lines (first hand), 14 lines

(second hand, with some variation); 15 lines (third hand); black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; marginal glosses, frequent at the beginning, sporadic afterwards; corrections; tables or diagrams on fols 44b, 58b, 92a, 104b, 111a, 113a, 128a, 129a (a loose fol. inserted in the quire), 132a, 143b, 188a, 188b; spaces left blank for diagrams on fols 309b, 411b; completed on Friday 21 Rajab 1277 (1 February 1861), in the time of Sayyidnā ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn; the scribe (evidently of the last part only) is Dā’ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Alī b. al-Ḥusaynī Ibrāhīm al-Sayfī b. Jīwā; seals.

Ms. 1454 [Handlist 40b]

the same: chs 1–6

Arabic manuscript

The labels on the cover and the spine call this the ‘first volume’ of the *Rāḥat al-‘aql*. It comprises the introduction (begins fol. 1b); the table of contents (fol. 5a); the 1st chapter (fol. 15a); the 2nd chapter (fol. 36a); the 3rd chapter (fol. 57b); the 4th chapter (fol. 93b); the 5th chapter (fol. 149b); the 6th chapter (fols 193b–256a). The main body of the text (fols 3–188) is in a rather striking bold script, possibly old. The first two folios (only fols 1b–2b are inscribed) were added to supply the missing first segment of the text, whereby on fol. 2b the scribe appears to be imitating the handwriting on the facing page. The last part of the text (fols 189–256) is in a recent hand. There is a note in the margin of fol. 1b to the same effect as the one in Ms. 1453 mentioning Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī. The marginalia are fairly frequent up to fol. 138, then they stop.

In the middle part of the manuscript (fols 83–133) many of the pages have headers in red giving the title of the book (راحة العقل or راحة) and an abbreviated indication of the relevant chapter (*sūr*) and subsection (*mashra’*), e.g. ٤ ما means subsection 1 of chapter 4.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 256 folios in three hands (see above; on fol. 56b the end of ch. 2 is supplied in a different hand); catchwords; 22.5 × 16 cm (14.5 × 12 cm in the old section; 14 × 10 cm in the recent section); 13 lines (12 lines in the recent section); black ink with headings and marginalia in red (spaces for rubrics left blank in the recent section); different styles of *naskh*; numerous corrections and glosses in the older section; diagrams or tables on fols 67b, 80b, 115a, 128a, 128b, 130a, 135a, 137b, 115b, 158b, 169b; no indication of scribes or date; title on fol. 1b, and on labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1455 [Handlist 40c]
 the same: ch. 7
 followed by three further texts
 Arabic manuscript dated 1852

This copy contains chapter 7 of the *Rāḥat al-‘aql*, ending on fol. 143b and followed by a colophon.

After the colophon there follow – in the same handwriting – three further short texts. First (fol. 144a) four and a half lines quoting ‘one of the wise men’, then (fol. 144b) nine and a fraction lines quoting ‘Sayyidunā Ḥamid al-Dīn’, that is: the author of the *Rāḥat al-‘aql*, and finally (fols 145a–147a) a little treatise attributed to al-Amīr al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (here written without the first *yā*), the Yemeni ruler, with a title written as *كلام وجد في المعاد*. This title is quoted in the same form by Poonawala (1977), p. 111, no. 2 and by Cortese (2000), no. 177 (4), whereby Cortese transcribes the second word as *wajad*. I do not know what that is supposed to mean. Read perhaps: *Kalām wujida fi’l-ma‘ād*, ‘a discourse that exists concerning the return (resurrection)’, or – better yet – amend the second word to *wajz*, ‘a brief treatise concerning the return’.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 148 folios (the foliator has missed out the folio after 79: I have marked it as ‘79bis’; fols 79b, 79bis a, and 112a are blank); catchwords; 23 × 12 cm (14.5 × 8.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with chapter headings in red; neat *naskh*; marginal corrections and a few glosses; spaces left blank for diagrams on fols 63b, 64a; completed on Friday 6 Dhu’l-qa‘da 1268 (20 August 1852); scribe not indicated; title on fol. 1b and on the spine; seals of Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī; on fol. 1a there is a table for the decipherment of secret script.

Ms. 1456 [Handlist 70]
Ma‘āsim al-hudā wa’l-‘iṣāba fī tafḍīl ‘Alī ‘alā al-ṣaḥāba
 by Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī
 Arabic manuscript of the second half of the work

Al-Kirmānī’s book on the superiority of ‘Alī over the ‘companions’ of the Prophet, and in particular over the first three caliphs, is a reply to the much older work by al-Jāḥiẓ titled *al-Uthmāniyya*. This, like all recorded copies, contains only the second half of the work, beginning

with *bāb* 3, sections 31 to 64, then the 16 sections of *bāb* 4 and finally the four sections of *bāb* 5. It is in this truncated form that the book was known already to al-Majdū'.

Here, as in other copies, the text ends with an evocation of 'the imam of our time Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr al-Āmir bi Aḥkām Allāh'. Ivanow (1963) says that this name appears in all the copies known to him. The *kunyā* Abū 'Alī and the *ism* al-Manṣūr were shared by al-Kirmānī's patron al-Ḥākim and by al-Āmir, and Ivanow consequently suggested that some copyist inserted the latter name into this text by mistake. As it happens, Gacek's manuscript 69D (the last page of which is depicted in his catalogue) actually has 'al-Ḥākim bi Aḥkām Allāh'. But, given the fact that the regnal name of this caliph was al-Ḥākim bi Amr (not Aḥkām) Allāh, it can hardly be doubted that the hybrid name in Gacek 69D is a spontaneous scribal correction. I think it most likely that the extant manuscripts of the fragment of al-Kirmānī's book go back to a master copy produced (presumably in the Yemen) during the reign of al-Āmir and that the evocation of this imam derives from that archetype.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 95–96; Ivanow (1933), no. 119; Ivanow (1963), no. 126; Goriawala (1965), no. 51; Poonawala (1977), p. 98, no. 8; Gacek (1984), no. 69 (4 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 56; Cortese (2003), no. 72.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 87 folios, of which fols 1–32 and 64–87 are in the first hand, 33–63 in the second hand; catchwords; 21 × 13.5 cm (15.5 × 8 cm); black ink with chapter headings in red (but most of the spaces for the chapter headings have been left blank); rough, cursive *naskh* (first hand) and small neat *naskh* (second hand); a few marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title (but not author) indicated on fol. 1a and on labels on front cover and spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1457 [Handlist 41]

Kitāb al-aqwāl al-dhahabiyya fi'l-ḥubb al-nafsāni

by Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī

Arabic manuscript

This book is the second response by an Ismaili author to the famous philosopher, doctor and alchemist Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī. It begins by quoting the first part of the debate between Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' and Abū Ḥatim al-Rāzī on prophethood, from the latter's

book *A'lām al-nubuwwa* (see Ms. 1408), and offering some 'improvements' on Abū Ḥātim's arguments. Then, in the main part of this book, al-Kirmānī offers a detailed refutation of an actually rather innocuous treatise on ethics by the same Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' with the title *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* and then expounds his own view of 'medicine of the soul'. Like the aforementioned book by Abū Ḥātim, this work was discovered by Paul Kraus, who published extracts from it (on the basis of the present manuscript), together with the whole text of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* in the first (and only published) volume of his collection of the philosophical works of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (*Rasā'il falsafiyya li Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī*, Cairo, 1939). There is an English translation of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* by A. J. Arberry, under the title *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes* (London, 1950).

I take this opportunity to point out that both Cortese (2000) and Daftary (2004) wrongly state that *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* had been previously refuted in Abū Ḥātim's *A'lām al-nubuwwa*. In fact, the book that Abū Ḥātim attacked is an entirely different work by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā', probably his *Fī naqḍ al-adyān* ('Demolition of the Religions'), as was noted already by Kraus and Pines in their important article 'al-Rāzī' in the old edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Even more erroneous is Ivanow's statement that *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya* is 'a defence of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī against the attacks of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (...) in his work *al-Ṭibb al-nafsānī*' in Ivanow (1933), and substantially the same in Ivanow (1963).

In his introduction al-Kirmānī eulogises al-Ḥākim as the current imam.

EDITIONS: ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣawī (Tehran, 1977); ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1977); also (together with *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*), ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-'Abd (Cairo, 1978).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 176–179; Ivanow (1933), no. 43; Ivanow (1963), no. 128; Poonawala (1977), p. 97, no. 3; Cortese (2000), no. 55; Cortese (2003), no. 9 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), pp. 124–125.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap, tooled and gilded; 130 folios (258 pages, numbered by the scribe); 14 numbered quires (but some of the numbers have been cut off); catchwords; 20 × 12 cm (13.5 × 8 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; some marginal and inter-linear corrections and glosses; running header with page number and (from p. 17 onwards) book title and number of *bāb* and *qawl*); no

indication of scribe or date; title and author in superscription, title page, and on labels on the front cover and spine; seals inscribed 1272 and 1284.

Ms. 1458 [Handlist 42a]

Kitāb al-riyāḍ

by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī

Arabic manuscript in two hands, the older of which was written before 1359, the second in 1580 [see Plate 2]

The subtitle of this book (as it appears on the title page of the present manuscript; other copies give slightly different versions) describes it as being 'in arbitration between the two shaykhs, Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī – may God sanctify their souls – in the *Kitāb al-iṣlāh* (of the latter) and the *Kitāb al-nuṣra* (of the former) and the rectification of that which passed between them in this matter, and (also) the rectification of what he (sc., Abū Ḥātim) neglected to rectify in the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* (of al-Nasafi)'. It contains quotations from the mentioned lost works by al-Nasafi and al-Sijistānī, but also from the lost part of Abū Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-iṣlāh* (see Ms. 1406).

This very remarkable old manuscript was described in detail in de Blois (1984); the following is a summary of that article, together with a few new observations and corrections.

In its present state the manuscript is in two hands: the largest part was copied before 760 (1359), but the last 18 folios were added in 988 (1580). At some time after the latter date the book was rebound, whereby the order of the first 70 folios became badly confused. Moreover, the very last folio of the more recent section was wrongly inserted after p. 336. The pages are numbered, in their current wrong order, in pencil with European numerals. Although there are virtually no catchwords in the older section, it was possible (though, as I recall, with some effort) for me, 27 years ago, to reconstruct the true order of the pages on the basis of the photocopy with which I was then working, and I have checked this again now with the actual manuscript. Although the binding is now broken, the folios are for the most part still sewn or pasted together in the wrong order (at one stage evidently scattered pages were re-gathered in wrongly constituted quires) so unfortunately it was not possible to rearrange them physically without further damaging the manuscript. Accordingly, the current (false) pagination has been retained also in the present description.

In its original form, the older part consisted of 20 quires, mostly of 8 folios each, whereby all but four of the quires are still numbered (with Arabic numerals only) in the upper left-hand corner of their first page. The four unnumbered quires are indicated in the following list by square brackets.

Correct order of the pages in the first hand:

[quire 1]	6 fols	pp. 1-8, 71-76
[quire 2]	8 fols	pp. 77-88, 41-42
quire 3	8 fols	pp. 43-44, 89-100, 45-46
[quire 4] ¹	8 fols	pp. 39-40, 101-114
quire 5	8 fols	pp. 115-128, 55-56
quire 6	8 fols	pp. 23-24, 57-58, 25-26, 13-16, 27-28, 59-60, 19-20
quire 7	8 fols	pp. 21-22, 9-10, 35-36, 51-54, 37-38, 11-12, 33-34
quire 8	8 fols	pp. 69-70, 29-30, 61-68, 31-32, 47-48
[quire 9]	8 fols	pp. 49-50, 129-140, 17-18
quire 10	8 fols	pp. 141-156
quire 11	7 fols ²	pp. 157-170
quire 12	8 fols	pp. 171-186
quire 13	8 fols	pp. 187-202
quire 14	8 fols	pp. 203-218
quire 15	8 fols	pp. 219-234
quire 16	8 fols	pp. 235-250
quire 17	8 fols	pp. 251-266
quire 18	8 fols	pp. 267-282
quire 19	8 fols	pp. 283-298
quire 20	9 fols ³	pp. 299-316

Correct order of the pages in the second hand:

pp. 317-336, 339-352, 337-338

1. Although the quire number is no longer legible there is a trace of writing in the upper left-hand corner of p. 39.

2. *Sic*. The middle of the quire (the stitches are visible) is between pp. 162 and 163. It looks as though the last folio of the quire (pp. 169-170) is a single leaf pasted on to the one before.

3. The middle of the quire is between pp. 306 and 307. The 8th folio (pp. 313-314) seems to be the single leaf.

The title page (p.1) is written in the first hand and at the bottom there is pasted a slip of paper in a different hand with a notice of donation containing a date in what at first looks like '765', but in fact has to be read as '760'⁴. The text is as follows:

صار بحق الهبة من مولانا وسيدنا مالك الجميع شمس الدين عباس بن محمد بن حاتم بن حسين ادام الله تأييده
لملوك محمد وآله على بن احمد بن ابي القسم المقرئ نفعه الله بما فيه ورزقه تصور معانيه ورضى مواليه بحق محمد
وآله. بتاريخ العشر الوسطى من ذى الحجة سنة ٧٦٠ هجرية احسن الله خاتمتها بحقه العظيم

The gist of this is that the codex was received as a gift (*bi ḥaqq al-hiba*) from Mawlānā wa Sayyidunā Shams al-Dīn 'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm b. Ḥusayn (the 15th da'ī) to 'the slave of Muḥammad and his family' 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Muqrī (the *nisba*, if correctly read, would refer to Muqrā, in the Yemen), with the date given as 'the middle ten nights' (*al-ʿašr al-wuṣṭā*)⁵ of Dhu'l-ḥijja 760, that is: between the 11th and the 20th of that month, or 2 to 11 November 1359. This date indeed lies within the reported reign of the mentioned da'ī, who presided over the Ṭayyibī community in the Yemen from 755/1354 to 779/1378. The main part of the manuscript must consequently be older than 1359.

The old section of the manuscript has some very striking graphic and orthographic features. The text is for the most part pointed and vocalised and the *muhmal* letters are usually specifically marked as such, either with a small v-shaped sign over or under the letter, or with a miniature form of the letter itself. *alif*, *wāw* and *yā*, when they stand for a long vowel, often bear *sukūn*. *tā' marbūṭa* is mostly written simply as *hā'* without the two dots, while final *hā'* is marked with a miniature *◀* above the letter. But the most striking archaic feature of the writing is that *alif*, when attached to the preceding letter, almost always extends

4. As can be seen from Plate 2, the last digit is a circle with two little rabbit ears. In manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries 'zero' is still an open circle (not a dot) and 'five' looks like a backwards-facing Latin B. See the examples in Rida A. K. Irani, 'Arabic numeral forms', *Centaurus* 4/1 (1955), pp. 1–12.

5. The dating formula was correctly cited and translated in the typescript of de Blois (1984), but altered by the editor prior to publication. For this method of dating by groups of ten, see my article 'Ta'rikh' in *EI2*, p. 259b.

its vertical stroke slightly below the connecting line. Taken together, these features remind one of Arabic manuscripts of the 10th, 11th or 12th centuries and thus they raise the possibility that this manuscript was already a couple of centuries old when it was given away in 1359, but this is only a possibility. In any case, this is by far the oldest Ismaili manuscript in any publicly accessible collection (the present location of the copy of the *Asrār* and *Sarā'ir al-nuṭaqā'* mentioned in our account of Ms. 1403, dated 742/1341–1342, just 18 lunar years before the donation notice in this manuscript, is not known).

As noted, the last 18 folios are a later addition; I think they are all in the same hand, despite the fact that from p. 333 onwards the scribe used a larger nib and a somewhat more flamboyant style of penmanship. The manuscript ends on the misplaced page presently numbered 338 (see Figure 8) with an extensive colophon, where the names of the current da'i and of the scribe are both written in the sort of 'secret' script described in our introduction. The full text of the colophon is printed in my article of 1984; the gist of it is that the copyist finished the 'tail end' of the manuscript (*faragha min dubr baqiyyatihi*) on the first day (*ghurra*) of Dhu'l-qa'da 988 (7 December 1580), at the command of his master the most exalted da'i etc., etc. Dā'ūd b. 'Ajab Shāh (the 26th da'i). The scribe gives his own name as Dā'ūd b. Quṭb; he is thus none other than the person whom the majority of the community in India recognised as the 27th da'i, the eponym of the Dā'ūdī denomination, after the death of the aforementioned Dā'ūd b. 'Ajab Shāh in 999/1591 (thus according to the Dā'ūdī sources) or in 997/1589 (according to the Sulaymānīs), in either case around a decade after the completion of this codex.

In summary: the first part of the manuscript was copied before (and possibly long before) 1359, when it was presented by the reigning da'i to one of his followers in the Yemen. It was later taken to India, in any case before 1580, when the missing final pages were recopied by the future da'i Dā'ūd b. Quṭb. It has been in the possession of the Hamdani family at least since the time of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī, whose signature appears on the title page.

EDITION: ed. 'Arif Tāmīr (Beirut, 1960).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 254–257; Ivanow (1933), no. 137; Ivanow (1963), no. 130; Goriawala (1965), nos 55, 56; Poonawala (1977), p. 97,

تقدّم وجوده على غيره وغير ذلك ينطوي بيان الصحيح في ما
 أوردته ولا حاجة بنا إلى التطويل بالتعجيل على ما استمر من الخطأ
 في التصوير وفيه كفاية

ح
 الباب الرابع من كتاب الرياض في الخمسة الصائين
 في ما تكلم عليهم من كون النفس حراً أو أئناً

الفصل الأول قال صاحب الإصلاح على ما أنبئه صاحب

النصرة وأما الأجزاء التي فيها فإنها أئناً من الجوهر الأول الأجزائه

فإن الخادنا هو الأئناً التي هي من الجوهر الأول لا ما جراه فإن الخاد

الأول بذات الكليز والأجزاء التي هي وئناً وإن كانت أئناً من

الأول فليست بأجزائه ولا هي محبته به بل هي محبته بآثاره

كما بينا من الخاد مصنوعاتنا ما أئناً فيها أو ليس الخاد

Figure 7. *Kitāb al-riyād*, Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (Ms. 1458/p. 139).

مشهد
امير المؤمنين

وحشرنا وابتدعنا في الدنيا المشاهدة من الامام الحاكم بامر الله
 المهدي بن اسمعيل عليه السلام في ارض القدس عنده ورافقه وجماعته
 الكتابي بحمد الله رب العالمين والصلوة على خير البرية
 محمد وآله الغر الميامين ائمة المهالكين ونفوس الاحرار لاقية بالاب
 العلي العظيم ما شاء الله استغفر الله وافوض امري الى الله
 حسبى الله ونعم الوكيل ونعم الوكيل ونعم المصطفى والمبرور
 والصلوة على سيد المرسلين محمد وآله ثم الكتاب بعون الله الملك الوهاب
 وفرغ من رسمه يوم كذا وكذا في شهر كذا سنة كذا
 ولي الله في ارضه اللهم الله المولى مع الجزاء المشهور البر
 حرم الله على الامان الحنن والسند الكبري والاسناد والارواح
 ٥٦٥٢٩ ٥٦٥٣٠ ٥٦٥٣١ ٥٦٥٣٢ ٥٦٥٣٣ ٥٦٥٣٤ ٥٦٥٣٥ ٥٦٥٣٦ ٥٦٥٣٧ ٥٦٥٣٨ ٥٦٥٣٩
 في امانة فريدك وشا عند عمك الذي عسى في وجهه اصدادك وعينك
 ورفا فائده المذنبين لوالديه اولادك اقلهم طافة وجمود وطاعة واحكام
 فائده الى طلبك رضا وراحة ٥٦٥٣٩ ٥٦٥٤٠ ٥٦٥٤١ ٥٦٥٤٢ ٥٦٥٤٣ ٥٦٥٤٤ ٥٦٥٤٥ ٥٦٥٤٦ ٥٦٥٤٧ ٥٦٥٤٨ ٥٦٥٤٩
 والنص الحنفية لانه والعلم عطاوه ثم العباد الساعى على امرهم عموالهم
 في محرابك صلواتك عليهم في يوم القيمة والامم عرفة شهر رجب المعين في ختم الله النظر اولادك
 على اعدائه والسعاخ ورفقهم العباد

امر امر الله

Figure 8. Kitāb al-riyāq, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (Ms. 1458/p. 338).

no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 58 (2 Mss. and 1 typescript); Cortese (2003), no. 64; Daftary (2004), p. 125.

DESCRIPTION: green marbled binding with red leather trim (the binding is now loose); 352 pages in two hands, as described above, preceded by three further inscribed pages (p. i has a second title page; pp. ii–iii a brief account of the contents); only a few (secondary) catchwords in the older section; catchwords throughout the recent section; 20 × 14.5 cm (size of written surface varies); mostly 11 lines in the older section; first 11, then 13 lines in the recent section; black ink (with rubrics in red only in the older section); two styles of *naskh*; marginal corrections in the older section only; cross-shaped decoration in the margin of many of the versos in the older section; scribes and date as discussed above.

Ms. 1459 [Handlist 42b]

the same

Arabic manuscript dated 1880

Another complete copy of the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ*. On folios 1b and 2a we find in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript two short poems in praise of the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ*. The first is quoted also by al-Majdū‘, p. 256, and ascribed both here and there to ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn b. Mawlā-khān (died 1142/1730; see Poonawala (1977), p. 198). The second is a longer version of the poem cited by al-Majdū‘, pp. 256–257, as the work of his own teacher Luqmān-jī b. Ḥabīb Allāh (d. 1173/1760; see Poonawala (1977), p. 201), but in this manuscript it is attributed merely to ‘the most humble slave of Sayyidunā Badr al-Dīn’. This author allows himself the solecism of rhyming *ḍād* with *zā*’.

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with red leather trim and flap; 128 folios; catchwords; 20 × 14 cm (13 × 8.5 cm); 12 to 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; copied by ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Ghulām Ḥusayn-jī in Dār al-Faḥ Ujjain and completed on 3 Šafar 1297 (15 January 1880), in the time of ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn; title at the beginning.

Ms. 1460 [Handlist 43]

Kitāb tanbih al-hādī wa’l-mustahdī

by Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī

Arabic manuscript dated 1787

As discussed in our account of Ms. 1453, this title is mentioned in the introduction to the same author's *Rāḥat al-'aql*. That passage does not state that the author composed this book in Iraq in 411/1021 (as Ivanow (1963), p. 40, puts it), but implies only that it was written before the *Rāḥa*.

It contains, among other things, extensive polemics against various sects and tendencies within Islam, whereby, at least in this manuscript, the names of persons like Abū Bakr are written in secret script. On the other hand, on p. 322 the present imam is named as al-Ḥākim b. al-'Aziz b. al-Mu'izz b. al-Manṣūr b. al-Qā'im b. al-Mahdī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il etc., all in ordinary Arabic script. In texts from the Fatimid period it is fairly unusual to find the names of three hidden imams explicitly mentioned, as they are here. Curiously, at the very end (p. 358) the name of 'the imam of our age' is given as [al-]Ṭayyib Abī'l-Qāsim, but someone (not the original scribe) has crossed this out and written al-Ḥākim bi Amr Allāh. I cite this as a further example of how the imam evoked in the explicit of a manuscript is not necessarily the imam at the time of composition.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 48–49; Ivanow (1933), no. 118; Ivanow (1963), no. 127; Goriawala (1965), nos 57, 58; Poonawala (1977), p. 98, no. 9; Gacek (1984), no. 152 (5 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 63, 64; Cortese (2003), no. 162.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 180 folios (358 pp., in two hands: the second hand begins on p. 284); catchwords; 24 × 13.5 cm (17.5 × 8 cm on the pages written by the first hand; larger, but variable, written surface on the pages in the second hand); variable number of lines; black ink with rubrics in red; a few marginal and interlinear corrections; signed by Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. [Ib]rāhīm b. Muḥammad al-? (looks like *المحزبي* or *المحزبي*) al-Ya'[bur]ī – evidently a Yemenite – and completed on Sunday 17 Muḥarram 1202 (28 October 1787); seal of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī inscribed 1284; title mentioned in text (p. 3) and on the title page; title and author on the label on the spine.

Ms. 1461 [Handlist 45]

Ithbāt al-imāma

elsewhere ascribed to Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī

Arabic manuscript copied between 1840 and 1885

A short treatise on the necessity of the imamate. This copy contains no indication of the title (though this is embossed on the spine) nor of the

author, but it is the work described by al-Majdū' in his entry for this title, where the author is named as Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī. In the introduction the author mentions al-Ḥākīm as the current imam.

EDITION: ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1984); *Degrees of Excellence: A Fatimid Treatise on Leadership in Islam*, ed. and tr. Arzina Lalani (London, 2010).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 120–121; Ivanow (1933), no. 115; Ivanow (1963), no. 116; Goriawala (1965), no. 49; Poonawala (1977), pp. 91–92, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 36 (4 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 69, 70; Cortese (2003), no. 40 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 140.

DESCRIPTION: brown half leather binding; 78 folios; catchwords; 18 × 11 cm (11.5 × 6.5 cm); 12 lines; black ink with very few rubrics in red; distinctive Indian *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; copied by Ṭayyib b. Ibrāhīm *sākin* Mandūr (?), who describes himself as the most humble slave of Sayyidnā wa Mawlānā Abī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (da'ī from 1256/1840 to 1302/1885), for his lord and teacher Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (al-Hamdānī); seals; title embossed on spine.

Ms. 1462 [Handlist 193a]

al-Sira al-Mu'ayyadiyya

by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript completed in 1891

Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. Mūsā b. Dā'ūd al-Shirāzī, with the honorific title al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, began his career in the service of the Fatimid imams while still in his native city of Shiraz. He arrived in Cairo in 438/1046, but in 450/1058 he orchestrated the brief seizure of power in Baghdad by the pro-Fatimid general al-Basāsirī. Thereupon al-Mu'ayyad rose to the rank of *dā'ī al-du'at*, or, more technically, of *al-bāb*, in effect the head of the entire Fatimid religious establishment under the nominal guidance of the Caliph al-Mustanshir. He died in 470/1077.

This manuscript contains his famous autobiography, tracing his adventures down to the time when he was appointed chief da'ī. It is an important historical source and also a very rare example of an autobiography in classical Arabic literature. It has been edited by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, and has been

summarised extensively by Abbas Hamdani in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis of 1950, and then by Verena Klemm in her monograph of 1989.

The present manuscript was transcribed by two different hands: the evidently older hand is responsible for most of the first two-thirds of the manuscript, while the later hand filled three small gaps in the first part of the manuscript and supplied the last 62 pages. At the end there is a colophon stating that 'these sections which are at the end of this book' (evidently meaning: all the pages in the second hand) were completed on Friday 20 Dhu'l-qa'da 1308 by Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-'Alī for his lord Muḥammad 'Alī (sc. al-Hamdānī).

EDITIONS: *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-dīn dā'ī al-du'āt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmīl Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1949), based on two Mss.: 'd', dated Thursday 10 Rabī' II 1357 in Hyderabad, Deccan, and copied (according to the colophon) from a Ms. dated 21 Rabī' I 1222; and 'k', dated 9 Shawwāl 1313; ed. 'Arīf Tāmīr (Beirut, 1983).

STUDIES: A. H. Hamdani, Abbas H., 'The Sīra of al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1950); Verena Klemm, *Die Mission des fātimidischen Agenten al-Mu'ayyad fi d-dīn in Šīrāz* (Frankfurt, 1989); Verena Klemm, *Memoirs of a Mission: The Ismaili Scholar, Statesman and Poet al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī* (London, 2003).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 88; Ivanow (1933), no. 156a; Ivanow (1963), no. 162; Goriawala (1965), no. 73; Poonawala (1977), p. 107, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 146 (3 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 110, 111; Cortese (2003), no. 156 [this is the copy from which Ms.'d' was transcribed]; Daftary (2004), p. 131.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 195 folios (the pages are numbered 1 to 390); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm; second hand: 14.5 × 8 cm); **first hand** (pp. 1–143, 146–261, 264–273, 278–327): 15 lines; black ink with rubrics traced in red; cursive *naskh*; no date, but evidently older than the second hand; marginal corrections in both hands; **second hand** (pp. 144–145, 262–263, 274–277, 328–390): 17 lines; black ink with rubrics traced in red; very neat *naskh*; dated (p. 390) Friday 20 Dhu'l-qa'da 1308 (26 June 1891); copied by Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-'Alī; marginal corrections; running title and page number on all pages added by the second hand; title page in two hands; label on front cover.

Ms. 1463 [Handlist 193b]

another copy

Arabic manuscript

The first folio is in a different hand from the rest, perhaps a loose leaf from an older copy. It is at present bound the wrong way around: fol. 2b was originally blank, but now has inscriptions in several hands, among them a *waqf* notice dated 1317; fol. 1a (originally the verso) has the beginning of the text down to the Qur'ān quotation on p. 3, line 7 of the Cairo edition. The text continues on fol. 3a with the words *min ḥaythu lam yash'ur bihī* (=Cairo edn, p. 4, line 13). So there are about 20 lines of text missing. The text ends (fol. 131a) with the same benedictions as in Ms. 1462, followed by the first three words of the colophon contained in that copy (*qad waqa'a al-firāgh*) and then stops abruptly. This suggests that Ms. 1463 is in fact copied from Ms. 1462.

DESCRIPTION: green cloth binding; 131 folios (of which the first 2 are extraneous to this copy); catchwords; 24 × 13 cm (18.5 × 9.5 cm); irregular number of lines; black ink; rough *naskh*; marginal corrections and glosses; no date, but has a *waqf* notice dated 1317 (1899–1900); various inscriptions on the end pages.

Ms. 1464 [Handlist 46a]

al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya

by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

first of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript dated 1917

This celebrated large-scale work consists of 800 lectures delivered by the chief da'i and it incorporates a number of important writings of his own, split up into bite-sized instalments, each instalment framed by an ornate prologue and epilogue. Among these are his exchange of letters with the great Arabic poet Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri concerning the poem in which the latter declared his commitment to vegetarianism. The Fatimid chief da'i tries very hard to entrap the poet into admitting apostasy from Islam, while the latter skilfully dodges all controversial issues. A somewhat abridged version of the five letters (three by the da'i and two by the poet) is included by the famous

12th-century literary historian Yāqūt in the entry in his biographical dictionary devoted to al-Ma'arrī and an English translation of the version preserved by Yāqūt can be found in Margoliouth (1902), long before the rediscovery of Ismaili literature, and without realising the identity of the poet's opponent. Thirty years later Paul Kraus, working with a manuscript in the Hamdani collection, published the sections (*majlis* 417–422) in which al-Mu'ayyad reproduces a polemic (again probably of his own composition, though this is not stated expressly in the text) against the early Mu'tazili theologian Ibn al-Rāwandī, with a German translation and extensive thought-provoking commentary (Kraus, 1933–1934). In this paper Kraus also drew attention to a refutation of an otherwise unknown atheist by the name of al-Thughūrī in *majlis* 401–414. This, together with many other hidden treasures, still remains to be studied.

Much of the material in the 800 *majālis* was rearranged in 18 thematic chapters by the third Ṭayyibī da'ī, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥātimī (died 596/1199) in his *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq*; see Poonawala (1977), pp. 153–154, no. 8. There are two Egyptian editions of the first 100 *majālis*, as abridged by Ḥātim, but put back in the order of the original collection (ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Abd al-Nāṣir (Cairo, 1975), and ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghaffār (Cairo, 1994), the latter doubtless dependent on the former).

The 800 *majālis* are divided into eight parts of 100 lectures each and all recorded manuscripts contain just one of the eight parts. The Hamdani collection contains copies of seven of the eight 'centuries', no two of which are part of the same set. The present manuscript contains the first 100 *majālis*.

EDITIONS: partial editions of the *majālis*:

part 1: ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1974); ed. Ḥātim Ḥamīd al-Dīn (Bombay, 1975).

part 2: ed. Ḥātim Ḥamīd al-Dīn (Oxford, 1986).

part 3: ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1984); ed. Ḥātim Ḥamīd al-Dīn (Bombay, 2005).

The remaining 5 parts have not as yet been published.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 173; Ivanow (1933), no. 154; Ivanow (1963), no. 160; Goriawala (1965), nos 66–72 (all parts except the 8th); Poonawala (1977), pp. 106–107, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 77 (18 copies; all parts are represented); Cortese (2000), nos 100–101 (pt. 1), 102 (pt. 2),

103–104 (pt. 3), 105 (pt. 4), 106–107 (pt. 6), 108 (extracts); Cortese (2003), no. 76 (6 copies, representing parts 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6); Daftary (2004), pp. 130–131, 112.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with red leather trim; 332 folios; catchwords; 22 × 14 cm (12.5 × 8.3 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; cursive *naskh*; some marginal corrections; the *majālis* are numbered in red (spelt out in the text and in numerals in the margins); dated 10 Jumādā I 1335 [thus clearly, Poonawala (1977) misread the date as '1330'], that is, 3 March 1917, 'in the presence/court of Sayyidnā wa Mawlānā Abū Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn', with the name of the scribe rubbed out.

Ms. 1465 [Handlist 46b]

the same

second of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript dated 1893

DESCRIPTION: red cloth binding; 105 folios (208 pages numbered by the scribe); catchwords; 21 × 13 cm (14 × 7.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*, partially vocalised; marginal corrections; headings of the individual *majālis* and some other words in red; running headers with page number and *majlis* number; dated Thursday 9 Rabī' II 1311 (19 October 1893), copied by Iṣḥāq b. Sulaymān-jī al-Shāhjahānpūrī, for his lord Muḥammad 'Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Hamdānī al-Masārī; a note on the flyleaf (fol. 1a) records the acquisition of the Ms. by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī on 17 Rabī' II 1328, equated with 26 April 1915; seals.

Ms. 1466 [Handlist 46c]

the same

third of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript dated 1894

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 199 folios (pages numbered, apparently by the scribe, from 1 to 393; there are several mistakes in the original numbering, which have been corrected by several hands; the fol. following p. 175 is misbound after p. 189 and now numbered 190–191); catchwords; 20 × 13.5 cm (13 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics and vocalisation in red; *naskh*, partially vocalised; marginal

corrections; running title and *majlis* number at the top of each page; dated 1312 (1894); scribe not indicated; label on front cover; seals.

Ms. 1467 [Handlist 46d]

the same

fourth of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript dated 1888

This manuscript was written with two different pens (a thicker and thinner one) but, I think, all by the same scribe.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; the text occupies 219 folios; the pages were numbered by the scribe from 1 to 436 (the end of the text and colophon), then 437 (blank); then 442–445 (*sic*; all blank), and 446 (contains the last 8 lines of the text, replicating the text portion of p. 436, crossed out); catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (15.5 × 7 to 8 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics and vocalisation in red (many of the headings for the individual *majālis* have been left blank); *majlis* numbers and a small number of corrections in the margins; copied by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh (al-Hamdānī), ‘by order of his lord and father’, completed on Friday 29 Ramaḍān 1305, here equated with 6 June 1888; the title page has a note recording the acquisition of the Ms. by Sayyidī Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Sayyidī Fayḍ Allāh in 1305; label on spine; seals.

Ms. 1468 [Handlist 46e]

the same

fifth of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript dated 1893

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 192 folios (383 pp.; some paginated by the scribe, the other page numbers added in pencil); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (14.5 × 7.5 to 8 cm); 16 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (but most of the *majlis* titles and other rubrics have been left blank); very neat *naskh* (the script is larger in the first part of the Ms., but I think it is all in the same hand); very few marginal corrections; the *majlis* numbers are indicated in the margins where the rubrics are missing; page and *majlis* numbers are sometimes indicated in runner headings, but most of these are missing; copied by ‘Isā

b. Dā'ūd-bhā'i b. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Ibrāhīm-jī Sayfī, completed in God's month (sc. Ramaḍān) 1310 (March/April 1893); labels on front cover and spine; seals.

Ms. 1469 [Handlist 46f]

the same

sixth of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with gilding; 131 folios (261 pp., numbered in pencil); catchwords; 24.5 × 15.5 cm (size of written surface variable); variable number of lines; black ink with (in theory) rubrics in red, but virtually all of the *majlis* headings and other rubrics have been left blank; rough *naskh*, becoming smaller and more cursive towards the end of the Ms. (maybe two hands?); *majālis* numbered in the margins; no scribe or date indicated; labels on front cover and spine; seals.

Ms. 1470 [Handlist 46g]

the same

eighth of the eight volumes

Arabic manuscript

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 239 folios; catchwords; 22.5 × 14 cm (12.5 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; cursive *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; no scribe or date indicated; labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1471 [Handlist 50]

Dīwān

by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript dated 1707

The collected poems of al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn consist largely of panegyrics to the Imam al-Mustanşir, but at least one is addressed to his predecessor al-Zāhir. At the end of the volume there is a reply by al-Mustanşir to an ode by al-Mu'ayyad (see the edition, no. 60), then two more by al-Mu'ayyad (edition, nos 61 and 62), then three poems ascribed to 'Alī (of which only the first is printed in the edition as no. 63). The manuscript (but not the edition) then continues with a poem

ascribed to the Imam al-‘Azīz, then another by al-Mustanşir, one by al-Ḥākīm, and two ascribed here (fol. 114b, and thus also in the next manuscript) to ‘Mawlānā al-Imām al-Qāsim (read surely: al-Qā’im, as al-Majdū‘ has it) bi Amr Allāh’. Then something called *qaṣīdat al-Iskandarānī* (al-Majdū‘: *al-qaṣīda al-Iskandariyya*)⁶ in the shape of a large tree (*dawḥa*; see Figure 9), then a poem by one Ibn Ḥammād followed (here on fol. 123a) by a colophon, suggesting that the actual *dīwān* ends here. This is followed by a further five poems: the first anonymous (*li ba‘ḍ al-awliyā’*), then one by a certain Shaykh Muḥammad (al-Majdū‘ has: Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Yazīd; see also below and Ms. 1502), and then three more apparently by the same Shaykh; these are all missing in the edition, but they were evidently in the copy used by al-Majdū‘.

EDITION: ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1949), (63 poems, from four Mss.).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, pp. 40–41; Ivanow (1933), no. 156; Ivanow (1963), no. 161; Poonawala (1977), p. 107, no. 3; Gacek (1981), no. 61; Gacek (1984), no. 14 (five copies); Cortese (2000), nos 97, 98, 99; Cortese (2003), no. 20 (two copies); Daftary (2004), p. 130.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 125 folios (fols 82–83 are added in a different hand, to fill a gap); catchwords; 16 × 10 cm (9.5 × 5.5 cm); 9 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*, entirely vocalised; numerous marginal and interlinear glosses; single black and double red margin and double red line between the half-verses; colophon (fol. 123a) with the date 27 Rajab 1119 (23 October 1707); the date is repeated on fol. 2a; title on fol. 1a; seals inscribed 1272 and 1284.

Ms. 1472 [Handlist 50b]

the same

Arabic manuscript

Another copy of the same collection, including the same supplementary poems at the end.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 61 folios (there is a lacuna of several pages after fol. 44); catchwords; 20 × 12 cm (14.5 × 8.5 cm); 18 lines;

6. Ivanow (1933), no. 161, and (1963), no. 166, lists *al-Iskandariyya* as a separate work by al-Mu‘ayyad. Al-Iskandarānī is presumably the name of the poet.

black ink with superscriptions in red; *naskh*, not vocalised; a few corrections and glosses; no colophon; title on fol. 1b and on labels on the front cover and spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1473 [Handlist 50c]

a loose leaf from another copy of the same
dated 1851

This is the loose final leaf of the same collection, with (on the recto) the last poem and, before it, the last two lines of the previous poem, followed (on the last four lines of the recto and the whole of the verso) by a colophon stating that it was copied by the most miserable slave of Sayyidunā ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn and completed on 14 Dhū’l-qa‘da 1267 (9 September 1851).

Ms. 1474 [Handlist 52]

Kitāb sharḥ al-ma‘ād

by al-Mu‘ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript dated 1893/4

A treatise on the body and soul, resurrection, etc. It is quite rare.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, p. 204; Ivanow (1933), no. 157; Ivanow (1963), no. 164; Poonawala (1977), p. 108, no. 9 (‘*Risālat al-ma‘ād*’).

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with leather trim; 65 folios; catch-words; 13 × 10.5 cm (7 × 5 cm); 10 lines; black ink with only a few rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; some marginal corrections; two notes in the margins of the title page record its acquisition by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī and a note at the end of the text (fol. 65b) in the same hand as those on the title page (evidently that of Ṭāhir) states that the manuscript is in the hand ‘of (my) twin brother (*al-ṣanw-bhā’i*)’ ‘Alī b. Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī, year 1311 (1893–1894); the name of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad is also on the seals and stamps; title and author on fol. 1a and on the label on the cover.

Ms. 1475 [Handlist 47]

[Prayers and sermons]

ascribed mostly to al-Mu‘ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript

This is a collection of devotional texts, mostly ascribed to al-Mu'ayyad. It is described on the recto of p. 1 (in a different hand) as *Ajzā' al-ad'īya li Sayyidinā al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī*. The contents are as follows:

1. pp. 1–87 [=Ms. 1476 fols 1a–115b]: *Munājāt* of al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, numbered 1–23.
2. pp. 87–114 [=Ms. 1476 fols 115b–150b]: *Subaḥ al-ayyām al-sab'a*, by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, numbered 1–7.
3. pp. 115–118 [=Ms. 1476 fols 150b–152b]: three supplications (sing. *du'ā'*) by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn.
4. pp. 118–141 [=Ms. 1476 fols 152b–178a]: these pages contain what are said to be a series of *khitam* (pl. of *khatma*, 'recitation of a section of the Qur'ān') by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, but the texts are not from the Qur'ān, and, more significantly, they refer repeatedly to the Imam al-Ṭayyib, so they are clearly not the work of al-Mu'ayyad.
5. pp. 141–146 [=Ms. 1476 fols 178a–183a, followed by another prayer on fol. 183b–184a, where the Ms. ends]: supplications (sing. *du'ā'*) by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn on the seven days of the week.
6. pp. 146–147: a prayer with a superscription stating that it is 'by one of them ... but in one of the books it is said that they are by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn'.
7. pp. 148–149: another *Munāja* by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn.
8. pp. 149–152: 'charms/incantations' (sing. *'ūdha*) by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn for the seven days of the week.
9. pp. 152–155: another *Munāja* by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn.
10. pp. 155–156: the words that al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn recited when he entered the presence of the Imam al-Mustanṣir.
11. pp. 156–158: words by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, ending with a blessing of the 'lord of our time' the Imam al-Ṭayyib.
12. pp. 159–166: more prayers in a different hand (17 lines), including one from *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila* attributed to the Imam 'Alī b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn.
13. pp. 167–175: blank.
14. pp. 176–196: again in the first hand (16 lines), more pious texts, with the places for the superscriptions left blank.
15. pp. 196–200: an extract from al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis*.
16. pp. 200–218: more of the same, without superscriptions.

The manuscript is not signed, but, apart from pp. 159–166, it is clearly in the distinctive hand of ‘Isā b. Dā’ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Ali b. Ibrāhīm al-Sayfi (see below: Index of scribes).

REFERENCES: for the *Munājāt* ascribed to al-Mu’ayyad see: Poonawala (1977), p. 108, no. 6; Cortese (2000), nos 168, 174 (both in collections).
DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with leather spine; 110 folios (218 pages, of which the first 147 are numbered by the scribe in ink; the remainder are in pencil); only the last four quires (11 to 14) are numbered; catchwords; 22 × 14 cm (14 × 7.5 cm); 16 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; neat *naskh*; marginal corrections; running heading with page number and name of author until p. 147 only; no indication of scribe or date; ‘title’ in superscription and embossed on the spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1476 [Handlist 51]

the same

Arabic manuscript

This small-format prayer book contains all of the same texts contained on the first 146 pages of the manuscript described in the previous entry, all in the same order, plus one additional prayer.

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with leather trim; 184 folios; catchwords; 10 × 7 cm (6.5 × 4 cm); 11 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; rough *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; pages enclosed in a single black and double red border; scribe and date not indicated; only the titles of the individual components are given.

Ms. 1477 [Handlist 53]

Kitāb al-ibtidā’ wa’l-intihā’

by al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn al-Shirāzi

Arabic manuscript

An esoteric treatise, mainly dealing with the eschatological figure of the *qā’im*. In this copy the text begins on fol. 1b with the same incipit as in the copies described by Gacek and Cortese. Then, on fol. 2b line 9, we have (in red ink) once again the title *Kitāb al-ibtidā’ wa’l-intihā’* followed by the attribution to Sayyidnā al-Mu’ayyad fi’l-Dīn, and then

the table of contents (*fihris*). This is followed, on fol. 4a line 11, in red, by the words *mabda' al-kitāb* ('beginning of the book') and then (down to fol. 5a line 15) the same text that we had already on fol. 1b to fol. 2b line 8 (though both times with lots of mistakes, and thus not completely identical in wording). After this the text continues, apparently complete until the end, but still so badly written as to be often incomprehensible.

The author refers (here on fols 28b–29a) to his own work 'on the confirmation of the imamate after Ja'far and on the disagreement of the Shi'a after the death of Ismā'il during the lifetime of Ja'far'; there does not seem to be any other record of a book by al-Mu'ayyad on this subject.⁷

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 202–203; Ivanow (1933), no. 159; Ivanow (1963), no. 168; Poonawala (1977), p. 107, no. 4; Gacek (1984), no. 28; Cortese (2003), no. 32.

DESCRIPTION: reddish leather binding, tooled, with medallions (the binding is now broken); 48 folios; catchwords; 20 × 12 cm (13.5 × 8.5 cm); 15 to 20 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; rough *naskh*; some marginal corrections; diagram on fol. 3b; no indication of scribe or date; title and author indicated on the labels on the front cover and spine, fols. 1a, 2b; seals dated 1284.

Ms. 1478 [Handlist 54]

Kitāb nahj al-hidāya li'l-muhtadīn

by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript

A concise compendium of esoteric doctrine (cosmology, prophethood, imamate, eschatology, etc.), consisting of an introduction, a table of contents and 11 chapters. It does not seem to be mentioned by al-Majdū'.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 438 (among the anonymous works); Ivanow (1963), no. 167; Gacek (1984), no. 99; Poonawala (1977), p. 108, no. 5; Cortese (2000), no. 109.

7. Poonawala (1977), p. 108, no. 8, cites the reference to this title in the *Kitāb al-ibtidā' wa'l-intihā'*.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap, gilded; 56 folios; catchwords; 19 × 11 cm (11.5 × 6.5 cm); 12 lines; black ink with chapter headings in red; neat *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; there is no colophon, but a note in a different hand on a flyleaf says that it is 'in the hand of (*'alā yaday*) Mullā Ismā'il-jī b. Wali bhā'i; title and author indicated in the superscription, title only on the labels on the front cover and spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1479 [Handlist 55]

Kitāb al-mas'ala wa'l-jawāb

by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript of the second part, dated 1869

The Ismaili libraries contain various collections of 'questions and answers' ascribed to al-Mu'ayyad, but also to other persons, or unascribed, and it is difficult to tell from the catalogues which are which. This volume has a short preface stating that it is the second part of 'the book of question and answer' and that it contains 20 questions and answers 'as we have stated at the beginning of the book'. Al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn is not mentioned here, but he is given as the author in the superscription and in the explicit. The questions are numbered from 1 to 20, of which the twentieth (begins on fol. 31b) with its reply occupies the largest part of the volume. This question deals with the prophets and the imams and there is a long section enumerating the imams of the cycle of Muḥammad down to al-Mustanṣir (mentioned on fol. 43a), so this is evidently a work, if not by al-Mu'ayyad, then in any case from his time.

Al-Majdū', pp. 273–274, has an entry on this work, with the same title, and an indication of the contents of the first four questions (as they appear here) and the statement that there are 20 questions all together, but he does not say that it is only the second part of the book, and he ascribes it not to al-Mu'ayyad, but to 'one of the da'is in the time of Mawlānā al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh'. A note on fol. 1a of this manuscript (not in the hand of the copyist) states that it is the work either of 'Sayyidunā al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn or al-Dā'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī'.

The scribe has left a few blanks, evidently where something was missing or illegible in the master copy.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 164; Ivanow (1963), no. 170; Poonawala (1977), p. 108, no. 10; p. 320, no. 30.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 50 folios; catchwords (the catchword on fol. 38b is missing, and the last line of text on that page is pasted over); 19 × 12 cm (12 × 6.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; only one marginal correction (fol. 37a); the date of copying is given as Thursday 21 Rajab 1286, but there is some mistake, because the indicated date corresponds to 26 October 1869, a Tuesday; title indicated on the labels on the front cover and spine, fols 1a, 1b; seal dated 1281; another note on fol. 1a records its acquisition by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī in 1328.

Ms. 1480 [Handlist 50a]

al-Masā'il al-sab'ūn

by al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī

Arabic manuscript dated 1893

The title is quoted as it appears on both labels and also in other recorded copies. According to the rules of Arabic grammar this is not a correct way to say 'the 70 questions' (the noun, whether before or after a number higher than 10, should be in the singular), but constructions with a determined plural noun followed by a determined higher numeral are actually quite common in post-classical Arabic, though one would not expect such a decidedly eloquent writer as al-Mu'ayyad to use such a form. The explicit in this manuscript (fol. 136a) has *tammāt* (but the *mīm* has a tail, so the scribe perhaps wanted to correct this to *tamma*) *hādihā al-kitāb al-musammā bi sab'ūn* (recte: *sab'īn*) *masā'il* (recte: *mas'ala*). Numbers are a big problem in Arabic.

This work begins with an introduction of three pages in which the author showers blessing upon the Imam al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh and on his progeny, and proceeds to say that he has composed this book of questions and answers by command of the imam. Al-Mu'ayyad is not mentioned in the text, but he is given as the author in the explicit and on both labels.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1963), no. 170 (mentions this in connection with the work contained in Handlist 55, Ms. 1479; they are in fact not the same work); Poonawala (1977), p. 108, no. 7; Cortese (2003), no. 95 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: tooled red leather binding; 136 folios; the pages are numbered only from fol. 9a (p. 10) up to fol. 22a (p. 36); catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (14.5 × 8 cm); 16 lines; black ink, with rubrics in red, but

the rubrics have been filled in only from fol. 9b (the 4th question) to fol. 20b (beginning of the 10th answer); neat *naskh*; some marginal corrections; copied by 'Isā b. Dā'ud b. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Sayfi and completed in Dhu'l-qa'da 1310 (May–June 1893); title and author indicated on the labels on the front cover and spine and in the explicit (fol. 136a); seals dated 1284.

Ms. 1481 [Handlist 258]

Majālis al-ḥikma

by Abu'l-Barakāt

Arabic manuscript dated 1738

Abu'l-Barakāt b. Bushrā al-Ḥalabī was, according to all the Ṭayyibī sources, the *bāb* (or *dā'i al-du'āt*) during the reign of al-Āmir (see for example Idrīs, *'Uyūn*, vol. 7, p. 219), though, strangely, the name of the imam does not seem to be mentioned in these *majālis*.

This is a collection of 60 sermons, evidently modelled on the *majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn. There are three folios missing after fol. 121 (the catchword on fol. 121b does not match the beginning of the next page; moreover, the Gujarati foliation jumps at this point from 121 to 125).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 263–265; Ivanow (1933), no. 178; Ivanow (1963), no. 184; Poonawala (1977), p. 128, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 80 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: tooled reddish leather binding (the spine is broken); 237 folios (the first 202 folios – as now numbered – were previously numbered from 1 to 206 in Gujarati numerals); catchwords; 25 × 14.5 cm (18 × 8.5 cm); 16–20 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; rough *naskh*; marginal corrections; border (one black and two red lines on each page); the colophon names the reigning da'i as Wajih al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Ibrāhīm-jī b. 'Abd al-Qādir (1150/1737 to 1168/1754); the date of completion is given as 16 Jumādā II of a year which at first looks like 1141 (thus read also by Poonawala), but as this does not lie in the reign of the mentioned da'i, I think it has to be 1151 (with the archaic heart-shaped '5' turned on its side), thus: 30 September 1738; the scribe gives his own name as Tāj-khān b. Quṭb-khān; the acquisition of the Ms. by Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī in 1345/1926–1927 is recorded in a note on fol. 237b and another on the front flyleaf; title and author on the same flyleaf; seals, mostly effaced.

IV. The 'Treatises of the Sincere Brethren' and Related Texts

Ms. 1482 [Handlist 5]

Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'

incomplete copy of the 4th section

Arabic manuscript dated 1714

The *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, or 'The Treatises of the Sincere Brethren',¹ are a famous 'encyclopedia' of the natural and human sciences, well represented by manuscripts in Ismaili and non-Ismaili collections. A long-established tradition among the Ṭayyibīs claims that they were written by the second of the hidden imams, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, which would imply that they were composed around the middle of the 9th century, a dating that has been defended, for different reasons, in several articles by Abbas Hamdani. On the other hand, the well-known non-Ismaili author Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī states that the treatises were written by a group of people known to him personally, which would place their composition in the last quarter of the 10th century. There is still no consensus as to whether the treatises reflect a specifically Ismaili position or whether they are a non-Ismaili work adopted by the Ismailis in the Yemen. If they are of Ismaili origin then it does have to be said that they reflect a doctrinal tradition very different both from the 'kabbalistic' *ta'wīl* of the oldest Ismaili writings and from the 'Neoplatonic' emanationism of the Persian school. The fact that they are not mentioned in any Ismaili texts before the Ṭayyibī schism and that the Ṭayyibī authors ascribe them to the hidden Imam Aḥmad at precisely the same time that they were vaunting the virtues of the hidden Imam al-Ṭayyib is surely no coincidence. The Yemeni authors of the 12th century were passionately concerned with hidden imams.

The 52 treatises (sing. *risāla*) are grouped into four sections (sing. *qism*). The first section deals with mathematics, astronomy,

1. For the meaning and origin of this title see the fundamental article by Goldziher (1910). I add that the usual English rendering 'Epistles of the Brethren of Purity' is doubly inadequate. First, these are not stylised as letters, but rather they are *rasā'il* in the classical Arabic sense of 'treatises, essays'. Second, *ikhwān al-ṣafā'* means 'sincere brothers' in the same way that *ahl-khayr* means 'good people'. To say 'brethren of sincerity/purity' or 'people of good' is not correct English.

geography, ethics and logic; the second with physics, mineralogy, botany and zoology, anatomy, languages and scripts; the third with what one might call psychology; the fourth with the author's view of the true religion, with a long final chapter on the occult sciences. The treatises were published in four typeset volumes in Bombay in 1305–1306 (1887–1889), and subsequently reprinted several times in Cairo, Beirut and Damascus, but all of the reprints appear merely to reproduce the Bombay text. The only serious attempt to study any extensive portion of the text on the basis of a critical examination of the manuscripts, with their very significant variant readings, is in Susanne Diwald's richly annotated German translation of the third section. The pitfalls of basing wide-reaching conclusions on the published text alone (that is, directly or indirectly on the Bombay edition, and thus its effect on one single manuscript), and the utility of collating more than one manuscript, are illustrated in my contribution to Abbas Hamdani (1984).

The present manuscript consists of disordered leaves belonging to the final (fourth) section of the *Rasā'il*. Currently, the larger part of the folios are numbered from 1 to 228, and the smaller segment from '1a' to '32a', but this numbering is wrong. The catchwords also seem to be partially wrong, or rather altered. The earliest part of the text that I have been able to identify is on the folio now numbered 181, belonging to *risāla* 5 of *qism* 4 (Bombay edition, vol. 4, p. 177, line 9); *risāla* 6 begins on the folio now numbered 185; *risāla* 7 on folio 202; *risāla* 8 on folio 134; *risāla* 9 on folio 172; *risāla* 10 on folio '11a'; and the long final treatise (*risāla* 11, the treatise on divination) begins on folio '18a' to '32a', then continues on folio 1, and ends on folio 228, with a colophon. This colophon states that the manuscript was copied by Ādam b. Mullā Najm Khān b. Aḥmad with a dating formula (in very inadequate Arabic), apparently year 1125 (thus in words, but corrected to 1126, and in figures apparently 1126, though the last digit is smudged), month Jumādā I, day 18, Thursday, followed by one line that has been blacked out. The name of the scribe and the corrected date Thursday 18 Jumādā I 1126 (31 May 1714) are repeated in the margin in a different hand.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 156–171; Goriawala (1965), nos 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (containing between them the entire work); Poonawala (1977), p. 374 (lists only the editions); Gacek (1981), no. 276; Gacek (1984),

no. 110 (7 copies of various parts); Cortese (2000), no. 44 (first half), no. 45 (extracts); Daftary (2004), pp. 166–173 (with extensive literature).

DESCRIPTION: 260 unbound leaves (currently misnumbered ‘1’ to ‘228’ and ‘1a’ to ‘32a’), some in quires, some loose; catchwords; 22.5 × 16.5 cm (14 × 9.5 cm); 14 to 16 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; copied by Ādam b. Mullā Najm Khān b. Aḥmad and apparently completed (see above) on Thursday 18 Jumādā I 1126 (31 May 1714); title on the wrappers.

Ms. 1483 [Handlist 9]

al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a

Arabic manuscript of the second half only

The full rhyming title of this appendix (if one may call it thus) to the ‘Treatises of the Sincere Brethren’ is given at the conclusion of this copy as *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a dhāt al-fawā’id al-nāfi‘a wa’l-ḥujja al-qāṭi‘a wa’l-barāhīn al-lāmi‘a wa tāj rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’ wa khullān al-wafā’*, but on the label it is called simply *Kitāb al-jāmi‘a*. In all the recorded copies it is divided into two halves; the present copy contains the second half, beginning with the summary of the 13th treatise.

This book is in part a summary of the 52 *rasā’il*, but more importantly an explication of some of their esoteric implications from a more or less explicitly Ismaili perspective. The published text of the 52 *rasā’il* begins with a table of contents followed immediately by a summary of *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a*, implying, prima facia, that the two books belong together, though I think it might be worthwhile for someone to investigate whether the summary of *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a* is really found in all copies of the *Rasā’il*. Al-Majdū‘ has an entry on *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a*, quoting a large chunk from its introduction, followed immediately by the table of contents of the 52 *rasā’il*, up to and including the just mentioned summary of *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a*. The words supplied in brackets by the editor, page 156, line 11, can be found in the copy of the *Fihrist* in the present collection, Ms. 1401, p. 214, where the full title of the *Rasā’il* is cited in its usual form. Ivanow (1963), page 20, claims that ‘the Encyclopedia’ (i.e. the 52 *rasā’il*) ‘was originally called *al-Jāmi‘a*’ and that this has been the cause of ‘much confusion’, but it seems to me that the confusion is all in Ivanow’s own head and results from a misunderstanding of

the entry in al-Majdū', where '*al-Risāla al-jāmi'a*' definitely refers to the work under discussion here, not to the 52 *rasā'il*.

This copy is the work of two different scribes: the second hand (a very distinctive, consistent and rather cursive hand) begins on folio 49 and continues until the end. The first hand, which is much more irregular, is responsible for folios 1b–48b (that is, the whole of the first six quires); folio 49a (the first page of the seventh quire) actually looks as though it is still in the first hand, but I think it more likely that the whole of the seventh quire is in the second hand, but that on the first page of the quire the copyist intentionally imitated the writing on the opposite page before reverting to his normal style of writing on the next page.

EDITIONS: ed. Jamīl Ṣalībā (Damascus, 1949); ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1974); reprinted (Beirut, 1984).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 154–156, 171; Ivanow (1933), no. 14; Ivanow (1963), no. 12; Cortese (2000), nos 46–47 (first half), 48 (second half); Cortese (2003), no. 120A (first half), no. 120b (second half, beginning at the same point as our copy); Daftary (2004), p. 167.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with tooled gilded medallions on the front and back covers (the spine is restored); 152 folios in two hands (see above), of which the last folio is blank, comprising 19 quires of 8 folios each; quires 2 to 12 only are numbered in the upper left corner of their first page; catchwords (the catchwords on fols 14b and 15b do not match the first word of the next folio); 24 × 13 cm (size of the written surface varies considerably in both parts); usually 15–16 lines in both parts; black ink with rubrics in red (the last rubric is on fol. 133a; after this the places for the superscriptions have been left blank); *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; scribe and date not indicated; title on fol. 1a, on a label on the cover and on the spine; seals; signature of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī on fols 1a, 151a.

Ms. 1484 [Handlist 84/1 fols 1–32 and Handlist 84/4 fols 1–40]

Jāmi'at al-jāmi'a

fragmentary Arabic manuscript

This fragment of a manuscript is identified on the recto of its first leaf as *Jāmi'at al-jāmi'a*. It begins just like the work catalogued by Goriawala

(1965), no. 9, which bears the title *Risālat jāmi'at al-jāmi'a fi'l-ḥaqā'iq*, but it is entirely different from the book published by 'Ārif Tāmīr as *Risālat jāmi'at al-jāmi'a* (Beirut, 1959; 2nd edition, 1970). Unlike the last mentioned work it does not seem to have any explicit connection with the 'Treatises of the Sincere Brethren', but I have included it here because of the allusion implied by the title.

This copy breaks off after 32 folios with a loose catchword, continues after a gap on the folio numbered 84/4 fol. 1 and breaks off again with a loose catchword on fol. 40b.

DESCRIPTION: 8 unbound quires; 72 folios; catchwords; 11.5 × 7.5 cm (6.5 × 3.5 cm); 11 lines; black ink with key words overwritten in red; neat *naskh*; some marginal corrections; title on fol. 1a.

V. Ismaili Authors of the Second Yemeni (Şulayḥid and Ṭayyibī) School

Ms. 1485 [Handlist 72]

Qiṣṣat al-ru'yā

attributed to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Şulayḥī

Arabic manuscript

This little work is an account of two dreams of the founder of the Şulayḥid state, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, in which the Caliph al-Mustanşir appears to him and prophesies some future events affecting his dynasty. It is stylised in the first person, and in the present manuscript it begins with four lines explicitly stating that the story is the composition of the king himself; these lines are missing in the copy described by Cortese.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 443; Ivanow (1963), no. 412; Poonawala (1977), p. 103, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 114.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 15 folios; catchwords; 13 × 10.5 cm (8 × 5 cm); 12 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; some marginal corrections and additions; no scribe or date indicated; title and author indicated on the title page (fol. 1a) and in the superscription (fol. 1b); ownership notes by Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī on fols 1a and 15b.

Ms. 1486 [Handlist 69]

two Yemeni works from the 12th century

Arabic manuscript

This manuscript contains two Yemeni works from the 12th century; the same two works are found in succession also in the manuscript described by Gacek in his catalogue entries 21A and 111.

(1) fols 1b–4a

An untitled work; ascribed to Yaḥyā b. Lamak b. Mālik.

The first work in the manuscript is preceded (in the same handwriting as the rest) by the title *Risālat rawḍat al-ḥikam*, but this belongs not to this work, but to the second treatise in the manuscript. It begins with the words 'Sayyidunā Yaḥyā b. Lamak b. Mālik said' and is thus ostensibly the work of the leading religious authority in

the Şulayhîd kingdom after the death of his father, the *qādî* Lamak b. Mālik. This Yahyā is reported to have died in 520/1126. This work is evidently the same as the one which al-Majdū' found in his copy of the *Tadhkira* of Muḥammad al-Ḥārithī and begins with the same words as in the manuscripts described by Gacek. It is the only recorded work by Yahyā b. Lamak. The discussion of the composition of the world continues until the penultimate line on folio 2b, where it is followed without a break by the rubric *faṣl fi'l-qawl fi'l-shahāda* (the first word is in red); I am not sure whether what follows is part of the same work or not. It discusses the esoteric meaning of the *shahāda* and its bearing on the speakers and the imams.

Ivanow reports, in one copy he examined, this work is not only given the same title as the one described below, but is also attributed to 'Alī b. Ḥātim, while in another it is ascribed to an apparently fictitious Ḥātim b. Yahyā b. Lamak b. Mālik.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 200; Ivanow (1963), no. 232; Poonawala (1977), p. 130, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 21 (2 copies).

(2) fols 4b–24a

Risālat rawḍat al-ḥikam al-ṣāfiya wa bustān al-'ulūm al-wāfiya

Elsewhere ascribed to 'Alī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmīdī

The title appears, as mentioned, not here, but at the beginning of the first work. The name of the author is not mentioned in this copy, but al-Majdū', pp. 242–244, ascribes this book to Sayyidunā 'Alī b. Ḥātim (sc. al-Ḥāmīdī, the 4th da'i), which is probably correct. In his introduction (here fol. 5a) the author mentions Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, though without explicitly saying that this worthy is his own father. Poonawala reports that in the manuscript in the Wakīl collection this work is ascribed to Ḥātim; this results perhaps from a misunderstanding of the passage to which I have just alluded.

The treatise consists of 17 questions and answers, mostly relating to obscure passages in the works of al-Sijistānī, among them his lost *Kitāb al-bishāra*. It ends with an evocation of the Imam al-Ṭayyib as the *amīr al-mu'minīn*, but in the introduction (fol. 5a) we find a benediction on al-Ṭayyib, but also on 'his most noble sons'; I assume that this last phrase is a scribal interpolation.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 242–244; Ivanow (1933), no. 219; Ivanow (1963), no. 231; Gacek (1984), no. 111; Poonawala (1977), p. 156, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 116.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 24 folios, preceded by an unnumbered fol. 0; 3 numbered quires of 8 folios each, plus a 4th quire of 4 folios, only the first of which (fol. 24a) is inscribed; catchwords; 21 × 13.5 cm (13 × 8 cm); variable number of lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; completed on 22 Jumādā I of an unspecified year; scribe not indicated; title of the second treatise only indicated in the handwriting of the scribe on fols 1a and 1b, by a different hand on fol. 0a and on a label on the spine; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1487 [Handlist 36a]

[*Majmū' al-rasā'il*]

by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qummi

Unique¹ Arabic manuscript

This manuscript and the one discussed in the next entry seem to be the only known copies of a collection of letters by a celebrated poet and secretary in the service of the Ṣulayḥid kings, named in the opening lines of this manuscript as al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qummi.²

1. The fact that Ms. 1488 is patently copied from this one justifies the designation of the present copy as 'unique'.

2. A discussion of this name is in order. His *shuhra* appears in the sources in three forms: (1) ابن القم (2) ابن قم and (3) القمي. The first is used by al-Kātib, 'Umāra, Ibn Khalliqān, and by Idrīs in those passages where he is dependent on 'Umāra; the second is used only by Yāqūt (both in his biographical and his geographical dictionaries); the third is used in the present collection of letters, in the British Library fragment of his *diwān*, and by Idrīs in those passages where he is not dependent on 'Umāra – it is thus the form supported by the native Yemeni Ismaili tradition. Al-Ṣafadi, who is dependent both on al-Kātib and on Yāqūt, has (1) in the superscription and (2) in the body of the text. The third form is presumably to be read as al-Qummi, implying descent from a native of the famous Persian city of Qumm, and this interpretation is supported by the fact that (according to *nasab* cited by Yāqūt) our poet had a great grandfather by the name of ^{مومويه} presumably *Mamōya, *Mamawayh, which would seem to be a (late Middle) Persian diminutive of Muḥammad. The second variant could then

This author is mentioned not only by the Yemeni Ismaili historians of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty ('Umara and Idrīs), but also in the pan-Islamic biographical dictionaries of his contemporary 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, Ibn Khallikān, Yāqūt and (wholly dependent on the earlier authors) al-Ṣafadī. A selection of his poems is also found in a manuscript of Yemeni provenance now in the British Library, described by Rieu (*Supplement*, 1053, I), who read his *shuhra* as 'Ibn Alqam'; this form is used also by Brockelmann (*GALS*, I, p. 459), whose entry on this author is entirely dependent on Rieu.

'Umāra says that he died in Zabīd in 482/1089–1090. Yāqūt, however, says that Ibn Qumm (as he consistently calls him) was born in Zabīd in 530/1135–1136 and died in 581/1185–1186. These dates must be a century too late; it seems likely that Yāqūt's source mentioned only the tens and units of these dates and that Yāqūt situated them in the wrong century. Yāqūt adds that he was eminent among the Yemenis in poetry, prose and letter writing. The present collection has not been noted in any of the bibliographies or catalogues of Ismaili literature, but it is cited (on the basis of this manuscript) by Husayn Hamdani several times in his book on the history of the Ṣulayḥids of 1955 (where his name is vocalised as al-Qimmī), and there is also a short reference to this manuscript in a footnote in Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's edition of the seventh volume of the *'Uyūn al-akḥbār* of Idrīs. There is no title indicated in the manuscript; I follow Husayn Hamdani in giving it the descriptive title *Majmū' al-rasā'il*. It contains ten epistles.

1. (beginning p. 1): A letter to *al-sultān al-ajall* Saba' b. Aḥmad b. al-Muzaffar b. 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī (the name Saba' is unpointed in the manuscript and the following *(i)bn* is written twice, at the end of line 2 and

be interpreted as Ibn Qumm, 'son of the city of Qumm'. But to read the first as 'Ibn al-Qumm' is problematic, given the fact that the place name Qumm does not take the article in Arabic; I would suggest therefore that the contemporary anthologist al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī miscopied 'Ibn al-Qummī' as ابن القم (possibly reading it, like Rieu and Brockelmann, centuries later, as 'Ibn Alqam') and that this erroneous form was adopted by the later authors wholly or partially dependent on al-Kātib, namely 'Umāra, Idrīs, Ibn Khalliqān and al-Ṣafadī. I add that the elative of the stem l-q-m does not actually ever occur in Arabic.

the beginning of line 3; Ms. 1488 has the same defective spelling of Saba' followed by (*i*)*bn* twice in the same line, a sure indication that Ms. 1488 is copied from 1487). This Saba' ruled at least part of the Şulayḥid territories contemporaneously with the famous queen al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra, to whom, according to the famous story, he was married for just one day; he is reported to have died in 492/1099. The present copy contains the statement that this letter was written in Sha'bān 465 (April–May 1073); the year is indicated in figures in the text (the last digit is ambiguous and seems to have been altered) and repeated in the margin (where it was apparently written first as 456 and then corrected to 465). One might note that the first mention of Saba' in Idris's *Uyūn*, VII, p. 119, is in connection with the events of 459/1067.

This same letter is quoted verbatim by Yāqūt on the authority of a (lost) book by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir al-Sulufī (as I read the name; Suluf is a Yemeni tribe) from the year 568/1172–1173, whereby Yāqūt also mentions that it was addressed to Saba' b. Aḥmad 'after his withdrawal from the Yemen', but he does not give its date. There are quite significant variants between the text cited by Yāqūt and that found in this manuscript, but they are definitely the same document. It would be useful to edit it on the basis of the two separate textual strands.

2. (beginning p. 7): A short extract 'from a letter which he wrote *ilā l-ḥaḍrat al-makkiyya al-mukarramiyya*', presumably meaning the ruling sharifs of Mecca.

3. (beginning p. 8): His response to a letter from one al-Qāḍī Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Isimā'īlī, about whom I have no other information.

4. (beginning p. 11): A letter to a doctor by the name of al-Ḥusayn b. Abī'l-Taghallub al-Ṭabīb.

5. (beginning p. 15): His reply to al-Qāḍī Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Ja'da, perhaps the same person as the addressee of no. 3.

6. (beginning p. 17): A letter to Najm b. Bishāra al-Marjānī. This person is mentioned in passing in Idris, *Uyūn*, VII, pp. 155–156.

7. (beginning p. 19): An official letter which he wrote 'on behalf of (*alā lisān* ...) *al-amīr al-dā'ī*' Ali b. Muḥammad al-Şulayḥī, the founder of the Şulayḥid state, to the Fatimid caliph, al-imām al-Mustanşir bi'llāh.

8. (beginning p. 22): An extract of another letter on behalf of 'Ali b. Muḥammad to the same caliph.

9. (beginning p. 26): An extract from a letter on behalf of 'Alī's son and successor al-Malik al-Awḥad al-Mukarram to someone called *al-sulṭān* Ma'n b. Jawshab.

10. (pp. 36–71): A long letter on behalf of the same al-Malik al-Awḥad al-Mukarram to the Caliph al-Mustanṣir. It has been published (from this manuscript) in Husayn Hamdani's *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, pp. 308–318. The date of the letter is given at the end (p. 71) as the first day (*ghurra*) of Dhu'l-ḥijja 460 (1 October 1068).

The manuscript ends with an elaborate colophon (pp. 72–73) stating that it (or perhaps rather its archetype) was copied from a manuscript produced by the 21st da'i, Husayn b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan (etc.; the genealogy given here goes back 38 generations), dated Thursday 23 Shawwāl 889 (11 November 1484, a long time before his accession as da'i).

REFERENCES: The primary and secondary sources concerning al-Qummi (alias Ibn Qumm or Ibn al-Qummi) are enumerated in Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (1974), pp. 92–93 and in his 2002 edition of Idrīs, *'Uyūn*, VII, pp. 162–3, fn. 4; see also the index to the latter publication for the references in Idrīs's book.

DESCRIPTION: modern brown cloth binding with leather trim; 37 folios (73 pages); no catchwords visible; all the pages have been remargined with the loss of some letters at the beginning and end of some lines: the present size of the pages is 23.5 × 14.5 cm; the original pages, as now trimmed, measure 15.5 × 8.5 cm; the written area is 14 × 8 cm; 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in purple and some punctuation in red; *naskh*, with some cursive features; the remargined pages have two black lines and two red lines around the original page; no indication of title, scribe or date; seal on the recto of the first folio.

Ms. 1488 [Handlist 36b]

the same

Arabic manuscript (transcript of the preceding copy)

As mentioned above, this manuscript was obviously copied from the one just described, evidently after the last remargining, as some blanks have been left where the text in Ms. 1487 is cut off. The colophon tracing the textual history is omitted in this copy. On p. 1 there is an erroneous title: *al-sijillāt li mawlānā al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh ṣl'm*.

DESCRIPTION: 6 unbound quires in a paper wrapper; 40 folios (80 pages); catchwords; 23 × 14.5 cm (15 × 9 cm); 13 lines; brownish ink, some words being highlighted in red; legible *naskh*; no indication of scribe or date.

Ms. 1489 [Handlist 78]

Risālat al-nafs

by Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādī'i

Arabic manuscript

Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā is regarded by the Ṭayyibī tradition as the first *dā'i muṭlaq* after the occultation of the Imam al-Ṭayyib. He died in 546/1151.

There are two apparently contemporaneous treatises with the same title (*Risālat al-nafs*), this one, ascribed to Dhu'ayb, and another, ascribed to al-Khaṭṭāb (see Ms. 1495). The former consists of four sections (sing. *faṣl*), culminating in a discussion of the souls of the prophets and the imams, whereby the current imam is not mentioned by name.

A discussion of the relationship between the two identically titled treatises, and a brief summary of the present one, can be found in Poonawala (1999), pp. 158–159.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 201; Ivanow (1933), no. 187; Ivanow (1963), no. 196; Goriawala (1965), no. 82; Poonawala (1977), p. 138, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 133; Cortese (2003), no. 136.

DESCRIPTION: green cloth binding; 42 folios, of which folios 1–32 are in the **first hand** and 33–42 in the **second hand**; catchwords; the pages written in the first hand measure 13.5 × 10.5 cm (7.5 × 5 to 5.5 cm), those in the second hand 13.5 × 11 cm (8.5 × 7 cm); 10 lines (first hand), 9 lines (second hand); black ink with rubrics in red; different styles of *naskh*; marginal corrections in the first part only; no indication of date or scribes; title and author indicated at the beginning and end; no seals.

Ms. 1490 [Handlist 79a]

Munīrat al-baṣā'ir

by al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb

Arabic manuscript dated 1598

Al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Ḥufāz al-Ḥajūrī al-Hamdānī, generally called al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb, was a chieftain of the Ḥajūr clan in north-western Yemen in the last years of the reign of al-Sayyida bint Aḥmad. He is reported to have been murdered by a kinsman in 533/1138. His writings belong to the formative period of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*. He is the subject of an important monograph by Poonawala (which I quote from the second edition of 1999), which contains a critical edition of al-Khaṭṭāb's *dīwān* and summaries of his other extant writings.

The present work responds to ten questions put to the author by an unnamed 'brother'. In the introduction (here fol. 3a) he refers to al-Ṭayyib as 'the imam of our age', but also gives him the decidedly apocalyptic title *al-qā'im bi amr allāh*. This tells us in any case that it was written after the disappearance of al-Ṭayyib in 524/1130. It is summarised in Poonawala (1999), pp. 156–157. This is by far the oldest recorded copy.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 198; Ivanow (1933), no. 181; Ivanow (1963), no. 189; Poonawala (1977), p. 135, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 97 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 115; Cortese (2003), no. 105.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; in its original form the manuscript consisted of 64 numbered folios, of which the first (perhaps blank) is lost; the original title page is on the recto of the fol. numbered 2 and the text begins on its verso; there is an unnumbered extra page (just one side inscribed, in a different hand) inserted between folios 26 and 27, and another, in yet another hand, after fol. 60 (the text seems out of place), now numbered in pencil as 61; the remaining 4 folios were then renumbered as 62 to 65; the original 64 folios are gathered in 8 quires of 8 folios each, all except the first of which are numbered in the upper left-hand corner of the first quire; replica title page and table of contents on the two sides of the folio preceding the original title page; catchwords; 19 × 15 cm (14 × 11 cm); 13 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh* with some archaic features, mostly vocalised; many marginal corrections and additions; the colophon seems to indicate that the copying was completed on Sunday, the 12th (written ١٢) of the month Dhu'l-qa'da 1006, but the indicated date corresponds to Monday, 15 June 1598, so there seems to be a slight error, unless the scribe is not an Ismaili and thus not using the Ismaili tabular calendar; the latter possibility is perhaps supported by the curious fact that the scribe goes on to

الحدود

بتعطيها وتاليف شريعة جديدة يتولاها لئلا ينفها بتأييد
 العالية عليه واما مقام ولد اسماعيل فلم يقع وقته تسليم
 من اهل هذه الحدود المسلمة اليه مقام ولد اسحاق
 بالجملة بل كل منهم جار في نفسه من الدعوة الباطنة
 واما قلنا ان اساس محمد صلى الله عليه هو وصيه لكونه
 لا يقع في يد الغم الا في يد اقرب الحدود من درجته
 فيفقد عليه ويبني صورته وهو مؤسسها بمعنا وضع
 اساسها واذ جعله وصيا لكونه يفقد علي كل من صفا
 من اهل الشريعة وطلب النجاة وانتبه من نوم الغفلة
 محمد صلى الله عليه ويؤكده عليه الشرايط عند اخذ
 العهد عليه وذلك معني قولنا في التسليم والاساسية
 والوصاية فنقول ان النبي تجل من محمد محل توسع من موسى
 وهو من قام مقامه في حده وصيه علي ظاهر شريعته

سنة ١٠١٠ هـ
 في شهر ربيع الثاني
 في يوم الاثنين
 في الساعة السادسة
 في مكة المكرمة
 في دار السلطنة
 في يد كاتبه
 محمد بن عبد الله
 الخياط

Figure 10. Munirat al-baṣā'ir, al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb (Ms. 1490/fol. 34a).

invoke blessings 'on our lord Muḥammad and his family and his companions'; title indicated on labels on the front cover and spine; title and author indicated on the two title pages; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1491 [Handlist 79b]

another copy

Undated Arabic manuscript

DESCRIPTION: tooled red leather binding with medallions; 81 folios (the pages are numbered from 1 to 162, whereby p. 1 is blank); the only quire marking is the second quire on p. 17; catchwords; 19.5 × 13.5 cm (12.5 × 7.5 cm); 12 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (the space for the rubric has been left blank on p. 155); *naskh* with some cursive features; a few marginal corrections; scribe and date not indicated; title indicated on the labels on front cover and spine; title and author in the incipit (p. 2); seals.

Ms. 1492 [Handlist 75a]

Dīwān

by al-Khaṭṭāb, together with other poems

Arabic manuscript dated 1749

The largest part of this manuscript is occupied by the collected poems of al-Khaṭṭāb, followed by other bits of poetry and of prose. A note (not by the scribe) on the title page states that what follows it is in the hand of *al-shaykh* 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, and this is confirmed by the fact that three verses on fol. 108a are preceded by a rubric in the hand of the scribe to the effect that these verses are 'by 'Alī b. Sa'īd, the owner (*mālik*) of this collection, may God grant him success'. The date of the completion of the section containing the poems of al-Khaṭṭāb is given on fol. 71a as 14 Rajab 1162 (29 June 1749).

The *Dīwān* of al-Khaṭṭāb has been edited by Poonawala, together with an extensive commentary, in his book *al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb: ḥayātuhū wa shi'ruhū* (Cairo, 1967; 2nd edition, Beirut, 1999), mainly on the basis of this manuscript, collated with several others. In the following I cite the poems according to Poonawala's numbering.

The 26 poems of al-Khaṭṭāb contained in this manuscript (which Poonawala publishes as the 26 poems of the 'first part' of the *Dīwān*) are mainly of devotional content, but there is also an elegy on the death

of the Şulayḥid queen, al-Sayyida bint Aḥmad (no. 8). A further 31 poems were published by Poonawala as the 'second part' of the *Dīwān* and are found only in a single manuscript from South Arabia. These are on the whole of a more topical nature, including lampoons against the author's enemies, and several odes addressed to al-Sayyida during her lifetime (part II, nos 5, 6, 7, 8).

REFERENCES: For this *Dīwān* see also: al-Majdū', p. 41 (says that it contains 25 poems); Ivanow (1933), no. 185; Ivanow (1963), no. 194; Goriawala (1965), no. 79; Poonawala (1977), pp. 134–135, no. 1; Cortese (2003), no. 21 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), pp. 155–156.

The contents of the present manuscript are, in detail, as follows:

fol. 1 is a flyleaf.

fol. 2a: In a hand different from that of the rest of the manuscript, we have a list of the names of the imams after al-Ṭayyib on the authority of al-Ḥājjī Ḥasan b. 'Alī, a native of Cairo, in Poona, on 25 Şafar 1228 (26 February 1813). This text is discussed below in the entry on Ms. 1662.

fol. 3a–b: Bits of poetry in yet another hand.

fol. 4a: Title page stating that what follows is in the hand of 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī and that it was written on 14 Rajab 1162.

fol. 4b (page '1'): Beginning of the section in the hand of 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī: title and beginning of the *dīwān* of al-Khaṭṭāb.

fol. 66a: Colophon indicating that this is the end of the *dīwān* properly speaking, followed by two additional poems by al-Khaṭṭāb (i.e., nos 25 and 26, until fol. 70b).

fol. 71a: Another colophon, recording the completion of the copying on 14 Rajab 1162 (29 June 1749); the name of the scribe is not mentioned.

fol. 71b–74b: Miscellaneous verses etc., still in the same hand (with a one-sided page in a different hand inserted between fols 71 and 72).

fol. 75a–77a: Prose. Sayings of assorted wise men.

fol. 77b–117b: An anthology of gnomic verses, many of them ascribed to 'Alī, many not attributed, including (on fol. 99a–100b) an extract from al-Khaṭṭāb's poem no. 6, then (on fol. 108a) three verses by 'Alī b. Sa'īd *mālik ḥādḥā al-majmū'* (see Figure 11), and (on fol. 109a) three more verses from al-Khaṭṭāb's poem no. 6. The anthology continues from fol. 109b in larger script, still perhaps in the same hand, or perhaps not.

غيره لعل بن سعيد مالك هذا المجموع فمعه
 خَابَ مَنْ هَابَ وَمَنْ لَجَّ وَوَجَّ
 وكذا قد قيل مَنْ جَدَّ وَجَدَّ

فالزمن الخزم والعزم ولا
 تخش نقص القدر من جِدِّهِ وَجَدَّ

كل من أعمل ساعي همة
 فضل العالم طرّاً وفجيداً

غيره لا مير الواسين ٢٤

الا ان النساء خلقن شئاً

فهلن الغنيمة والغرامة

fols 118b–122a: Question no. 29 from an unspecified book of questions and answers, with its answer. In fact it is from the work described above as Ms. 1479, there ascribed to al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn.

fols 122b–125b: Assorted scribblings in prose and verse in more than one hand.

This precious manuscript is very badly worm-eaten; some pages have been 'repaired' using transparent tape, others are frayed and in danger of further deterioration.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap, tooled and gilded (the spine is restored); 125 folios numbered in pencil with Arabic numerals in the upper left-hand corner (with some page numbers as well, starting on fol. 4b); catchwords on almost all versos up to fol. 109b, thereafter only sporadically; 15.5 × 9.5 cm (size of the written area varies); greatly variable size of writing and number of lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very neat *naskh* in the parts written by 'Ali b. Sa'id; numerous marginal and interlineal corrections and glosses, especially in the *Dīwān* of al-Khaṭṭāb; mostly copied by 'Ali b. Sa'id al-Hamdānī and completed (at least as far as the *Dīwān* of al-Khaṭṭāb is concerned) on 14 Rajab 1162 (29 June 1749), as discussed above; title and author of the *Dīwān* indicated in the superscription (fol. 4b), in the two explicits (fols 66a and 71a), and on a label on the front cover; various seals and owner's marks.

Ms. 1493 [Handlist 75b]

another copy of the same *Dīwān*

Arabic manuscript

This copy contains the same 26 poems as the manuscript just described, followed by the same two extracts from poem no. 6 that 'Ali b. Sa'id included on folios 99a–100b and 109a in his anthology. It seems thus very likely that this manuscript was copied from manuscript 1492.

The scribe's name is indicated on fol. 1a in secret script as Hibat 'Ali Ismā'il al-Masārī, and another note on the same page states (in ordinary Arabic script) that it was sold by *al-faqīh* Hibat 'Ali al-Masārī to *sayyidī al-shaykh al-fāḍil* al-Ḥusayn 'Ali al-Masārī.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with red leather spine and trim; 24 folios; catchwords; 21.5 × 15 cm (size of written area varies); mostly 15 lines,

with some variation; black ink with rubrics and (on some pages) mid-verse markers in red (the rubrics become less frequent in the second half of the manuscript, with blank spaces for some of them); idiosyncratic *naskh*, fully vocalised down to fol. 11, thereafter only sporadically vocalised; very few marginal corrections/variants; copied by Hibat 'Alī (b.) Ismā'il al-Masāri (as discussed above); title and author indicated in the heading on fol. 1b.

Ms. 1494 [Handlist 84/6 fols 27–34 and 84/7 fols 9–14]

the beginning of another copy of the same

Arabic manuscript

These pages are a fragment of another copy of the *Dīwān* of al-Khaṭṭāb. The first fragment contains the text from the beginning down to poem 3 line 2a, the second the text from poem 3 line 14b to poem 5 line 25a, so there is exactly one page (22 half verses) missing between them.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound quires; 14 folios (now numbered 27–34 and 9–14); catchwords; 11.5 × 7 cm (6 × 3 cm); 11 lines (each line with one *miṣrā'*); black ink (the spaces for the rubrics are left blank); *naskh*; marginal corrections and variants; title on fol. 27a.

Ms. 1495 [Handlist 77]

Risālat al-nafs

by al-Khaṭṭāb

Arabic manuscript dated 1857

A treatise on the soul. There is a detailed summary of the treatise in Poonawala's book on al-Khaṭṭāb (Poonawala (1999), pp. 437–445). The author invokes al-Ṭayyib as 'the imam of our age' (fol. 2a).

Here, as in the manuscript described by Gacek, the text of the *risāla* is preceded by one of al-Khaṭṭāb's poems (no. 9 in Poonawala's edition; see his footnote no. 2, which affirms that the poem is found in some, but not all copies of the *Risālat al-nafs*).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 198–199; Ivanow (1933), no. 180; Ivanow (1963), no. 188; Goriawala (1965), no. 8; Poonawala (1977), p. 135, no. 3; Gacek (1984), no. 132.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with red leather spine; 28 folios; catchwords; 16 × 11 cm (10.5 × 7 cm); irregular number of lines; black ink

(red rubrics and verse dividers only on the first two pages and the one word *'faṣl'* on fol. 18b; some of the spaces for rubrics are left blank); irregular *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no scribe indicated; completed on Sunday 26 Dhu'l-ḥijja 1273 (16 August 1857); title and author indicated on the labels on the front cover and spine and at the beginning of the text; seals.

Ms. 1496 [Handlist 67]

four treatises

by al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū 'Isā al-Murshid, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, and others

Arabic manuscript

This is a collection of four treatises all copied in the same hand. The same four works are contained (in the same order) in a manuscript in the Fyzee collection catalogued by Goriawala.

(1) pp. 1–60:

Ghāyat al-mawālīd

by al-Khaṭṭāb

This is a very important work on the imamate and the ranks of the hierarchy, with much historical information, defending the Imamate of al-Ṭayyib. It is summarised in Poonawala (1999), pp. 162–164. The work consists of five chapters: *bāb* 1 begins here on p. 10; *bāb* 2 on p. 26; *bāb* 3 on p. 36; *bāb* 4 on p. 40; *bāb* 5 begins on p. 51 and ends on p. 60. The author quotes (among many other works) the *Kitāb al-sarā'ir* by Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr on p. 45 and gives the names of the hidden imams on p. 48. This work is not included in al-Majdū's *Fihrist*.

Extracts published and translated in: Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 35–39 of the Arabic section and pp. 20–23 of the English section.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 184; Ivanow (1963), no. 195; Goriawala (1965), no. 80 (ii); Poonawala (1977), p. 135–136, no. 5; Gacek (1984), no. 25 (4 copies).

(2) pp. 60–79:

The second work in the manuscript begins in the middle of a line on p. 60 with the words: (in red) *faṣl* (then in black) *'an mawlānā wa sayyidinā*

Ja'far b. Manṣūr. It seems to be an assemblage of quotations from various works ascribed to Ja'far (*al-Kashf*: p. 63; *Asrār al-nuṭaqā'*: pp. 63, 65), to al-Nu'mān (*al-Manāqib wa'l-mathālib*: p. 78), to al-Kirmānī (p. 71), and to al-Mu'ayyad (*munājāt*: p. 61; his poems: p. 64).

REFERENCES: Goriawala (1965), no. 80 (iii); Poonawala (1977), p. 74, no. 15.

(3) pp. 79–90

Risālat jāmi'at al-jawāhir

by Abū 'Isā al-Murshid

This is ostensibly a work by the Caliph al-Mu'izz, transmitted by (*bi riwāyat*) Abū 'Isā al-Murshid. Here, as in the copy catalogued by Goriawala (1965), there is a short lacuna at the beginning (here, a blank space after the *basmala*), the first word being *al-Mu'izz*. S. M. Stern, in his posthumous paper 'The Earliest Cosmological Doctrines of Ismā'ilism', published in Stern (1983), pp. 3–29, edited this very interesting treatise from the Fyzee manuscript and appended a partial translation and paraphrase, with some valuable remarks.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 400b; Goriawala (1965), no. 80 (iv); Poonawala (1977), p. 70, no. 7.

(4) pp. 90–93

Risālat al-ḥayāt wa'l-nūr

Here, as in the manuscript in the Fyzee collection, there is no indication of the author of this fragment, but Stern, on p. 6 of the above-mentioned article, pointed out that it is actually an extract from *al-Risāla al-mudhhiba* ascribed to al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, which had been published by 'Ārif Tāmīr in his *Khams rasā'il*, pp. 27–87, and which seems to have been preserved (apart from this fragment) only by the Nizaris in Syria. The fragment identified by Stern corresponds to page 40 line 7 to page 42 line 5 of Tāmīr's edition. Among other things, it contains (in our copy on p. 92) a quotation from the *Kitāb al-ibtidā'* ascribed here to the early Ismaili (Qarmatian) leader 'Abdān (this title is mentioned in Poonawala (1977), p. 32, no. 10, but no copies are listed).

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1963), no. 776 ('*ar-R. al-Mudhniba*' – sic); Goriawala (1965), no. 80 (v); Poonawala (1977), p. 341, no. 183 (for *Risālat al-ḥayāt wa'l-nūr*) and p. 67, no. 54 (for *al-Risāla al-mudhhiba*); Daftary (2004), p. 145.

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with leather trim; 47 folios (93 numbered pages); the beginning of *al-juz' al-awwal* is indicated on p. 0, but the other quires are not signed; catchwords; 18.5 × 14.5 cm (11.5 × 10 cm); 17 or 18 lines; black ink with titles and chapter headings in red; neat *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no indication of scribe and date; title and author of the first treatise only indicated on the label on the front cover; a note on the verso of the first folio says that it is one of the books donated by the late Mullā Sulṭān-'Alī (b.) Hibat Allāh as a *waqf* for the students of the Madrasah Muḥammadiyah to read in 1316 (1898–1899); contains seals of the said Sulṭān-'Alī inscribed in 1278.

Ms. 1497 [Handlist 80]

three treatises

Arabic manuscript dated 1893

This manuscript contains three works, all copied in the same hand.

(1) fols 1b–26b

Risālat ghāyat al-laṭā'if wa'l-kathā'if

Here ascribed to al-Khaṭṭāb

At the end of this copy, and, according to Poonawala (1977), of other copies as well, the text of the first poem in al-Khaṭṭāb's *Dīwān* is appended, introduced by the words *li sayyidinā al-Khaṭṭāb a'lā allāh qudsahu*. The poem occupies fols 21a–26b.

Al-Majdū' (appendix) p. 280 mentions a work called *Ghāyat al-kathā'if wa'l-laṭā'if* without indicating its author.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 393 ('sometimes ascribed to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, or to Dhu'ayb'); Ivanow (1963), no. 376 (with the same information); Goriawala (1965), no. 80/i (no author mentioned); Poonawala (1977), p. 136, no. 8; Gacek (1984), no. 24 (2 copies).

Fols 27 and 28 are blank.

(2) fols 29a–70b

A fragment of a series of questions posed by al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar to the Imam Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja‘far al-Šādiq, with the Imam’s answers. The work is stylised in such a way that al-Mufaḍḍal speaks in the first person singular. The present copy is evidently incomplete, beginning abruptly with the words: *thumma qāla al-Mufaḍḍal sa’altu bā* (read: *abā*) ‘*Abd allāh ...*

Ivanow (1933), no. 11 mentions a work called *al-Masā’il al-Mufaḍḍaliyya*, implying that it is listed by al-Majdū‘, but I have not found it in the published edition of the *Fihrist*.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 315, no. 4.

(3) fols 71a–75a

The last section of the manuscript begins mid-sentence, but there is a marginal note, evidently in the hand of the same scribe, stating that ‘perhaps (*la‘alla*) this is from the *Risālat šawā‘iq al-irghām* appended at the end of the *Risālat al-hidāya al-āmiriyya*’, and this is correct. The treatise in question is otherwise cited as *Risālat iqā‘ šawā‘iq al-irghām* and it was published by Fyzee together with the *Risālat al-hidāya al-āmiriyya* (see below, Ms. 1515/8). It is a refutation of a Nizārī response to the defence of the claims of the Caliph al-Musta‘li in the *Risālat al-hidāya al-āmiriyya*, this ostensibly the work of the Caliph al-Āmir. The present fragment begins with the words found in Fyzee’s edition, p. 36, line 4, and continues until the end of the treatise.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘ (appendix), p. 280; Ivanow (1933), no. 173; Ivanow (1963), no. 179; Goriawala (1965), nos 76/ii, 77/ii; Poonawala (1977), p. 131, no. 2; Daftary (2004), p. 110.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled, with medallions; 75 folios; catchwords; 14 × 11 cm (8 × 5.5 cm); 10 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; dated Rabi‘ II 1311 (October/November 1893); scribe not mentioned; the titles of the three works are indicated on fol. 1a; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1498 [Handlist 100]

Risālat al-na‘īm

by al-Khaṭṭāb

Fragment of an Arabic manuscript

The treatise entitled *al-Naʿīm* is an incomplete esoteric work by al-Khaṭṭāb. A description of it can be found in Poonawala (1999), pp. 166–167, based on the manuscript in the ‘Abd al-Qayyūm collection in Mumbai: this contains an introduction stating that the work is to contain ten chapters (sing. *bāb*), plus an 11th supernumerary chapter (*khārij min al-ʿidda*), then the text of the first three chapters, followed by the three sections (sing. *faṣl*) of the fourth chapter. This is followed by a note to the effect that the extant portion of the treatise ends here, the author having died a martyr, and then the transcript of a notice by Sayyidunā Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī stating that for the remainder of the work there were only ‘scattered notebooks’. The implication is thus that it was al-Ḥāmidī (the 2nd daʿi) who edited the fragments of this work after his teacher’s death.

Al-Majdūʿ knew this work evidently in the same form, stating somewhat imprecisely that ‘what has come down to us is half of the composition’.

The present manuscript (as yet the only copy in the library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies) is even more incomplete than the one described by Poonawala (1977), and some of the pages are out of order. As far as I can ascertain, the correct order of the folios is 1, 2, 3, then: 7, 8, then: 4, 5, 6, then: 9 to 27. These pages contain the introduction, then the first *bāb* (begins on folio 5a), the second *bāb* (begins on fol. 20b, with the space for the chapter number left blank), and then just the beginning of the third *bāb* (begins on fol. 26a, again with a blank where the chapter number should be), breaking off abruptly on fol. 27b (with the catchword for the following missing folio).

REFERENCES: al-Majdūʿ, p. 204; Ivanow (1933), no. 182; Ivanow (1963), no. 192; Poonawala (1977), p. 136, no. 7 (lists five Mss., including this one).

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 27 folios; catchwords (do not always match the following page); 15 × 9.5 cm (10 × 5.5 cm); 13 lines; black ink with very few rubrics in purple (and many more blank spaces for rubrics), and some punctuation in red (on the first two pages only); *naskh*, with cursive features; a few marginal corrections; title, author, scribe and date are not indicated in the first hand, but an owner’s note on fol. 1a states that it is an incomplete (*nāqiṣa*) copy of *Risālat al-naʿīm* in the hand of *sayyidī* Yūsuf-bhāʿī al-Walī al-Ḥakīmī, and this information is repeated on the label on the front cover.

Ms. 1499 [Handlist 83]

Kanz al-walad

by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī

Arabic manuscript in cipher, ca. 1876 [see Plate 3]

This manuscript begins with a note on the flyleaf identifying it as *Kitāb kanz al-walad* and stating that it is 'in an invented script which the people of truth employ. My father *al-'allāma sayyidī* Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī wrote it in his own hand on his pilgrimage journey between the years 1294 and 1304.' A comparison with other copies of the *Kanz al-walad* confirms that this is indeed that work and allows us to crack the code easily enough; the script used is a straightforward cipher, but it is not the secret script used elsewhere in these manuscripts and described in our introduction. The statement that the manuscript is 'in an invented/artificial script' (*bi khaṭṭ mawḏū'*), that is, a script invented to purpose, is indeed an apt one.

I have no grounds to doubt that this copy was produced by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī and that it has a connection with his long journey to Mecca and specifically with his desire that this ultra-secret work should not fall into the wrong hands, but it is a bit difficult to believe that he actually produced it during his pilgrimage, for in this case he would have had to take with him a copy of the *Kanz al-walad* in ordinary Arabic script from which to transcribe the coded copy. It would be easier to imagine that he wrote it before his departure from India, so as to be able to study this secret work while away from home in a hostile environment.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī is counted as the 2nd da'i. He acceded to this rank after the death of Dhu'ayb in 546/1151 and held it until his own death in Ṣan'ā' in 557/1162. He is reported as having enjoyed the patronage of the Hamdanid ruler Ḥātim b. Aḥmad. His *Kanz al-walad* is regarded as one of the most important and most secret of the esoteric books of the Ṭayyibīs (its great secrecy is presumably the reason that it is not mentioned in the main body of al-Majdū's *Fihrist*), but the modern reader seeking for profound revelations will probably be disappointed by it. It consists to a large extent of quotations from readily available works by al-Sijistānī, al-Kirmānī and al-Mu'ayyad and from the Treatises of the Sincere Brethren. It is discussed briefly in Madelung's article 'al-Ḥāmīdī (1)' in *EI2*.

One of the three manuscripts used by Muṣṭafā Ghālib in preparing his edition ends with a transcript of what seems to be either the author's original colophon, or that of a copy made in his lifetime, giving the date of completion as Tuesday 25 Jumādā I 555 (31 May 1160) 'fi dār min maḥallāt ...'; the two place names are given in (ordinary Ṭayyibī) secret script and both are garbled in the edition, but the second is clearly '(al-)Yaman', while the first seems to be 'Ḥarāz'.

In the present manuscript, the text is preceded (on the verso of fol. 'a') by half a page in ordinary Arabic script (I think in the same hand as the rest) with instructions for performing the 'voluntary prayer' (*ṣalāt al-khīra*).

EDITIONS: Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Wiesbaden, 1971); reprinted (Beirut, 1979).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū' (appendix), p. 279; Ivanow (1933), no. 190; Ivanow (1963), no. 198; Goriawala (1965), no. 84; Poonawala (1977), p. 142, no. 1 (where the present Ms. is described as being 'in secret symbolic language'); Gacek (1984), no. 42; Cortese (2000), nos 26, 27; Cortese (2003), no. 45 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 113.

DESCRIPTION: soft red leather binding, tooled; 83 folios (now numbered 'a', 'b' and 1–81; the text of *Kanz al-walad* begins on the verso of fol. b); catchwords; 20.5 × 14 cm; size of the written area, size of the script, and number of lines vary considerably; black ink with rubrics in red; marginal corrections and notes; diagrams on fols 13a, 20b, 21a, 28a, 28b, 40a and 77a; title and author indicated on the label on the front cover; title and name of the copyist (Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī) indicated on the title page, as quoted above.

Ms. 1500 [Handlist 82]

an incomplete copy of the same

Arabic manuscript

This manuscript contains only the first 7 of the 14 chapters of the *Kanz al-walad*. It has been badly restored (all the pages were covered with opaque gauze) and is consequently not easy to read.

DESCRIPTION: dark brown cloth binding; 141 folios; catchwords; 21 × 12 cm (15 × 7.5 cm); 13 lines; black ink with a few rubrics in red; *naskh*; tables on fols 77a–b, 112b, 113b, 117b; title and author indicated on

fol. 1a and on the paper wrapper; a note on the flyleaf signed by Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī records its rebinding and its acquisition by al-Khizāna al-Muḥammadiyya in Surat in 1368, equated with 1949.

Ms. 1501 [Handlist 84/6 fols 55–58]

al-Risāla al-sharīfa

by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn

fragmentary Arabic manuscript

This little fragment contains the first pages of another esoteric treatise by the 2nd da‘i.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 191; Ivanow (1963), no. 200; Poonawala (1977), p. 143, no. 4; Gacek (1984), no. 123 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: 1 unbound quire; 4 folios; catchwords; 11.5 × 7.5 cm (7.5 × 4 cm); 11 lines; black ink with marginalia in purple; uncouth *naskh*; title and author not indicated.

Ms. 1502 [Handlist 58a]

Majmū‘ al-tarbiya

by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī

Arabic manuscript of the first half of the work

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārithī al-Khazraji was a close associate of the 2nd da‘i, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī, and of his son, the 3rd da‘i, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, and the teacher of the 5th da‘i, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. He died in Shawwāl 584/1188. His *Majmū‘ al-tarbiya* is a rich anthology of esoteric and exoteric writings by various authors, including himself, many of them otherwise unknown. A list of its contents can be found in Poonawala. Apparently all copies uniformly divide the anthology into two volumes.

The present copy contains the first volume. Its contents seem to agree broadly with Poonawala’s list, but there is one significant difference of attribution: the *Risālat al-Jawharayn*, which Poonawala (1977), p. 144 (and again, p. 150, no. 10), describes as a work of al-Ḥārithī himself, is here (fol. 111a) ascribed to Sayyidunā Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, presumably meaning the author of the *Risālat al-maṭbakh*, also preserved in this anthology, the author of which is in this copy (fol. 179b) called Sayyidunā Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Zayd (alias Muḥammad

b. 'Alī b. Abī Yazīd; see Poonawala (1977), p. 127, and also the poems of his cited in Mss. 1470–1471). A copy of this *Risālat al-Jawharayn* in Hebrew script, from the Jewish community in the Yemen, is discussed in Vajda (1958).

The bulk of the text is written in a large, legible and somewhat uncouth hand, but two gaps have been filled by pages in a second hand. The first lacuna is at the very beginning and is filled by three pages (fols 7b–8b). The text continues in the older hand halfway down fol. 9b, whereby the layout of the page suggests that the beginning of the text was missing in the archetype. The scribe left fol. 9a blank, but a third hand has added a note stating that the text beginning 'on the back' (that is, on fol. 9b) is 'a manuscript of *Kitāb majmū' al-tarbiya* and it (i.e. the manuscript; the pronoun is feminine) was written in the days of Sayyidunā Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs al-Anf, presumably meaning the 20th da'i, who reigned (in the Yemen) from 872/1468 to 918/1512. I do not know where the author of the note found that information. The present copy does not have a colophon, but the closing words on the last page (*tamat tamām shud*) indicate that it is an Indian, not a Yemeni manuscript. The second lacuna has been filled up (I think by the same scribe as the first one) by the additional folios 90 to 101.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 129–134; Ivanow (1933), no. 195; Ivanow (1963), no. 205; Gacek (1981), no. 196 (vol. 1); Fyzee (1973), no. 33 (vol. 1); Poonawala (1977), pp. 144–148, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 86 (3 copies: A begins at the same point as the older hand in Ms. 1502 and as Gacek (1981), no. 196; B contains vol. 1 with the usual incipit; C contains vol. 2, beginning at the same point as Ms. 1503); no. 129 (contains 'part of second volume'); Cortese (2000), nos 29–32 (vol. 1) and 33–34 (vol. 2); Cortese (2003), no. 87 (vol. 1).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 367 fols (oriental pagination from fol. 7a [=p. 2] to fol. 174a [=p. 335] only) of which fols 7–8 and 90–101 are in a second hand; catchwords; 21.5 × 14 cm (13.5 × 9.5 cm; second hand 13 × 9 cm); 11 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (a fair number of the spaces for rubrics have been left blank); *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; border on fol. 10a only; running headers with title, page number and (sometimes) chapter title on fols 10a–11a, 27b–60a, 71b–87a, 88b–148a only; diagrams on fols 114a, 118a, 283a, 316b; brief biography of the author (taken from the *Nuzhat al-afkār*) on fol. 1a; seals; labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1503 [Handlist 58b]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the second half of the work, dated 1842

This copy ends with a colophon in rather inadequate Arabic, as follows:

هذا الخط من احقر الغلمان سيدنا ومولانا عبد القادر نجم (فوق السطر: الحسين و) الزمان وعبد الرحمان شمس
بن داود بن سليمان ساكن اوجين سنة ١٢٥٧ من هجرة النبي المختار صلعم

If we assume that *al-ghilmān* is a mistake for *ghilmān*, and that *'abd al-rahmān* is (for once) not a personal name, but a title assumed by the copyist, then this could mean: 'This is the handwriting of the most contemptible of the slaves of *sayyidunā wa mawlānā* 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn wa'l-Zamān, and of the servant of the Merciful One (by the name of) Shams b. Dā'ūd b. Sulaymān, resident of Ujjayn, in the year 1257 on the hijrah' etc.

The colophon was understood thus by the author of a note on the title page stating that it is 'in the hand of Shams b. Dā'ūd b. Sulaymān al-Ujjaynī in the year 1257' This was in fact near the beginning of the reign of the da'i (or rather: the contested pretender to the rank of da'i) 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (reigned from 1256/1840 to 1302/1885).

DESCRIPTION: tooled red leather binding with flap; 153 folios; catch-words; 23.5 × 13 cm (17.5 × 8 cm); 19 to 21 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; irregular *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; diagram on fol. 13a; copied by Shams b. Dā'ūd b. Sulaymān al-Ujjaynī in 1257 (1841–1842); seals; labels on front cover and spine.

Ms. 1504 [Handlist 60]

Kitāb al-anwār al-laṭīfa li dhawī al-ṣuwar al-nayyira al-sharīfa

by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī

Arabic manuscript dated 1861

An esoteric, and decidedly secretive, work by the author of the *Majmū' al-tarbiyya*, consisting of five 'awnings' (sg. *surādiq*), each divided into five chapters (sg. *bāb*), which in turn are subdivided each into five sections (sg. *faṣl*). Among other topics the author discusses (*surādiq* 2, *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 3; here pp. 84–87) the 'cycles' (sg. *dawr*) of imams after Muḥammad, where there is a total of four cycles, namely:

- seven imams from al-Ḥasan to Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl
- seven imams from his son ‘Abd Allāh to the Caliph al-Mu‘izz
- seven imams from al-‘Azīz to al-Ṭayyib
- seven imams from the (unnamed) son of al-Ṭayyib to his descendant in the sixth generation
- and then the *ḥujjat qā’im al-qiyāma*.

This scheme does seem to imply that, even if al-Ṭayyib might still be alive, the end of time will still not happen for at least another six generations.

The text ends on p. 283 and is followed on pp. 285–287 by a text on ‘*ḥisāb al-akwār wa’l-adwār al-kibār wa’l-ṣiḡhār*’, as found ‘*fi’l-majlis al-thālith wa *l-mi’a* (?) (the text has: *al-a’imma*) *min majālis sayyidina Ḥātīm*’ (the last word is largely effaced by a worm hole, but seems certain), that is the 103rd of the *Majālis* of the Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamīdī (for which see Poonawala (1977), p. 154, no. 9). Then, on p. 288, there are some anonymous verses ‘in praise of this book’.

A second hand has added a table of contents on the verso of page 1.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū’, p. 278 (appendix); Ivanow (1933), no. 198; Ivanow (1963), no. 209; Goriawala (1965), no. 85; Poonawala (1977), p. 148, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 7 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 28; Cortese (2003), no. 7 (3 copies).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 144 folios (the 283 pages of *al-Anwār* are numbered in ink – perhaps by the scribe – and pp. 284–288 are numbered in pencil); catchwords; 24 × 14 cm (15 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very neat *naskh*; marginal and interlinear corrections and glosses; diagram on p. 43; colophon on p. 283 stating that it was copied by ‘Alī b. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥādī b. ‘Alī b. Ḥādī b. Ṣālih, with the date 16th (in Gujarati: *solwin*) of Muḥarram 1278 (23 July 1861); title and author at the beginning and on the label on the front cover, whereby the latter states that it was ‘completely collated by my most excellent father’ (*bi-taṣṣūḥ tāmm min khiyār al-wālid*).

Ms. 1505 [Handlist 71]

al-Risāla al-ḥātimiyya fi’l-radd ‘alā ba‘ḍ al-māriqin

ascribed to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī

Arabic manuscript dated 1858

A refutation of a treatise by an unnamed author who dissented from the community during the time of Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī, in 12 sections. The offending treatise is quoted extensively, and then refuted point for point. Al-Majdū' says that the refutation is the work of an unnamed dignitary (*li ba'd al-ḥudūd*), but Poonawala (1977) says that in all the copies listed by him it is ascribed to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī. In the present copy, the only indication of its authorship is in a note on fol. 1a, possibly, but not necessarily, in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, stating that it was composed by *al-shaykh al-ajall* Ismā'īl b. al-Muqaddam, 'but others say (*wa qīla*) that it is the composition of Sayyidunā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, and this is correct'. I have no information about this Ismā'īl b. al-Muqaddam.

This manuscript was copied by Ismā'īl b. Ghulām Ḥusayn b. Jiwābhā'i, whom Poonawala (1977), p. 230, mentions as the author of an extant treatise.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 90; Ivanow (1933), no. 200; Ivanow (1963), no. 206; Goriawala (1965), nos 86, 87, 88; Poonawala (1977), p. 149, no. 5; Gacek (1984), no. 114 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 35; Cortese (2003), no. 118 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with brown leather trim; 132 folios (262 pp., of which the first 122 are numbered in ink); 16 numbered quires of 8 folios each plus 1 quire of 7 folios; catchwords; 16 × 10 cm (10 × 6 cm); 9 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; cursive script; very few marginal additions; the colophon (pp. 260–262) says that it was completed in Burhānpūr on Thursday, the 16th of the month of God (i.e. Ramaḍān) 1274 (29 April 1858), in the time of Sayyidunā 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn, by Ismā'īl b. Ghulām Ḥusayn b. Jiwābhā'i b. Ilāh-bakhsh b. Dā'ūd-jī; seal inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1506 [Handlist 56]

Tanbih al-ghāfilīn

by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī

Arabic manuscript from the 18th century

Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī al-Hamdānī succeeded his father Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī as the 3rd da'i in 557/1162. He was involved in political and military activities at a time when the influence of

the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* was in rapid decline due to the ascendancy of the Ayyūbid dynasty in the Yemen. Ḥātim eventually withdrew to the fortress of al-Ḥutayb, where he died in 596/1199. He is the subject of a long article by Abbas Hamdani, 'The Dā'ī Ḥātim Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199) and his book *Tuḥfat al-Qulūb*', *Oriens*, 23–24 (1970–71), pp. 258–300, and he is also discussed by W. Madelung in his article 'al-Ḥāmidī (2)' in *EI2*.

The *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* is composed in the form of questions and answers and consists mainly of quotations from a variety of Ismaili and non-Ismaili works, in particular collections of traditions of the Prophet and the imams, as well as two chapters from the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, namely the 45th treatise (here on fols 32b–59a) and then the 44th (here on fols 59a–101b). In both cases the author of the treatises is named only as *ṣāhib al-rasā'il* followed by a eulogy that makes it clear that Ḥātim regarded the author to be one of the imams, but he does not say which imam it is. In his introduction he invokes blessings on *al-Imām al-Ṭayyib Abī'l-Qāsim amīr al-mu'minīn*, but differently from his father (in his above-mentioned *Kanz al-walad*) he does not explicitly call him 'lord of the age', while at the end of this book the author blesses al-Ṭayyib 'and his pure ancestors and his noble expected children', implying that Ḥātim at least considered the possibility that al-Ṭayyib had already died.

It is stated on the title page, and again in a pencilled note at the end, and also on the label on the cover, that the Ms. was copied by *al-shaykh* 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, and it is clearly in his distinctive hand.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 47–48; Ivanow (1933), no. 202; Ivanow (1963), no. 215; Goriawala (1965), nos 94, 95; Poonawala (1977), p. 153, no. 6; Gacek (1984), no. 151; Cortese (2000), no. 25; Cortese (2003), no. 161 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding enclosed in a cloth wrapper (I have not been able to remove the wrapper); 156 folios (the first 18 pages are numbered by the scribe; the remaining pages are numbered and foliated in pencil, but some of the pencilled page numbers are wrong); catchwords; 19 × 14 cm (12 × 9 cm, with some variation); 9 to 11 lines (the last line on the page is frequently written at a bias); black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; some marginal notes in different hands, some of them in Gujarati; running header with the title and page numbers on fols 1b–10a only; the title is indicated on the labels

numbering from 1 to 31) and continues (without page numbering) on the folios numbered 12a–13a and then breaks off (fol. 13b is blank); catchwords; 9.5 × 6.5 cm (5 × 3 cm); mostly 8 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; blue outer border and black and gold inner border around all pages and an illuminated headpiece on the first page of the text (fol. 23a).

Ms. 1508 [Handlist 59]

an anonymous Yemeni work, probably from the 12th century

An apparently unique Arabic manuscript

There is no indication of the title or author of this book in the body of the manuscript, but on the label attached to the front cover we find what is not so much a title as a description of contents, namely *Majmū' al-ḥaqā'iq li ba'd al-ḥudūd*, that is, 'Collection of esoteric doctrines by one of hierarchy'. The same 'title', and the same attribution *li ba'd ḥudūd du'āt al-ḥaqq* is found in the *Fihrist* of al-Majdū', with a detailed description of its contents from which emerges that it is definitely the same work. Poonawala (1977), in his chapter on anonymous works, refers to a cited passage in al-Majdū' and indicates that a single manuscript of the work is contained in the Hamdani collection, evidently the present copy.

After an introduction there is a table of contents of the seven chapters, whereby the author goes to some length to stress that he has chosen to structure his material in seven chapters on account of the seven speakers, the seven imams, the seven days of the week, and so on. In this copy the seventh and final chapter begins on fol. 128a, but the very last page seems to be missing. At what is obviously nearly the end of the book the author blesses the Prophet Muḥammad, his executive ('Alī), and the imams from their family, ending with an evocation of 'the 21st from al-Ḥasan, the 22nd from his ancestor, the father of al-Ḥasan, the 15th from al-Kawthar, the 11th from *al-sayf al-ashhar*, the four[teenth? ...]'; the rest is missing]. All of this implies that the book was written at a time when it could still be assumed that al-Ṭayyib was alive, as he is the 21st imam counting from al-Ḥasan, the 22nd counting from 'Alī, the 15th from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the 11th from the first Fatimid Caliph al-Mahdī. This suggests that we have to do with a Yemeni work from the 12th century.

The work consists largely of quotations from works by al-Kirmānī, al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, and a few others.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 257–260; Ivanow (1933), no. 417; Ivanow (1963), no. 391; Poonawala (1977), p. 329, no. 83.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with leather trim; 132 folios; catchwords; 23 × 15 cm (16 × 9.5 cm); 14 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; bold *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; 'title' only on the label on the front cover; seal inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1509 [Handlist 74a]

Risālat al-ihsān fi khalq al-insān

a work of disputed authorship, apparently from the second half of the 12th century

Arabic manuscript

A treatise on eschatology in five sections. There is no indication of the author's name either in this copy or in the one described below. In the manuscript of the *Fihrist* of al-Majdū' which forms the basis of Munzawī's edition (i.e. Ms. *bā'*) no author is mentioned, but Munzawī states in a footnote that his other two manuscripts (i.e. *alif* and *jīm*) – despite that fact that these were both apparently transcribed from *bā'* – attribute it (where? perhaps in the margin?) to 'Alī b. Ḥanzala, but I suspect that the basis for this attribution is merely the fact that the previous entry in the *Fihrist* is devoted to a book by this 'Alī, namely his poem *Simṭ al-ḥaqā'iq*, and that a copyist or glossator deduced that the *Risālat al-ihsān* might be by the same author. The copy of the *Fihrist* in the present collection (Ms. 1401, p. 273) likewise fails to assign this work to any author, but differently from the edition (where only the first and last sections are summarised), it sketches briefly the contents of all five sections. Surprisingly, Ivanow, both in his *Guide to Ismaili Literature* (1933) and his *Ismaili Literature* (1963), ascribes this work, without further discussion, to Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī. This is perhaps merely a mistake.

In the introduction (fol. 2a) and at the end (fol. 33a) the author evokes al-Ṭayyib as the current *amīr al-mu'minīn* and on fol. 22a–b he quotes some verses by al-Khaṭṭāb, with a eulogy that indicates that the latter was already dead. Thus the work seems to have been composed

after 533/1138 (the year of al-Khaṭṭāb's death), but probably not more than a century after the disappearance of the Imam al-Ṭayyib in 524/1130. This gives us at least a chronological framework for the treatise. Finally, at the end of the 4th section (here fol. 49a; in the second copy fol. 27a), the author cites a work of his own (read: *wa qad ṣana'nā* with Ms. 1510), namely *risāla fī sharḥ aḥwāl al-jism fī mabda'ihī wa ma'ādihī*; I have not found this title anywhere else.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 197; Ivanow (1933), no. 213; Ivanow (1963), no. 229; Goriawala (1965), nos 113, 114 (neither Ms. indicates the author, according to Poonawala (1977)); Poonawala (1977), p. 322, no. 47; Gacek (1984), no. 131; Cortese (2003), no. 133 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: red cloth binding; 60 folios; catchwords; 16.5 × 10 cm (12 × 6.5 cm); 11 lines; black ink with title and chapter headings in red; *naskh*; very few marginal and interlinear corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title at beginning, on fol. 1a, and on the label on the cover; seals engraved 1284.

Ms. 1510 [Handlist 74b]

another copy

Arabic manuscript

As in Ms. 1509, al-Ṭayyib is mentioned as the *amīr al-mu'minīn* in the introduction (here fol. 2a), but at the very end, where the other copy terminates with an evocation of al-Ṭayyib, this copy adds blessings on his descendants.

The handwriting in this manuscript looks very much like that in Ms. 1495.

DESCRIPTION: brown leather binding; 33 folios; catchwords; 15 × 10.5 cm (10.5 × 7 cm); 15 lines; black ink with some rubrics in red (but most of the chapter headings have been left blank); cramped *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title on fol. 1a and on the label on the front cover; seals engraved 1284.

Ms. 1511 [Handlist 62a]

Risālat tuḥfat al-murtād wa ghuṣṣat al-aḍḍād

by 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walid)

Arabic manuscript

‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Ibrāhīm al-Anf al-Qurashī, called Ibn al-Walid³ (died 612/1215), was the 5th da‘i, the progenitor of a long series of da‘is of the Banū al-Walid family. The present treatise is a defence of the imamate of al-Ṭayyib and a refutation of what the author calls the Mājidiyya faction, that is, the supporters of the Egyptian Caliph ‘Abd al-Majid al-Ḥāfiẓ. The argument starts off with an excursion into the esoteric value of the letters of the Arabic alphabet and proceeds with a discussion of the imams of the earlier ‘cycles’, the two sorts of imams (*mustawda‘* and *mustaqarr*), and the occultation of the imams after Ja‘far al-Šādiq and again after al-Āmir. The text of the treatise was published in Strothmann (1943), pp. 159–170 of the Arabic section, and summarised on pp. 50–51 of the German section of the same book.

For another copy of this treatise see Ms. 1515 no. 1.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, p. 153; Ivanow (1933), no. 227; Ivanow (1963), no. 243; Goriawala (1965), nos 110–112; Poonawala (1977), p. 160, no. 16; Gacek (1984), no. 159 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 129; Cortese (2003), no. 173 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 119.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 19 fols; catchwords; 14.7 × 10.2 cm (9 × 5.5 cm); 11 lines; black ink; *naskh*; marginal corrections; no colophon; title and author indicated by a second hand on the title page (fol. 1a) and the title also on a label on the front cover; Hamdāni family seal at various places.

Ms. 1512 [Handlist 61]

Ḍiyā’ al-*albāb*

by ‘Ali b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walid)

Arabic manuscript

This work consists of 32 questions and answers on points of Ismaili esoteric doctrine and contains a large number of quotations from earlier works. The text ends on fol. 146a with an evocation of al-Ṭayyib.

3. In correct Arabic orthography, the word for ‘son’ is spelt **ابن** at the beginning of a line of text, and otherwise **بن** if it stands between a man’s name and that of his father, but it is always written **بن** if it is part of a family name without implying direct filiation. So, in principle, in an English context, one could call this author both ‘Ali b. Muḥammad (‘Ali son of Muḥammad) and ‘Ali ibn al-Walid (‘Ali of the Banū al-Walid family), but to avoid any confusion, I prefer to use the former.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 229–237; Ivanow (1933), no. 221; Ivanow (1963), no. 239; Poonawala (1977), p. 158, no. 3; Gacek (1984), no. 17; Cortese (2000), nos 122, 123; Cortese (2003), no. 24.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap; 149 folios (of which the first is not numbered); catchwords; 24 × 14 cm (16.5 × 8.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; numerous marginal corrections, many of which have been covered with correction fluid; double red and single black margin on all pages. There is no colophon, but a note on fol. 1a in the hand of Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī states that his father Muḥammad 'Alī corrected the Ms. in 1315/1897–1898, and in a note on fol. 0a a person whose name I am not able to read calls himself 'the scribe' (*wa anā al-kātib*) and says that he gave the book as a gift to Sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī, presumably the same person; title and author are indicated in three different notes, two on fol. 0a and one on fol. 1a; a reader's note (fol. 1a) is dated 1277.

Ms. 1513 [Handlist 61a]

Diwān

by 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walīd)

Arabic manuscript

The collected poems of 'Alī b. Muḥammad contain eulogies on high-ranking dignitaries of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in the Yemen, among them the second *da'i*, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī, the author's own teacher Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī, and (most frequently) the 3rd *da'i*, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārithī, but there are also some polemics against the Mājidiyya, and a long *urjūza* (poem in rhymed couplets in the *rajaz* metre) describing his voyage to Mecca (here on fols 30a to 39a).

The collection ends with a poem of 99 double verses styled *al-qaṣīda al-tis'iniyya al-hādiya*, rhyming in *-rā*, here (in the superscription on fol. 149a) expressly ascribed to Sayyidunā al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī ibn al-Walīd, that is, the son of the author of this *diwān*, who was to become the 8th *da'i* and died in 667/1268 (see Poonawala (1977), pp. 163–165). There has been a lot of confusion about the authorship of this *qaṣīda*. Al-Majdū', p. 42 (also Ms. 1401, p. 51, with the same attribution), ascribes it to Sayyidunā 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd, namely, the 9th *da'i*, the son of the person mentioned in this manuscript, the grandson of the author of the *Diwān*. But Poonawala, p. 140, no. 3, attributes it to another person with the same

name and patronym, namely 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walid, the cousin (not 'uncle', as Poonawala, p. 139, has it) of the author of the present *dīwān*, adding that Ivanow had 'without indicating any reason' ascribed it to Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Poonawala argues for the attribution to this 'Alī b. Ḥusayn on the basis of the fact that the *qaṣīda* is 'preserved by M. Ḥārithī, *Majmū' al-tarbiyah* ... which was compiled before 584/1188'. However, the poem by 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Ja'far cited in the *Majmū' al-tarbiyah* (see Ms. 1502, fols 292a–295a) is not this one, but another (rhyming in *-ā'u*). Both poems are indeed in praise of the same person, the imam al-Ṭayyib, who, in v. 16 of the *qaṣīda* contained in this manuscript, is called the 'imam of the age' (*imām al-‘aṣr*), and in the next verse is explicitly said to be 'hidden' (*al-Ṭayyib al-ṭāhir al-mastūr*).

The poems are preceded by a preface in prose (in part rhymed prose), where, after praising Muḥammad and 'Alī and the imams from their progeny, the author invokes blessings on (fol. 2a): *ṣāḥib al-zamān * wa zubdat al-‘aṣr wa'l-alwān * mawlānā wa sayyidinā al-imām al-Ṭayyib Abī'l-Qāsim amīr al-mu'minīn * ḥujjat allāh 'alā'l-khalq ajma'in*. If we assume that the preface was written not earlier than the time when 'Alī's poems were collected and that consequently it postdates all (or at least the vast majority) of these poems, and if we bear in mind that the largest number of the panegyrics are addressed to the da'i Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, then it will seem reasonable to deduce that the preface was composed well after 557/1162 (the date of Ḥātim's accession). This means that the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* still thought that al-Ṭayyib was alive perhaps as much as half a century after his disappearance at the time of his father's assassination in 524/1130. Since he was at that time a newborn infant their assumption is hardly implausible. More remarkable is the fact that the author's son, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (who does not seem to have been born until around 1200), in his above-mentioned *al-qaṣīda al-tis'iniyya*, still calls al-Ṭayyib the 'imam of the age' a good century after his disappearance.

I dwell on this point only because Stern, in his rightly famous article on "The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir" (Stern, 1951, p. 196), wrote with some insistence: 'It must be stressed, in order to obviate possible misunderstandings, that the Ṭayyibī Ismailis do not believe that al-Ṭayyib is still alive: it is his successive descendants, living in concealment, that they hold to be their Imams. The Ṭayyibī authors dissociate themselves emphatically from the *wāqifi* Mahdiyyism

of, say, the Twelver Imāmīs or the Kaysānīs.’ It is indeed true that the Ṭayyibīs ‘do not’, today, believe, and have not, for a long time now, believed that al-Ṭayyib is ‘still alive’, but this does not mean that they did not entertain such a belief for a considerable stretch of time after his disappearance.

This copy ends on fol. 153a with a colophon stating that it was written by Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Hamdānī at the time of Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (da‘ī from 1236/1821 to 1252/1837), with the date Wednesday 11 Muḥarram ‘of the year <...> of the hijra of the prophet’, but the otherwise meticulous scribe neglected to enter the year. A marginal note (in a different hand) offers the choice of three possibilities: ‘1244 or 49 or 52’; the author of this note evidently calculated that these were the only years during the reign of Zayn al-Dīn when 11 Muḥarram fell on a Wednesday. The same three dates are mentioned on the title page.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, pp. 41–42; Ivanow (1933), no. 232; Ivanow (1963), no. 236; Goriawala (1965), no. 100; Poonawala (1977), p. 160, no. 19; Gacek (1984), no. 15 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 120, 121; Cortese (2003), no. 17; Daftary (2004), p. 118.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded, with flap; 153 fols; catchwords; 17 × 11 cm (11 × 7 cm); 13 lines; black ink with superscriptions and punctuation in red (occasionally the space for the superscriptions has been left blank); *naskh*; some marginal corrections; completed on Wednesday 11 Muḥarram ‘of the year <...> of the hijra’ (with the suggestions ‘1244 or 49 or 52’ in the margin); copied by Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (al-Hamdānī) at the time of Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn; seals; label on front cover.

Incipit: الحمد لله المتفضل على عباده بعد العدم بلايجاد

Ms. 1514 [Handlist 84/4 fols 41–56]

Kitāb al-dhakhira

by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walid)

fragmentary Arabic manuscript

This is a very small fragment of the beginning of a major esoteric work by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, breaking off with a loose catchword. Like other ultra-secret writings it is not listed by al-Majdū‘ in the main body of his *Fihrist*, as Ivanow puts it: ‘apparently due to diplomatic blindness’.

On the first ten folios, at the top of the page, or in the margin, or both, the scribe has copied out the verses of some *urjūza*.

EDITION: ed. M. Ḥ. al-A'zamī (Beirut, 1971).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū' (appendix), p. 278; Ivanow (1933), no. 230; Ivanow (1963), no. 235; Goriawala (1965), no. 99; Poonawala (1977), p. 157, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 48 (2 copies); Cortese (2003), no. 52 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), pp. 118–119.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound quires; 16 folios (now numbered 41–56); catchwords; 11.5 × 7.5 cm (6 × 3 cm); number of lines varies; black ink with punctuation in red; title (in the form: *Kitāb al-dhakhīra alladhī yunawwir al-baṣīra*) on fol. 41b.

Ms. 1515 [Handlist 62]

a collection of treatises

mostly by 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walīd) and his descendants

Arabic manuscript containing the date 1815

A collection of treatises in five different hands. There is a table of contents on fol. 1a, which indicates that the sections of the manuscript were at one time bound in a different order. According to this table, the components are:

- *Tuḥfat al-murtād wa ghuṣṣat al-addād li sayyidinā 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd* [= no. 1 (first hand)]
- *wa yatluḥu (sic)⁴ risālat al-īdāḥ wa'l-i'lām* [=no. 9 (second hand)]
- *thumma yatluḥu* [then, cancelled: *thalāth*] *ḍāḥiyat al-talbīs* [perhaps no. 3 (second hand)]
- *thumma yatluḥu thalāthata 'ashar (sic) mas'ala fi'l-ḥaqā'iq* [= no. 4 (third hand)]
- *thumma yatluḥu al-risāla al-kāmila li sayyidinā Ḥusayn b. 'Alī* [= no. 6 (fourth hand)]
- *thumma yatluḥu risālat al-īdāḥ wa'l-tabṣīr wa huwa (sic) laḥū ayḍan a'lā llāhu qudsahū* [= no. 7 (fourth hand)]
- *thumma yatluḥu al-hidāya al-āmiriyya* [= no. 8 (fifth hand)]

In its present form the manuscript comprises:

4. Here, and in all the following entries, *yatluḥu* is an error for *tatlūhā*.

1. (fols 1b–14b) first hand

Another copy of the *Tuḥfat al-murtād* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (see Ms. 1511). It is followed by a colophon with the date 13th (Gujarati *termi*) Dhu’l-Qa‘da 1230 (16 October 1815); the name of the scribe is partially cut off at the bottom of the page, but it seems to be [‘Abd] al-Qādir b. Mullā Ibrāhīm-jī.

2. (fols 15b–34a) second hand

A treatise, without indication of title or author, concerned with controversies about Ramaḍān. It is clearly the same work as the one described by Goriawala (1965) as no. 166, where it is called *Risālat al-bayān fī tamām shahr ramaḍān*, as here without indication of its author. In the present copy there is an empty section on fols 29b–30a and more gaps on fol. 32a. On fol. 17b the author refers to the Caliph al-Āmir and Lamak b. Mālik and his son Yaḥyā b. Lamak.

Incipit: الحمد لله موجد الوجود من غير حاجة دعت اليها ضرورة

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 386; Goriawala (1965), no. 166; Poonawala (1977), no. 48 (reports also a copy in Tübingen).

3. (fols 34a–41a) second hand

Another unidentified treatise, breaking off abruptly in the middle of a sentence. The same work is contained in the manuscript from the Fyzee collection described by Goriawala (1965), no. 178 (I), where it appears, as here, without indication of title or author, but it is possible that it is this work to which the above-mentioned title page refers as *Dāḥiyat al-talbīs*.

Incipit: الحمد لله مقدر الاحتمار وخالق الليل والنهار

4. (fols 42a [title], 43b–71a [text]) third hand

Thalāth ‘ashrata mas’ala fī’l-ḥaqā’iq (thus correctly on fol. 42a; fol. 43b has *thalāth ‘ashar ...*), 13 questions and answers on esoteric matters, again anonymous. They were edited in Strothmann (1943), pp. 5–18 of the Arabic section and summarised on pp. 20–22 of the German section.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 224–225; Goriawala (1965), no. 186 (1); Poonawala (1977), p. 324, no. 57.

5. (fols 74b–95a) third hand

Without title. These are the first five of the eight questions and answers published in Strothmann (1943), pp. 19–30, as *Thamānī masā'il wa jawābātuhā* (the text in this copy ends with the words in Strothmann (1943), p. 28, l.3).

REFERENCES: Goriawala (1965), no. 186 (2); Poonawala (1977), p. 324, no. 58.

Fols 95b–97b are blank.

6. (fols 98a [title], 98b–127a [text]) fourth hand

Al-Risāla al-kāmila fī ma'nā al-thalāth al-layālī al-fāḍila, which al-Majdū' (followed by Ivanow and Poonawala) ascribes to 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd (the 9th da'i, the grandson of the author of no. 1), who died in 682/1284, but in the IIS Ms. 527 (see Gacek (1984), no. 117) it is ascribed to his father Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (the 8th da'i, with the honorary title Mu'ayyad al-Dīn), as it is evidently also in this copy, where the author is called Mu'ayyad al-Dīn *al-dā'i* (sic) *al-jazīra* in the superscription, and Sayyidunā Ḥusayn b. 'Alī on the above-cited title page.

Also in Ms. 1516, where it is ascribed to 'Alī b. Ḥusayn.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 151; Ivanow (1933), no. 248; Ivanow (1963), no. 261; Goriawala (1964), nos 128, 129, 130; Poonawala (1977), p. 166; Gacek (1984), no. 117 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 158/1.

7. (fols 127a–137b) fourth hand

Risālat al-īdāh wa'l-tabṣīr fī faḍl yawm al-ghadhīr, ascribed by al-Majdū' (followed by Poonawala) to the above-mentioned 8th da'i, Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd, as it is also on the title page of this manuscript ('*lahū ayḍan*'). Ivanow misidentified its author on one occasion as al-Mu'ayyad fī'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (thus Ivanow (1933), no. 158; Ivanow (1963), no. 167A) and on another as the 5th da'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad

(thus Ivanow (1963), no. 249). In this copy the treatise is incomplete at the end.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 152–153; Ivanow (1933), no. 158; Ivanow (1963), nos 167A, 249; Goriawala (1964), no. 122; Poonawala (1977), pp. 164–165; Gacek (1984), no. 31 (5 copies); Cortese (2003), no. 35 (3 copies).

8. (fols 140a–160a, with separate original pagination) fifth hand

Al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya, ostensibly the work of the Caliph al-Āmir defending his claim, and that of his father, al-Musta'li, to the imamate and rebutting the claims of the partisans of Nizār. Although it presents al-Āmir as speaking in the first person, it was, of course, like all works of this sort, actually composed by a professional secretary, in this case Ibn al-Ṣayrafi. In many copies, though not in this one, it is followed by the *Risālat iqā' sawā'iq al-irghām*, a rebuttal of a Nizārī reply to *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*; an incomplete copy of the *Iqā'* has already been described above in our entry on Ms. 1497.

This work has been analysed in Stern (1950).

In the present manuscript the text is complete, but somewhat disrupted. It begins on fol. 140b and continues on fol. 142a until the end, but fol. 141 is out of place: the recto is blank, while the verso contains (in the same hand as the rest) a text with the heading *faṣl fi al-riḥiyya*, a fragment of some esoteric work.

The *Hidāya* is followed, on fol. 160a, by a colophon with the date *fi jumād al-thānī tāriḫ 11 yawm al-arbi'ā' fi bandar sūrat*, presumably meaning Wednesday 11 Jumādā II of an unspecified year; if it were 1231 (the year after the copying on no. 1), this date would neatly correspond to Wednesday 8 May 1816. The scribe's name looks like مومطني (?), *bhā'i b. Malik bhā'i b. Karīm bhā'i Burhānpūrī*.

EDITIONS: ed. A. A. A. Fyze (Bombay, 1938); reprinted in al-Shayyāl (1958), pp. 203–230 (both editions contain also the *Iqā'*).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 116 (title only, without analysis of its contents); Ivanow (1933), no. 173; Ivanow (1963), no. 178 ('a short treatise trying, by various sophisms, to prove ...'); Goriawala (1965), nos 76, 77, 87; Poonawala (1977), pp. 130–131, no. 1; Daftary (2004), pp. 109–110.

9. (fols 162b–214a) second hand

Risālat al-īdāh wa'l-i'lām wa ibānat al-hidāya fī kamāl 'iddat al-ṣiyām by 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, the 19th da'i (for whom see below, Ms. 1522 et seq.). This is an extensive treatise arguing the Ismaili position that the month of Ramaḍān has always exactly 30 days, with many quotations from earlier authors, especial al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and the *majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn. The argumentation is entirely from dogmatic premises and does not touch on the astronomical and mathematical foundations of the Ismaili calendar.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 103–104; Ivanow (1933), no. 262; Ivanow (1963), no. 276; Gacek (1984), no. 29 (2 copies); Poonawala, p. 174, no. 7; Cortese (2000), no. 37.

On the last page (fol. 214b) there are a few lines in Gujarati indicating the number of years in the 'great era'.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 214 folios; catchwords; 17.4 × 14 cm (size of the written area varies). The manuscript is in five hands: **first hand** (fols 1–14): 13 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections; double red line and single black line around the text; copied by ['Abd] al-Qādir b. Mullā Ibrāhīm-jī and dated 13 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1230 (16 October 1815); **second hand** (fols 15–41 and 163–214): 11 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; neat *naskh*; **third hand** (fols 42–95): 10 lines; black ink with very few rubrics in red; distinctive angular *naskh*; **fourth hand** (fols 98–137): 11 or 12 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; rough *naskh*; some marginal corrections; **fifth hand** (fols 140–160; original foliation from 1 to 21, but some of the numbers are cut off); 15 (rarely 16) lines; black ink with rubrics, punctuation and frequent overlining in red; bold Indian-type *naskh*; for the scribe and date (possibly 1816) see the discussion above. The titles (as given on the title page) are indicated also on a label on the spine.

Ms. 1516 [Handlist 76]

three esoteric treatises from the Yemen

Arabic manuscript from ca. 1876

A slender manuscript in minuscule writing. The label on the front cover states, doubtless correctly, that it is in the hand of Sayyidī Muḥammad

‘Alī al-Hamdānī. I would suspect that it was copied in connection with his voyage to Arabia; the tiny script would make it very difficult for a stranger to read it over his shoulder. It comprises three treatises.

1. (fols 1b–2b)

Risāla fī ma‘nā ism allāh al-a‘zam

This is the treatise published in Strothmann (1943), pp. 171–177 of the Arabic section (brief summary on pp. 51–52 of the German section) under the title *Risālat al-ism al-a‘zam*, a decidedly cryptic discussion of God’s ‘greatest name’. No author is mentioned in this copy, nor in the Ambrosiana manuscript used by Strothmann. Al-Majdū’, immediately after his entry on the *Tuḥfat al-murtād* of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, has a brief entry on an anonymous work with the same title as this treatise, but what he says about it does not seem to agree with the contents of the present work. Ivanow ascribed a work with this title to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. Poonawala (1977) has two entries on this title, the first (with reference to Strothmann’s edition) ascribing it to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, the second (with reference to this manuscript) without attribution.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū’, p. 153; Ivanow (1933), no. 228; Ivanow (1963), no. 237; Poonawala (1977), p. 159, no. 12; p. 342, no. 198; Daftary (2004), p. 119.

2. (fols 2b–4b)

al-Risāla al-kāmila

Here ascribed to Sayyidunā ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn; this is another copy of the work contained in Ms. 1515/6.

3. (fols 4b–9b)

Jalā’ al-‘uqūl wa zubdat al-maḥṣūl

by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (incomplete)

An esoteric treatise in three chapters (sing. *bāb*) of respectively eight, eight and twelve sections (sing. *faṣl*), but the present copy breaks off halfway down a page in the middle of chapter 3, section 2.

EDITION: ed. in ‘Ādil al-‘Awwā (1958), pp. 87–153.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 200–201; Ivanow (1933), no. 223; Ivanow (1963), no. 241; Goriawala (1965), no. 102; Poonawala (1977), p. 158, no. 6; Gacek (1981), no. 144; Gacek (1984), no. 39; Cortese (2000), no. 125; Cortese (2003), no. 41 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 118.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 9 folios; catchwords; 20 × 12 cm (15.5 × 7 cm); between 39 and 61 lines per page; black ink with rubrics in red; very small *naskh*; some marginal corrections; titles indicated at the beginning of each treatise and on the label on the front cover, which indicates also that it was copied by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī.

Ms. 1517 [Handlist 81 = currently boxed as Ms. 116a]

Simṭ al-ḥaḡā'iq

by 'Alī b. Ḥanzala

Arabic manuscript

'Alī b. Ḥanzala b. Abī Sālim al-Maḥfūzī al-Wādī'ī al-Hamdānī was the 6th da'i, his leadership being from 612/1215 to 626/1229. His best known work is this summary of esoteric doctrine in the form of an *urjūza* (a poem in rhymed couplets and *rajaz* metre) of 663 couplets; on the title page of the present copy the full title is given as *al-Qaṣīda al-manzūma al-mawsūma bi simṭ al-ḥaḡā'iq*. Copies are frequent, often with an interlinear translation in Bohra Gujarati.

The text is followed on fol. 78b, in the same hand, by the beginning only of a text enumerating the names of the seasons, the days of the week, the months, etc. The first five folios have an assortment of scribbles in various hands.

EDITION: ed. 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī (Damascus, 1953).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 196–197; Ivanow (1933), no. 240; Ivanow (1963), no. 253; Goriawala (1965), nos 118–120; Fyze (1973), no. 32; Poonawala (1977), p. 162, no. 1; Gacek (1984), no. 144 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 5, 6, 7, 167/1; Cortese (2003), no. 155 (4 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 109.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded (the spine is now broken); 78 folios, of which the poem occupies fols 5b–78a; catchwords; 13 × 10 cm (8 × 5.5 cm); 8 lines per page (with usually one half-verse per line, but sometimes two half-verses are written in the same line); black ink with headings and punctuation in red; *naskh*, fully vocalised; some marginal corrections; diagram on fol. 26b; no indication of the scribe or date; title and author indicated in the superscription.

Ms. 1518 [Handlist 73a]

two texts

Arabic manuscript dated 1882

(1) fols 1b–42b

Risālat al-mabda' wa'l-ma'ād

elsewhere ascribed to Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, called Ibn al-Walīd

This work is a concise summary of esoteric doctrines on cosmology and eschatology. It ends with an evocation of al-Ṭayyib as the current imam. The work was edited, translated and richly commentated as the second part of Corbin's *Trilogie ismaélienne*, published there on the basis of a manuscript where it is attributed (in the explicit) to Sayyidunā al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad, of the Banū al-Walīd family, the 8th da'i from 627/1230 to 667/1268. It does not seem to be mentioned by al-Majdū'. Neither of the two copies in the Hamdani collection contains any indication of authorship.

The text is followed by a colophon on fols 42b–43a.

EDITIONS: ed. H. Corbin, in Corbin (1961), pp. 99–130 of the Arabic script section, trans. on pp. 129–200 of the French section; ed. Khālid al-Mīr Maḥmūd (Damascus, 2001).

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 247; Ivanow (1963), no. 260; Goriawala (1965), no. 115 (ascribes it to 'Alī b. Ḥanzāla); Poonawala (1977), p. 165, no. 7; Gacek (1984), no. 73 (3 copies); Cortese (2000), nos 132, 133, 134; Cortese (2003), no. 135 (2 copies); Daftary (2004), p. 120.

(2) fols 43b–56b

After the colophon, there is, in the same hand, a second text, without indication of its title or author, but scrutiny reveals it to be the greater part of the epitome of the lost sixth book of the *Ithbāt al-nubuwwāt* of al-Sijistānī, as contained in Ms. 1447. The text begins here as on fol. 154a of Ms. 1447 with the words *wa ruwiya 'an rasūl allāh ... annahu qāla bu'ithtu ilā al-aḥmar wa'l-aswad* etc., and it breaks off on fol. 56b nearly at the end of the epitome (corresponding to Ms. 1447, fol. 180a, line 3), with the catchword for the following lost page. All of the titles and chapter headings have either been omitted, or else the spaces for the superscriptions are left blank.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 56 folios; catchwords; 17 × 10 cm (11.5 × 6.5 cm); 12 lines; black ink only; neat *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; the colophon at the end of the first text identifies the scribe as 'Alī-bhag ('the divine power of 'Alī') (b.) Mullā Ghulām Ḥusayn-jī sākin Maṇḍasor (here written مندسور), with the date 27 *min shahr allāh* (i.e. Ramaḍān) 1299 (11 August 1882); title only of the first work indicated on the title page (fol. 1a) and in a superscription; ownership notes by Ṭāhir b Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī dated 1342 (fols 1a and 42a).

Ms. 1519 [Handlist 73b]

the same two works, and a fragment of a third
Arabic manuscript

1. pp. 1–88

Another copy of *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, again without indication of the author.

2. pp. 89–91

In the same hand: the very beginning only of the above-mentioned epitome of the sixth book of al-Sijistānī's *Ithbāt*.

3. pp. 92–96

In a different hand: a fragment of a text describing a series of events in Biblical and Qur'anic sacred history that took place on each day of some month. The text here deals only with the first 11 days. The beginning of the first line is in Gujarati.

4. p. 99

After two blank pages: three and a half lines in the same hand as fragment no. (3).

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with leather trim; 50 folios (99 pp.) in two hands; catchwords in the section in the first hand only; 19.5 × 12.5 cm (13.5 × 8 cm, in the section in the first hand); 10 to

12 lines in the first hand, 17 to 19 lines in the second hand; black ink with just a few rubrics in purple; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no colophons; title (*mabda' ma'ād*) on p. 1 and, largely effaced, on the label.

Ms. 1520 [Handlist 111/a]

Kitāb al-wā'iz wa'l-tashwiq wa'l-hidāya ilā sawā' al-ṭariq

by Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Wādī'

Incomplete Arabic manuscript

The title is cited thus in the superscription, and also in the body of the text at the bottom of fol. 2b. In other copies, and in al-Majdū's *Fihrist*, the headword is *al-wā'iz*, not *al-wā'iz*. It is a treatise on excellence of the months Rajab and Ramaḍān, of the ten days of 'Āshūrā, and of other notable moments in the Islamic year, in six chapters. The name of the author is not indicated here, but al-Majdū' ascribes it to Sharaf (or Sharif) al-Dīn Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Wādī', who is reported to have died in 845/1442.

The present manuscript is only a fragment of the work. It begins two-thirds of the way down on fol. 1b in the middle of a sentence (a second hand seems to have inserted the *basmala* and a few other words in the gap) and it breaks off about halfway down fol. 14b, just after the beginning of the second section of chapter 1.

In the part of the text preserved here the author quotes extensively from earlier works, such as the *majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, Abu'l-Barakāt and 'Alī b. Muḥammad, but also (fol. 12b) those of an apparently otherwise unknown Sayyidunā Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm (Who is this? If 'Ibrāhīm' is an intrusion, then he might be the son of the 16th da'i, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm of the Banū Walid).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 49–50; Ivanow (1933), no. 257; Ivanow (1963), no. 269; Goriawala (1965), nos 132, 133; Poonawala (1977), p. 168, no. 1.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound quires of 14 inscribed folios; catchwords; 22 × 14 cm (12.5 × 7.5 cm); 18 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; cramped *naskh*; some marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title indicated in the superscription, in the text (fol. 2b ult.) and (in a different hand) on fol. 1a.

Ms. 1521 [Handlist 84/7 fols 1–8]

***al-Risāla al-Mūqīza min nawm al-ghafla wa'l-sina fi šiyām
al-ayyām al-mufaḍḍala fi'l-sana***

by Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Wādī'ī

fragmentary Arabic manuscript dated 1898–1899

This fragment of a manuscript contains the first pages of a treatise on fasting by the same Sharaf al-Dīn al-Wādī'ī.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 137–138; Ivanow (1933), no. 255; Ivanow (1963), no. 267 (who reads the title differently); Poonawala (1977), pp. 168–169, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 121 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: 1 unbound quire; 8 folios; catchwords; 11.5 × 7.5 cm (6 × 3 cm); 11 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; neat *naskh*; dated (fol. 1a) 1316 (1898–1899); title, but not author, indicated on title page (fol. 1a) and in the superscription (fol. 1b).

Ms. 1522 [Handlist 64/II]

'Uyūn al-akhbār wa funūn al-āthār

by 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan al-Anf

Arabic manuscript of volume 2, dated 1847

Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan al-Anf, with the honorary title 'Imād al-Dīn,⁵ succeeded his uncle as 19th da'ī in 832/1428 and died in 872/1468, another distinguished member of the Banū al-Walīd lineage and a prolific author. His *'Uyūn al-akhbār* is the most extensive work of Ismaili historiography, beginning with the Prophet Muḥammad and ending with the Ayyūbid conquest of Egypt and the collapse of the Fatimid state in 567/1171, though the detailed account actually ends with the disappearance of al-Ṭayyib and the death of al-Sayyida. It is a compilation of various sources, some extant, many not extant, combined in the uncritical and rather haphazard manner typical of Muslim historians.

All the recorded manuscripts divide the work into seven volumes; the present collection has one copy each of volumes 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, all copied in the 19th century, no two of which form part of the same set.

5. The practice of the Bohras is, at least with regard to the later da'is, to cite the *laqab* after the *ism*; thus they normally call this author Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn. But, for the sake of consistency, I have preferred to use the classical Arabic order of the elements of the name and call him 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, and thus similarly with all the Yemeni da'is.

EDITIONS: vols 4, 5, 6 ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut, 1973–1978); vol. 5 and part of vol. 6 ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī (Beirut, 1985); vol. 7 ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, P. E. Walker and M. A. Pomerantz (London, 2002), with extensive introductions in Arabic and English, detailed English summary, valuable notes, indexes, etc.; vols 1–7, ed. A. Chleilat et al. (Damascus et al., 2007–2011).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 73–77; Ivanow (1933), no. 258; Ivanow (1963), no. 270; Poonawala (1977), pp. 170–172 (lists many manuscripts in public and private libraries); Gacek (1984), no. 163 (16 copies, encompassing all seven volumes); Cortese (2000), nos 40 (vol. 2), 41 (vol. 4), 42 (extracts, mainly from vol. 4), 42 (vol. 5); Cortese (2003), no. 177 (6 copies, encompassing vols 2, 4, 5, 7); Daftary (2004), pp. 120–121.

DESCRIPTION: brown leather binding, tooled, with flap (the flap is almost entirely torn off); 315 folios; catchwords; 20 × 12.5 cm (13.5 × 8 cm); 14 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; copied by Muḥammad 'Alī b. al-Mājid Mullā Miyān-khān b. Mullā Ṣāliḥ-jī b. al-Shaykh al-Faḍīl Da'ūd-bhā'ī sākin Awrangābād and dated 13 Shawwāl 1263 (23 September 1847); title and volume number indicated in the superscription and on the labels on the front cover and spine.

Ms. 1523 [Handlist 64/III]

the same

Arabic manuscript of volume 3, copied in or about 1872

DESCRIPTION: brown leather binding in a cloth wrapper; 184 folios (367 pages, numbered by the scribe); catchwords; 27.5 × 15 cm (18 × 8.5 cm); 21 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; marginal corrections; running headers with title, volume number and page number; copied by 'Alī Muḥammad b. Mullā Ḥasan-jī Rāmpūri and dated Monday 10 Rabī' I 1289 (apparently in May 1872, but the date and day of the week do not agree) during the reign of the 47th da'i, 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (so in any case between 1256/1840 and 1302/1885); title and volume number in the superscription, on a flyleaf and on the labels on the front and the spine of the cloth cover; seal inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1524 [Handlist 64/V]

the same

Arabic manuscript of volume 5, dated 1893

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 266 folios (531 pages numbered by the scribe, but the page numbering is not correct); catchwords; 22.5 × 14 cm (14.5 × 7.5 to 8.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections; most pages have a running header with title, volume and page number and chapter title, but the headers are missing on fols 65–72; copied by Yūsuf b. al-Marḥūm al-Raḍī [then one word crossed out] Mullā Muḥammad ‘Alī sākin Sūrat and dated Friday 18 Jumādā II 1310 (6 January 1893); title and volume indicated also in the superscription and in a pencilled note on the page before the first numbered folio.

Ms. 1525 [Handlist 64/VI]

the same

Arabic manuscript of volume 6, dated 1892

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded; 164 folios (327 pp. numbered by the scribe); catchwords; 24 × 15 cm (16.5 × 8.5 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics and marginalia in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections and glosses; running headers with title, volume and page number and chapter title; completed in the morning of Friday 17 Shawwāl 1309 (13 May 1892); a note in the margin of the last page – apparently not in the same script – states that it is in the hand of al-Muḥibb al-Marḥūm al-Shaykh al-‘Alīm [these epithets seem to indicate that he is dead] ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Mullā Hibat Allāh-jī b. Mullā Ibrāhīm-jī b. Mullā Ismā‘īl-jī al-Shahīd al-Udaypūrī; title and volume indicated also in the superscription, on the recto of p. 1 and (mostly effaced) on a label on the spine; seals.

Ms. 1526 [Handlist 64/VII]

the same

Arabic manuscript of volume 7, dated 1880

Although this manuscript was transcribed by the same scribe as the one just described, it was copied 12 years earlier and is not uniform with it.

DESCRIPTION: European-style black cloth binding with leather spine embossed with the name of Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī; 130 folios (259 pp. numbered by the scribe); catchwords, some of which are torn off; 23.5 × 14 cm (18 × 8.5 cm); 21 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*;

marginal corrections and notes; running headers with title, volume and page number and chapter title; the colophon (fol. 130a) is partially torn and pasted over with sellotape, but is nonetheless mostly legible: it states that it was copied by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Mullā Hibat Allāh-jī b. Mullā Ibrāhīm-jī b. Mullā Ismā'īl-jī al-Shahīd al-Udayyūrī, and completed on 17 Sha'bān 1297 (22 September 1880) in Baroda. The account of the Ms. in Sayyid's edition is not correct.

Mss. 1527 and 1528 [Handlist 65]

Nuzhat al-afkār

by 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs

two-volume set

Arabic manuscripts copied between 1873 and 1874

This large work is a detailed history of the kings and da'īs of the Yemen. The first part of the work overlaps in content, and in part in wording, with the corresponding sections of the same author's *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, but the latter part continues the history of the Ṭayyibī community down to the author's own time and it is probably the most important source for that period. In the known manuscripts it is consistently divided into two volumes.

This is a uniform two-volume set, both volumes copied by the same unnamed scribe, encompassing the entire work.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 77; Ivanow (1933), no. 259; Ivanow (1963), no. 271; Poonawala (1977), p. 172, no. 2; Gacek (1984), no. 102 (1 modern copy of each of the 2 volumes); Cortese (2003), no. 110 (vol. 2).

DESCRIPTION: 2 volumes with identical brown leather binding, tooled; the first volume has 200 folios (399 pages, numbered by the copyist), the second 218 folios (the pages are not numbered by the copyist); catchwords; 26.5 × 15 cm (17 × 9.5 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; cursive *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; the pages of the first volume only have running headers with title and page number; the first volume is dated 28 Shawwāl 1290 (18 December 1873), the second 13 Jumādā II 1291 (27 July 1874); scribe not named; title and author indicated in the superscription in the first volume and the title is also given on the labels on the front cover and spine of both volumes; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1529 [Handlist 65a]

the same

Arabic manuscript of the second volume only, dated 1676

This is a considerably older copy of the second volume.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap, tooled; 213 folios (422 pages, of which the first 414 are numbered by the scribe); catchwords; 23 × 12.5 cm (17.5 × 8.5 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat Indian-type *naskh*; marginal and interlinear corrections; running headers with title, volume number and page number on pp. 2–344, then page numbers and (usually) volume number only on pp. 345–414; dated 23 Ramaḍān 1087 (28 November 1676); scribe not named; title indicated in a second hand on fol. 1a and on the labels on the front cover and spine.

Ms. 1530 [Handlist 63]

Dīwān

by ‘Imād al-Dīn Idrīs

Apparently unique Arabic manuscript dated 1858

This seems to be the only recorded copy of the collected poems of ‘Imād al-Dīn Idrīs. It begins with a prose introduction (fols 1b–2b), followed by a poem in praise of the Prophet, and then a rich collection of poems addressed to many religious and political leaders in the Yemen, many of them dated, some of them to rather unexpected addressees, for example one on fols 53b–54a addressing the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir in 842/1439. Several of the poems are preceded by long introductions in prose outlining the circumstances of their composition. It is doubtless an important source for the history of the Yemen in the 15th century.

This copy indicates a number of lacunae: on fol. 66b there is a marginal note to the effect that two pages were missing in the archetype and accordingly fol. 67a and half of 67b are left blank. A further extensive lacuna is indicated by the blank spaces on fols 173b–175a.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū’, p. 44; Ivanow (1933), no. 267; Ivanow (1963), no. 275; Poonawala (1977), p. 175, no. 12 (mentions only this copy).

DESCRIPTION: red cloth binding with brown leather trim; 319 folios; catchwords; 25 × 15.5 cm (17.5 × 10 cm); 17 lines; black ink with

rubrics and punctuation (e.g. a pyramid of three dots after each *miṣrāʿ*) in red; *naskh*; some marginal corrections and variant readings; copied by Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī-khān b. Fīr-khān (?) b. Rasūl-[...] b. Mīṭhā-bhāʿī and completed on 26 Muḥarram 1275 (4 September 1858), at the time of Sayyidunā ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn; title and author indicated in the explicit (fol. 319b) and, in a second hand, on fol. 1a; ownership note by Muḥsin b. Ṭāhir al-Hamdānī dated 1349 (1930–1931) on fol. 1a.

Ms. 1531 [Handlist 57]

Risālat al-bayān li mā wājib min maʿrifat al-ṣalāt fi shahr rajab

by ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs

Arabic manuscript dated 1883

The title is cited as it appears in this manuscript at the beginning of the text; other slightly different forms are cited by Poonawala (1977). The treatise is concerned with the rituals performed during the month of Rajab, in three chapters, preceded by an introduction. In this copy chapter 1 commences on fol. 4a, chapter 2 on fol. 12b and chapter 3 on fol. 20a.

REFERENCES: al-Majdūʿ, pp. 150–151; Ivanow (1933), no. 261; Ivanow (1963), no. 274; Goriawala (1965), nos 135, 136; Poonawala (1977), pp. 173–174, no. 6; Gacek (1981), no. 282; Gacek (1984), no. 130 (2 copies); Cortese (2000), no. 39; Cortese (2003), no. 132 (3 copies).

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with leather spine; 44 folios; all pages enclosed in a red margin; 5 numbered quires of 8, 8, 12, 8 and 8 folios respectively; catchwords; 19.5 × 11.5 cm (14 × 8 cm); number of lines is irregular; black ink with rubrics, punctuation and some vowel signs in red; very rough *naskh* (very cursive in the colophon); some marginal corrections; copied by Ṭayyib-ʿAlī b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Sulṭān ʿAlī and completed on Saturday 4 Rabīʿ II 1300 (this date corresponds to Sunday 11 February 1883, so there is a mistake) in Surat; title and author indicated at the beginning and embossed on the spine.

Ms. 1532 [Handlist 66]

Zahr al-maʿānī

by ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs

Arabic manuscript

This is a major work of Ṭayyibī esoteric doctrine. The text ends with the statement that the author completed the work on Thursday 7 Shawwāl 838 (5 May 1435).

The present manuscript is not signed or dated, but at the end there is a note by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh (sc. al-Hamdānī) stating that he completed correcting it on the eve of 19 Rajab 1295 (18 July 1878) in Cairo.

EDITIONS: ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1991); excerpts in Ivanow (1942), pp. 232–274 (English section) and pp. 47–80 (Arabic section); summary by H. F. Hamdani, ‘A compendium of Ismā‘īlī esoterics’, *Islamic Culture*, 11 (1937), pp. 210–220.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū’, pp. 275–277; Ivanow (1933), no. 260; Ivanow (1963), no. 273; Goriawala (1965), nos 138, 139; Poonawala (1977), p. 173, no. 4; Gacek (1984), no. 166; Cortese (2003), no. 179; Daftary (2004), p. 120.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with leather spine, embossed with the name of Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī; 134 folios (266 pp.); catchwords; 19.5 × 13 cm (14 × 7.5 cm); number of lines fluctuates between 28 and 30 or more; black ink with rubrics in red; some marginal corrections; scribe and date not indicated; title indicated at the beginning of the text, on the title page and on the spine.

Ms. 1533 [Handlist 3]

al-Risāla al-mufrada

by Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. ‘Alī

Unique Arabic manuscript completed in 1741

The complete title of the treatise, as indicated at the beginning of the manuscript, is *al-Risāla al-mufrada fī ibtāl turrāhāt al-mutajarrida wa’l-radd ‘alā al-ḥā’ir al-‘amī Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī*. It is the work of Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs, of the Banū al-Walīd, the son of the 22nd da‘i, and the representative in the Yemen of the 27th da‘i, Dā‘ūd b. Quṭb-shāh (the eponym of the Dā‘ūdī faction). Poonawala argues that he died after 1041/1631. As the title indicates, this work is a refutation of a treatise by the Sulaymānī author Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī with the title *al-Mutajarrida*: the title occurs thus at the beginning of the present manuscript and also in the list of al-Makramī’s works prefixed to his *al-Risāla al-munīra*

(Poonawala (1977), p. 245, no. 15); Majdū' writes (at least in the printed edition, p. 98) twice: *al-mujarrada*. As yet, no copies of the *Mutajarrida* have been reported and the present manuscript seems to be the only recorded complete copy of the *Mufrada*. As is usual in works of this type, there are long quotations from the treatise under attack, followed by a point-for-point response. The issue in question is the respective claims of the Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī factions.

The manuscript appears to be written by two hands. A note on the title page states that the first half is in the hand of the author, citing the very modest titles which precede the author's name on the first page of the text, but I think that these could have been copied from the archetype and do not necessarily prove that this manuscript is a holograph. The second hand begins on fol. 33 and continues the text until the end, halfway down fol. 58a, followed by one or more colophons in the same second hand. The last lines on fol. 59a state that 'the treatise was completed' on 23 Ramaḍān 1154 (1 December 1741), obviously not the date of composition, but the date of the completion of the copying by the second hand. Between these lines and the last lines of the text (that is, from fol. 58b line 8 to the third line from the end on fol. 59a) there is what seems to be the transcript of an older colophon. The first lines on the last page are torn off, but a note on the title page states that the archetype of the present manuscript (*al-manqūl alladhī atā minhu*) was in the hand of Sayyidunā 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs (that is, the son of the author, and 30th Dā'ūdī da'i for just one year, from 1041/1631 to 1042/1632); I suspect that his name was mentioned in the now torn lines at the top of fol. 59a., though the self-deprecating titles that he gives himself on fol. 58b must mean that he copied it before his short-lived ascendance to leadership of his community.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 98; Ivanow (1933), no. 290; Ivanow (1963), no. 306 ('a scurrilous refutation ...'); Poonawala (1977), p. 193, no. 3.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, gilded, the spine restored with paper; 58 folios (numbered '2' to '59'), of which those numbered 2–32 are in the first hand and 33–59 in the second; catchwords; 23 × 13 cm (17.5 × 9 cm); 18 or 19 lines in the first hand; 15 or 16 lines in the second hand; black ink throughout; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; the second hand completed on 23 Ramaḍān 1154 (1 December 1741); title and author indicated in the superscription, and, in a recent hand, on the title page

and the label on the front cover; assorted notes on the title page (see above) including an acquisition note signed by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh (al-Hamdānī) with the date 1314/1896–7; various seals.

Ms. 1534 [Handlist 131]

fragments of a work on the history of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in the Yemen possibly by Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. ‘Alī
Arabic manuscript [see Plate 4]

This is a set of detached fragments of a work on the history of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in the Yemen (but with lots of references to the general history of the Yemen), possibly, as suggested in a pencilled note (accompanied by a question mark) in the corner of the page at the top of the bundle, the *Risālat al-zawāhir al-bahīyya* of Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. ‘Alī, mentioned, without listing any manuscripts, by Poonawala (1977), p. 193, no. 1, the author of the work described in the preceding entry. I have not been able to determine the correct order of all the pages. As they are now, we have:

1. four consecutive folios, with an account of the 23rd da‘i, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, and concluding with a table of all the da‘is from the 1st to the 23rd, each with his name, family name (*nisba*), the length of his reign in years, months and days, the year, month and day of his death, and the place of his death.
2. five consecutive folios mentioning the 20th da‘i, al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs.
3. four detached folios.
4. four consecutive folios mentioning the 16th and 17th da‘is, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī and al-Ḥasan (here usually written al-Ḥusayn) b. ‘Abd Allāh.
5. three consecutive folios, including a reference to the year 807 (i.e. the time of the 17th da‘i).

The fragments do not seem to mention any events after the time of the mentioned 23rd da‘i, suggesting a date of composition not long after his death in 946/1539.

DESCRIPTION: 20 unbound folios (not at present numbered); catchwords; 32 × 21.5 cm (22.5 × 14 cm); number of lines varies considerably; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*.

Ms. 1535 [Handlist 85]

Kitāb taqwīm al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya

an anonymous work, probably not later than the 16th century
Arabic manuscript

The title appears thus in the introduction (p. 2); al-Majdūʿ cites (at least in the edition) the title in a slightly different form (*Kitāb taqāwīm al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya*), says it is by ‘one of the hierarchy’ (*li baʿḍ al-ḥudūd*) and gives a description of its contents which matches what we find in this manuscript; Poonawala (1977) was thus a bit too cautious when he wrote that the book mentioned in the *Fihrist* is ‘probably the same’ as this one. It is a concise compendium of legal judgements and refers in the third person to al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (pp. 2, 99), so it is definitely not by him. It could conceivably have been composed either in Fatimid Egypt or in Ṣulayḥid or post-Ṣulayḥid Yemen. For this reason I have tentatively put it at this point in the catalogue.

The last quire (pp. 94–101) is copied by a different hand.

REFERENCES: al-Majdūʿ, pp. 36–37; Ivanow (1933), no. 460 (‘an early work’); Ivanow (1963), no. 421; Fyze (1973), no. 216; Poonawala (1977), p. 67, no. 57; Cortese (2000), no. 149.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 51 folios (101 numbered pages) in two hands, the second from p. 94 to the end; 7 quires, with quire marks visible for all but the first (pp. 14, 30, 46, 62, 78, 94); catchwords; 23.5 × 17.5 cm (written area 16 × 12 cm first hand; 16.5 × 10.5 second hand); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh* (the first hand is more cursive); the section in the first hand has a double red border around the pages and very copious marginal and interlinear corrections and notes; the section in the second hand has no borders and only a couple of marginalia; scribes and dates not indicated; the title is mentioned in the introduction (p. 2) and on the labels on the front cover and spine; seals.

المقامات

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٨١	سيرة	في البيع والبيع ما شئت
٨٣	سيرة	في الدية والكنال
١٦	سيرة	في الصناع والحاجات
٣٦	سيرة	في الزرع والبساتين والحقارة والشك
٦٥	سيرة	في الشفة والعبيد والادور والعقال
٤٩	سيرة	في الرهن والذابح والعارف
١٠٩	سيرة	الجميع

١٥

Figure 13. *Kitāb taqwīm al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya*, anonymous (Ms. 1535/p. 3).

VI. Ismaili (Ṭayyibī) Authors in India

Ms. 1536 [Handlist 86/2]

Kitāb al-azhār

by Ḥasan b. Nuḥ al-Hindī, called al-Bharūchī

Arabic manuscript of the second of the seven volumes, copied between 1837 and 1840

Ḥasan b. Nuḥ died in 939/1533. He was a native of Cambray (it is not clear why the Ṭayyibī tradition, beginning with al-Majdū', associates him with Bhrōch/Broach), travelled to the Yemen, where he studied with the 20th da'i, Ḥasan b. Idrīs, and became in turn the teacher of the 24th da'i, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the first Indian to occupy that exalted rank. Ḥasan's only known work is the *Kitāb al-azhār*, a huge compendium of extracts from earlier works, Ismaili and non-Ismaili, some of them not otherwise extant. One of the former is the *Kitāb al-munāzarāt* of Ibn al-Haytham, preserved only in the sixth volume of the *Azhār*, recently edited (from three manuscripts, including the one described below), translated and copiously annotated by Madelung and Walker as *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness* (London, 2000). The first volume of the *Azhār* had previously been used by 'Adil al-'Awwā in his *Muntakhabāt ismā'īliyya* (Damascus, 1958), pp. 181–250.

The *Azhār* consist of seven volumes, the contents of which are copiously summarised by al-Majdū' and less copiously also by Ivanow and Poonawala; it might be added that there is as yet no complete published list of its contents. The Hamdani collection contains copies of vols. 2, 3, 5 and 6, of which the second is represented by the present copy.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', pp. 77–88; Ivanow (1933), no. 275; Ivanow (1963), no. 292; Goriawala (1965), nos 142–147 (one Ms. of each volume other than 6); Poonawala (1977), pp. 179–183; Gacek (1981), no. 159 (vols. 1–3); Gacek (1984), no. 46 (15 Mss., covering vols. 1–6); Cortese (2000), nos 11–21 (11 Mss., covering vols. 1–5 and part of vol. 6); Cortese (2003), no. 50 (5 Mss., covering vols. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7); Daftary (2004), pp. 110, 117.

DESCRIPTION: tooled red leather binding with flap; 65 folios (128 pages); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (16 × 8.5 cm); irregular number of lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very rough *naskh*; some marginal corrections;

running headers (title, volume number, chapter heading, page number) on pp. 1–56 only; copied at time of Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn (i.e. 1252/1837 to 1256/1840) by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Mullā Khān bhā’ī Mudarris sākin Islāmpūr; title and author also on the title page and the label on the front cover.

Ms. 1537 [Handlist 86/3]

the same

Arabic manuscript of vol. 3, completed in 1889

This manuscript was copied by two (it must be said: rather similar) hands and (unusually) both scribes are named in the colophon.

DESCRIPTION: brown leather binding, tooled; 122 folios (pages numbered 1 to 142, but there is a mistake and the numbering is corrected in pencil from p. 41 onwards) in two similar hands, the second hand beginning (I think) on p. 56; markings for quires 1 (p. 0) and 2 (p. 32) only; catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (15 × 8 cm); 20 lines on the pages in the first hand, 18 on those in the second hand; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; *naskh*; some marginal corrections; running headers with book title, volume number, page number and (sometimes) section title on most, but not all pages; copied by Ḥaydar ‘Alī b. Mullā Ibrāhīm-jī and Ishāq b. Shaykh Sulaymān-jī for Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī and dated Sunday, the last day (sc. 29th) of Rabī‘ II 1307 (22 December 1889); title and author indicated also on a label on the front cover.

Ms. 1538 [Handlist 86/5]

the same

Arabic manuscript of vol. 5

This manuscript has a binding identical to that of Ms. 1537, but the handwriting does not seem to be the same as either of the two hands responsible for the copying of that manuscript.

DESCRIPTION: brown leather binding, tooled; 264 folios (526 pp., of which the first 88 are numbered by the scribe); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (13.5 × 8 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; running headers with title, volume number, section heading, page numbers on pp. 2 to 88 only; no indication of scribe or date.

Ms. 1539

[Handlist 86/6]

the same

Arabic manuscript of vol. 6, dated 1889–1890

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with flap, tooled; 486 folios (970 pp., numbered by the scribe); 61 numbered quires (a few of the quire numbers are cut off); catchwords; 21.5 × 12.5 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); 18 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; marginal and interlinear corrections; section headings in the margins; running headers with page number, title and volume number and (usually) also the title of the current selection; signed by (I omit the titles and honorifics) ‘Isā b. Dā’ūd b. ‘Abd ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Sayfī b. Jīwā b. Luqmān b. Dā’ūd b. Maḥmūd and dated 1307 (1889–1890); title and author also on a title page and on the label on the front cover, title also on a label on the spine.

Ms 1540 [Handlist 138]

three texts about the history of the Ismailis in India

Arabic manuscript dated 1875

This manuscript contains three texts all in the same hand dealing with the history of the Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in India before and after the split between the Dā’ūdī and Sulaymānī factions. Although the manuscript emanates from the Dā’ūdī community, it contains, intriguingly, copious extracts from Sulaymānī works. The first text seems to have been composed at some time between 1005/1597 and 1050/1640, and the second text at the time of the 38th Dā’ūdī da‘i, Ismā‘il Badr al-Dīn (d. 1150/1737); the former date determines the placing of the manuscript at this point in the catalogue.

(1) fols 1b–33b

The superscription calls this *Muntaza‘ min kitāb Badī‘ al-akhbār li ba‘d al-sulaymāniyyīn*, followed by a subtitle: *Akhbār wulāt al-mu‘minīn min ahl al-hind alladhīn awwaluhum Mullā ‘Adam šāhib ilā sayyidīnā Jalāl qaddasa allāh arwāḥahum*, that is: an extract from a book by an unnamed Sulaymānī author on the lives of the deputies (*wulāh*, sing. *walī*) of the Yemeni da‘i in India, beginning with the first *walī*, Mullā ‘Adam Šāhib, down to Sayyidunā Jalāl, that is to say Jalāl b. Ḥasan, the

walī of the 24th da‘i, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, and then his successor as 25th da‘i, the last but one of the da‘is recognised by both factions. He died in 974/1566 or 975/1567.

This extract is the first part of the work of which a much longer version is contained in the manuscript catalogued by Gacek (1984), no. 4, where the title is the same as the subtitle in this copy and where, as here, the text begins in the middle of a sentence with the words *thumma lam yazal ...*

Presumably the same extract was signalled by Poonawala (1977), p. 338, no. 151, in the collection of (his father) Qurbān Ḥusayn Godhrāwālā. The present copy seems to be intended in the entry in Poonawala (1977), p. 331, no. 102, but, if so, the title and description given there are not correct.

Neither here, nor in the copy catalogued by Gacek, nor in Poonawala’s two entries is there any indication of the name of the author, but in Ms. 1662 of this collection, fols 95b–96a, there is an extract ‘from *Badā’i‘ al-akhbār* by Aḥmad-jī b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Miyyān Shams-jī, and this Aḥmad-jī was one of the Sulaymānī sect at the time of Ja‘far b. Sulaymān’, the 28th da‘i according to the Sulaymānīs, and the second one after the split between the two factions; he reigned from 1005/1597 to 1050/1640. I have no other information about this author.

(2) fols 34b–99a

The title given on fol. 34a is *Akhhbār al-du‘āt min sayyidinā wa mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn ṣāhib ilā sayyidinā wa mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn qaddasa allāh arwāḥahum*, that is: history of the (Dā‘ūdī) da‘is from the 32nd (Quṭb al-Dīn, d. 1056/1646) to the 37th (Nūr al-Dīn, d. 1130/1718); in fact, the narrative extends a little bit further than the time of his death, ending with two documents from the year 1133 (1721). On fol. 1a and on the label on the front cover the title is given in a slightly different form as *Sīrat al-du‘āt min sayyidinā wa mawlānā Quṭb al-dīn al-shahid ilā sayyidinā Nūr al-dīn* etc.

The text ends with a colophon recording that the copying was completed on 22 Ṣafar 1292 (29 March 1875).

Poonawala writes that in the above-mentioned manuscript in the Qurbān Ḥusayn collection the work described under (1) is bound together with *Fuṣūl fī sīrat al-du‘āt*, presumably the present work.

(3) fols 99b–100b

Transcript of a document dated 13 Rabīʿ II 997 (1 March 1589) affirming the rights of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, or as the superscription here uncharitably puts it: ‘the forged document (*al-naṣṣ al-muzawwar*) which the mendacious accursed Sulaymāniyya fabricated’.

After one blank page, fol. 101b contains, under the heading *Min al-ṣaḥīfa al-yamaniyya*, brief instructions about prayer times, and then a transcript of the verses on the tomb of one Mūsā-jī b. Ṭāj, who died in Baroda in 986 (1578).

DESCRIPTION: yellow cardboard binding with a red cloth spine; 101 folios (also with page numbers in Gujarati numerals); catchwords; 21.5 × 12 cm (16.5 × 8 cm); 19 lines; black ink with some rubrics in red (the spaces for the rubrics have virtually all been left blank after fol. 43) and some later marginalia in purple ink; *naskh*; various marginal corrections and notes; dated (fol. 99a) 22 Ṣafar 1292 (29 March 1875); titles indicated at the beginning of each work, those of the first two works also on fol. 1a and on the label on the front cover.

Ms. 1541 [Handlist 123]

a scrapbook of poetry and prose

Arabic manuscript (with some pieces in Persian and Gujarati), ca. 1699

This is a classic sort of scrapbook of miscellaneous extracts. It begins with detached pieces of Arabic poetry. Then, among other things, there is an extract from the *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* on fol. 15a; a quotation from *al-Anwār al-laṭīfa* by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithi (see Ms. 1504) on fol. 15b; an anonymous poem (noted also in Gacek (1984), no. 87) on fols 16b–17a; a polemic against the Sulaymānīs (*al-Baḥth li-l-firqa al-sulaymāniyya*) on fols 26a–29b. Then, on fol. 30a there is a table with the names of the 35 daʿīs down to (ʿAbd al-)Ṭayyib (died 1110/1699), arranged in five columns of seven names each; this suggests strongly that the manuscript was written during the time of the 35th daʿī, ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib (a different hand has added in the margin the names of the next seven daʿīs, down to Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn, died 1213/1798).

The largest part of the manuscript is occupied by an extract from an unidentified work on Islamic law (not al-Nuʿman’s *Daʿāʾim*), beginning on fol. 33a and breaking off mid-sentence on fol. 79b. Then, after

one blank folio, we have on fols 81a–88b a series of extracts, mainly of gnomic content, from various named and unnamed books. Among the identified titles are the *Kitāb al-manāqib wa-'l-mathālib* by al-Nu'mān (Poonawala, 1977, p. 60, no. 21) on fol. 81a; the same author's *Da'ā'im* on fol. 82a; his *Sharḥ al-akhbār* on fol. 82b; *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* on fol. 88b. Then, after another blank folio, there is on fol. 90a an extract from the *Kitāb al-su'āl wa'l-jawāb* by Amīn ji b. Jalāl (died 1010/1602); see Poonawala (1977), p. 185, no. 1. The last pages have things in various hands, some of it in Gujarati.

The miscellaneous nature of this collection is evident from the fact that, despite its undeniably Ismaili provenance, it also contains (on fol. 7a) a list of the 12 imams of the *Ithnā'ashariyya*, first in Arabic and then in Persian.

DESCRIPTION: unbound; 99 folios; no catchwords; 12 × 21.5 cm (17 × 10 cm); number of lines varies considerably; black ink, with some overlining etc. in red; no colophons or title page.

Ms. 1542 [Handlist 121a]

al-Risāla al-Kalīmiyya

by Ādam b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib

Arabic manuscript, unique and incomplete

Al-Majdū' describes the treatise known as *al-Kalīmiyya* as the work of *al-shaykh* Ādam b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib describing the death of his father, the da'i 'Abd al-Ṭayyib (that is: the 35th da'i, died 1110/1699), which 'he wrote to his da'i Kalīm al-Dīn' (that is to say: his brother, Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn, the 36th da'i) and discussing the nature of the nominated succession (*naṣṣ*) from the time of Adam, through the successive imams and da'is down to his own time. Poonawala (1977) paraphrases al-Majdū's account but does not mention any manuscripts of this work.

The manuscript before us is a bundle of 56 unbound leaves, of which the first is detached from the others and partially torn, with the result that I am not quite sure which side is the recto and which the verso. In any case the beginning is missing; judging from the size of the surviving quires I assume that two folios (that is: the title page and at most three pages of text) are lost. The folio now numbered 1b mentions Shaykh Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn and gives the title of the work as *risālat* (*sic*, without article) *al-kalīmiyya al-nūrāniyya*; this is confirmed by the quire

markings (fols 9a, 18a, 28a, 38a and 48a) indicating the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th quire 'of *risālat al-kalīmiyya*'. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence on fol. 56b. The extant text contains a very detailed discussion of the *naṣṣ*, with many quotations from authors of the Fatimid period.

REFERENCES: al-Majdū', p. 107; Ivanow (1933), no. 307; Ivanow (1963), no. 318; Poonawala (1977), p. 196, no. 1.

DESCRIPTION: 56 unbound folios; 6 quires, of which all but the first are numbered; catchwords; 24.5 × 15 cm (15.5 × 8.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; no scribe or date mentioned; no seals.

Ms. 1543 [Handlist 213]

Muntakhab fi'l-fiqh min kutub ahl al-bayt

by al-Majdū', or one of his contemporaries
Arabic manuscript

The title, as cited above, is given in the superscription on fol. 1b, and again in the text, four lines from the bottom of the same page. The work invokes in its opening lines the 39th da'i, Ibrāhīm Wajih al-Dīn (1150/1737 to 1168/1754). The first part, at least, consists largely of quotations from al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im* and other works of his on legal topics. The text breaks off after four lines on fol. 12b – the next four folios are blank – and starts up again mid-sentence on fol. 17a. Fols 23a–24a are again blank. The text begins again on fol. 24b with a new *basmala*, and although the subject matter is still *fiqh* the stylisation is different (mainly questions put to an unnamed *sayyid* and his answers), so I am not sure whether this is the same work. The manuscript is worm-eaten and fragile.

Ivanow (1963), no. 349, lists a work called *al-Muntakhab fi'l-fiqh* among the works of al-Majdū' (for whom see Ms. 1401) 'probably composed after the completion of his *Fihrist*' and which 'are still found in private collections' and 'the existence of which I could ascertain'. Poonawala (1977), p. 206, no. 13, refers to Ivanow and does not mention any manuscripts of this work. It is certainly possible chronologically that the present compendium is by al-Majdū', but I hesitate to assert this as a fact.

DESCRIPTION: paper and cloth binding; 68 folios; catchwords (many of which are broken off); 17.5 × 12 cm (12 × 7.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink

with rubrics in red; *naskh*; marginal additions and notes; no indication of author, scribe or date; title indicated in the superscription and in the text on fol. 1b, and in a different hand on fol. 1a and the labels on the cover and spine.

Ms. 1544 [Handlist 102]

Qiṣṣat Ghāyat al-Jamāl

by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Yaʿburī al-Hamdānī

Arabic manuscript, unique autograph copied in 1745

On the title page (fol. 1a) and again at the beginning of the text (fol. 1b) the full title of this work is given as *Qiṣṣat Ghāyat al-Jamāl (i)bn al-sultān Tāj al-Khulafāʾ wa qiṣṣat Nihāyat al-Jamāl (i)bnat al-sultān Ḥāfiẓ al-Mamlaka*, that is: the story of Ghāyat al-Jamāl, the son of king Tāj al-Khulafāʾ, and that of Nihāyat al-Jamāl, the daughter of king Ḥāfiẓ al-Mamlaka. The author is identified (on the title page) as Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Yaʿburī al-Hamdānī al-Yāmī, 'the slave of Sayyidunā Wajih al-Dīn', with the statement that he composed it (*ṣannafahā*) in the month of Rabīʿ I of the year 1158 (April 1745). In the colophon (fol. 84a) the author's genealogy is cited more fully: here he is called Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Yaʿburī al-Hamdānī al-Yamānī al-Yāmī, 'the most lowly of the slaves of Sayyidunā Wajih al-Dīn', with the date 24 Jumādā I of the year 1148 (thus very clearly written, in numerals; Poonawala (1977) misquotes this as '1147'), but this must be wrong, not only because this date is earlier than the date of composition indicated on the title page, but mainly because the 39th daʿī, Wajih al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, did not accede to this position until 1150/1737. So the indicated date of copying must be a mistake for 24 Jumādā I 1158 (23 June 1745), about two months after the date of composition. This is presumably the author's fair copy. I am not sure whether it was produced in Yemen or in India.

This writer is evidently the person whom al-Majdūʿ (p. 100) gives as the author of a polemic against the Sulaymānīs, namely Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿArabī al-Yaʿburī, and possibly also the same as the author of an esoteric work cited by al-Majdūʿ (p. 203) simply as Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm. He is clearly a contemporary and (distant) kinsman of ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Yaʿburī al-Hamdānī, but it is obvious that his great-great-grandfather Saʿīd cannot be the same person as the father of ʿAlī b. Saʿīd.

غاية الجمال في السلطان تاج الخلفاء
 لوصفة نخلية الجمال انت السلطان حافظ
 المملكة تصنف عهد سيدنا وجميع الدين
 احمد بن ابراهيم البعاري الحمدي
 السباقي في شجرة النفاحة
 على صاحبها السلام وعلي نبينا محمد وآله
 افضل الصلوة والسلام صنفها
 في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ١١٥٨
 لتكون عمدة لمن اعترف وفكر في النظر
 في السلطان الاسلطان الملك الدمان
 التميمي الرحمان وكل من عليها فان تاجها العاقبة

المدقق
 محمد بن ابراهيم
 البعاري الحمدي
 مالكها
 محمد بن ابراهيم
 البعاري الحمدي
 في شهر ربيع
 الاول سنة
 ١١٥٨
 الهادي

Figure 14. *Qiṣṣat Ghāyat al-Jamal*, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ya'burī al-Hamdānī (Ms. 1544/fol. 1a).

As the title indicates, this is a romantic novel, the story of the love between a prince and a princess, presumably with some didactic or moralising subtext.

On the labels on the front cover and the spine a later owner has abbreviated the title to *Qiṣṣat Ghāyat al-Jamāl ma'a Nihāyat al-Jamāl* and it is thus that it is cited by Poonawala.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 207, no. 2 (mentions only this copy).
 DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled, with gilding on the spine; 84 folios; 10 quires of unequal size (quire marks on the rectos of fols 12, 21, 29, 37, 45, 53, 61, 65, 77); catchwords; 16.5 × 12 cm (size of written surface irregular); 10 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; very few marginal corrections; for date and scribe: see above; title page (fol. 1a) and superscription (fol. 1b); title and author also indicated on the labels on the front cover and (title only) on the spine; owner's note by Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī on the title page; seals inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1545 [Handlist 124]

Risālat burhān al-dīn fī radd 'alā Sulaymāniyyīn

by Walī bhā'ī

Unique incomplete Arabic manuscript

The title is cited as it appears at the end of the author's introduction (fol. 3b); on the paper wrapper it is cited in the abbreviated form *Risālat al-burhān*. This is a refutation of the Sulaymānī faction. Ivanow (1933), p. 72, followed by Poonawala (1977), pp. 206–207, calls this author Walī bhā'ī b. Luqmān ji b. Ḥabīb Allāh, but on the paper wrapper of this manuscript and on the recto of the first folio he is said to be the son (not the grandson) of Ḥabīb Allāh. In any case, he was alive at the time of the accession of the 40th da'i, Hibat Allāh, in 1168/1754, as this event is the subject of another one of his works.

The present, apparently unique, copy consists of three unbound quires; the last page breaks off in the middle of a sentence, followed by a catchword.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 207, no. 4 (mentions only this Ms.).

DESCRIPTION: 3 unbound quires; 24 folios; catchwords; 24 × 15 cm (13.5 × 7 cm); 21 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title indicated

in the introduction (fol. 3b); title and author indicated on the paper wrapper and on fol. 1a.

Ms. 1546 [Handlist 84/6 fols 23b–24a]

This 'manuscript' is just the first two pages of a work identified in the superscriptions as *al-Risāla al-mawsūma bi Dāfi'at al-aḥzān wa qāshī'at al-ashjān fī sirat al-dā'iyyīn ilā imām al-zamān*, presumably the same work cited by Poonawala (1977), p. 209, no. 1, as *Risāla dāfi'a al-ashjān* by Qamar al-Dīn b. Hibat Allāh, the son of the 40th da'i.

Ms. 1547 [Handlist 197]

Tafsīr al-Qur'ān

on the basis of the teachings of the da'i 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad
Unique Arabic manuscript, probably from the early 19th century

'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jiwān-jī Awrangābādī was da'i from 1232/1817 to 1236/1821, the 44th da'i. This manuscript is the first half of an extensive Qur'ān commentary compiled (as we are told repeatedly) on the basis of his teaching. The name of the compiler does not seem to be indicated in the manuscript itself, but the label attached to the front cover identifies it as the first half of *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by Miyān-Ṣāhib Quṭb, possibly followed by another element of nomenclature, now torn. Poonawala (1977) has two different entries on this work: on p. 216 he reports that Muhsin T. Hamdani had informed him that he had seen a manuscript of a commentary on the Qur'ān by the da'i 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad, and on p. 241 he lists Miyān Ṣāhib Quṭb-bhā'i as an author of uncertain date who wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān of which the first volume is in the Hamdani collection, doubtless the present manuscript. These two works are clearly identical.

The present manuscript begins (fol. 1b) with an introduction concerned largely with what might be called Qur'ānic statistics (how many *sūras*, how many *āyas*, how many letters, how many occurrences of each letter of the alphabet, etc.). On fol. 10a–b the author says that he has compiled this book on the esoteric meaning of the scripture (*ta'wīl al-Qur'ān wa ma'ānīhi al-ḥaqīqa*) on the basis of the books of *al-da'wa al-muḥammadiyya* and of the teachings of the holy imams and the rightly guided da'is and especially those of the da'i of our age Sayyidunā Muḥammad 'Izz al-Hudā wa'l-Dīn. Then (further

down on fol. 10b) we have, in red, the title: *Hādhā tafsīr mawlānā Muḥammad ‘Izz al-Dīn fī ta’wīl al-Qur’ān al-mubīn*, followed by the *basmala* and the usual sort of formal introduction. On fol. 11a the author states again that it derives from the teachings of ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad. The introduction merges into the exegesis of the first *sūra*. On fol. 279a (at the end of the commentary on *sūra* 6) we are told that we have reached the conclusion of the ‘first volume’ and on fol. 279b we have the beginning of ‘the second volume of the *tafsīr* of Sayyidunā wa Mawlānā ‘Izz al-Dīn’. The ‘second volume’ (up to the end of *sūra* 17) terminates on fol. 517b, again with effusive mention of Sayyidunā ‘Izz al-Dīn.

The Qur’ānic verses are quoted in red, followed by the commentary in black, but a lot of the spaces for the commentaries have been left blank, presumably because the author had nothing to say about the passages in question. The manuscript is easy to navigate, as the name of the current *sūra* is indicated at the top of each recto, and the name of the current *juz’* at the top of the verso.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 216, no. 3; p. 241, no. 12.

DESCRIPTION: tooled brown leather binding (broken); 518 folios; catch-words; 25.5 × 15.5 cm (20 × 9 cm); 19 lines; black ink with rubrics and Qur’ānic lemmata in red; *naskh* (very neat at the beginning, but becoming increasingly relaxed); very few marginal corrections; header with *sūra* and *juz’* names; no indication of scribe or date; no title page; title and author on label on front cover.

Mss. 1548–1554 (seven parts) [Handlist 114 and 208]

al-Majālis al-‘āshūriyya for the year 1248/1832

(also called *al-Majālis al-‘āshūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya al-zayniyya*)

detached parts of two Arabic manuscripts, one of them written in 1832

The Ismaili collections contain a number of manuscripts describing themselves as *al-Majālis al-‘āshūriyya*, that is: homilies delivered during the first days of Muḥarram leading up to the tenth day (*‘āshūrā*), on which Shi’is commemorate the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn. Poonawala (1977) has one single entry devoted to this title, in the section on anonymous works (p. 335, no. 139), where he describes it as a series of nine *majālis* written during the period of the 43rd da‘i, ‘Abd ‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn, who died in 1223/1817. Poonawala

then refers to the manuscript described by Goriawala (1965) no. 170 (who gives the same information about its time of composition) and to four other copies in private libraries.

Gacek (1984), no. 75, describes a manuscript with the same title, refers to the cited entry in Poonawala, but remarks that in his copy it is 'arranged in eight (not nine) majālis'. Cortese (2000), no. 144, describes another copy of 'majālis 1-8', explicitly stating that they were written during the time of the 43rd da'i, and Cortese (2003), no. 75, describes yet another copy of what she considers to be the same work as those described by Goriawala, Poonawala, Gacek and in her own catalogue of 2000, stating that it contains 'eight sermons' and that they were written during the time of the 43rd da'i, whom she, this time, wrongly calls 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn.

I have not seen the manuscript described by Goriawala, but I need to say that the three manuscripts described by Gacek and Cortese contain three different collections of homilies, and that the works contained in the three manuscripts in the Hamdani collection are again different from all of them and from each other. It seems that the 'Āshūrā' homilies were reworked every year (or at least at regular intervals), though clearly recycling a lot of the material from those of earlier times, and it is an error to think that they are all the same work and that this can be ascribed to the time of the 43rd da'i. It is also clear that in some years the sermons were delivered over a period of eight days, and in others over a period of nine days.

The subject of the present entry is seven bundles of pages identified on their wrappers as parts of the *al-Majālis al-'āshūriyya* for the year 1248 (1832), that is: the time of the 45th da'i, Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (1236/1821 to 1252/1837). The date 1248 is mentioned also in the text on the first page of no. 9. This date is consistent with the fact that the wrappers refer to these sermons as *al-majālis al-'āshūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya*, while the running headers on the pages in the second hand call them *al-zayniyya*; the adjectives *ṭayyibiyya* and *zayniyya* both refer to Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn.

There were apparently nine *majālis*, recited on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th days of Muḥarram. There is consequently a double numbering: by *majlis* number and by date, the latter being always one higher than the former. The seven bundles (each with a separate paper wrapper) contain a large portion of the set of nine homilies, apparently assembled from two manuscripts in two different hands.

In the following, the numbers in square brackets are mine and refer to the *majlis* number, not the day of the month; they are followed in round brackets by the current shelf marks.

[no. 3] (114/3) 34 folios (first hand)

The superscription on fol. 1b calls it *al-majlis al-rābi' min majlis* (sic, wrongly for the plural) *'āshūrā'*, but a second hand has crossed out the word for 'fourth' and changed it to 'third'. The wrapper calls it *al-majlis al-thālith fi al-yawm al-rābi' min al-'āshūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya sanat 1248 h.*

[no. 4] (208a) 37 folios (first hand)

The superscription calls it the 'fifth' *majlis min majālis 'āshūrā'* but the wrapper calls it the 'fourth on the fifth day' (with the same formula as no. 3). It begins with the same words as the Ms. described by Gacek (1984), no. 75.

[no. 5a] (208b) 16 folios (contains pages in both hands)

The superscription calls this the 'fifth' *majlis*, but the first hand has corrected it to 'sixth'; the wrapper calls it the 'fifth on the sixth day' (again with the same formula). A gap in the text has been filled with pages in the second hand, namely fols 11–14. The text breaks off at the bottom of fol. 16b.

[no. 5b] (208b, second part) 39 folios (contains pages in both hands)

The continuation (as we are told on the sub-wrapper) of the fifth *majlis* is in the same hand as the inserted pages in no. 5a (the second hand). The current foliation begins again with '1' and continues up to '16'. After this the text continues (after another sub-wrapper) in the first hand from fol. 17 to 39. The end seems to be missing.

[no. 6] (114/6) 22 folios (contains pages in both hands)

The superscription calls this the seventh *majlis min majālis 'āshūrā'* but the wrapper calls it *al-majlis al-sādis fi'l-yawm al-sābi' min al-'āshūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya sanat 1248 h.* The text starts off in the first hand and breaks off with fol. 8b. Fols 9–22 are in the second hand. They are enclosed in a separate wrapper on which yet another hand

has written that they contain 'the final parts ... of the sixth *majlis* for the seventh day' and that they too belong to *al-majālis al-‘āshūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya*, while the running header on all the pages of this section identifies them as '*mj 6 al-zayniyya*' (the last word is unpointed). This section also breaks off incomplete.

[no. 7] (208c) 41 folios (second hand)

The superscription calls it the eighth *majlis*, but the wrapper calls it the 'seventh on the eighth day' (with the same formula as on the previous wrappers). The same information is conveyed at the bottom of fol. 1a, followed by a note stating that the manuscript is in the hand of 'our grandfather Fayḍ Allāh bhā'ī al-Hamdānī' (that is: Fayḍ Allāh b. Ibrāhīm) and that it was written in 1248. The text is all in the same (second) hand and seems to be complete, though parts of it are enclosed in two sub-wrappers, with information like that contained on the main wrapper.

[no. 8] (208d) 36 folios (second hand)

The superscription calls it the ninth *majlis*, the wrapper calls it the eighth *majlis fi al-yawm al-tāsū¹* etc. (as before). It is all in the second hand, which a note on fol. 1a tells us (again) to be that of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī. Again there are two sub-wrappers, where the overall title is given as *al-Majālis al-‘āshūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya al-zayniyya*.

[no. 9] (208e) 58 folios (second hand)

The superscription (halfway down the first page) calls it the tenth *majlis* and mentions the date 1248; the wrapper calls it the ninth *majlis fi l-yawm al-‘āshūr* etc. The text, which seems to be complete, is enclosed in three sub-wrappers.

Ms. 1555 [Handlist 224]
al-Majālis al-‘āshūriyya
 (a different version)
 Arabic manuscript

1. The ninth day of Muḥarram is called *tāsū‘ā* or *al-tāsū‘*, in the same way that the tenth is called *‘āshūrā* or *al-‘āshūr*.

The subject of this entry is a single bundle of detached pages in two hands containing a nearly complete set of eight sermons of undisclosed date. As already mentioned, they are not identical with those described in the previous entry, nor with those in the three copies described by Gacek and Cortese. There are some added rubrics in a more recent hand identifying some parts of the work. The first *majlis* was evidently delivered on the third day of Muḥarram, the second on the fourth, and so on until the eighth *majlis*, which was delivered on the tenth day and is here explicitly called *al-majlis al-thāmin fi'l-yawm al-‘āshūr*. The contents are as follows:

fols 1a–2b: the added superscription says it is from the first *majlis*, evidently its end.

fols 2b–6b: the original superscription calls it the second *majlis*.

fols 7a–11a: the original superscription calls it the third *majlis*; the incipit is like that in the third *majlis* in the Zahid Ali manuscript, fol. 27b.

fols 11b–16a: the original superscription calls it the fourth *majlis*.

fols 16b–22a: the original superscription calls it the fifth *majlis*.

fols 47a–54b: the original superscription calls it the sixth *majlis*.

fols 55a–61a: the space for the superscription is left blank, but the added marginal note calls it the seventh *majlis*.

fols 61a–63b: the added marginal note calls it *majlis 8 li'l-yawm al-‘āshūr*. The text breaks off on fol. 63b with a loose catchword.

The folios currently with the numbers 23a–46b are in a different hand and the added superscription identifies them as the remainder of the last (eighth) homily (*baqiyat al-majlis al-thāmin fi yawm al-‘āshūr*). The bottom part of fol. 46 is torn, but its verso does seem to contain the end of the work. Thus the collection is complete apart from the beginning of the first *majlis* and the lacuna in the middle of the last *majlis* at the point where fol. 63b breaks off.

DESCRIPTION: 63 unbound folios; catchwords; 28.5 × 17 cm (19 × 10 cm); 18 lines; black ink, with rubrics in red and blue; elegant *naskh*; marginalia; section headings as described above; no indication of scribe or date; the (added) title on fol. 1a reads: *majālis thamāniya ‘āshūriyya ‘alā al-tamām*. The added pages numbered 23a–46a have a variable number of lines per page and the handwriting changes from about the

middle of fol. 43a as the scribe adopts an increasingly cursive *nastaʿlīq*-like script.

Ms. 1556 [Handlist 208h]

al-Majālis al-ʿāshūriyya

(a third version)

extracted from *al-Fakhrī* by Ibn al-Ṭīqṭaqā

Arabic manuscript

At the end of this manuscript the title is given as *al-Majālis al-ʿāshūriyya al-muntakhaba min kitāb al-Fakhrī*, and at the beginning the same title was apparently given in the superscription, but this is now partially washed out. On the first flyleaf the title is indicated another two times in two different hands; the lower of the two inscriptions gives it as *Kitāb al-muntakhaba min al-Fakhrī min al-majālis al-ʿāshūriyya fī ḡhamm al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi al-salām*, and the lines above this seem to have had it in the same form, but they are partially torn off. Both of these variants imply that this is another set of ʿĀshūrāʾ homilies concerning the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, extracted from a book called *al-Fakhrī*, evidently the famous thus-named work of the Twelver Shiʿi historian Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, called Ibn al-Ṭīqṭaqā, which he composed in 701/1301 (see Brockelmann, *GALS*, II, pp. 201–202, and Rosenthal’s article ‘Ibn al-Ṭīqṭaqā’ in *EI2*).

The text here is evidently incomplete. Fols 69–82 and 86–88 are blank and some of the pages are out of order: for example, the catchword on fol. 1b does not match the first word on fol. 2a but rather that on fol. 89a, and fol. 3 is bound the wrong way around. The book is an interesting example of the appropriation of a non-Ismaʿili text for Ismaʿili use.

DESCRIPTION: paper binding; 189 folios (of which fols 69–82 and 86–88 are blank); catchwords; 25 × 12 cm (17.5 × 8.5 cm); 16 lines; black ink with rubrics and some punctuation in red; rough *naskh*; no indication of scribe or date; titles as discussed above.

Ms. 1557 [Handlist 2d (found in wrapper 6 of Handlist 2b)]

an unidentified collection of *majālis* from the second quarter of the 19th century

Arabic manuscript

These loose pages in three different hands seem to contain the beginning, the end and some of the middle bits of one collection, or possibly several collections, of *majālis* concerning the lives of Muḥammad and 'Alī. The last page (fol. 28b) ends with an evocation of Mawlānā Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn, the 45th da'ī, from 1236/1821 to 1252/1837. However, they do not seem to overlap with the 'āshūrā' sermons produced during the time of that same da'ī, as described above. The pages fall into five sections, punctuated by loose catchwords at the end of each of the first four:

fols 1b–7b (first hand) A new *majlis* begins on fol. 6b.

fols 8a–11b (second hand).

fols 12a–21b (third hand).

fols 22a–25b (still the third hand). A note in the margin on fol. 24a identifies this as the second part/quire of the 8th *majlis*.

fols 26a–28b (again the second hand), ending with the mentioned description of the 45th da'ī.

DESCRIPTION: unbound pages in a paper wrapper; 28 folios in three hands; catchwords; 24 × 14 cm (size of written area varies); first hand: 20 lines; second hand: 15 lines; third hand: 17–18 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; different styles of *naskh*; copious marginalia, especially in the parts in the third hand; no indication of scribe or date; the inscription on the wrapper calls this *ajza' mutafarriqa fi'l-tawārikh wa ghayrihā*.

Ms. 1558 [Handlist 93]

Majmū' al-madā'ih

Unique Arabic manuscript, probably copied in 1840

This is a collection of poems, with a prose introduction explaining that they were all composed by members of the hierarchy in praise of the 46th da'ī, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn (reigned 1252/1837 to 1256/1840). A note on the recto of the first page (partially worm-eaten) calls it *Majmū' al-madā'ih li sayyidinā wa mawlānā Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn* etc., whereby the preposition *li* is evidently not used to mean 'by' (as it would in correct Arabic) but 'addressed to'; similarly on the labels on the front cover and spine. Each poem has a superscription giving the name of its author and usually an indication of which festival was the occasion of its presentation to the da'ī. A few give the year as well, the dates, all of which fall during Badr al-Dīn's short

reign, ranging from 1252 (fol. 4b) to 1256 (fol. 79b). The manuscript, of which no other copy seems to have been reported, was presumably copied during his lifetime.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 336, no. 143 (mentions only this copy).
DESCRIPTION: red cloth binding; 92 folios; catchwords; 25.5 × 14.5 cm (18 × 9.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with superscriptions in red; neat *naskh*; black-red-black border around each page and double red line down the middle of the page separating the half-verses; scribe and date not indicated, but the Ms. is presumably from the time of its dedicatee; title page and labels as described above.

Ms. 1559 [Handlist 139]

al-Risāla al-mawsūma bi Iqāz al-wasnān al-mushtamila ‘alā al-ḍajj wa’l-bayān

by ‘Abd ‘Alī ‘Imād al-Dīn, ‘on behalf of ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn
Unique Arabic manuscript dated 1847

The 46th da‘i, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, died unexpectedly in 1256/1840, apparently without publicly appointing a successor. His mentor, ‘Abd ‘Alī (or ‘Abd-i ‘Alī, as the Bohras pronounce this name, in the Persian manner) b. Jiwā-bhā‘ī Shajahānpūrī organised the appointment of ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn as *al-dā‘ī al-nāzim*, that is to say: not as a fully legitimate *dā‘ī muṭlaq*, but in effect the spiritual leader of the Dā‘ūdī community. Najm al-Dīn rewarded ‘Abd ‘Alī by appointing him to the rank of *mukāsir* and bestowing on him the title ‘Imād al-Dīn. This ‘Abd ‘Alī died in 1271/1854; see Poonawala (1977), pp. 220–221, 224–225.

The present treatise is not listed by Poonawala and no other copies seem to be recorded. It announces itself in the superscription as ‘The treatise called *Iqāz al-wasnān* (etc.) composed (*ṣannafahā*) by the learned, unique *mukāsir al-dīn* mawlāy ‘Abd ‘Alī ‘Imād al-Dīn on behalf of (*‘alā lisān*) the faithful *dā‘ī ‘llāh*, the deputy of the hidden imam, Sayyidunā wa mawlānā Najm al-Dīn, may God prolong him’; in other words the booklet is ostensibly the work of the ‘da‘i’ Najm al-Dīn, but was actually written by his mentor ‘Abd ‘Alī. The title is given (though partially worm-eaten) also near the bottom of fol. 5a. The label attached to the front cover calls it *al-Risāla al-ramaḍāniyya* for the year 1263 (1847), and indeed it resembles the Ramaḍān treatises

regularly issued by the da'is, a collection of bits in prose and verse exhorting the community.

DESCRIPTION: tooled red leather and black cloth binding; 28 folios; catch-words; 20.5 × 14 cm (13.5 × 9 cm); 17 to 19 lines; black ink with rubrics, punctuation, glosses etc. in red; neat *naskh*; numerous marginal and interlinear glosses, and some corrections; copied by [F]aḍl (the first letter is torn) 'Alī b. Mullā Rajab 'Alī, a resident of a place that I think has to be read as Wānsawār (that is: Vāsāvāḍ, Bānsāvār) and completed on 27 Dhu'l-ḥijja 1263 (5 December 1847); title in superscription (fol. 1b) and in another hand on fol. 1a and on the label on the front cover; seals; the manuscript is badly wormed.

Ms. 1560 [Handlist 88]

Risālat al-Baṭsha al-kubrā fi na'y sayyidinā Badr al-Dīn

by 'Abd 'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn, 'on behalf of 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn
Arabic manuscript dated 1840

The title and double authorship of the treatise are given as they appear on the label on the front cover (apart from the fact that the word *na'y*, 'obituary', is mispointed as *naghy*) and (in a slightly different wording) on the title page, both not in the same script as the text. The title *al-Baṭsha al-kubrā* is given also in the explicit on fol. 18a. The first 16 words of this treatise are the same as those in Ms. 1559, but after that the two works are different; the identical form of the opening eulogy seems consistent with the statement that both were written by 'Abd 'Alī 'alā lisān sayyidinā 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn. Poonawala reports that the manuscript in the Wakil collection indicates the same double authorship.

The text is a public announcement of the death of the da'i Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn. It concludes with the statement that the *taḥrīr* of the treatise (which here, at least, surely means its 'composition', not 'copying') was completed on the 21st of Rajab of the year *sitta wa khamsīn* ('56'); the word *sitta* is crossed out and replaced by the numeral '7', but *sitta* is written again in the margin. If the intended year is indeed 1256, this date would correspond to 17 September 1840, a couple of months after the death of Badr al-Dīn.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 384a; Poonawala, 221, no. 2.

DESCRIPTION: black cloth binding; 18 folios; catchwords; 21.5 × 13.5 cm (14 × 6.5 to 7 cm); 17 lines; black ink (some underlining in red or blue pencil); very cursive *naskh*; marginal corrections and annotations; scribe and date not indicated; title and authors indicated on fol. 1a and on the label on the front cover; no seals.

Ms. 1561 [Handlist 132]

Lubb al-lubāb wa nūr al-albāb

by 'Abd 'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn

Arabic manuscript dated 1884

A long *urjūza* (that is: a poem in rhymed couplets in *rajaz* metre; Cortese wrongly calls it 'a collection of poems') presenting the esoteric doctrines. In the superscription to this manuscript it is said to be the work of 'Abd 'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn (see Ms. 1559) and Poonawala says the same. But Ivanow (1933 and 1963) ascribes it to his contemporary 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Sayfī (for whom see Poonawala (1977), p. 216); Goriawala (1965) also attributes it to 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, presumably on Ivanow's authority. The author indicates in the body of the poem (here fol. 5b) that he composed it at the bequest of the 45th da'ī, mentioning his name (Ṭayyib), his *laqab* (Zayn al-Dīn) and the name of his father (al-Shaykh Jīwanjī); Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn reigned from 1236/1821 to 1252/1837.

A fairly unusual stylistic feature of this poem is that the chapter headings are also in rhymed couplets.

The poem ends on fol. 90b and is followed by a colophon on fols 90b–91a. After two blank pages there follows (in a different hand) a text in prose (fols 92b–94a) containing a passage from the *Asrār al-nuṭaqā* of Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 362; Ivanow (1963), no. 353; Goriawala (1965), no. 156; Poonawala (1977), p. 221, no. 1; Cortese (2000), no. 95; Cortese (2003), no. 69 (2 copies).

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with leather trim; 94 folios (fols 92b–94a are in a different hand); 11 numbered quires of 8 folios each, followed by one of 6 folios; catchwords; 26 × 16.5 cm (15.5 × 9 cm); 16 lines/verses; double green border, with double green vertical lines separating the half-verses; black ink with rubrics and glosses in red, some glosses in green; rough *naskh*; additional verses, glosses and

corrections in the margins, between the two green borders (frequent at the beginning, then increasingly rare); copied by Ṭayyib-‘Alī b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Sulṭān-‘Alī Burhānpūri and completed Saturday, 5 Jumādā I of the year ‘131’ (if this is a mistake for 25 Jumādā I 1301 this would correspond to Saturday 22 March 1884); title and author in superscription (fol. 1b); title also on label on the front cover.

Ms. 1562 [Handlist 84/3, fols 39–55]

fragment of a *dīwān*

Arabic manuscript

These unbound pages contain the prose introduction (fols 40b–44b) and the first few poems of a *dīwān* of an unnamed author, but, since the introduction mentions (fol. 42a) the name of the current da‘i as ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (47th da‘i, from 1256/1840 to 1302/1885), and later (fol. 43a) also those of his two predecessors, I suspect that this is a fragment of the collected poems of ‘Abd ‘Alī ‘Imād al-Dīn, listed (without mentioning any complete manuscripts) in Poonawala (1977), p. 221, no. 4.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound quires of 16 folios (now numbered 40–55); catchwords; 10.5 × 6.5 cm (6.5 × 3.5 cm); black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; no indication of scribe or date.

Ms. 1563 [Handlist 134]

al-Risāla al-waḍiyya fī idāh al-naṣṣ wa’l-waṣiyya

by ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn

A unique Arabic manuscript, ca. 1885

A treatise by the disputed da‘i defending his claims to the leadership. The author names himself on the first page, and at the end (pp. 57–58) he mentions its title and says that it was completed (I think this means the date of composition, though it could conceivably be the date of copying) on 12 Rajab 1302 (26 April 1885), which is just two weeks before the author’s death on 26 Rajab of the same year.

This seems to be the only recorded copy. I think it is all in the same hand, though the scribe switches to a smaller stylus around the middle of p. 16 and thereafter moves gradually to a more relaxed style of penmanship.

REFERENCES: Ivanow (1933), no. 364; Poonawala (1977), p. 224, no. 1 (does not mention any manuscripts).

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding; 30 folios (58 numbered pages); catchwords on a few versos only; 20 × 14 cm (14 × 7.5 cm); 16 lines; black ink with some punctuation in red; different varieties of *naskh*; a few marginal corrections; no indication of date or scribe.

Ms. 1564 [Handlist 112 fols 1–46]

al-Munqidha

by ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn

Unique incomplete Arabic manuscript

This is a fragment of another treatise written by (or on behalf of) ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn in support of his contested leadership. It seems that perhaps one page is missing at the beginning. Then, at the end of a very long *khutba*, the author gives his names and genealogy on fol. 39b and – in a decidedly convoluted manner – seems to give the title of the treatise as *al-Munqidha*. The text breaks off abruptly halfway down fol. 46a. I have not found any other mention of this work.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 46 folios; catchwords; 17.5 × 12 cm (11 × 6.5 cm); 10 lines; black ink; neat *naskh*; no indication of scribe or date; title and author indicated in the text only.

Ms. 1565 [Handlist 97/2]

Dīwān Muḥammadi

by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī

Arabic manuscript copied by the author’s grandson in the early 20th century

The eventful life of Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī (1249/1833 to 1315/1898) has been described in the introduction to this catalogue. His collected poems are arranged here (as is customary in Arabic *dīwāns*) alphabetically according to their rhyme-letter, whereby the copyist has left one or more pages blank after each section, and a number of poems were inserted in these blanks by two other hands. The collection ends with two short pieces in rhymed couplets, the second of which breaks off on fol. 57b with a loose catchword. It contains poems praising the Prophet Muḥammad and his

ديوان محمد

لجناب
السيد الاجل والعلامة الفخر البجل
سدي محمد علي بن الشيخ الفضل
سيد فيض سر بهاني الهادي
قدس الله سره وسوره
شفاعتك بحق معفو

كتبه ولد اولاد
محمد بن طاهر بن
الولي محمد علي الهادي
التوفي عام ١٢٦٥
رحمه الله تعالى

Figure 15. *Dīwān Muḥammadi*, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī (Ms. 1565/fol. 1a).

family, eulogies on the 47th and 48th da'is (Najm al-Dīn and Ḥusām al-Dīn), but also poems describing his pilgrimage to Mecca, his stay in Egypt, and other events in his life. The poems have superscriptions explaining the occasion of their composition, and often containing a date, but all the superscriptions are in a different hand from the poems themselves.

The manuscript is not dated, but next to the title the above-mentioned second hand has noted that it was written by the author's grandson Ma'add b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī and that the copyist died in 1335 (1917–1918); Ma'add is named as the copyist also on the label on the front cover.

The added poems (that is: the ones not in the hand of the original copyist) were, as mentioned, inserted by two hands, one (I think the same second hand that added the superscriptions) has inserted poems on fols 31a, 40a and 46a the other (third) hand has inserted poems on fols 6a–b 34a–b and 49b–50a.

There is a loose sheet inside the manuscript with two pages of biographical information about the author.

REFERENCES: Poonawala (1977), p. 228, no. 2.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding; 57 folios, in three hands, as described above; catchwords on most, but not all, versos; 21.5 × 14 cm (16 × 9 cm); the pages in the first hand have 13 lines, those in the other hands have a variable number; black ink in all the poems and section headings, but the added superscriptions are in red; title and author indicated on the title page and the labels on the front cover and spine, the name of the scribe, Ma'add b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī, is indicated on the label on the front cover and in the note to one side of the title page.

Ms. 1566 [Handlist 97/3]

another copy of the same poems

Arabic manuscript

This is another collection of the poems of Muḥammad 'Alī, not arranged alphabetically. Thus the first poem in this copy (fols 2b–7a, rhyme-letter 'r') is found in Ms. 1562 on fols 21b–28b (without the last three verses). Again there are some additional poems in different hands, a few at the end (fols 45b, 47a–b, 49a), and one other on inserted sheets of lined paper now numbered fols 23–24. There are

also pieces in prose explaining the circumstances of composition of some of the poems, generally much more extensive than in the aforementioned copy.

The scribe (first hand) is not named, but the script is strikingly beautiful.

DESCRIPTION: black cloth binding; 49 folios; catchwords; 21 × 14 cm (14.5 × 7.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with a very small amount of punctuation in red; very elegant *nashk*; one correction and some additional verses in the margin of fol. 27b; title and author indicated on the label on the front cover.

Ms. 1567 [Handlist 101]

Risālat al-hijra fī wujūb al-ṭalab

by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī

Gujarati manuscript in Arabic script

Ivanow (1933), no. 365 and (1963), no. 355, says that the *Risālat al-hijra* is about ‘an attempt to find the hidden Imam’ and Poonawala (1977), p. 228, no. 4, says that it ‘is about the author’s travels in search of the imām’. I looked at this manuscript with Dr Sharma, but we failed to find any mention of these matters. Rather it seemed to us to be a treatise about the prophets of previous ages such as Adam, Noah, Moses and Jesus, discussing, among other things, the time elapsed between their respective missions, and referring several times to the book of *Bilawhar wa Būdhāsaf* (see Ms. 1633) and to the teacher called al-Budd in that book, of whom it is said (fol. 16a) that he lived 540 years before Jesus (this is roughly the date of the Buddha that was accepted by European scholarship in the 19th century, a dating with which the author must have been familiar).

At my suggestion, Abbas Hamdani read through the whole of the text again and he came (in his message dated 27 May 2010) to a similar conclusion, namely that:

The work seems to be written on the eve of his eleven-year hijra to Mecca, and therefore it does not contain the events of his stay in Mecca. However it is clear why he wanted to migrate: on the fols 24a to 31a there is an anguished and passionate description of the corruption and this-worldliness of the community and its leaders (*sardars*)

during his time, without mentioning names. There are pointed references to leaders living in lofty mansions, forsaking the tradition of piety and otherworldliness of the *Ahl al-bayt* and pandering to outside influences of the ruling authorities and their police who violated the sanctity of the homes of the *mu'minīn*. The description of the corrupt morals of his community and its leaders is graphic and long.

In the same message Abbas Hamdani also alerted me to the fact that at the end of the treatise the author quotes (in Arabic) a passage from the *Ḍiyā' al-albāb* of 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walid) – namely from the reply to the 30th question (here fols 35a–36b; cf Ms. 1512, fols 139b–140a) – and then paraphrases the passage in Gujarati. On perusing this section myself I was struck by the fact that, whereas in the original 'Alī b. Muḥammad speaks rather blandly of the necessity of 'search for the truth' (*ṭalab al-ḥaqq*), both in the paraphrase and in the ensuing commentary Muḥammad 'Alī speaks repeatedly and insistently of 'search for the Lord of Truth' (*ḥaqq nā sāhib nē ṭalab* on fols. 37b, and similarly several other times), that is to say: the search for the hidden imam. As Abbas Hamdani pointedly puts it: 'This is exactly what Muhammad Ali wanted to do'.

The title and the name of the author are indicated only on the title page and on a label on the front cover, both not in the hand of the copyist. The fact that neither Ivanow nor Poonawala mentions the fact that the *Risālat al-hijra* is in Gujarati makes one wonder whether they saw this text, or some other with the same attribution, or whether they were merely repeating hearsay information.

DESCRIPTION: red cloth binding; 37 folios; catchwords; 14.5 × 11.5 cm (7.5 × 6 cm); 10 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; scribe and date not indicated; title and author indicated on fol. 1a and on the label on the front cover.

Ms. 1568 [Handlist 135]

Muntakhabāt min kutub al-ʿawāmm

by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī

Unique Arabic manuscript

This manuscript contains two different selections from books by non-Ismaili writers compiled by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī, each in a

different hand, and each preceded by a title page in a third hand. The first hand is identical with the one that copied the same author's collected poems in Ms. 1566, but is clearly different from the author's own hand as found in Ms. 1516.

The first title page identifies the first set of extracts as *Muntajabāt sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī – qaddas allāh rūḥahu – min kutub al-'awāmm fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. It breaks off with a loose catchword on p. 96.

It is followed by the second title page (p. 97) reading: *Lakkkhaṣa hādhihi al-riwāyāt sayyidī Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī – qaddas allāh rūḥahu – min kutub al-'amma fī aḥwāl yawm al-ghadīr*, that is: selections from Sunni works vaguely corroborating the Shi'i view that Muḥammad designated 'Alī as his successor during a parlay at the place called Ghadīr Khumm. The selection seems to be complete.

The first only of these titles is listed in Poonawala (1977), p. 228, no. 1, with reference to the present manuscript.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 61 folios (122 pages, of which pp. 17–96 are numbered in ink, the rest in pencil) in three hands (the first hand wrote the two titles on pp. 1 and 97; the second the first set of selections on pp. 2–96; the third the second set on pp. 98–122); catchwords; 23 × 14 cm (14 × 8.5 cm in the first hand); 15–17 lines (first hand), 16 lines (second hand); black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red (most of the rubrics are left blank in the section in the second hand); different styles of *naskh*; marginal corrections and notes; no indication of scribe or date; title pages as cited above; the first title is also on the paper cover, with the signature of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī.

Ms. 1569 [Handlist 98]

three treatises

by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī and Hibat Allāh b. Walī-Muḥammad Gujarati and Arabic manuscript from the end of the 19th century, apparently a holograph

1. fols 1b–24a

A Gujarati treatise in Arabic script, evidently the one which the label on the front cover of the manuscript identifies as *Da'wā (i)bn Jiwā al-Kaparwanjī wa'l-radd 'alayhi min al-mawlā Muḥammad 'Alī*

al-Hamdānī. It is a refutation of the claims of the person named on fol. 21a as 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, evidently the person whom the second of these treatises calls 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Jiwā, which, in the light of the form 'Ibn Jiwā' on the aforementioned label, presumably means 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, the son of Jiwā. The *nisba* Kaparwanjī relates to the town of Kapaḍvanj, near Ahmadabad.

Incipit: بسملة . الحمد لله بحق الحق

2. fols 25b–41b

An Arabic treatise without indication of title or author, but in the body of the text the writer identifies himself as Muḥammad 'Alī (b.) Fayḍ Allāh (sc. al-Hamdānī). It contains an exceptionally lively account of the author's encounter with a breakaway Bohra leader by the name of 'Abd al-Ḥusayn (b.) Jiwā (thus fol. 39a), but usually cited simply as 'Abd al-Ḥusayn. The author tells how he set out from Surat on Wednesday, 9 Jumādā I 1309 (9 December 1891) and arrived (presumably by train) in the night of Wednesday to Thursday in a place that he calls Mā'īṣājanna, which I suppose to be an Arabicised spelling for Mehsāna in Northern Gujarat (not very far from the aforementioned Kapaḍvanj), where he was joined on the Friday by his daughter Ṣafīyya and his son 'Alī. Here he encountered at first three followers of 'Abd al-Ḥusayn called 'Abbās, Ghulām Ḥusayn and Kikā-bhāy, and, some days later, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn himself. It emerges that the sectarians refused to recognise the then reigning da'i, Najm al-Dīn, maintaining that he has acceded without having been publicly proclaimed by his predecessor (*bi ghayr al-naṣṣ*; fol. 28a). 'Abd al-Ḥusayn claims that he is a da'i, and in constant communication with the hidden imam (*ṣāhib al-zamān*), and that Jiwā (i.e. his father) had been a da'i of the previous imam (28b). The current imam resides in Bombay and his public (*ẓāhir*) name is 'Abd Allāh, but in reality (*bi'l-ḥaqīqa*) his name is Humāyūn (fols 27b–28a). He has 'many followers' in Europe amongst the Germans and Italians and especially the Russians, and also many in America and England. The imams have been in India for 275 years (this implies that the family arrived in 1034/1624–1625, around the time of the Dā'ūdī-Sulaymānī schism and the establishment of the Dā'ūdī leadership in India), first in Surat and later in Bombay, the current imam being the 52nd; his father's name was 'Alī Bāqir (all this on fol. 32a). The treatise contains some

letters addressed to Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī (b.) Fayḍ Allāh bhāy from ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn (b.) Jiwā bhāy, one of them translated from Gujarati, with the Gregorian date 27 December 1891 (fol. 38b), and another with the Vikrami date 4 Post 1948 (which is also in December 1891; fol. 39b).

A very striking feature of this treatise is its decidedly restrained and factual tone. Although the author obviously does not approve of the sectarians, there is no trace of the strident polemic that one would normally expect in a work of this kind.

Ivanow (1963), p. 111, writing in the present tense, says that the followers of ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn ‘live as an isolated colony in a large estate called Mahdī-Bāgh in Nagpur’. Poonawala (1977), p. 15, also mentions the Mahdībāgwālās of Nagpur, but speaks of them in the past tense.

Poonawala (1977), p. 227, in his biographical sketch of Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī, mentions his polemics against ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Kaparwanjī and refers to a treatise by Muḥammad ‘Alī refuting the claims of ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn with the title *Risālat mā tabayyana bihi buṭlān al-mudda’ī* (Poonawala (1977), p. 228, no. 6; without listing any copies). It is possible that this refers to the present treatise.

Incipit: خرجت الى مائيصاجنة

3. fols 43b–50a

The third section of the manuscript contains extracts from two works by Hibat Allāh b. Walī-Muḥammad, who died, according to Poonawala, p. 210, ‘probably after 1214/1799–1800’. The first, occupying fols 43b–48b, has a rubric: *min al-risāla al-mawsūma bi’l-Sayf al-qāṭi’ min taṣnīf al-‘ālim al-mufrad sayyidi Hibbat Allāhi b. Walī-Muḥammad*. The second, on fols 49a–50a, has a rubric: *min risāla dāfi’a al-shubūhāt ayḍan lahu*, with another rubric further down the page merely announcing the words (*qawl*) of Hibbat Allāh. Poonawala (pp. 210–211, nos 2 and 3) describes both *al-Sayf al-qāṭi’* and *Risāla dāfi’a* as refutations of the Hibtia sect, that is: the followers of Hibat Allāh b. Ismā’il al-Majdū’, but the extracts contained in this manuscript seem to restrict themselves to general statements about the nature of the imamate.

Incipit: بسملة الحمد لله الذي اضتار اوليائه

The three sections of the manuscript are all written in the same hand, which I think is that of Muḥammad ‘Alī himself.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with leather trim; 50 folios (oriental numbering only of the first 2 pages of the second treatise and pages 4, 6 and 11 of the third treatise); catchwords (on fols 22b and 44b there is no catchword, but the last word of the page is repeated on the next page; on fol. 48b the catchword does not match the first word on the next page and has been crossed out); 13.5 × 11 cm (9 × 5.5 cm); 10 to 12 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very irregular *naskh*; some parts of the text are written in the margins (esp. on fol. 32a); scribe and date not mentioned; title and author of the first treatise indicated on a label on the front cover; seals.

Mss. 1570 to 1597 (28 parts) [Handlist 2a]

[*Tafsir al-Qurʿān*]

Arabic manuscript copied in 1908–1909

This and the manuscript described in the next entry are two incomplete (though nearly complete) copies of an anonymous and otherwise unrecorded commentary on the Qurʿān. Each entry is introduced by a verse from the scripture followed by one or more quotations from mostly well-known Ismaili works elucidating the verse in question. The most frequently cited source is the *Majālis* of al-Muʿayyad fi'l-Dīn, followed by the *Asās al-taʿwīl* of al-Nuʿmān. Other authors cited include al-Kirmānī, ʿAlī b. Ḥanzala, Idrīs (*Risālat al-bayān*), Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr (*Sarāʿir al-nuṣṭaqāʾ*), Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī, and (less frequently) al-Sijistānī, al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ*), ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Walīd), al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī. There is also, in part 8, fols 31a–32b, a quotation from *Kitāb Kalīla wa Dimna*, not the famous work by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, but the Ismaili imitation of the same described by al-Majdūʿ, p. 202; the only available copy seems to be the one described in Gacek (1984), no. 41.² On the whole, I doubt whether there is anything in this commentary not otherwise extant and accessible, but it is probably a very useful work of reference for anyone who wants to ascertain what the classical Ismaili authors had to say about any particular verse of the

2. Ivanow (1933), no. 302, and (1963), no. 313, attributes this work to ʿAbd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1142/1730), for whom see Poonawala (1977), pp. 198–199, but Poonawala (1977), p. 345, no. 223, rejects this attribution.

Qur'an. I have no information about the name or date of the compiler, but the fact that all of its contents are taken from extant works leaves hardly any doubt that it is fairly recent work.

Both copies are unbound and the pages are gathered in paper folders, one for each of the 30 parts (sing. *juz'*) into which the 114 *sūras* are traditionally divided; together they contain all 30 parts other than the first. In both copies, each entry begins on a fresh page, or a fresh gathering of folded sheets, so there are lots of blank pages in all the parts. Again in both copies, there are catchwords referring to the next folio of a given gathering, but no catchwords at the ends of the gatherings, and as the pages are not bound it is inevitable that a fair number of the gatherings are at present in the wrong order. It would be necessary to trace all the Qur'anic citations in order to establish the correct order of the gatherings, but I leave this rather arduous task to others.

The present copy is the more complete of the two (it contains all the parts other than nos. 1 and 9), and also the more legible and (probably) marginally the older of the two. All the parts are written in the same hand.

The only indication of the date of copying of this copy (and thus of the *terminus ad quem* of the compilation) is on the cover of part 19, where we read:

ص م حمداني
كتب الجزء بتمامه في سنة ١٣٢٦ هجرية

The combination of the initials and the date can only mean that the scribe is Ṣafiyya bint Muḥammad 'Alī Hamdānī (see the genealogical table in our introduction); the verb in the second line is presumably to be read as *kutiba*, although there are actually traces of two effaced dots over the last letter. It is thus possible that the scribe wanted to write *katabat* or *katabtu* and then changed this to *kutiba*. We can translate: 'Ṣ. M. Hamdānī; the part was written (by her) in its entirety in the year 1326 of the hijra', that is: 1908–1909.

The pages are enclosed in folders made of Gujarati newspapers, one of which (part 6) has the date 4 April 1907.

DESCRIPTION: 28 unbound parts in paper folders, namely: part 2 (43 fols); part 3 (61 fols); part 4 (23 fols); part 5 (57 fols); part 6 (53 fols); part 7 (29 fols); part 8 (65 fols); part 10 (19 fols); part 11 (23 fols); part 12

(93 fols); part 13 (51 fols); part 14 (61 fols); part 15 (78 fols); part 16 (63 fols); part 17 (48 fols); part 18 (35 fols); part 19 (98 fols); part 20 (57 fols); part 21 (25 fols); part 22 (33 fols); part 23 (107 fols); part 24 (71 fols); part 25 (35 fols); part 26 (111 fols); part 27 (60 fols); part 28 (35 fols); part 29 (69 fols); part 30 (116 fols); catchwords only within a given entry/quire; 23 × 14.5 cm (15.5 × 9 cm); 14 lines; black ink, with the Qur'anic lemmas in red; legible *naskh*; many variant readings are recorded in the margins or between the lines; copied (as indicated above) by Ṣafiyya bint Muḥammad 'Alī Hamdānī in 1326 (1908–1909).

Mss. 1598 to 1619 (22 parts) [Handlist 2b]

Another copy

Arabic manuscript copied in 1913–1914

This is another copy of the same commentary, lacking parts 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 28 and 30. As in the copy described above, each entry begins on a fresh page or a fresh gathering and these are collected within paper wrappers. In some sections the individual entries are numbered with red numerals in the right-hand margin, but this is not always the case, and in some of the folders the pages are evidently out of order. Moreover, some of the pages seem to be missing. For example, in folder no. 2 the first four commentated passages are as follows:

first passage (fol. 1a, red numbering '9'): Q. 2:196 = other copy fol. 29

then (fol. 2a, red numbering '10'): Q. 2:205 = other copy fol. 15

then (fol. 3a, red numbering '11'): Q. 2:218 = other copy fol. 13

then (fol. 4a, red numbering '12'): Q. 2:220 = other copy fol. 9

The folder for part 6 is actually empty, but it is obvious that its contents are mixed up with those in folder 7, where they have been foliated at random. The foliation of the whole book needs to be redone after the entries have been put back in the correct order.

On the last page (fol. 60a) of part 2 there is a note first (reading from right to left), in Arabic script *likhtā* ('written'), and then, in Gujarati numerals 1332, that is: 1913–1914. The last page (fol. 16a) of part 4 seems to be signed, but I cannot read the name.

DESCRIPTION: 22 unbound parts in paper folders, namely: part 2 (60 fols); part 3 (58 fols); part 4 (16 fols); part 5 (19 fols); part 6 (the folder is

currently empty); part 7 (49 fols, including the pages belonging to part 6); part 8 (16 fols, out of order); part 9 (14 fols); part 14 (45 fols); part 15 (29 fols); part 16 (31 fols); part 17 (54 fols); part 18 (29 fols); part 19 (72 fols); part 20 (61 fols); part 22 (35 fols); part 23 (60 fols); part 24 (77 fols); part 25 (27 fols); part 26 (65 fols); part 27 (42 fols); part 29 (54 fols); catchwords only within a given entry/quire; 28.5 × 15 cm (23 × 12 cm, with variation); 24 lines; black ink, with the Qur'anic lemmas in red; cursive *naskh*; copied (as indicated above) in 1332 (1913–1914).

VII. Works by Non-Ismaili Authors

a. Works on the Islamic religious sciences by non-Ismailis

(i) Zaydis

Ms. 1620 [Handlist 133]

Hawāshī sharḥ al-Niḥri

by Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad

together with a fragment of another Zaydi book

Arabic collective manuscript containing pieces dated 1553 and 1711

This is part of what was once a collective manuscript of Zaydi religious writings from the Yemen. The main section begins with an old title page on fol. 7a, followed by a text extending from fol. 7b to 65a, an apparently complete transcript of a super-commentary (*hawāshin*) on a commentary (*sharḥ*) on a treatise on Zaydi theology. It begins with a brief introduction from which it emerges that the underlying work was written by *al-qāḍī al-‘allāma* al-Niḥr b. al-Ḥalāḥil al-Ḥibr (*nūn* is pointed; *ḥā’* is written all four times with a subscript miniature *ḥā’*, indicating that it is indeed *ḥ*, not *j* or *kh*; *ḥibr* means ‘rabbi’, so the author – about whom I have no other information – is presumably a converted Jew), and its title is given as (apparently) *Muqaddimat al-najr* (with dots above and below the last word, but surely what is intended is again *al-Niḥr?*). The *sharḥ* is then said to be the work of Fakhr al-Milla wa’l-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abi’l-Qāsim al-Najrī (or al-Niḥrī, or al-Baḥrī); this author is registered by Brockelmann (*GALS*, II p. 247), who refers to manuscripts of what Brockelmann calls *Sharḥ muqaddimat al-baḥr* (sic) *fi uṣūl al-dīn* and says that the commentator died in 877/1472. The present super-commentary, in turn, is identified on the title page of this manuscript as *hawāshī sharḥ al-niḥrī* (the *n* is pointed, the *ḥ* is not pointed) and the name of its author is given there as Mawlānā Sharaf al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Jalāl. This same author is the subject of an entry in Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid (1974), p. 241, with the information that he died in 1084/1673 and with references to further sources, but without mentioning the present work. This manuscript is dated Wednesday, the 28th (?)¹ of Muḥarram 1123 (18 March 1711), just a

1. *Thāmin* is written out, followed by the numeral 20.

few decades after the death of the author, and there is a reader's note next to the colophon recording that he reached the end of his reading on 26 Rajab 1148 (December 1735).

Before this there is a fragment of another work: fol. 1b is the badly damaged first page of what is called in the superscription *Kitāb al-tawhīd*, with lots of marginal notes, and on the recto of the same folio there is a title page with writing in several hands; what seems the oldest hand refers to this *Kitāb al-tawhīd*, then below this another hand adds that it is followed by (2) *fi'l-nubuwwāt*, (3) *fi'l-wa'd wa'l-wa'id*, (4) *fi'l-ikfār*, (5) *fi'l-imāma*, and (6) *fi'l-amr bi'l-ma'rūf*. And this same hand added another four lines at the top of the page stating that the name of the book to which these six chapters belong is *Kitāb mirqāt al-anzār al-muntaza' min ghāyat al-afkār wa nihāyat al-anzār* and that it is by the above-mentioned Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad. This is (as the title indicates) an epitome of a work by the Zaydī imam Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā ibn al-Murtaḍā, with the regnal name al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (d. 840/1437), with the title *Ghāyat al-afkār wa nihāyat al-anzār*, a commentary on his own *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār al-jāmi' li-madhāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār* (see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 187, where the epitome by Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad is also mentioned; for the *Ghāya* see also my *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, II, p. 23). The next five lines are again in the first hand and they tell us that this copy ends with a colophon indicating that it was transcribed by one Ibrāhīm b. 'Izz al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Dā'ūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī and dated the first decade of Rajab 960 (June 1553); unfortunately, none of this information is contained in the manuscript as we now possess it.

At the bottom of the same title page a third hand lists another work that at some point was bound together with it, namely the *Kitāb al-mu'aththarāt wa miftāḥ al-mushkilāt*, a well-known book by Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣās, at one time an agent of the Fatimid *da'wa* in the Yemen, but who later went over to the service of the Zaydī imam; he died in 546/1151 (see Brockelmann, *GALS*, I, p. 700). This copy was dated (still according to the surviving title page) Thursday 18 Ramaḍān 964 (15 July 1557).

On fol. 2a there is another title page listing four titles:

1. the above-mentioned *Hawāshī sharḥ al-niḥrī*, with the mentioned date of transcription 1123;

2. the above-mentioned *Kitāb al-tawhīd*, again with the mentioned date 960;
3. the *Kitāb al-ta'liqa*, transcribed in the middle of Muḥarram 962 (December 1554);
4. the above-mentioned *al-Mu'aththarāt wa miiftāḥ al-mushkilāt*, with the mentioned date of transcription 964.

As mentioned, only no. (1) and the first page of no. (2) are at present contained in this manuscript. Assuming that the four titles are listed in the correct order, one can surmise that the collective manuscript was dismantled after the first page of no. (2) and that the one remaining page of that work was later re-pasted at the beginning of the volume as we have it now.

On fols 2b to 5a there is writing in several hands, some of it upside-down and at various odd angles, mainly Zaydi traditions and judgments by assorted named imams.

DESCRIPTION: unbound gatherings pasted together in a paper wrapper; 65 folios; catchwords in the main section; 28.5 × 20 cm; the main section (fols 7–65) is apparently in two similar hands; **first hand** (fols 7a–46b): written area of 20 × 12 cm; 27 lines; black ink with rubrics in red and yellow; *naskh*; copious marginal annotations; illuminated *basmala* on fol. 7b; double lines around the text area (red on fols 7b–38b; yellow on fols 39a–46b); **second hand** (fols 47a–65a): written area of 18.5 × 12 cm; 25 lines; black ink with rubrics in red only; *naskh*; copious marginal annotations; no illumination or borders; dated Wednesday, the 28th (?) of Muḥarram 1123 (18 March 1711); multiple title pages (as discussed above); owners' notes on fol. 7a, including one recording its purchase by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī in 1313 (1895–1896); the label on the front of the wrapper identifies this manuscript (wrongly) as *Ḥawāshī sharḥ al-Fakhrī* (sic) ... *'alā matn kitāb al-tawhīd*.

Ms. 1621 [Handlist 196]

two Zaydi works

Arabic manuscript

This is another collection of Zaydi treatises, presumably from the Yemen. Unfortunately, the manuscript is very fragile (the pages at the

beginning and the end are almost entirely disintegrated) and it could not be examined. According to the label on the cover it comprises two works:

(1) *Thalāthūn mas'ala*

Without indication of author, presumably the work otherwise cited as *al-Thalāthūn al-mas'ala al-wājiba fi uṣūl al-dīn*, or as *Miṣbāḥ al-'ulūm fi ma'rifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās al-Ḥafid (d. 656/1285), the grandson of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās mentioned in the previous entry in this catalogue.

(2) *Kitāb al-iḥkām fi sharḥ takmilat al-aḥkām*

By Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Mu'ayyadī. This work is listed in Brockelmann (*GALS*, II, p. 564), who says that the author died in 1050/1640 and that it is a commentary on the *Takmilat al-aḥkām* by Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Zayd al-Ṣan'ānī.

(ii) *Twelver Shi'is*

Ms. 1622 [Handlist 207]

part of *al-Kāfi*

by al-Kulaynī

Arabic manuscript

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (sometimes vocalised al-Kulīnī) died probably in 329 (940–941). His *Kitāb al-kāfi* is the most famous and authoritative Twelver Shi'i collection of *ḥadīth*.

The present manuscript is worm-eaten and fragile and is not foliated. It begins with the section on purity (*Kitāb al-ṭahāra*) and ends with the section on holy war (*Kitāb al-jihād*). It seems to have been copied by several hands.

REFERENCES: see Madelung's article 'al-Kulaynī' in *EI2*. Manuscripts and editions are listed in Sezgin, I, pp. 540–541; also Gacek (1985), no. 102 (4 copies of different parts).

Ms. 1623 [Handlist 216]

Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn (alias: Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan)

by Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmili

Arabic manuscript

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmili is a very famous Twelver Shiʿi scholar. He was born in Baalbek (Lebanon) in or about 953/1547, but emigrated to Persia, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Safavid kings, advancing eventually to the rank of *shaykh al-islām*. He died in the Safavid capital Isfahan in 1030/1621 or 1031/1622. (See E. Kohlberg's article 'Bahā'-al-Dīn 'Āmili' in *EIr* and the literature cited there.) Some of his writings on mathematics and science are described below in the entry on Ms. 1649.

The present work is a collection of 40 prophetic traditions with extensive commentary. The manuscript is fragile and I have examined it somewhat superficially. Some of the pages are out of order, but before being displaced they were correctly foliated in the upper left-hand corner of the rectos, and this foliation is cited in what follows. The first two folios are at the beginning but in the wrong order: fol. 1a has lots of notes in various hands; fols 1b to 2b have a table of contents of the first 12 traditions. The table of contents continues on fols 3a to 6a, but these are now pasted at the end of the volume. The text begins on fol. 7a; fols 15 and 16 are reversed; fols 33, 34, 113 and 119 (or 120) are missing; 136 and 137 are reversed; fol. 159 has been pasted after 152; fols 183 and 184 are reversed; the text breaks off with fol. 207b, but only a small amount of text is missing after it.

The manuscript is not dated, but it appears to be from the 17th or 18th century.

REFERENCES: For manuscripts and older editions see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 414, no. 1, and *GALS*, II, p. 595, no. 1; also Gacek (1985), no. 6 (4 copies).

DESCRIPTION: brown paper binding; 203 folios; catchwords (often torn); 21 × 13 cm (13.5 × 7 cm); black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*; lots of marginal annotations and a fair number of interlinear glosses (some in Persian); no indication of scribe or date; title and author on the labels on the front and the spine and in a partially torn note of fol. 1a; seals.

Ms. 1624 [Handlist 215]

Miftāḥ al-falāḥ

by Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmili

Arabic manuscript

This is another well-known work by the same author, dealing with prayer and other religious obligations. In this copy the first eight folios have been supplied by a second hand, but the catchword on fol. 8b does not match the first word on the next page, and there is a loose catchword also on fols 10b and 101b. The text here (as in other copies) ends with a note to the effect that the composition (*taʿlīf*) of the work was completed 'in the second month of the fifth year of the second decade after one thousand and I am the most insignificant of men, Muḥammad, known as Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmili'. It is stated in a note on fol. 1a, and on the labels on the front cover and spine, that this manuscript was written in 1015 in the hand of the author, but this is a misunderstanding of the above-cited statement. This copy is not old; the writing looks like an Indian hand of the 19th century.

REFERENCES: For manuscripts and older editions see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 414, no. 2, and *GALS*, II, p. 595, no. 2.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with brown leather trim; 136 folios (of which the first 8 are in different, more cursive, hand; they are not taken into consideration in what follows); catchwords (but many of them are cut off); 19 × 11 cm (12.5 × 6.5 cm); 17 lines; black ink with rubrics in red (but the spaces for many of the chapter headings are left blank); neat *naskh*; marginal corrections (copious at the beginning, rare later); no indication of scribe or date; author and title indicated on fol. 1a and on the labels on the front cover and spine; seals.

(iii) *Sunnis*

Ms. 1625 [Handlist 195]

al-Muḥaṣṣal

by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī

Arabic manuscript dated 1692

This manuscript is again very badly worm-eaten and most of the pages are now completely stuck together, including a big chunk at the

beginning. Consequently I was not able to examine the title page or the beginning of the text. The label on the front cover identifies it as *al-Muḥaṣṣal fi'l-kalām* and I assume that it is indeed the celebrated work by Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), of which the full title is *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa'l-muta'akhhirīn*, a large work on dogmatic theology (*kalām*). Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 507, no. 22, and Anawati's article 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' in *EI2*, with a summary of this work.

The last page of the manuscript is legible: it ends with a colophon with the date Friday 6 Ṣafar 1104 (7 October 1692) and identifies the copyist as *aḥqar al-'ibād* Muḥammad 'Abd al-Dā'im b. al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Salām, but I am not sure whether his name was really Muḥammad 'Abd al-Dā'im, or whether this is a mistake for *aḥqar 'ibād Muḥammad ...*. The manuscript is written in a Persian-type *nasta'liq* script.

Ms. 1626 [Handlist 126]

fragment of a book of Sufi stories

Arabic manuscript

These two unbound quires contain the beginning of what seems to be an epitome of *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fi ḥikāyāt al-ṣālīḥīn* by 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Yāfi'i, a Shāfi'i mystic, who died in 768/1367. (Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 177, no. 11.) They break off with a loose catchword.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound quires; 16 folios; catchwords; 24.5 × 16 cm (16 × 9 cm); 16 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*; no indication of title, author, scribe or date.

Ms. 1627 [Handlist 162]

an unidentified work on Islamic theology

incomplete Arabic manuscript

The beginning and end of this manuscript are missing. The inscription on the wrapper calls it (in Persian) *pāra i majisti* ('a piece of the Almagest'), but it has nothing to do with Ptolemy's *Almagest*, rather it is a commentary on some work of Islamic theology. On fol. 2a the author quotes from al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 67 folios; no catchwords visible; 25.5 × 17 cm (20 × 10.5 cm); 35 lines; black ink (the spaces for all the rubrics are left blank); *nasta'liq*; very few marginal corrections; no indication of the author, the correct title, the scribe or the date; seals.

b. Arabic language

Ms. 1628 [Handlist 172]

al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth

by al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad, called Ibn al-Athīr
Arabic manuscript

On the flyleaf, and on the labels on the front cover and spine, this manuscript is identified only as the second part of *al-Nihāya fī'l-lughā*; it is in fact the work more correctly known as *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, a dictionary of rare words occurring in the Prophetic traditions, by Majd al-Dīn al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Jazarī, known as Ibn al-Athīr (born 544/1149, died 606/1210), the famous elder brother of the equally famous historian 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr. See Brockelmann, *GALS*, I, pp. 607–609, and F. Rosenthal's article 'Ibn al-Athīr' in *EI2*. The present manuscript begins with the chapter devoted to the letter *ṣād* and breaks off just before the conclusion of the work (there is perhaps one folio missing at the end).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding with cloth overlay; 348 folios, in two hands (the second hand begins on fol. 297); most catchwords were cut off at the time of remargining; 23 × 14 cm (18 × 8.5 cm); 22 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very neat *naskh* (the second hand is less calligraphic and not so richly vocalised); very few marginalia; all the pages have been remargined, usually, but not always, with a black or red border; no indication of scribe or date, nor of the author or of the (correct) title; seals; effaced owner notes on fol. 1a; a note by Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī on the front flyleaf states he was in attendance while it was being printed (*qad sami'tu bi ṭab'ihī*) in 1351 (1932–1933).

Ms. 1629 [Handlist 142]

Marāḥ al-arwāḥ

by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd
Arabic manuscript

An elementary handbook of Arabic grammar from the early part of the 8th/14th century, frequently copied and printed (see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 21; *GALS*, II, p. 14). The present copy is badly worm-eaten and could not be examined.

Ms. 1630 [in box 142]

Fiqh al-lughā

by Ibn al-Fāris

Arabic manuscript

The pages on this manuscript are mostly stuck together and it was not possible to examine it. The exposed first page states that it is the *Fiqh al-lughā al-musammā bi-kitāb al-ṣāhibī*, a famous work by the early grammarian Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Qazwīnī, who died in 395/1005; see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 130.

c. Arabic poetry

Ms. 1631 [Handlist 141]

Dīwān

by Ibn al-Nabīh

Arabic manuscript dated 1859

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad, called Ibn al-Nabīh, was a poet in the service of the Ayyūbids, first in his homeland, Egypt, and then in Niṣībīn (Nisibis) in Syria. He died in 619/1287. Manuscripts and printed versions of his *dīwān* are fairly common.

The present copy calls itself, in the colophon, 'this *dīwān*', while a note on fol. 1a, apparently in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, describes it as *mā wujida min qaṣā'id al-shā'ir al-mughlaq (i)bn al-Nabīh*, 'what has been found of the panegyrics of the abstruse/recondite poet Ibn al-Nabīh'.

REFERENCES: For manuscripts, editions, biographical references etc. see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, pp. 262–263; *GALS*, I, p. 465. See also *EI2* s.v. 'Ibn al-Nabīh' (article by J. Rikabi).

DESCRIPTION: 45 unbound folios (the pages are in disorder at the end: the poem beginning at the bottom of fol. 39b has its continuation on fol. 44a; fols 42 and 43 are in a different hand; 42b is

blank); catchwords; 20.5 × 12.5 cm (14.5 × 8 cm); 16 (occasionally 17) lines; black ink; relaxed *naskh*; some marginal corrections; completed on 7 Shawwāl 1275 (May 1859); scribe not mentioned; title (as cited above) on fol. 1a and on the wrapper; seal inscribed 1284.

Ms. 1632 [Handlist 259]

[a collection of poems by Şafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī]

Arabic manuscript

There is no indication of the name of the author in this manuscript, but closer scrutiny reveals it to be a collection of poems by Şafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī, who was born in 677/1278 or 678/1279 and died in or around 749/1348. He is the subject of a long article by W. P. Heinrichs in *EI2*, s.v. ‘Şafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī’, to which the reader is directed for further information. He was attached primarily to the court of Artuqid kings of Mardīn, but he also attended the court of the Mamluk sultan Nāşir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn in Cairo. He collected some, but by no means all, of his poems in a *dīwān*, where they are arranged thematically in 12 chapters (sing. *bāb*), subdivided in sections (sing. *faşl*). Of those works not included by him in the *dīwān* the most famous is his *Durar al-nuḥūr fī madā’ih al-malik al-manşūr*, a collection of 29 poems of 29 lines each, one for each letter of the alphabet, whereby the letter in question appears not only at the end of each line, but also at its beginning.

The present manuscript begins with the tail end of the introduction to the *dīwān* (begins fol. 1a), then (from fol. 2a, line 2, to the bottom of the page), in a different hand, the titles of its 12 chapters. The first chapter begins on fol. 2b and it is followed (beginning on fol. 21b) by the first 11 sections of the second chapter (the superscription for the 12th *faşl* and the description and first line of its first poem are at the bottom of fol. 100b). The text of the *Durar al-nuḥūr* is inserted in this copy into the text of the first chapter on fols 54b–77b. The title *Durr* (sic) *al-nuḥūr* etc., is given (wrongly) in a later hand on fol. 1a, on the added title page, and on the labels on the front cover and spine. As mentioned, this title belongs properly only to the poems on fols 54b–77b.

The manuscript is not signed or dated, but it is obviously old. The scribe has left quite a few blank spaces both in the *dīwān* and in the *Durar*, and most of the blanks have been filled in by a later hand.

REFERENCES: For manuscripts see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 205. Editions, translations and studies are listed in the mentioned *EI2* article.

DESCRIPTION: marbled board binding with red leather trim; 100 folios; catchwords; 20 × 14.5 cm (12 × 9 cm); 17 or 18 lines; black ink, with rubrics in red and red dots after each half-verse; neat *naskh*, mostly vocalised, with *ihmāl* signs; additional verses added in the margins and blank spaces by the original scribe and by a later hand; no indication of scribe or date; (erroneous) title indicated on fol. 1a, on the added title page, and on the labels on the front cover and spine; seals.

d. Ornate prose (*adab, inshāʿ*)

Ms. 1633 [Handlist 6]

Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdhāsaf

Arabic manuscript

This famous book is an Islamic reworking of the life of the Buddha and itself the progenitor of the popular Christian story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. I have recently published an extensive study of this work, with a synopsis of the story, so it might suffice here briefly to summarise my conclusions.

The ultimate source is an Indian (presumably Sanskrit) biography of the Buddha. This must have been translated into Middle Persian during the Sasanian period, and then from Middle Persian to Arabic in the early Abbasid period as the *Kitāb Būdhāsaf mufrad* ('the Book of Būdhāsaf, a single book') mentioned in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm, but now, like its Sasanian original, lost. Būdhāsaf stands for Sanskrit Bodhisattva. Not very much later, the book was reworked and significantly expanded by a Muslim author. Whereas in the previous versions the Bodhisattva achieves enlightenment solely through his own efforts, in the Muslim reworking he has a teacher, a traveller from a distant country, called Bilawhar, who instructs him by means of parables and stories, all taken (I argue) from pre-existing Arabic works, some of which still survive. This Islamicised *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdhāsaf* seems to have existed by the end of the 8th century AD, since (as we know, again from al-Nadīm) it was versified by Abān al-Lāḥiqī, who died ca. 815. Its tendency is clearly that of Islamic asceticism (*zuhd*). The long version of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdhāsaf* has been preserved

in its entirety only by the Ṭayyibī Ismailis, but it must in the past have been read by a larger audience. It was translated from Arabic into Georgian, probably in the 10th century, and then from Georgian into Greek, much extended and strongly Christianised by St Euthymius (who died in CE 1028) as *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (the Georgian translator having already misread the Arabic spelling Būdhāsaf as Yūdhāsaf), which in turn is the source of the Latin *Barlaam and Josaphat* and its offshoots in European vernacular languages.

The long version of *Bilawhar wa Būdhāsaf* was lithographed in Bombay in 1889 and was re-edited by Gimaret in 1972 on the basis of the present manuscript, two others, and the Bombay edition, and the same scholar published a French translation in 1971.

Besides this long (so-called Ismaili) version, there exists a short version of the same book, where a large chunk is missing from the middle part of the story and where the gap has been stopped up with the help of seven additional stories, these too taken from a pre-existing literary source. This recension is quoted *in extenso* in a book by the Twelver Shi'i author Ibn Bābūya (d. CE 991).

As mentioned in the description of Ms. 1402, the plot of the ancient Ismaili work *Kitāb al-‘ālim wa’l-ghulām* is patently modelled on that of *Bilawhar wa Būdhāsaf*. This suggests an early reception of the latter by the Ismailis. It is also quoted by al-Bharūchī, in the third volume of his *Kitāb al-azhār* (Ms. 1537, pp. 98 et seqq.), and is included by al-Majdū‘ in his catalogue of Ismaili books.

EDITIONS: lithographed ed. Bombay (1306/1888–1889); critical edition by Daniel Gimaret (Beirut, 1972).

TRANSLATION: French trans. by D. Gimaret (Paris, 1971); also in Russian, Gujarati and Urdu (see Daftary (2004)).

REFERENCES: al-Majdū‘, pp. 11–15; Goriawala (1965), no. 169; Poonawala (1977), p. 360, no. 13; Daftary (2004), pp. 161–162; F. de Blois, ‘On the sources of the Barlaam romance, or: How the Buddha became a Christian saint’, in *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit*, Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann, ed. D. Durkin-Meisterernst, Chr. Reck and D. Weber (Wiesbaden, 2009), pp. 7–26, with a survey of the previous literature.

DESCRIPTION: marbled board binding with brown leather trim; 115 folios; catchwords; 22 × 13.5 cm (17 × 9 cm); 15 lines; black ink with

rubrics in red; very neat *naskh*; marginal corrections and additions; scribe and date not indicated; title given in the superscription; seals.

Ms. 1634 [Handlist 8]

Nahj al-balāgha

Arabic manuscript copied between 1718 and 1737

The *Nahj al-balāgha* is a very famous collection of speeches, letters, documents and quotations ascribed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It was evidently compiled around the beginning of the 5th/11th century, apparently either by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) or by his brother al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044); which of the two actually put it together has been debated at least since the time of Ibn Kallikān (d. 681/1283). Although the two brothers were leaders of the Twelver Shi'i community, and although the Twelver Shi'is have for a long time now regarded the *Nahj* as a sacred book nearly on the same level as the Qur'an, it is not actually a collection of *ḥadīth*, but rather a work of *adab*, that is, elegant prose of a vaguely didactic content, and in this sense has been widely read by Shi'is of all persuasions as well as by Sunnis. It is summarised by al-Majḍū', pp. 90–93, who ascribes it to al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. Curiously, the present manuscript, and the fragment described in the next entry, seem to be the only copies hitherto noted in an Ismaili collection.

This manuscript concludes with a colophon stating that it was copied by a 'slave woman' (*mamlūka*) – as she modestly calls herself – by the name of Raḥmat-bar bint Walī-jī b. 'Isā-jī, during the time of Sayyidunā Badr al-Dīn Ismā'il (da'i from 1130/1718 to 1150/1737). This same lady copied Ms. 1448 and I refer to the discussion of that manuscript for the somewhat unusual formulation of the colophon also in the present copy. The colophon is followed by eight lines written by Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī, stating that the manuscript was written 'in the hand of a believing lady' (whom he does not name) and that it entered his library in the year 1341 of the hijra, equated with the Christian year 1922, and the (Vikrami) *samvat* 1979.

REFERENCES: For manuscripts and the older editions, see: Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 511; *GALS*, I, p. 705. More recent editions and a sample of the very extensive secondary literature can be found in the *EI2* article 'Nahj al-Balāgha' (M. Djebli).

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with brown leather trim (now broken); 312 folios; 40 signed quires; catchwords; 22.5 × 15 cm (15.5 × 8 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; striking individual *naskh*; copious marginal annotations and variants in several hands; copied by Raḥmat-bar bint Walī jī b. 'Isā jī, during the time of Badr al-Dīn Ismā'īl (as discussed above); title indicated in the superscription, the labels on the front cover and spine, the quire markings.

Ms. 1635 [Handlist 84/3, fols 2–9, 16–22]

a fragment of the same

Arabic manuscript

These small loose pages contain some disjointed fragments of the *Nahj al-balāgha*, beginning with a title page in green and pink ink, almost entirely faded, but one can make out, at the bottom of the page, the name of *al-shaykh* Muḥammad 'Abduh al-Miṣrī, so I assume that the texts are taken from one of the printed editions of the 19th-century commentary on the *Nahj* by the thus named modern Egyptian writer.

DESCRIPTION: unbound pages; 14 folios; some catchwords; 9.5 × 6.5 cm (5 × 3 cm); 9 lines; black, green, pink, purple inks; rough *naskh*; marginal corrections and notes; gilded borders and assorted decorative elements; title indicated on fol. 2a.

Ms. 1636 [Handlist 7]

two edifying works

Arabic manuscript from the late 19th or early 20th century

This manuscript contains two non-Ismaili works of edifying content.

(1) fols 1b–33a

al-Shihāb al-nabawī

by al-Quḍā'ī

The author of this work (not named in the present manuscript), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍā'ī, was a Shāfi'ī *qāḍī*, secretary and historian working in the chancery of the Fatimid Caliph al-Zāhir. He is reported to have died in 454/1062 or 457/1065. The present work is a collection of wise sayings and pithy aphorisms supposedly uttered by the Prophet Muḥammad. The title appears

variously in the many surviving manuscripts, e.g. as *al-Shuhabāt fi'l-mawā'iz wa'l-adāb min ḥadīth rasūl allāh*, or as *Shihāb al-akhbār fi'l-aḥādīth al-marwiyya 'an al-rasūl al-mukhtār*, etc. In the superscription to the present copy the title has been garbled to '*Kitāb al-shihāb ḥadīth rasūl allāh*'. The form '*Kitāb al-shihāb al-nabawī*' is given on the label on the front cover, and is found elsewhere.

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 343; *GALS*, I, pp. 584–585 (with many manuscripts and editions, and biographical references). See also: Ivanow (1933), no. 152; Ivanow (1963), no. 158; Poonawala (1977), p. 360, no. 10; Gacek (1985), no. 216; Cortese (2003), p. 204, no. C6.

(2) fols 39b–57a

Waṣiyyat rasūl allāh

Several versions of the supposed testament of the Prophet to 'Ali are in circulation, both among the Twelver Shi'is (see *Āqā Buzurg*, vol. 23, nos 599, 600) and among the Ṭayyibis; see Poonawala (1977), p. 346, no. 238; Cortese (2000), nos 152, 153. The title given above is found on the label on the front cover; in the superscription it is given, ungrammatically, as '*Kitāb waṣiyyat rasūl*'

In this manuscript there is no indication of the name of the scribe or of the date of transcription in the handwriting of the copyist, but at the very end (fol. 57a) there are three lines of writing in a different hand: the first two lines are in Gujarati, while the third line, enclosed in a box, states, in Arabic: 'In her hand: the contemptible sinful woman, Fāṭima al-Ḍiyā'iyya'. This same lady (Fāṭima bint Ādam Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, the spouse of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Ali al-Hamdāni) copied and signed Ms. 1427 in 1321 (1903); the attribution is probably correct, but these lines cannot be original, since they are evidently written with a ball-point pen. The last (Arabic) line must have been copied verbatim (note the identical self-deprecating epithets here and in Ms. 1427) from some manuscript signed by her.

DESCRIPTION: brown leather binding with a cloth cover; 57 folios (fols 1a and 33a–39a are blank); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (13.5 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with rubrics, punctuation and glosses in red; neat *naskh*, with many vowel signs; some marginal corrections and a few interlinear glosses; apparently copied by Fāṭima al-Ḍiyā'iyya (see above); labels on the front cover and spine.

Ms. 1637 [Handlist 111/2]

another copy of the first few pages of *al-Shihāb al-nabawī*

Arabic manuscript

This is an uncompleted copy of the *Shihāb* (the title is quoted in the same ungrammatical form as in the previous copy). The text stops at the bottom of the recto of fol. 6, the verso being left blank.

DESCRIPTION: one unbound quire of 6 inscribed folios; catchword only on fol. 1b; 20 × 11.5 cm (13 × 6.5 cm); 13 lines; black ink with rubrics and punctuation in red; elegant *naskh*; no indication of scribe or date; title given in the superscription.

Ms. 1638 [Handlist 149]

Aṭwāq al-dhahab

by ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. Hibat Allāh

Arabic manuscript dated 1750–1751

The exact identity of the author of this work is disputed. In some copies it is ascribed to Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. Hibat Allāh b. Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, with the by-name Shufurwa or Shawarwa, a Ḥanafī cleric from Isfahan who lived in Egypt for some years up to 570/1175, and who is possibly identical with a Persian-language poet active at about the same time by the name of Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, with a personal name cited in some sources as Muḥammad, but in others as ‘Abd al-Mu’min (see my article ‘*Shufurwa*’ in *EI2*, with references and full discussion); in other copies it is ascribed to one ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. Hibat Allāh al-Maghribī. As it seems unlikely that the same person would have been connected both with Isfahan and with al-Maghrib it is better to regard these as two alternative attributions rather than as two forms of the same name. As it happens, this copy has an old title page in the same hand as the text, giving the name of the author as ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. Hibat Allāh al-Maghribī, but a second hand has scored out the *nisba* and replaced it by ‘b. Muḥammad *al-ma’rūf bi* Sufurwayh (*sic*; the *...* is not pointed) al-Iṣfahānī’.

The work is an imitation of al-Zamakhsharī’s famous *Aṭwāq al-dhahab*, to which the author refers explicitly in his introduction. It consists of 100 very short chapters (sing. *maqāla*) of moralising verbiage. Although there is nothing to connect this work with Ismailism, it

ادري ما يفعلني ولا يكف المقاتلة السابعة والتسعون الدنيا ما
 عارة او قارة لا يطعم في العارة الا لص عار ولا يرغب في العارة الا كضار
 نذل الفالفناق ففاق وان تكب الفساد فساد يملك عشرة اومائة
 في رأس عشرة اوفية ويكتسى حلة فيستغوى ثلثة ويستجلب لبوسا فيجمل
 بوسا ويستخرتوسا ويركب بعيرا فيسوق عيرا فلا تخجل بامثاله ولا
 تشجد لتمثاله دني عليه برذعدني ووفتان عليه كتان وجدار عليه صدار
 وطريال عليه سرباك ذيب يلبس ثمره وقلب يقود حمرا مستغفرا لا خير
 في الاصول والفروع ولا راي في التابع والمتبوع انهم رذالة السعير
 وحشالة الخشالة التمر والشعير يغترون باعواهم وشهورهم
 وينبذون الاخرة وراة ظهورهم واذا وجدوا زخارف الدنيا تخلوا
 واذا ذكرت ربك في القرآن وحده ولوا يفرثون من القرآن ولا يخرون
 للاذقان لا يفتنون في ما بين الآء ولا يرقبون في ما بين الآء المقاتلة الثامنة
 والتسعون عواتق الحجال شقايق الرجال والرجال قوامون والنساء
 قواعد وهم اعمنا الدين وهم سواعد ما من الامكار يبزر وعهم
 وشراسيف صنوعهم الا ذارفقوا بمن فانهم لحم على خوان واستوصوا
 بمن خيرا فانهم عوان ورجل بلا بعل كرجل بلا نعل والعزوبة مفتاح
 الزنا والنكاح ملواح الغنى ومن نكح فقد صدق بعض شياطينه ومن
 تزوج فقد حصن بصف دينه الا فاتقوا الله في النصف الثاني فان
 حراب الدنيا بشهوتين شهوة الفرج وهي الكبرى وشهوة ^{الطين} والحج
 الصغرى فان عمر الركنين واحكم المصننين واذا فرغت من الرواق
 والصفة فلا تهمل التسقيفة والاشكفة واعلم ان الدنيا
 والاضرة ضربتان لك اليهما كرتان احدهما حرة خريده والاخرى
 امة مرية فاجعل للحرة يومين فان لها قسمين وللامة قسمان فان
 لها في كتابك اسما واضعف نصيب العقبى ولا تنس نصيبك من الدنيا
 ولا تحفظ العسمة العادلة ولا تكن ممن يحبون العاجلة فالويل كل الويل

س ١٥
 ثوب

Figure 16. *Aṭḥāq al-dhahab*, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Hibat Allāh (Ms. 1638/fol. 25a).

is interesting that its sixth *maqāla* is quoted verbatim in al-Bharūchī's *Kitāb al-Azhār* (see Ms. 1537, pp. 94–95).

DESCRIPTION: green board binding with red leather trim, now broken; 26 folios; catchwords; 20.5 × 14 cm (16 × 10 cm); 25 lines; black ink with chapter headings in red; red dots between the sayings; *naskh*; variant readings in the margins; signed by Yūsuf Jalabī (Chelebī) and dated 1164 (1750–1751); old title page on fol. 1a with double indication of the name of the author (as cited above); new title page on fol. 0a with a record of its purchase by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī in 1313 (1895–1896); title and author (Sufurwayh) indicated also on a label on the front cover; seals.

Ms. 1639 [Handlist 1]

al-Fawā'id al-mukhtabara min inshā' al-muwaqqi'in al-mu'tabara
by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī

Arabic unique holograph manuscript, apparently from the second half of the 15th century

This is a large collection of *inshā'* – that is, letters, documents and a few extracts from similar writings, compiled as a handbook for professional secretaries – evidently from Mamluk Egypt. There is no indication of the title or of the name of the compiler in the main body of the text, but on the last page (fol. 241b) there are three lines in a different handwriting, stating that it is a collection of *tawqī'āt* (this word normally means 'signatures', but here evidently in the sense of 'signed documents'), with the title *al-Fawā'id al-mukhtabara min inshā' al-muwaqqi'in² al-mu'tabara* (written almost entirely without points, but this seems the only plausible interpretation), 'compiled and written in his own hand' (*mimmā 'uniya bi jam'ihī wa kitābihi bi khaṭṭihī*) by a person named Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, with a *nisba* which (though entirely unpointed) can, I think, only be read as al-Sakhāwī (from the town of Sakhā in Lower Egypt). I make this proposal despite the fact that there is a very slight bump at the juncture of the unpointed *khā'* and the *alif*, which might be construed as the letter *mīm*; however, I cannot find any gentilicum ending in *-māwī* that fits this *rasm*.

2. The *qāf* is pointed with two dots. The title page and the spine have *al-muwaffaqīn*.

Al-Sakhāwī is the *nisba* of several Egyptian scholars (Brockelmann's index in *GALS*, III, p. 750, lists nine such persons, among them one Muḥammad b. Muḥammad of indeterminate date), but a work of this title does not seem to be recorded under any of their names. It appears to be unique.

The information contained in these three lines is reproduced in a recent hand on the title page and on the spine of the manuscript, whereby the surname of the compiler is written as السحاري on the title page, but as السحاطوي on the spine. Both of these readings are, I suggest, wrong.

The documents assembled (or extracted) in this volume all emanate from the Mamluk chancery. A small number of them are dated; those that I have found are enumerated in the following list in chronological order, by year:

- 710/1310–1311: document written (like many others in this volume) by al-Shihāb Maḥmūd (begins fol. 145a)
 713/1313–1314: by the same secretary on the occasion of the return of the pilgrims from Mecca (begins fol. 93a)
 727/1326–1327: by the same secretary (begins fol. 121b)
 764/1362–1363: author not mentioned (begins fol. 90a)
 764/1362–1363: by al-Qāḍi Nāṣir al-Dīn (begins fol. 119a)
 777/1375–1376: by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (begins fol. 128a)
 823/1420–1421: by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad on behalf of the neo-Abbasid Caliph Abu'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. al-Mutawakkil (regnal name: al-Musta'in), to an Indian king called Muẓaffar-shāh (begins fol. 201a)
 857/1453–1454: letter from some Christian dignitaries in Jerusalem (begins fol. 239b)

Some of the other documents, though not specifically dated, clearly belong to the timeframe set by the dated documents, for example (beginning on fol. 233a) one from the time of al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Kujuk (reigned 742/1341 to 743/1342 only), or one (beginning on fol. 203a) from the time of al-Zāhir Barqūq (reigned on and off from 784/1382 to 801/1399), or again several documents (e.g. those beginning on fols 140a, 190a, 224b) composed by the famous secretary and encyclopedist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī, who is known to have died in 821/1418. It is reasonable to think that this book was put together not long after 857/1453–1454, the time of the most recent dated document.

مناسمتها وتعظيم عواصمها ورفق به عن العيون ولا يطمح
 الى بروجها السامية ساعها ولا على فروع العرش المحوري اذا
 نظرنا لها على البعد فوادعها فلا بدع لمفسد مد امد الى عصيان
 ولا سان في الحرفد ما تسلك حقه بغرامان ولتقدم نقوى
 الله فانها الحنة المانعة والجنه التابعه والحجه الفاعله
 والحجه الساطعه فنعضم بها من الزلل ونعصدها في القوا والعل
 وكحلها نصب عينه ونقول عليها فما عول فيه عليه
 سجدت لغيره باسم الامر على يد من الظاهرى مناسيه الشام
 من انشا ابن عبد الظاهر سنة سبع وستين وسبع مائة بالعدد
 الحمد لله المدي المجد الفعالي المبارك الذي جعل عمال الدولة القوي
 زرع لكل يوم من العز في ملتج جديد وفقد من سبوا النصر
 من هفت اذ استماعين ونعان بقلده اذ استباهه القليل حده و
 اصل الخندق وشكره على ما سر من العطا المزيده وسهلا ان الاله
 الا الله وحده لا شريك له سهادة ناوى لا ركنها المشدك وتطلى
 على سيدنا محمد الذي طالفته وموادته شفى وسعد صلى الله عليه
 وعلى اله وصحبه وخصه وخصهم باسرف القعظم والتعظيم
 صلاه نغيد الامام ولا تنيبك وبعد فان خبر من تحت عمله
 الممالك واصبحا لدوله من حياطته في حته سلى فيها من يد من
 على الارامل وارثف على من الفخار بالاله التي حيا هدت
 امر الحجوم التوايك واصب ربوعها لسياسه محوطه وامور
 بحراسه مضبوطه ونداها بالنعم والنعم الى الاولاء والاعدا
 مبدوطه من تساني روضها عصا متمرا وطلع في سماها اهلا لا
 فاحسن الامان مقمرا ولا مبدرا ونمرا والصوارم تنبوا وورى

س ٧٧٧

ع
 الك
 ب
 هو

ها

Figure 17. *al-Fawā'id al-mukhtabara min inshā' al-muwaqqi'īn al-mu'tabara*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (Ms. 1639/fol. 128a).

Fols 19b–20a are in a different hand.

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding; 241 folios; catchwords; 26.5 × 17 cm (18 × 12 cm); 21 or 22 or 23 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*, very sparsely pointed; very few marginal corrections (but the text frequently spills over into the margin, with a regular gap between the margin and the last part of the word); apparently an autograph; title page in a modern hand; partial table of contents (fol. 1a); labels with the title on the front cover and spine; seals.

e. History (*ta'rikh*) and genealogies (*ansāb*)

Ms. 1640 [Handlist 127]

an anonymous work on Yemeni genealogies

the first part of an Arabic manuscript copied between 1620 and 1621

This and the next three entries are clearly pieces of one and the same manuscript (dismantled, or perhaps never actually bound together) in the same hand and the same format, all dealing with the history of the Yemen and genealogies of Yemeni tribes. In its present state each of the four parts is bound in a separate identical green binding embossed with the name of Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī. There are colophons in Ms. 1641 and Ms. 1643, with dates in 1029 (1620) and 1030 (1621), as discussed below. The name of the scribe is not explicitly noted in either of the colophons, but, as I argue in the lines that follow, there seem to be strong reasons to believe that it was copied by the Zaydi Imam al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, beginning the work just before, and completing it just after, his accession to the imamate in 1029/1620.

This section begins with a title page, partially torn (fol. 1a). At the top of this page are the remnants of four blocks with the titles and authors of the four main works that comprise the manuscript (which allow us to reconstruct the correct order of the pages), then the title given to the present section, and below this, four rather damaged owners' notes, the oldest dated Dhu'l-qa'da 1051 (February 1642, just two decades after the dates indicated in the colophons), and on the page now bound as fol. 2a (but which originally must have been the page facing the title page) there are another three owners' notes, among them one with the name of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī (b.) Ḥasan (b.) Muḥammad al-Akwa' and the date Shawwāl 1185 (January 1772).

The title ascribed to this first section is partially torn, but it can probably be restored as: [Ansā]b³ Qaḥṭān li'l-Hamdānī wa Abū (*sic*) Naṣr al-Yaharī (the last word is unpointed in the manuscript), that is, the genealogies of the South Arabian tribes (the descendants of the mythical Qaḥṭān) according to al-Hamdānī and to Abū Naṣr al-Yaharī. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) is the most famous authority on the ancient history of the Yemen, before and after the rise of Islam, the author of a monumental account of Yemeni antiquities called *al-Iklīl*, and al-Hamdānī himself tells us, right at the beginning of the first book of the *Iklīl*, and at various other points, that his principal source was a book by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd, with the *nisbas* al-Yaharī (from the tribe Dhū Yahar⁴) and al-Ḥanbaṣī (from the name of a fortress near Ṣan'ā'). The first part of the present segment consists in fact largely of extracts from the first book of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl*.

Of the ten books of the *Iklīl* only four (books I, II, VIII and X) are known to have survived, the first two not in their original form, but in a redaction by Muḥammad b. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī from around 600/1200. The first book and the final part of the second were edited from a single manuscript by the Swedish scholar Löfgren between 1953 and 1965, and the whole of the first two books was edited by the Yemeni scholar Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' (a kinsman of the person mentioned in the above-cited ownership note) between 1963 and 1966, the first book from the same unique (Berlin) manuscript used by Löfgren, but citing a very small number of variants from a manuscript that he quotes as 'qāf'. The latter is obviously this very manuscript; there are a few very concise remarks about it in al-Akwa's introduction to the first volume on pp. 16 and 22. Although this introduction is dated 1383 (1963) and implies that the manuscript was then still in the possession of the al-Akwa' family, they must in fact have sold it to Ḥusayn Hamdānī well before that date, since the latter died in 1962 and must consequently have acquired and bound the four parts before that time.

3. The vertical tear clearly follows the trace of an *alif*; I assume thus that the final b of *ansāb* was written above the rest of the word, like the n of *qaḥṭān*.

4. See (for example) *Iklīl* II p. 187. The tribal name *dyhr* occurs often in the ancient South Arabian texts; for references see Yusuf (1975), p. 549. Sayyid (1973), p. 64, writes *ذو جر*, but this is wrong.

This manuscript was obviously copied from an incomplete archetype and the scribe has left blank spaces of various sizes to signal the lacunae in the original. The extant text begins on fol. 1b, but there are lots of blanks here. At the top of the page there is a section on the family of Sām (Shem) after Noah's flood (compare *Iklīl*, I, Cairo edition, p. 76), but at the bottom of the page there is an earlier section from the same book (compare the edition, p. 67). Fol. 2, as mentioned above, is misplaced. The text continues on fol. 3a (linking up with the catchword on fol. 1b), proceeding with much of the same material as in the published text of the *Iklīl*, but with lots of variants and omissions, up to fol. 15a line 13 (corresponding to *Iklīl*, I, p. 345 line 6: the words in line 6 are, as stated in the footnote, in fact taken from the present manuscript). Some of the sections in this part are explicitly attributed to al-Hamdānī, or to Abū Naṣr, or both, but most are not sourced.

From this point onward the text in our manuscript is almost completely different from what we find in the *Iklīl* and must derive from a different source. The only approximate overlap that I have been able to find is on fol. 27a, where there is an account of the descendants of Saḥūl b. Suwādah which agrees roughly with what is written in *Iklīl*, II, pp. 260–261, down to the statement that many of them live in al-Shām (Syria), Muḍar⁵ (the upper Euphrates) and Ḥimṣ (Emessa). The compiler states that al-Hamdānī has more to say on the subject (this is apparently a way of indicating that the citation from the author of the *Iklīl* ends at this point) and then goes on to state that the Hamdān of Ḥarāz are the descendants of so-and-so (a word is crossed out in the manuscript) 'and of the banū al-Ṣulayḥī, the kings of the present time' (*banī al-Ṣulayḥī mulūk al-zamān*). I take this to indicate that the compilation contained in this manuscript was put together at the time of the Sulayhids (about a century after al-Hamdānī), but in this case the version of the first two books of the *Iklīl* used by the compiler must be different from, and older than, the extant redaction by Muḥammad b. Nashwān.

The text breaks off on fol. 38b with the statement that the extant part of the book ends here (*intahā al-mawjūd fi'l-kitāb ilā hādha al-mawḍi'*). The work seems thus to be an anonymous compilation

5. Muḍar is unpointed in our Ms.; in the edition, p. 261 line 3, it is printed as Miṣr (Egypt). Muḍar and Miṣr are frequently confused in Arabic and Persian texts.

from the Şulayḥid period, put together from the first book of the *Iklīl* and from other unidentified sources. The title 'Genealogies of Qaḥṭān' and the statement that it is 'by al-Hamdānī and Abū Naşr al-Yaharī' are evidently extrapolated from the fact that these two names are frequently mentioned in the first part of the text.

Compare these editions of al-Hamdānī's book:

al-Iklīl, book I, ed. O. Löfgren (Uppsala, 1953–1963); ed. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' (Cairo, 1963).

al-Iklīl, book II, partial edition, under the title *Südarabisches Muştabih*, ed. O. Löfgren (Uppsala, 1954); complete edition by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' (introduction dated Şan'ā', 1966; I have access only to a reprint dated Baghdad, 1980).

A facsimile of the only complete Ms. of books I and II was published in Berlin in 1943.

See also Löfgren's article 'al-Hamdānī' in *EI2*.

DESCRIPTION: green half-leather binding; 38 folios; catchwords; 30 × 20 cm (20 × 14 cm); 30 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; *naskh*, sparsely pointed; some marginalia; title (partially torn) on fol. 1a; various owners' notes on fols 1a, 2a; erroneous title ('al-Hamdānī al-Iklīl') embossed on the front cover.

Ms. 1641 [Handlist 129]

two works on Yemeni genealogies

the second part of an Arabic manuscript copied between 1620 and 1621

The second piece of this dismantled manuscript contains two works:

(1) fols 1a–18a

Kitāb ṭurfat al-aşḥāb fi ma'rifat al-ansāb

by al-Malik al-Aşraf 'Umar b. Yūsuf

This is another famous work on Yemeni genealogies in the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, composed by one of the surprisingly literate kings of the Rasulid dynasty, al-Malik al-Aşraf 'Umar b. Yūsuf (reigned 694/1295 to 696/1296). It has been edited by Zettersteen. There is a detailed presentation of the genealogy of the Şulayḥids on pp. 114–117 of the edition (here, fols 14b–15a).

The book ends on fol. 18a with a colophon giving the date of completion as 'the night of Friday, in the first quarter of the blessed night, the 18th night of the month of Rajab of the year 1029' (the eve of 19 June 1620).

EDITION: ed. K. W. Zettersteen (Damascus, 1949).

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 494; *GALS*, I, p. 901; Sayyid (1974), pp. 131–132.

(2) fols 18b–19b

This is followed by an extract from an unnamed work by the author here called Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mudahjan al-Qurashī al-Nassāba, citing the authority of al-Hamdānī, presumably from his *Risāla fī ansāb al-qabā'il allatī sakanat fī madīnat Zabīd* (Zabīd is mentioned in the first line of the extract). This author is reported to have been alive in 890/1485.

REFERENCE: Sayyid (1974), pp. 183–184.

On the last page of this section there is an ornate superscription for the first work in the next part; the name of the author is given in the same form as in the copy described in the next entry, but it is preceded here by a veritable flow of self-abuse (he calls himself *asīr dhanbihi wa rahīn kasbihi al-khā'if al-rājī al-mudhnīb al-lāhī*, roughly: 'the one imprisoned by his sins, and pawned by his acquired knowledge, the fearful, the seeker, the sinner, the reviler'), but the title appears in a rather different form (*Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mustaṭāb al-muḥṭawī 'alā tashjīr uṣūl al-intisāb*).

DESCRIPTION: green half-leather binding; 19 folios; catchwords; 30 × 20 cm (20 × 14 cm); 30 lines; black ink with rubrics in red, yellow and green; *naskh*, sparsely pointed; some marginalia; title and author of the first work only indicated on the title page (fol. 1a) and in the torn superscription at the beginning of Ms. 1640; title also embossed on the front cover.

Ms. 1642 [Handlist 130]

Rawḍat al-albāb wa tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa nukhbat al-aḥsāb li ma'rīfat al-ansāb

by the future Zaydi Imam, al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh the third part of an Arabic manuscript copied between 1620 and 1621 [see Plate 5]

The third now detached part of this manuscript contains a single work, preceded by a title page with the title given as in the heading of this entry. (A different form of the title has been cited at the end of the preceding entry.) This book is, however, generally known as *al-Mushajjar* 'adorned with trees' (thus in the acquisition note in Ms. 1640, fol. 1a). In the box under the title, the name of the author is given as Muḥammad b. al-Imām 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām 'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad, the Imam of the Zaydis from 1029/1620 to 1054/1654, with the regnal name al-Mu'ayyad. However, the fact that this title page designates several of his ancestors as imams, but does not give this title to the author himself, would seem to indicate that at the time when this copy was written he had not yet ascended to the imamate; this is fully consistent with the older of the two dates indicated in this manuscript (1029). This copy is certainly from the lifetime of the author, and, given the deprecating epithets applied to him on the last page of Ms. 1641, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it is an autograph.

It is necessary, however, to add that Brockelmann puts the composition of this work in '1030/1626' (mistake for 1030/1621 or for 1035/1626?), while Sayyid (1974) says that it was written after 1035/1625, but these are both too late, at least for the recension contained in this manuscript.

The work contains 13 folios of text, followed (on fols 14 to 73) by a series of elaborate family trees relating to the family of the Prophet, and (on fols 74a-b) by a concluding piece of text.

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 402; Sayyid (1974), p. 226.

DESCRIPTION: green half-leather binding; 74 folios; catchwords; 30 × 20 cm (the text measures 20 × 14 cm in the parts containing continuous text); 30 lines; black ink with rubrics in red and green; *naskh*, sparsely pointed; some marginalia; the work consists mainly of genealogical tables; title and author indicated on the title page (fol. 1a), in a different form in Ms. 1641, fol. 19b and in the torn superscription and the owner's note at the beginning of Ms. 1640; title also embossed on the front cover.

Ms. 1643 [Handlist 128]

works on genealogies and history of the Yemen

the fourth part of an Arabic manuscript copied between 1620 and 1621

The last separately bound part of this manuscript contains five pieces.

(1) fols 1a–6b

Kitāb al-bāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb

by al-Ashʿarī

There is a title page, where name of the book is given as cited above – other forms of the title (*al-Albāb, al-Lubāb* etc.) are cited by Brockelmann and Sayyid – and its author as Abuʿl-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ashʿarī. His dates do not seem to be recorded, but Sayyid concludes that he died about 550/1155.

This copy ends on fol. 6b with a colophon dated ‘the night of Sunday, the 22nd night of the month of Rabīʿ I of the year 1030’ (that is, the eve of 14 February 1621).

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 324; *GALS*, I, p. 558; Sayyid (1974), p. 115.

(2) fols 7a–8a

This is a short versified history of the town of Zabīd, ascribed in the superscription to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī al-Daybaʿ, namely the work otherwise known as *Aḥsan al-sulūk fī naẓm man waliya madīnat Zabīd min al-mulūk*. The well-known historian Ibn al-Daybaʿ lived from 866/1461 to 944/1537.

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 400; *GALS*, II, p. 548; Sayyid (1974), pp. 202–203, no. 3.

(3) fols 8a–8b

A list of the Ottoman governors of the Yemen with their dates, and brief information about their dealings with contemporaneous Zaydi imams, from 922/1516–1517 to 1039/1629–1630, but I think it is possible that the last seven lines on fol. 8b are a slightly later addition. In this case, the last date mentioned in the text would be 1025/1616–1617.

(4) fols 9a–9b

These two pages are torn and patched together. I am not able to identify their contents. There is some more writing in a different hand on fol. 10b.

DESCRIPTION: green half-leather binding; 10 folios; catchwords; 30 × 20 cm (20 × 14 cm); 30 lines; black ink with rubrics in red, yellow and green; *naskh*, sparsely pointed; some marginalia; title and author of the first work only indicated on the title page (fol. 1a) and in the torn superscription at the beginning of Ms. 1640 (only ‘al-Ash‘arī’ remains); title and author also embossed on the front cover.

f. Philosophy (*falsafa*) and logic (*manṭiq*)

Ms. 1644 [Handlist 167/1]

Sharḥ Isāghūjī

by al-Kāṭī

Incomplete Arabic manuscript

Porphyry of Tyre, the Neoplatonic philosopher and pupil of Plotinus, was born in CE 234 and died about 305. His *Eisagogē* (‘Introduction’) is an elementary textbook of logic which became very popular in the Islamic and Christian Middle Ages. It was translated into Arabic by Abū ‘Uthmān al-Dimashqī around the end of the 9th Christian century, but in later times it was probably best known through a commentary, or paraphrase, by Athīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar al-Abharī (d. 663/1265), generally cited with the same title as Porphyry’s book, namely *Kitāb Isāghūjī*. This in turn was frequently commentated, notably by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kāṭī (d. 760/1359). Later still, in 920/1534, al-Abharī’s book was versified for easy memorisation by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhḍarī under the title *al-Sullam al-murawnīq fi’l-manṭiq*, which in turn was commentated by the author himself and by many others.

The present manuscript is a fragment of a copy of al-Kāṭī’s commentary: the beginning is intact, but it breaks off after ten folios.

REFERENCES: For the Muslim reception of Porphyry: see *EI2* s.v. ‘Furfūriyūs’ (article by R. Walzer); for al-Abharī and al-Kāṭī: Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, pp. 464–465; *GALS*, I, p. 841; also Gacek (1985),

no. 107 (al-Abhari) and no. 203 (3 copies of al-Kātib); for al-Akhḍari and his commentators: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 463; *GALS*, II, pp. 705–706.

DESCRIPTION: only the front cover of the binding has been located; 10 folios; catchwords; 20.5 × 14 cm (14 to 15 × 10 cm); 21 to 24 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; very irregular *naskh* (two hands? or one hand changing pens?); copious marginalia; no indication of scribe or date; title and author (*Sharḥ Isāghūjī li Husām Kātibī*) on fol. 1a, together with a reader's note dated Šafar 1237 (1821); title and author are also indicated at the beginning of the text and on the label on the cover.

Ms. 1645 [Handlist 217]

Sharḥ al-sullam fi'l-manṭiq

author not identified

Arabic manuscript

This work is identified on its title page and on the labels as *Sharḥ al-sullam fi'l-manṭiq* and it must be one of several commentaries on al-Akhḍari's *al-Sullam al-murawniq* (for which see the preceding entry). The beginning is missing.

DESCRIPTION: marbled cloth binding with leather trim; not foliated (some of the pages are stuck together); catchwords; 22 × 13 cm (15 × 8 cm); 17 or more lines; *naskh*, becoming more rough in the second half; black ink with rubrics in red (in the second half the rubrics are mostly in black, but overlined in black or red); very few marginal corrections; no indication of scribe or date; title on the first page and on the labels on front cover and spine; acquisition note by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī dated 1311 (1893–1894).

Ms. 1646 [Handlist 152]

Sharḥ hikmat al-'ayn fi'l-falsafa

Arabic manuscript

This big manuscript is very badly worm-eaten and could not be examined closely; the title is cited as it appears on the label of the front cover. It is presumably one of several recorded commentaries on the *Hikmat al-'ayn*, a famous treatise on philosophy and the natural sciences by Najm al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī, an associate

of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; he died in 675/1276, or, according to others, in 693/1294. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, pp. 466–467; *GALS*, I, p. 847; *EI2* s.v. ‘al-Kātibī’ (article by M. Mohaghegh), where the date of his death is misprinted.

g. Mathematics and astronomy

Ms. 1647 [Handlist 167/2]

three Greek treatises on spherical geometry and optics

Arabic manuscript

This manuscript contains Arabic versions of three ancient scientific treatises, all with lots of diagrams. In the Islamic world all three of them are best known (or in any case: most copiously represented by manuscripts) in the redaction (*tahrīr*) by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, but as far as I can see the versions contained in this manuscript are not those of al-Ṭūsī, but older (and rarer) versions. The manuscript is not dated, but obviously old.

(1) fols 1a–38b

Kitāb al-ukar

by Theodosius

Theodosius of Bithynia lived probably in the 1st century BCE. His *Sphairika* was translated into Arabic by Qusṭā b. Lūqā (flourished in the second half of the 3rd/9th century) and the translation was revised by a celebrated contemporary of the latter, Thābit b. Qurrah (d. 288/901). The various Arabic spellings of the name Theodosius include ثودسيوس with four teeth before the last *wāw*, but in the present copy it has in all of its various occurrences only two or three teeth, usually unpointed, sometimes wrongly pointed. The work consists of three chapters (sing. *maqāla*), beginning here on fols 1b, 11a and 27a, each with an implicit and an explicit, whereby the explicit to the first chapter (fol. 10b) says expressly that Thābit b. Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī (here wrongly with pointed J-) ‘translated it’ (*tarjamahu*).

It is followed on fol. 39a by half a page of some other mathematical text.

REFERENCE: Sezgin, *GAS*, V, pp. 154–155.



Figure 19. Three Greek treatises on spherical geometry and optics (Ms. 164/7 fol. 35a).

(2) fols 39b–42b

Kitāb al-kurra al-mutaḥarriqa

by Autolyclus

Autolyclus of Pitane (here written *اوطولوقوس*) seems to have lived around the end of the 4th century BCE. His treatise on the moving sphere (*Peri kinoumenēs sphairas*) exists in several Arabic versions, one of which was corrected by the above-mentioned Thābit b. Qurrah. In the present copy the explicit states that this version represents the correction (*iṣlāḥ*) by Thābit.

REFERENCE: Sezgin, GAS, V, pp. 81–82.

(3) fols 43b–52b

Kitāb ikhtilāf al-manāzīr (incomplete)

by Euclid

Euclid (in Arabic: *اوقليس*) lived in the 3rd century BCE. Besides his famous *Elements* he also composed this work on optics (*Optika*). The name of the Arabic translator does not seem to be recorded. The present copy breaks off on fol. 52b.

REFERENCE: Sezgin, GAS, V, p. 117.

DESCRIPTION: unbound gatherings pasted (but they have partially come loose) in a paper wrapper; 52 folios; no catchwords visible; 21 × 15.5 cm (17.5 × 12 cm); 25 lines; text in black ink, diagrams in black and red; *naskh* with some archaic features; some marginal and interlinear corrections; diagrams on nearly every page; no scribe or date indicated; titles and authors indicated in the incipits and explicits of each work; there was a table of contents on fol. 1a, now almost entirely effaced; over this Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī has written the title and author of the first work only and recorded his purchase of the manuscript in 1313 (1895–1896).

Ms. 1648 [Handlist 159]

Jāmi‘ al-mabādi’ wa’l-ghāyāt

by al-Marrākushī

first part only

Arabic manuscript, copied before 1722 [see Plate 6]

This manuscript encompasses the first part of a famous work on astronomy, and (in its latter parts) specifically on astronomical instruments. Its author is Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Marrākushī, about whom we do not seem to have any biographical information. His *nisba* indicates that he was a native of Marrākush (Marrakesh), but the fact that some of his tables have been calculated specifically for Cairo and for the year 680/1281–1282 shows that he must have been living in Egypt during the early Mamluk period.

This beautifully written copy contains the introduction (begins p. 2), the complete text of the first book (*al-fann al-awwal*, from p. 5), the 10 sections (sing. *faṣl*) of the first division (*qism*) of the second book (from p. 236), and the first 22 of the 42 sections of its second division (from p. 330). The last leaf (p. 418) breaks off after the first 2 lines of the 23rd section.

Up to the designated point the manuscript seems to be complete, though in the absence of catchwords it is difficult to say this with certainty. Three folios were misplaced and are not included in the current numbering. I have reinserted them in what I think is their correct place between the pages numbered 298 and 299.

At intervals of about ten pages (I think: at the end of each quire, but in some cases the collation note or the quire marking, or both, is torn off) there is, at the bottom left-hand corner of the verso, a note, always in identical wording, and evidently in the hand of the scribe, recording that up to this point the manuscript was collated 'with the author's original, in his own handwriting, and it is correct'. The first legible collation note is on p. 18.

On the last page of the manuscript there is a note recording the acquisition of the manuscript by one Sharaf al-Dīn in the year 1135 (1722–1723) and on the title page there are at least eight different owners' notes, mostly torn or faded, one of which is partially transcribed by a recent owner on the opposite page, and this one records the acquisition of the manuscript by Sharaf al-Dīn, 'a *sharīf* from Mecca', with the date (according to the modern transcription) Sunday 15 Muḥarram 1135; unfortunately the section containing the date is now torn off. This tells us that the manuscript was copied before 1722; judging from the handwriting I should think that it is a lot older.

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 473–474; *GALS*, I, p. 866; *EI2* s.v. 'al-Marrākushī' (article by D. A. King).

DESCRIPTION: red leather binding, tooled; 212 folios (418 numbered pages, plus the 3 displaced folios described above); 22 quires (in principle numbered, but some of the quire marks are cut off); catch-words only sporadically; 25 × 17.5 cm (17.5 × 12 cm); 21 lines; black ink with rubrics etc. in red; neat *naskh*, extensively vocalised; marginal corrections and glosses; collation notes; many tables and diagrams; title and author on p. 1 (in the hand of the scribe), on the facing page, and on labels on the front cover and spine; various owners' notes and seal.

Ms. 1649 [Handlist 167/3]

a collection of treatises on mathematics and astronomy
mainly by Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī

Arabic manuscript (with some material in Persian) dated 1693

This is a classic scholar's working manuscript. The main texts occupy about half the breadth of each page and the very wide margins are crammed full of annotations, additional texts, verses, etc., in Arabic and Persian. These main texts are mostly by Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (for whom see above, Mss. 1623 and 1624) and they are as follows:

(1) fols 1a–43a

Khulāṣat al-ḥisāb

by Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī

An elementary textbook of arithmetic, consisting of an introduction, ten chapters and a conclusion. Fol. 1 is rather badly torn and I am not sure whether it really belongs to this work. The title is given (partially torn) on fol. 2a in the margin as *Khulāṣat al-ḥisāb*; the text on this page belongs to the fourth *faṣl* of the first *bāb* and after this the text seems to continue intact until the end.

On fol. 43a there is a colophon giving the title again, as above, naming the author as Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, and giving the date of copying (*taswīd*) as Tuesday 27 Muḥarram of the year of the cock (*takhāqūī il*), equated with 1105 (29 September 1693), and the name of the copyist as Muʿīn al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī.

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 415, no. 8; *GALS*, II, p. 595, no. 8.

(2) fols 43b–61b

Tashriḥ al-aflāk

by Bahā' al-Dīn al-‘Āmili [see Plate 7]

This is a much-copied outline of geocentric astronomical doctrine as it had been formulated many centuries earlier by the classic Muslim authorities on the science of the heavens. As mentioned earlier, al-‘Āmili lived from about 1547 to about 1621. Thus, he was born four years after the death of Copernicus (1543) and was a contemporary of Kepler (d. 1630) and Galileo (d. 1642), but his book shows no awareness of the monumental advances in astronomical knowledge during his lifetime. It is in fact a rather blatant illustration of the stagnation of scientific thinking in the Islamic world after the 14th century.

The copy ends on fol. 61b with a colophon evidently signed by the same scribe, who now calls himself *aḥqar al-sādāt* [Mu‘ī]n al-Dīn Muḥammad, with the date Sunday 24 Ṣafar of the year of the cock, again equated with 1105 (25 October 1693).

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 415, no. 6; *GALS*, II, p. 595, no. 6.

(3) fol. 62a

A geometrical demonstration in Persian.

(4) fols 62b–63b

Astronomical tables.

(5) fols 64a–66a

Assorted extracts. On fol. 64a there is a partially torn note in Persian with a date in 1106.

(6) fols 66b–67a

The beginning of another treatise by al-‘Āmili (he names himself in the introduction), but the text of the treatise has been crossed out. At a bias to this there is another mathematical demonstration in Persian.

(7) fols 67b–75a

Another treatise by the same author (again, he names himself in the introduction) that I have not been able to identify. On the last page (fol. 75a) the scribe has copied in the margin the author's statement that it was composed in Mashhad in (10)21. His own colophon on the same page says that he copied it on the night of Sunday 2 Rabi' II of the year of the cock, equated with 1105 (29 November 1693) and names himself again as Mu'in al-Din al-'Alawi.

DESCRIPTION: unbound quires in a paper wrapper; 75 folios; catchwords; 19.5 × 15 cm (the written area of the main text occupies the halves of the page closest to the centre and measures 12 × 5.5 cm); 11 lines; black ink with rubrics in red; cursive *naskh* (the marginalia mostly in *nasta'liq*); enormous amounts of marginalia and interlinear annotations; diagrams; copied by Mu'in al-Din Muhammad al-'Alawi with various dates in 1105 (1693) as indicated above; titles of the first two texts indicated also on the front of the wrapper and on a label on fol. 1a.

Ms. 1650 [Handlist 175]

[an unidentified work on astronomy]

Arabic manuscript

A note at the top of the first folio, recopied on the front of the paper folder in which these pages are gathered, identifies this as *Sharḥ kitāb fī 'ilm al-hay'a*, that is, 'commentary on a book on astronomy', evidently not a title, but a description of its contents. The beginning is missing and I am unable to identify either the underlying work or the name of the commentator. At the end the commentator is cited as giving the date of composition (I think: of the commentary) with the chronogram 'arkhū', that is, 1+200+600+6 = 807 (1404–1405), although someone has actually written in, just below the chronogram: 856. The name of the scribe seems to be 'Abd al-[Razzā]q b. ['Ab]d Allāh b. Sharaf al-Din Ḥasan al-Ṭabīb al-Shirāzī, with the date 'end of the month Ṣafar of the year', but the number of the year has been omitted.

DESCRIPTION: not bound; 55 folios; 18 × 11 cm (11.5 × 6 cm); 19 lines; black ink, red overlining, chapter headings red in the margins; cursive *naskh*; marginal addenda; figures; copied by 'Abd al-Razzāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sharaf al-Din Ḥasan al-Ṭabīb al-Shirāzī, without indication

of the year; acquisition note by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī dated 1313 (1895–1896); seals.

Ms. 1651 [Handlist 115]

Sharḥ-i sī faṣl

unidentified commentary on a work by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī
Persian manuscript

The beginning and end of this unbound manuscript are missing and the writing on the paper cover identifies it only as ‘a treatise on astronomy’ (*risāla fi ‘ilm al-nujūm*), but a partially torn note on the first surviving page identifies it as *Sharḥ i sī faṣl*[1] and a superficial perusal of its disintegrating pages reveals that it is in fact a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar dar ma‘rifat i taqwīm*, also known as *Sī faṣl* (‘30 chapters’), a work on chronology and astronomical timekeeping by the famous Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). Storey lists seven commentaries on this work, but I have not been able to identify which of these is contained in the present copy. There seems to be only one page missing at the beginning. The commentator’s preface goes on until the middle of fol. 4a. Al-Ṭūsī’s names occur at the bottom of fol. 3b and the top of fol. 4a, and the first five words of al-Ṭūsī’s book are on fol. 4a, followed by two and a half pages of long-winded commentary. The twelfth *faṣl* begins on fol. 57b after which I could not see any more chapter headings, so it seems that less than half of the work is contained in this copy.

REFERENCE: Storey II/1, pp. 57–58, no. 10.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 71 folios (of which the first 43 have an old numbering from 2 to 44; that means that only one folio is missing at the beginning); catchwords; 16 × 9.5 cm (10.5 × 5.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink, with overlining of the basic text, mostly in red; *nasta‘līq*; marginal corrections and annotations; diagrams; no scribe or date indicated; title indicated as discussed above; seals.

Ms. 1652 [Handlist 116]

a collection of mathematical treatises

Arabic and Persian manuscript copied in 1690

This old manuscript is very badly worm-eaten and is at present too fragile to study. A quick glance at the less damaged parts of the codex

shows that it is a collection of mathematical texts, some in Arabic and some in Persian, with lots of diagrams, apparently all in the same hand, in a very small Persian-type *nasta'liq* script. At the beginning a recent owner has copied out the colophon (which I could not consult in the original), with the information that it was completed on Thursday 27 Jumādā I 1101 (9 March 1690) by a scribe who signs himself as Ibn Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Ms. 1653 [Handlist 153]

Risāla fi 'ilm al-nujūm

Persian manuscript

This unbound manuscript is very badly worm-eaten and on the point of disintegrating. It contains an astronomical treatise in Persian (I read the title from the paper wrapper), with diagrams.

h. Medicine and pharmacology

Ms. 1654 [Handlist 106]

al-Urjūza fi'l-ṭibb

by Ibn Sīnā

incomplete Arabic manuscript

This is a fragment of an undated, but evidently old copy of a famous didactic poem on medicine by the celebrated doctor and philosopher Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh, known (in Arabic) as Ibn Sīnā, and (in the West) as Avicenna, born 370/980, died 428/1037. On the front cover of this copy it is called *al-urjūza al-sīnā'iyya fi'l-ṭibb*. Manuscripts are frequent (see Ullmann) and the poem was also well known in medieval Europe thanks to several Latin versions of the *Cantica Avicennae*. It consists of a theoretical ('*ilmī*') and a practical ('*amālī*') part, the latter in three sections on (1) hygiene, diet, etc., (2) therapeutics, and (3) surgery. The present copy begins with the last five verses of the theoretical part, and then the first section of the second part and (from fol. 6b) the beginning of the second section.

EDITION and TRANSLATION: Henri Jahier and Abdelkader Noureddine (Paris, 1956), together with a 13th-century Latin translation.

REFERENCES: See Ullmann (1970), pp. 154–155.

DESCRIPTION: brown cloth binding with leather trim; 32 folios; catchwords (some of which are cut off); 16.5 × 12.5 cm (12.5 × 9 cm); 21 lines; black ink with chapter headings in red; *naskh*; marginal corrections; marginal and interlinear glosses in Persian; no indication of scribe or date; seals.

Ms. 1655 [Handlist 184]

Kitāb minhāj al-dukkān

by al-Kūhīn

Arabic manuscript dated 1806

This is a well-known compendium of pharmacology in 25 chapters, written (as we are told at the very beginning of the text) by Abu'l-Munā b. Abī Naṣr al-'Aṭṭār, known as al-Kūhīn (i.e. Cohen, a scholar of Jewish origin), in Cairo, 658/1260. The text here seems to be complete. The formulary in the colophon (... *yawm al-thalūth la'allahu ...*, exactly as in the much older manuscript Ms. 1657) makes me think it was copied in the Yemen.

REFERENCE: Ullmann (1970), pp. 309–310.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 93 folios; catchwords; 30 × 20 cm (19 × 13 cm); variable number of lines (often as many as 30); black ink with rubrics in red; rough *naskh*; red border around the written area and some very rough illumination at the beginning of some of the chapters; copied by Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-'Ābid and dated *yawm al-thalūth la'allahu 3 shahr Ṣafar sanat 1221* (Tuesday, 22 April 1806); a note on the first page states that it was purchased by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī in 1313 (1895–1896).

Ms. 1656 [Handlist 108]

one or more medical works

Persian manuscript

This is another very fragile manuscript, evidently containing several works in Persian. The label calls it *Kitāb manṣūriyya* [sic] *fi'l-ḥibb*, suggesting that it might contain a Persian translation of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī's famous *al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*, for which see Ullmann (1970), p. 132, though no Persian translation is mentioned there.

الباب الاول	الباب الثاني	الباب الثالث
في التمسك بغير الله	في الاشارة وعلمها واصلاحها اذا نشئت	في الربوب وربيتها
الباب الرابع	الباب الخامس	الباب السادس
المؤمنات وربيتها	في كسفه المعاصي ومخبتها	في الخوارسنان وربيتها
الباب السابع	الباب الثامن	الباب التاسع
في السرفان وربها وعلمها	في صفة الامراض وكسفه ربها	في عمل اللعوقا وكيفيةها
الباب العاشر	الباب الحادي عشر	الباب الثاني عشر
في صفة الهيب وجبها	في الاذخات وسجدها	في معرفة الاكيا وكيفيةها
الباب الثالث عشر	الباب الرابع عشر	الباب الخامس عشر
في عمل الاساوان ومنافعها	في المراهم وكيفيةها	في الادهان والتغذية والبوليات
الباب السادس عشر	الباب السابع عشر	الباب الثامن عشر
في الاصلية وكيفيةها	في السعوي وكيفيةها	في القنابل المسلمة والقابض وغيرها
الباب التاسع عشر	الباب العشرون	الباب الحادي والعشرون
في الضمان والحملات	في سعال الادوية وعلاجها	في سرحاسما الادوية المفردة
الباب العاشر والعشرون	الباب الحادي والعشرون	الباب الثاني والعشرون
في الاوران والمخاراج والحقن	في وصايا سبعين الالان	في كسفه الحاد الادوية المفردة
الباب الحادي والعشرون	في اسمان الادوية المفردة والمكسفة	وذكر ما يستعمل وما لا يستعمل

الباب الاول في التمسك بغير الله تعالى وعقله جعله كالسراج يعرف به اول الحمر والسر والعسن والصلاح
وعقله غير ارجح لك وان كان الممثلة املة تعالى فاذا اذ لم له فاسان حرا جرا الوبر
على يده وانما عاذه على جعله وان كان عامر مسحق لذلك فحلت عنده العنابة ففعل الشعر
ورفعوا بل عليها في لنا والاحرة والان فاحرس اولادنا ولسان يكون في تمسك بغير الله
تعالى وجوهر في الحرف حروف مجببة في دانه لا خوف عفاه فان احرك يكون غطيبا
وهناك من الناس من يسميها سمعي لكن بحمد الله فعل القف والاماع الصريح
في ان نلهم لمرديان سمعة المنقذ من من الراكيب وحررودا وواحد وافه للمع
للناس من سمع في في كسفه ليس سمع ابه وقت الحاجة اليه وطلبوا فيه نورا والله سبحانه

في الاخرة

Figure 20. *Kitāb minhāj al-dukkan*, al-Kūhīn (Ms. 1655/fol. 2b).

i. Occult arts (*sihr*)

Ms. 1657 [Handlist 194]

a collection of books on magic

Arabic manuscript copied in 1693 and before

This old manuscript contains at least parts of several works on magic. There is an old table of contents on the last page (233b), a similar list on fol. 1a (faded and partially torn), and a recent hand has made a note of some of its contents on the facing page (fol. 0b). The three lists are of somewhat limited use in determining the contents of the volume. I propose dividing it into four components:

(1) fols 1–84

Ṭaysīr al-maṭālib

elsewhere attributed to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī

A book on the secret properties of the letters of the alphabet. The title is indicated in the text itself, near the end of the work (here on fol. 83b) and (perhaps in a different hand) in the upper margin of its first page (fol. 1b), as well as in the three mentioned tables of contents, whereby the one on fol. 0b ascribes it (on the authority of Ḥājjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-zunūn*) to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī. A few manuscripts are listed in Brockelmann, who says that this author died around the year 810/1407. The text here seems to be complete.

REFERENCES: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 253; *GALS*, II, p. 358.

(2) fols 85–152

ʿIlm al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī bi'l-Qur'ān al-raḥmānī

elsewhere attributed to Ibn Arfa' Ra's [see Plate 8]

The title is indicated (in a second hand) on the otherwise blank fol. 1a as: *ʿIlm al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī bi'l-Qur'ān al-raḥmānī*, and the same wording is found in the text itself at the bottom of fol. 86a. The three mentioned tables of contents have *Kitāb fi 'ilm al-ṭibb* etc. The Paris manuscript 2643 contains a work titled *al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī bi'l-Qur'ān al-raḥmānī*, and ascribed to the famous writer on magic 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Andulusī, known

as Ibn Arfa' Ra's (or Ra'sihi), who died in 593/1197 (see Ullmann, 1972, pp. 231–232, where, however, this book is not mentioned). This work too is concerned with the magical qualities of letters, especially those that make up the text of the Qur'ān. The author states (fol. 86b) that it consists of two introductions and eight sections (sing. *faṣl*), and then gives the titles of the sections. The 'first introduction' begins on fol. 87a, but the beginning of the second introduction and that of the first section are not clearly marked. The second *faṣl* starts on fol. 104b and the third on 121b. The text breaks off on fol. 152b. This is followed by an (originally) blank page now covered with scribbled notes in a different hand, and then (fol. 153b), in the same hand as before, by the beginning of the next text.

REFERENCE: Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 654.

(3) fols 153–223

a large fragment of an unidentified text or texts

There is no indication of title or author in the body of the text, but it is presumably the work described in the two old tables of contents (fols 1a and 233b) as *Kitāb fawā'id 'aẓīma mushtamil 'alā sā'āt al-awqāt wa 'alā khawāṣṣ al-khawāfīm*, etc. I have not found this 'title' elsewhere, and presumably it is not actually a title but rather a description of the contents of the compilation, namely an 'extremely useful book' about the occult arts. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence on fol. 223b; this is the end of the part of the manuscript in the first hand.

(4) fols 224–233

The remaining ten folios contain writing in at least five different hands, all distinct from the one in which the main body of the manuscript is copied. There are magical squares, verses, prayers, etc., and on fol. 232b there is (written sideways in the margin) a colophon (partially recopied on fol. 0b) giving the date and place of completion, apparently as *fi yawm al-thalūth⁶ la'allahu 13 shahr rajab al-fard 'ām 1104 bi*

6. *lyawm ath-thalūthi* is the name for 'Tuesday' (classical *yawm al-thulathā*) in the dialect of Ṣan'ā' and other Yemeni dialects. For other literary attestations see M. Pimenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic* (Leiden, 1990–1991), vol. 2, p. 57.

maḥrūs ṣan‘ā’ al-maḥmiyya bi’llāh ‘an kull sū’; that is, on Tuesday, ‘perhaps it is the 13th’ of Rajab 1104, in the divinely protected (etc.) city of Ṣan‘ā’ (the place name seems very probable, but it is not certain, as all the letters are unpointed and the ‘*ayn*’ is not very clear). According to the conversion formulae 13 Rajab 1104 corresponds to Thursday 19 or Friday 20 March 1693 (so it is a little difficult for it to be a Tuesday); in any event, the ‘perhaps’ is a concession to the fact that in the common (non-Ismaili) Islamic calendar it is never quite certain which day of the month it is (compare the similar wording in Ms. 1655). This date refers of course only to the added final pages; the main body of the manuscript is obviously older, possibly considerably older.

DESCRIPTION: cloth binding with red leather trim; 233 folios, of which the first 223 are mainly in the first hand, the remainder in several other hands; catchwords (many of them lost in the course of rebinding); 20 × 14.5 cm (13.5 × 8.5 cm); 12 lines in the section in the first hand; black ink with rubrics in red; neat *naskh*, largely vocalised; red border; some marginal corrections and annotations; many tables and diagrams; the added final leaves contain the date 13 Rajab 1104 (March 1693; see the discussion above); titles indicated on fols 0b, 1a, 233b and on labels on the front cover and spine.

j. Manuscripts of mixed content

Ms. 1658 [Handlist 113]

[*Majmū‘*]

Arabic manuscript, copied between 1741 and 1744

This manuscript and the one described in the next entry have one treatise in common and they are of similar composition, both being a somewhat bizarre mixture of scientific, religious and occult texts. The four components of this one are all signed by the same person, but he changes his style of writing several times in the course of copying.

1. (fols 1b–8a, plus the diagram on fol. 8b)

This is a short and rather elementary (non-technical) treatise on the calculation of the direction of prayer. The title is given on fol. 1a, I think

in the same hand as the text, as *hādihā al-risāla samt al-qibla*; the last word is partially effaced by a worm hole, but the same title is repeated at the top of the same page, partially cut off, but legible. There is no indication of its author. The text ends on fol. 8a with a colophon stating that it was copied from a manuscript in the hand of one ‘Abd Allāh b. Qāsim al-Khaṭīb, who in turn copied it from a codex in the hand of a preacher in Medina whose name has been eaten away by the worms. Then the scribe gives his own name as Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājji Yūsuf al-Mušliḥi, with the date Wednesday 14 Dhu’l-Qa’da 1153 (1 February 1741) ‘during the reign of al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd’, evidently the Ottoman Maḥmūd I.

2. (fols 9a–18a)

The beginning of this text is missing. The first page has what is clearly the tail end of the *khuṭba* and gives the title as *Khizānat al-ṭālib wa’l-maṭālib fī ḥall ramz al-imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*. The handwriting switches several times between *naskh* and *nasta’liq*. It ends with a colophon stating that it is ‘in the two hands of the two scribes Aḥmad and ‘Alī Yūsuf and ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh’, but I assume that the words that I have printed in italic type are a mistake, or rather an anticipation of what follows. The first (*naskh*) hand is clearly the same as that in text no. (1), so ‘Aḥmad Yūsuf’ is evidently the same person as ‘Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājji Yūsuf’. The date is given as Sunday, the second day (the last letter of *thānī* is torn) of Dhu’l-Ḥijja 1153 (19 February 1741).

Fols 18b–20a are blank, apart from an *abjad* on fol. 18b.

3. (fols 20b–21b)

A little text without title. The writer identifies himself as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Āl *al-shaykh* ‘Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī al-Shahīr bi’l-Kuwāzī (?) Bānī – evidently the same person as the one mentioned in the three colophons in this manuscript – and enumerates his teachers in Sufism. The text ends with the declaration that he has received ‘authorisation’ (*ijāza*) on Tuesday 15 Ramaḍān 1155 (13 November 1742).

4. (fols 22b–24b)

The last work in the manuscript is identified in its opening lines as *Risāla fī’l-‘amal bi rub’ al-muqaṭṭarāt* by Abu’l-‘Abbās Shihāb

al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Majdī, and describes the correct usage of the astronomical instrument known as *rub' al-muqaṭṭarāt* (a kind of quadrant; see King's article 'Rub' in *EI2*). For this work see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 128; *GALS*, II, pp. 158–159, and also the next entry in this catalogue. The author died in 850/1447. This copy ends with a colophon stating that the copying was completed on Saturday 22 Muḥarram 1157 (7 March 1744). This is followed by another colophon in larger script again naming the copyist al-Ḥājj Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Muṣliḥ etc.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 24 folios; catchwords; 20 × 15 cm; size of written area and number of lines vary considerably; black ink with rubrics in red; various styles of *naskh* and (in no. 2) *nasta'liq*; copious marginal variants in no. 4 only; diagrams on fols 4a and 8b; scribe and dates indicated as discussed above; title of nos 1, 2 and 4 indicated on fol. 1a and on the front of the paper cover; acquisition note by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī with the date 1313 (1895–1896) on fols 1a and 21b; seals.

Ms. 1659 [Handlist 174]

[*Majmū'*]

Arabic manuscript containing a date in 1519

This is again a collection of scientific and religious works, but this one is pasted together from pages in various hands and clearly from different times. The 7th work in this codex is the same as the 4th in the one just described.

1. (fols 2b–9a)

This is the beginning of a work on arithmetic. In the text the title is given as *al-Risāla al-kāfiya fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, in ten *fuṣūl*, and a partially torn note on fol. 2a says that its author is one Khaṭīb Qāsim-zāda (Is this perhaps the same person as the *khaṭīb* 'Abd Allāh b. Qāsim mentioned in the colophon to the first text in Ms. 1658?). It is evidently not complete (*faṣl* 5 begins on fol. 8b).

2. (fols 9b–88b)

This is evidently a large extract from the famous Qur'ān commentary by al-Zamakhsharī, in more than one hand, with lots of marginal notes.

3. (fols 89b–95a)

The beginning of a commentary on a work cited only as *al-Hidāya*, presumably the thus named compendium of Ḥanafī law by Burhān al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghinānī (d. 593/ 1197); see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 376.

4. (fols 96b–101a)

The beginning of another commentary on some Sunni religious work.

5. (fols 103b–108b)

The beginning of a commentary on some Sunni *aḥādīth* (the author quotes al-Bukhārī). On the recto of its first page (fol. 103a) someone – perhaps the same hand – has written *Miftāḥ al-kalām fi qawl rasūl al-salām*, presumably its title, but I have no information about a work with this title.

6. (fols 109a–b)

The recto of this single folio contains a *waqf* notice giving the title of the work beginning on the next page as *Risāla mubāraka fi'l-'amal bi-rub' al-mujayyab* and its author as 'Izz al-Dīn al-Wafā'i, and in the first lines of the text on the verso the author gives the title slightly differently as *Risāla laṭīfa fi'l-'amal bi-'l-rub' al-mujayyab*, and says that it comprises an introduction, ten chapters (but a second hand has changed this to '20 chapters') and a conclusion. The (short) introduction and the beginning of the first *bāb* follow. This work is listed (with again a slightly different title) by Brockelmann, *GALS*, II, p. 160, where the full name of the author is given as 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Wafā'i; he died in 874/1469. The *rub' mujayyab* ('sine quadrant') is an instrument for calculating trigonometrical functions.

Above the mentioned *waqf* notice on the verso someone has written, first: *sanat khamsa wa 'ishrīn kāna rābi' ramaḍān*, followed by something cut off at the margin (I assume: *al-mu'azzam* – the *alif* is

visible), and then in the next line: *awwal tūt*, that is, 'in the year 25 the fifth of Ramaḍān [the Exalted] was the first of Thoth'. As this was obviously written after the death of al-Wafā'ī in 874 h., 'year 25' must mean 925, 1025, 1125 or 1225, but it is only in 925 that the 5th of Ramaḍān coincides with the first of Thoth (the Coptic New Year, then Tuesday, 30 August 1519); I think one can assume that this was written, if not necessarily in 925/1519, then in any case in the same century.

7. (fols 110a–114b)

These pages are in a different hand from the one just before them and do not belong to the same work. In fact, they are another copy of the *Risāla fi'l-'amal bi rub' al-muqanṭarāt* by Ibn al-Majdī, with only the very beginning missing (the first line here corresponds to line 11 in Ms. 1658, fol. 109b) and continuing until a formal ending on fol. 114b. In this copy the ninth *faṣl* is erroneously called the tenth (fol. 113a) and the space for the superscription for the tenth *faṣl* has been left blank on fol. 114a, but the text is otherwise intact.

8. (fols 114b–119b)

The same hand continues with a new work, again devoted to an astronomical instrument. The author names himself in the introduction as Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Faṭḥ al-Ṣūfī al-Shāfi'ī (Brockelmann, *GALS*, II, p.159, says that he was still alive in 943/1536, but does not list the present treatise) and gives the title as *Nashr al-liwā' li ma'rifat al-awqāt li-muqanṭarāt khaṭṭ al-istiwā'*, consisting of an introduction, ten chapters and a conclusion. The superscription gives the title in a slightly different form (*Nashr al-liwā' fi'l-'amal bi-muqanṭarāt khaṭṭ al-istiwā'*). The text stops at the bottom of fol. 119b; the tenth chapter begins about halfway down that page, but the conclusion seems to be missing. Curiously, the last three sections of this treatise are virtually identical in wording with the last three of the work described under no. 7, but I am not sure whether this means that al-Ṣūfī copied from Ibn al-Majdī, or whether the scribe got the pages of the two treatises mixed up, but I suspect the latter to be the case.

9. (fol. 120a–b)

Two pages of quasi-Islamic magical formulae.

10. (fol. 121a-b)

The manuscript ends with *ḥizb al-baḥr*, a well-known short prayer by the Sufi saint Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Shādhālī (d. 656/1258). See Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 449, no. 4; *GALS*, I, p. 805, no. 5.

DESCRIPTION: no binding; 121 folios in various hands and styles of writing; catchwords in some parts only; 17.5 × 13 cm; black ink with rubrics in red; marginalia; the title of no. 1 only is mentioned on fol. 0a and on the paper wrapper.

Ms. 1660 [Handlist 166]

[*Majmū'*]

Arabic manuscript containing the dates 1610 and 1727

This is another one of the very badly preserved manuscripts in this collection, severely worm-eaten, with many pages stuck together. It is not foliated. Nonetheless, enough of it is legible to confirm that it contains four works: one on proverbs, two on Arabic grammar and one on Sufism, listed in a table of contents at the beginning of the volume, whereby the first two are in one hand and the last two in another. The two in the first hand are by famous classical authors, but both of them have hitherto been reported only in one and the same manuscript, namely Istanbul Feyzullah 2133, dated to the middle ten days of Sha'bān 1028 (July 1619), about a century before this copy, and, as will become evident, this copy of the two works and the Feyzullah manuscript evidently derive from a common archetype. The four components are as follows:

1. *Kitāb al-amthāl*, collected (according to the title page) by Abū Bakr al-Khuwārazmī. This book of Arabic proverbs has been reported only in the mentioned Feyzullah manuscript, which forms the basis of a recent edition by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-A'rajī. The legible parts of the present copy are identical with the corresponding sections in the edition. The full name of the author is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās al-Khuwārazmī, who died in 383/993; see the article by Pellat in *EI2*, s.v. 'al-Khwārazmī, Abū Bakr', and also Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 93 and *GALS*, I, 150, neither of whom mentions this work. The Feyzullah manuscript ends with a colophon (printed in the edition,

p. 280) to the effect that it is copied from an archetype dated 29 Ramaḍān 442 (January 1051). This same date is clearly mentioned on the last page of the present copy, although the colophon is partially torn; this confirms that the Hamdani and Feyzullah copies derive from the same original. The author of the title page has mistaken this for the date of composition.

EDITION: ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-A'rajī (Algiers, 1993).

2. *al-Muntakhab min sanan al-'arab*. The name of the author is not indicated on the title page, but this is evidently the thus named grammatical/stylistic work by the famous Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tha'ālibī, who died in 429/1038. The only hitherto reported copy is contained in the above-mentioned manuscript Feyzullah 2133, fols 68a–101a; see the detailed description in Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, pp. 197–199, who says that it was published together with the same author's *Fiqh al-lughā* in Cairo 1318 h. In this copy the beginning and end are legible and it ends with a colophon stating that 'this *majmū'* was copied by 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Shammā' in 1140 (1727–1728). This name and date are recopied on the title page at the beginning of this manuscript. As mentioned, this and the work described under (1) were transcribed by the same scribe.⁷

3. *Mūqīd al-adhhān* by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, called Ibn Hishām, a known work on Arabic grammar. Brockelmann lists several manuscripts in *GAL*, II, p. 24 and *GALS*, II, p. 20, stating in the former that the author died in 708/1308, and in the latter that it was in 761/1360. The present copy was (still according to the table of contents) completed in al-Azhar mosque in Muḥarram 1019 (March–April 1610), but I suspect that this is actually the date of the archetype, since texts nos (3) and (4) appear to be secondary additions to this manuscript.

4. *Risālat Kashf al-ghumma al-naḥsāniyya* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Maqḍisi (thus on the

⁷ Only after completing work on this catalogue was I able to consult the article by B. Orfali, 'The Works of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibī', *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 40 (2009), pp. 273–318. Differently from Sezgin, Orfali maintains on p. 283 that *al-Muntakhab min sanan al-'arab* is merely another name for the same author's famous *Fiqh al-lughā*, or for a part of the same.

title page, where the *nisba* is partially eaten away, but seems certain). Brockelmann, *GALS*, II, p. 1007, lists this book as *al-Ghumma al-nafsāniyya fī ma'rifat al-šūra al-insāniyya*, with the same attribution, among the works of indeterminate date. The last page of this copy is accessible, but there is no date.

Ms. 1661 [Handlist 107]

two incomplete works

Arabic and Persian manuscript

This is another badly damaged and fragile manuscript, not at present foliated. The first four folios have an Arabic text with traditions about Biblical history. The rest has a versified Persian treatise on astrology.

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

VIII. Miscellaneous, Unidentified and Unclassified Works

Ms. 1662 [Handlist 105]

a scrapbook

with entries by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī, and others

Arabic manuscript, with some Gujarati

This is a scrapbook containing material of very mixed content, some religious (mainly Ismaili), some secular, much of it connected with mathematics and chronology, in several hands. Some of it is definitely in the hand of Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Hamdānī, a lot of it in the same painfully small script as in Ms. 1516, other sections in a larger, rather irregular, ductus similar to that in Ms. 1569. Other pages, however, seem to be from the time before his birth in 1249/1833. The fact that the list of da‘is on fols 22b and 24a ends with the 43rd, ‘Abd ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṭayyib, with his date of death 1232 (1817), suggests that these pages at least might have been written by Muḥammad ‘Alī’s father, Fayḍ Allāh, during the time of the 44th da‘i, that is, between 1232 (1817) and 1236 (1821). My suspicion is thus that this notebook belonged to and was added to by members of the Hamdānī family over at least two generations. There are still lots of blank pages, which are not specifically noted in what follows.

The following is a sample of the varied contents of this codex:

fol. 1b: A pencilled note in Gujarati by Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad ‘Alī.

fol. 2a–b: Magic squares.

fol. 5b–6a: Unfinished draft of a map of part of Syria, with some verses, I assume by one of the classical poets.

fols 6b–8a: Trigonometrical tables of the type found in traditional Arabic astronomical handbooks, with the numbers indicated by *abjad* letters in sexagesimal notation.

fols 9a–14a: More mathematics. On 14a a list of the prime numbers (in *abjad* notation) from 1 to 139.

fol. 14b: Measurements of the Ka‘ba in *dhirā’s* and in metres.

fol. 21a: In a different hand: what purports to be a letter from the hidden imam to his da‘i, ‘Imād al-Dīn Idrīs (the 19th da‘i, for whom see Ms. 1520 et seq.). The beginning of the letter, with the name of the imam, is given in cipher (not the usual secret script, but there is

an indubitably correct decipherment above each letter) and reads: ‘*min ‘Abd allāh al-wāhid al-qahhār wa waliyyihi Muḥammad ibn Hāshim ibn Nizār*’. The letter continues on fol. 21b, sideways on the page, and concludes with the date Muḥarrām 846 (May–June 1442). Below this, still sideways, in the distinctive hand of Muḥammad ‘Alī, we find the list of the imams after al-Ṭayyib to which I have already referred in the description of Ms. 1492 (fol. 2a). The wording here is slightly different, but all the names are the same in both copies. As this list does not seem to have been reported elsewhere I give it here in translation (as it occurs in the present manuscript), for whatever it is worth:

The names of the imams after the Imam al-Ṭayyib: [1] Aḥmad, [2] Muḥammad, [3] ‘Abd Allāh, [4] Muḥammad, [5] ‘Alī, [6] Ḥusayn, [7] Ma‘add, [8] Nizār, [9] Hāshim, [10] Muḥammad, [11] Ya‘lā, [12] Abū Ṭālib, [13] ‘Alī, [14] Aḥmad, [15] ‘Alī, [16] Ismā‘īl, [17] Ma‘add, [18] Ḥasan, [19] Muḥammad, [20] Aḥmad, [21] ‘Alī. This was mentioned by al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, an inhabitant of Cairo in Egypt on the 20th of Ṣafar 1228 in the city of Poona in the province of Deccan in India in the presence of the [future] da‘ī Zayn al-Dīn, at the time of the [then reigning 43rd] da‘ī ‘Abd al-‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn – may God elevate his sanctity – and he also said that the [true] da‘ī at the present time was al-Shaykh ‘Alī b. al-Shaykh Sulaymān and his *ma’dhūn* was al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh ‘Alī, and his *nā‘ib* was al-Shaykh Ḥaydar.

On the same page, aligned with the bottom of the page, there is another note in a different hand listing the same names [1] to [10], in the same order, but then adding that ‘in another manuscript’ the names are given as:

[i] Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib Abī‘l-Qāsim, [ii] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, [iii] al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, [iv] ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, [v] Ma‘add b. ‘Abd Allāh, [vi] Nizār b. Ma‘add, [vii] Hāshim b. Nizār, [viii] Muḥammad b. Hāshim.

This second list seems to be a corrupted version of the first: numbers [4] and [5] have dropped out and numbers [3] and [6] have been reversed; otherwise the two lists are identical. In any case, both lists agree with the cited letter to Idrīs in having an imam called Muḥammad b. Hāshim b. Nizār ten (in the second list: eight) generations after al-Ṭayyib. In

al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's version the 21st hidden imam is a contemporary of the 43rd Dā'ūdī da'ī, so the imams seem to reign on average about twice as long as their da'īs. In this context it could be noted that, according to Ismaili doctrine, the imamate passes from father to son, but the rank of da'ī, both in the Yemen and later in India, very often passes from brother to brother. So it is not entirely improbable to assume that there will be on average one imam but two da'īs in any given generation.

fol. 22a: List of the leaders of the Ismaili *da'wa* in the Yemen from the beginning down to al-Sayyida bint Aḥmad and al-Khaṭṭāb, with biographical information, evidently all taken from book VII of Idrīs's *Uyūn al-akhbār*.

fol. 22b: List of the Ṭayyibī da'īs from Dhu'ayb down to Dā'ūd b. Quṭb Shāh, with their dates and some biographical information.

fol. 23a: Extract from *al-Risāla al-wā'iza* by al-Kirmānī (see Poonawala (1977), p. 101, no. 21). At the bottom of the page: the letters of the usual 'secret' script in alphabetical order.

fol. 23b: Lists of the prophets, imams, da'īs, etc., in groups of seven. The last heptad of da'īs ends with the 42nd, Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn (d. 1213/1798).

fol. 24a: Continuation (from fol. 22b) of the list of da'īs, down to the 43rd, 'Abd 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ṭayyib, with his date of death 1232 (1817).

fol. 26a: 'Statistics' about the breadth (*sumk*) of each of the heavenly spheres according to geocentric astronomy.

fol. 27a: A circular diagram of pre-Islamic chronology.

fol. 27b: List of events around the time of the hijra.

fol. 28a: Chronological table showing the intervals between the prophets, etc. Next to this: two quotations from the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*.

fol. 29a–b: List of the imams down to al-Ṭayyib, with some biographical information, much of it in cipher.

fol. 30a: Calendrical tables for the specifically Ismaili 'tabular' chronology, here supposedly on the authority of 'Mawlānā al-Ṣādiq'.

fols 31b–35b: Assorted extracts from religious writings, among them the *Majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad; then lots of blank pages.

fol. 46a: Weights and measures of the Arabs (on an inserted sheet).

fols 53a–60a: Extracts from the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, the *Majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad and other books.

fol. 63a: References to some passages in the Bible.

fols 63b–64a: Biblical chronology, taken from ‘Robinson’s Theological Dictionary’ (thus, in English, but in Arabic script), that is, John Robinson, *A Theological, Biblical and Ecclesiastical Dictionary, serving as a general note-book to illustrate the Old and New Testament, as a guide to the practices and opinions of all sects and religions, and as a cyclopædia of religious knowledge* (London, 1815 and reprints).

fols 64b–67a: Gujarati.

fol. 70a: Astrological attributes of the seven stars.

fols 70b–72a: More Biblical chronology, down to Jesus and his disciples.

fols 74a–80b: Detailed Islamic chronology of events from 50 to 526 (death of al-Āmir).

fol. 82b: Correspondences between a dozen or so Gregorian dates in March, April and May (the author uses the English names for the Gregorian months) and those in the Coptic calendar and the ‘Rūmī’ calendar (that is, the Julian calendar with Syrian month names, as used in the Ottoman empire), for example the 21st of March corresponds to Coptic 13th of Phamenoth and Julian 9th of Ādhār (March). These synchronisms are correct, but only between 1800 and 1899.

fol. 83a: Names of the signs of the Zodiac in Arabic, with the Gregorian and Julian date on which the sun enters each one of them. Further down: the names of the lunar mansions (*manāzil*) in Arabic and the corresponding mansions ‘according to the astronomers of the Indians’, the latter in Sanskrit in Arabic script.

fol. 83b: Notes written in the same system of cipher that Muḥammad ‘Alī used in Ms. 1499.

fol. 84a: Astronomy/astrology.

fol. 84b: Number magic (take the numerical value of a person’s name, add a lot of other things, among them a code for the day of the week on which he fell ill, then divide by 30 and find the remainder, look it up in two tables and find out whether he will survive his illness). Also: the names of the days of the week in Persian.

fols 85b–87a: A text about fasting.

fol. 89a: At the top of the page, two Islamic–Gregorian synchronisms, but in both cases the Islamic dates are wrong: first 18 February 1863 erroneously equated with 1 Ramaḍān 1289 (rect: 1279), then 21 March 1863 wrongly equated with 21 Shawwāl 1289 (rect: 1279); in other words: the author has twice miswritten the numeral ν as λ . Below, in very small script, more Islamic and Christian sacred chronology.

- fol. 89b: Statistics: number of hours, minutes, seconds, sixtieths of seconds, etc. in the day, and the like.
- fol. 91a: Extract from some Arabic grammar.
- fol. 94a: A paraphrase, in Arabic, of a passage from 'Connexion of the Physical Sciences by Mary Somerville, second edition in 1835' (thus, in very rough English script).
- fols 95b–96b: In a different hand: a quotation from *Badā'ī' al-akhbār* by Aḥmad-jī b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Miyyān Shams-jī, who (it is written here) was 'one of the Sulaymānī sect at the time of Ja'far b. Sulaymān' (the 28th da'i according to the Sulaymānī reckoning, from 1005–1050/1597–1640). The extract is about the beginning of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Gujarat and it is evidently from the same work as the one from which a much longer extract is contained in Ms 1540, there with the slightly different title *Badī' al-akhbār*, and it provides us uniquely with the name of the author of that work and his approximate date.
- fols 98b–100a: Extract from the well-known biography of the Prophet by Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, who died in 150 or 151 (767–768); see Brockelmann, *GALS*, I, pp. 205–206.
- fols 100b–102a: An extract from al-Khazraji's book on prosody.
- fols 103b–104a: Geometry.
- fol. 104b: Another extract from the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*.

DESCRIPTION: green cloth binding with floral pattern; 104 folios (208 pages, of which 65 are still blank) written by several hands; no catch-words; 19 × 14.5 cm; size of written area and number of lines varies considerably; mainly black ink; various styles of writing, including cipher; none of the entries is explicitly signed; no title page or labels.

Ms. 1663 [Handlist 122]

calligraphy exercise (large format)

Arabic manuscript

This is a typical showpiece of calligraphy. It contains the famous ode by Ka'b b. Zuhayr beginning with the words *Bānat Su'ād*, a poem which he presented to the Prophet Muḥammad, frequently copied, not least on account of its supposed magical powers (see Sezgin and Heinrichs, *GAS*, II, pp. 229–235), followed by two other poems. It is signed (on fol. 16b) by Abū 'Abbās Muḥammad Riḍā. Abbas Hamdani informs us that this gentleman was a teacher of his father, Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī.

DESCRIPTION: a paper-bound exercise book; 29 folios; no catchwords; 20 × 116 cm; the written area, number of lines and colour of the inks vary; the poems are written in calligraphic *naskh*; lots of interlinear glosses accompany the first poem; colophon as discussed above.

Ms. 1664 [Handlist 84]

calligraphy exercises (small format)

Arabic pages

These unbound quires arrived at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in seven paper wrappers. All of them are small (typically 11.5 × 7.5 cm) and most of them contain the first part of some identified or unidentified text. Virtually all of them break off at the bottom of a page. I do not think they are unfinished codices, rather they give the impression of being scribal exercises: the student was evidently given the chore of copying the first few pages of some text and stopped when he or she had filled up the required number of pages. The texts that I have identified have been described at the appropriate place in this catalogue; for the others I have at the moment no suggestions. The described fragments are as follows:

- Mss. 1419, 1420, 1421 (*Da‘ā‘im al-islām*)
- Ms. 1435 (*Sharḥ al-akhbār*)
- Ms. 1484 (*Jāmi‘at al-jāmi‘a*)
- Ms. 1494 (*Diwān al-Khaṭṭāb*)
- Ms. 1501 (*al-Risāla al-sharīfa*)
- Ms. 1507 (*Zahr badhr al-ḥaqā‘iq*)
- Ms. 1514 (*Kitāb al-dhakhira*)
- Ms. 1521 (*al-Risāla al-Mūqīza*)
- Ms. 1546 (*al-Risāla al-dāfi‘a*)
- Ms. 1562 (Fragment of a *dīwān*)
- Ms. 1635 (*Nahj al-balāgha*).

Ms. 1665 [Handlist 2c]

Ta‘wīl sūrat al-kahfi‘l-da‘wa

Arabic manuscript

The six unbound quires of this manuscript are enclosed in a paper wrapper identical to those that enclose the parts of Mss. 1570 to 1597,

but they are in a different hand and are not part of the same commentary, nor are they related to the commentary contained in Ms. 1547. They contain a commentary of the 18th *sūra* of the Qur'an in the style of traditional commentaries, but with an unmistakably esoteric Ismaili content. It does not seem to include any explicit quotations from any authorities. The text begins at once with the opening words of the *sūra*, without any introduction. The title given above is the one that appears on the title page (fol. 1a), not in the same hand as the text, but the text itself concludes (fol. 47b) with the words *fa hādihā ākhir sūrat al-kaḥf wa ākhir sharḥihi*, referring to it not as a *tafsīr*, but as a *sharḥ*. The timeless character of its content makes it difficult to suggest anything about its date or possible authorship.

DESCRIPTION: unbound; 47 folios; 6 numbered quires; catchwords; 23 × 14.5 cm (13.5 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink with the Qur'anic passages in red; very cursive *naskh*; no indication of scribe or date; title page.

Ms. 1666 [Handlist 125]
fragment of an unidentified work
Arabic manuscript

These pages contain a fragment of a collection of *majālis* (the formula characteristic of this genre – '*ma'shar al-mu'minīn*' – occurs on fol. 11a) with stories of the prophets, beginning with the death of Abraham. It is rather reminiscent of Ja'far's *Asrār al-nuṭaqa'*, but it is not the same work. A note on the recto of the first page calls it (I omit the eulogies) *Fī ta'rīkh akhbār min Ibrāhīm (...)* ilā '*Abd al-Muṭallib (...)*.

DESCRIPTION: 2 unbound gatherings in a paper wrapper; 15 folios; catchwords; 22.5 × 14.5 cm (15.5 × 8.5 cm); 15 lines; black ink; *naskh*; marginal rubrics and corrections; no indication of author, scribe or date; seals.

Ms. 1667 [in the 'unnumbered' box]
[twenty questions and answers]
Arabic manuscript

This is an apparently unknown Ismaili work. The text begins on fol. 1b, after the *basmala*, with the words *taṣḥīḥ jawāb al-'ishrīn al-mā'ida* (*sic*; surely a mistake for *al-mas'ala*?) *al-rūḥāniyya*, that is (with the

proposed emendation): 'Correction of the answer to the 20 spiritual questions'. The spaces for all the rubrics have been left blank, but there do seem to be about 20 questions. After these (on fol. 5a) there is a new *basmala* followed by what I think says: *al-masā'il al-rūḥāniyya allatī laysa lahā fī aṣl jawāb*, that is, 'the 20 (additional) questions for which there is no answer in the original copy' These works do not seem to be identical with any of the books of '20 questions' or 'questions and answers' summarised by al-Majdū'.

DESCRIPTION: 5 unbound folios; catchwords; 20.5 × 12 cm (13.5 × 8 cm); 23 lines; black ink (the spaces for the rubrics have been left blank); small *naskh*; one marginal correction; no indication of scribe or date; title indicated in the text.

IX. Manuscripts in Gujarati Script

Ms. 1668 [Handlist 38]

This and the following two entries are written in the Gujarati language and script and I must leave their detailed description to someone competent in that language. There is a note on the front cover of this one in Bohra Gujarati (that is, in Arabic script) identifying it as a translation of *al-Maṣābīḥ fi'l-imāma* made by Ismā'īl Luqmānī, with the date 'Āshūrā' of 1384, here equated with 21 May 1964. There are 151 unbound one-sided pages written with a ballpoint pen.

For al-Kirmānī's *al-Maṣābīḥ* see Ms. 1451.

Ms. 1669 [Handlist 39]

A manuscript in the same format as the subject of the previous entry. The note on the cover (again in Arabic script) identifies it as a translation of *Tanbīh al-hādī wa'l-mustahdī* by the same Ismā'īl Luqmānī, again (strangely) with the date 'Āshūrā' of 1384, equated with 21 May 1964. This time there are 483 unbound one-sided pages written with a ballpoint pen.

For al-Kirmānī's *Tanbīh al-hādī wa'l-mustahdī* see Ms. 1460.

Ms. 1670 [Handlist 233 (in the 'unnumbered' box)]

Another Gujarati manuscript (landscape format) in Gujarati script. Abbas Hamdani says that it is a Prospectus for the Madrasa Muḥammadiyya in Surat (the school founded by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī).

Index of Titles

This index contains:

- (a) Arabic works
- (b) Persian works
- (c) Gujarati works

Unless otherwise indicated, the references are to manuscripts containing the whole or part of the work in question (entries in brackets mean that the work is mentioned in the relevant catalogue entry). The words *Kitab* and *Risala* are not taken into account unless they are the only word in the title apart from the name of the author; similarly the article *al-* and the preposition *fī* are ignored for the purposes of alphabetical order. The order is that of the Latin alphabet, disregarding *alif*, *ʿayn* and all diacritics.

(a) Arabic works

<i>(al-)Adilla waʿl-shawahid</i>	1406
<i>Aḥsan al-sulūk fī naẓm man waliya madīnat Zabīd min al-mulūk</i>	1643/2
<i>Ajzāʾ al-adʿiya</i>	1475
<i>Akhbar al-duʿat</i>	1540/2
<i>Akhbar wulat al-muʾminin min ahl al-hind</i>	1540/1, 1662
<i>(al-)Akwār waʿl-adwār</i>	1450
<i>Aʿlām al-nubuwwa</i>	1408, 1409, (1457)
<i>(al-ʿ)Ālim waʿl-ghulam</i>	1402
<i>(Risala fīʿl-ʿ)ʿAmal bi-ʿl-rubʿ al-mujayyab</i>	1659/6
<i>(Risala fīʿl-ʿ)ʿAmal bi rubʿ al-muqanṭarāt</i>	1658/4, 1659/7
<i>(Kitab al-)Amthal</i> (Abū Bakr al-Khuwārazmī)	1660/1
<i>(Risala fī) Ansab al-qabāʾil allatī sakanat fī madīnat Zabīd</i>	1641/2
<i>Ansab Qaḥṭān</i>	1640

<i>(al-)Anwār al-laṭīfa li dhawī al-ṣuwar al-nayyira al-sharīfa</i>	1504, 1541
<i>(al-)Aqwāl al-dhahabīyya fi'l-ṭibb al-nafsānī</i>	1457
<i>Arba'un ḥadīthan</i>	1623
<i>Asās al-ta'wīl</i>	(1441)
<i>Asrār al-nuṣaqa'</i>	1403, 1496/2
<i>Aṭbaq al-dhahab</i>	1638
<i>Aṭwāq al-dhahab</i>	(1638)
<i>(al-)Azhar</i>	1536, 1537, 1538, 1539
<i>(al-)Bāb fi ma'rīfat al-ansāb</i>	1643/1
<i>Badī' (or Bada'i') al-akhbār</i>	1540/1, 1662
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Bāhira fi'l-ma'ad</i>	1445
<i>(al-)Baḥth li-l-firqa al-sulaymāniyya</i>	1541
<i>Banat Su'ad</i>	1663
<i>(al-)Baṭsha al-kubrā</i>	1560
<i>(al-)Bayān fi tamām shahr ramāḍān</i>	1515/2
<i>(al-)Bayān li mā wājib min ma'rīfat al-ṣalat fi shahr rajab</i>	1531
<i>Bilawhar wa Būdhasaf</i>	1633
<i>(al-)Bishāra</i>	(1486)
<i>Burhān al-dīn fi radd 'alā Sulaymāniyyīn</i>	1545
<i>Da'a'im al-islām</i>	1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1440
<i>Daḥī'at al-aḥzan wa qashī'at al-ashjan</i>	1546
<i>(Risāla) Daḥī'a al-shubūhat</i>	1569/3
<i>Ḍaḥīyat al-talbīs</i>	1515/3
<i>(al-)Dhakhīra</i>	1514
<i>Dhat al-bayān</i>	1424
<i>Dīwān (author not identified)</i>	1562
<i>Dīwān ('Alī b. Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd)</i>	1513
<i>Dīwān (Ibn al-Nabīh)</i>	1631
<i>Dīwān ('Imād al-Dīn Idrīs)</i>	1530
<i>Dīwān (al-Khaṭṭab)</i>	1492, 1493, 1494
<i>Dīwān (al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn)</i>	1471, 1472, 1473
<i>Dīwān (Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī)</i>	1565, 1566
<i>Dīwān (Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī)</i>	1632
<i>Ḍīya' al-albab</i>	1512
<i>Durar al-nuḥūr fi madā'iḥ al-malik al-manṣūr</i>	1632
[Extracts on marriage law]	1440
<i>(al-)Fakhri</i>	1556
<i>(al-)Fara'id wa hudūd al-dīn</i>	1406
<i>Faṣl 'an mawlāna wa sayyidīna Ja'far b. Manṣūr</i>	1496/2
<i>(Kitāb) Fawā'id 'aẓīma mushtamil 'alā sa'at al-awqāt wa 'alā khawāṣṣ al-khawāṭim</i>	1657/3
<i>(al-)Fawā'id al-mukhtabara min insha' al-muwaqqi'in al-mu'tabara</i>	1639
<i>Fihrist al-kutub wa'l-rasā'il</i>	1401

<i>Fiqh al-lughā</i>	1630
<i>Fuṣūl fī strat al-du'at</i>	1540/2
<i>Ghayat al-afkar wa nihayat al-anzar</i>	(1620)
<i>Ghayat al-lata'if wa'l-katha'if</i> (or. <i>Ghayat al-katha'if wa'l-laṭa'if</i>)	1497/1
<i>Ghayat al-mawālīd</i>	1496/1
<i>(al-)Ghumma al-nafsāniyya fī ma'rifat al-šūra al-insāniyya</i>	1660/4
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Ḥatimiyya fī'l-radd 'ala ba'd al-māriqīn</i>	1505
<i>Hawashī sharḥ al-Nihri</i>	1620
<i>(Risālat al-)Ḥayat wa'l-nūr</i>	1496/4
<i>(al-)Hidaya al-Āmiriyya</i>	(1497/3), 1515/8
<i>Hizb al-baḥr</i>	1659/10
<i>(al-)Ibtida' wa'l-intiḥā'</i>	1477
<i>(al-)Idāḥ wa'l-i'lam wa ibānat al-hidaya fī kamal 'iddat al-ṣiyām</i>	1515/9
<i>(al-)Idāḥ wa'l-tabṣīr fī faḍl yawm al-ghadhīr</i>	1515/6
<i>(al-)Iftikhar</i>	1448
<i>Iftitāḥ al-da'wa wa ibtida' al-dawla</i>	1438, 1439
<i>(al-)Iḥkām fī sharḥ takmilat al-aḥkām</i>	1621/2
<i>(al-)Iḥsān fī khalq al-insān</i>	1509, 1510
[<i>Jāza</i>]	1658/3
<i>Ikhtilāf al-manāzir</i>	1647/3
<i>(al-)Iklīl</i>	(1640)
<i>Ilm al-ḥibb al-rūḥānī bi'l-Qur'an al-raḥmānī</i>	1657/2
<i>Iqā' ṣawa'iq al-irghām</i>	1497/3, (1515/8)
<i>(Risālat) Iqāz al-wasnan al-mushtamila 'ala al-ḍajj wa'l-bayan</i>	1559
<i>(Kitāb al-)Iṣlāḥ</i>	1407
<i>(Risālat al-)Ism al-a'zam</i>	1516/1
<i>Ithbat al-imāma</i>	1461
<i>Ithbat al-nubuwwāt</i>	1447, 1518/2, 1519/2
<i>Jami' al-ḥaqa'iq</i>	(1464)
<i>Jami' al-mabadi' wa'l-ghayat</i>	1648
<i>Jalā' al-'uqūl wa zubdat al-maḥṣūl</i>	1516/3
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Jami'a</i>	1483
<i>Jami'at al-jami'a</i>	1484
<i>Jami'at al-jawahir</i>	1496/3
<i>(Risālat al-)Jawharayn</i>	1502
<i>(al-)Kafi</i>	1622
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Kafiya</i>	1453
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Kafiya fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb</i>	1659/1
<i>Kalīla wa Dimna</i> (anon. Ismaili imitation)	(1570–1597)
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Kalīmiyya</i>	1542
<i>(al-Risāla al-)Kamila fī ma'na al-thalath al-layālī al-faḍīla</i>	1515/6, 1516/2
<i>Kanz al-walad</i>	1499, 1500
<i>al-Kashf</i>	1496/2

<i>Kashf al-ghumma al-nafsaniyya</i>	1660/2
<i>Khizānat al-ṭalib wa'l-maṭalib fī ḥall ramz al-imam</i> 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib	1658/2
<i>Khulaṣat al-ḥisāb</i>	1649/1
(al-) <i>Kurra al-mutaḥarriqa</i>	1647/2
<i>Lubb al-lubab wa nūr al-albab</i>	1561
<i>Ma'aṣim al-huda wa'l-'iṣāba fī tafḍīl 'Alī 'ala al-ṣaḥāba</i>	1456
<i>Mabasim al-bisharat</i>	(1453)
(al-) <i>Mabda' wa'l-ma'ad</i>	1518/1, 1519/1
[<i>Majālis</i>]	1557
(al-) <i>Majālis</i> (Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamīdī)	1504
(al-) <i>Majālis al-'ashūriyya al-ṭayyibiyya al-zayniyya</i> (for the year 1248/1832)	1548-1554
(al-) <i>Majālis al-'ashūriyya</i> (second version)	1555
(al-) <i>Majālis al-'ashūriyya</i> (third version)	1556
<i>Majālis al-ḥikma</i>	1481
(al-) <i>Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya</i>	64, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470
(al-) <i>Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya</i>	1541
(al-) <i>Majālis wa'l-musayarat</i>	1430
[<i>Majālis</i> , by an unidentified author]	1666
<i>Majmū' al-ḥaqa'iq</i>	1508
<i>Majmū' al-mada'ih</i>	1558
[<i>Majmū' al-rasa'il</i>]	1487, 1488
<i>Majmū' al-tarbiya</i>	1502, 1503
(<i>Risala fī</i>) <i>Ma'na ism allāh al-a'zam</i>	1516/1
(al-) <i>Manaqib wa'l-mathālib</i>	1496/2, 1541
(al-) <i>Kitāb al-Manṣūri</i>	(1656)
(al-) <i>Maqalid</i>	1446
<i>Marāḥ al-arwah</i>	1629
(al-) <i>Maṣābih fī ithbat al-imama</i>	1451, 1452, (1453)
(al-) <i>Masa'il al-Mufaddaliyya</i>	1497/2
(al-) <i>Masa'il</i> (sic) <i>al-sab'un</i>	1480
<i>Mas'ala 'an abwāb al-jinan al-thamaniyya</i>	1403
(al-) <i>Mas'ala wa'l-jawāb</i>	1479, 1492
(<i>Risalat al-</i>) <i>Maṭbakh</i>	1502
<i>Miftāḥ al-falah</i>	1624
<i>Miftāḥ al-kalām fī qawl rasūl al-salām</i>	1659/5
<i>Minhaj al-dukkān</i>	1655
(<i>Kitāb</i>) <i>Mirqat al-anzār al-muntaza' min Ghayat al-afkar</i> <i>wa nihayat al-anzār</i>	1620
<i>Miṣbah al-'ulūm fī ma'rifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm</i>	1621/1
(al-) <i>Mu'aththarat wa miftāḥ al-mushkilāt</i>	(1620)
(al-) <i>Risala al-Mudhhiba</i>	1496/4

<i>(al-Risala al-)Mufrada fi ibtal turrahāt al-mutajarrida</i>	1533
<i>(al-)Muḥaṣṣal</i>	1625
<i>Mukhtaṣar al-athar</i>	1429, 1440
<i>Munajat</i>	1475, 1476, 1496/2
<i>(al-)Munazarat</i>	1536
<i>Munirat al-baṣa'ir</i>	1490, 1491
<i>(al-)Munqidha</i>	1564
<i>(al-)Muntakhab min sanan al-'arab</i>	1660/2
<i>Muntakhab fi'l-fiqh min kutub ahl al-bayt</i>	1543
<i>(al-)Muntakhaba al-manẓūma</i>	1425–1426, 1427, 1428, 1440
<i>Muntakhabat (or. Muntajabat) min kutub al-'awāmm</i>	1567
<i>Mūqid al-adhhan</i>	1660/3
<i>(al-Risala al-)Mūqiza min nawm al-ghafla wa'l-sina fi ṣiyām al-ayyam</i>	
<i>al-mufaḍḍala fi'l-sana</i>	1521
<i>(al-)Mushajjar</i>	1642
<i>(al-)Mutajarrida (alias: al-Mujarrada)</i>	(1533)
<i>(Risalat al-)Nafs (Dhu'ayb)</i>	1489
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<i>Nuzhat al-afkar</i>	1527–1528, 1529
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<i>Qīṣṣat Ghayat al-Jamāl</i>	1544
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<i>Rahāt al-'aql</i>	1453, 1454, 1455
<i>Rasā'il ikhwan al-ṣafa'</i>	1482
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<i>li ma'rifat al-ansāb (alias: al-Rawḍ al-mustaṭab</i>	
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<i>(Risala fi) Sharḥ aḥwāl al-jism fi mabda'ihī wa ma'adihī</i>	(1509)

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<i>Sharḥ Isāghūji</i>	1644
<i>Sharḥ al-ma'ad</i>	1474
<i>Sharḥ al-sullam fī'l-mantiq</i>	1645
<i>(al-Risala al-)Sharifa</i>	1501
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The Fatimid caliphs are cited – in accordance with the usual practice – under their regnal names, but all other persons are cited in principle under their personal name (*ism*), if known, with cross-references under any other names by which they are likely to be cited. For example: Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī is indexed as Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān, with cross-references under Abū Ḥatīm and (al-) Rāzī. The article *al-*, the particle of filiation *b.*, and Indian honorifics like *-jī* or *-bhaṭī* are disregarded for the purpose of alphabetic order, which is that of the Latin alphabet, ignoring all diacritics.

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 (al-)Sharīf al-Raḍī: see Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn
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 (al-)Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb: see (al-)Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan
 (al-)Tha'alībī: see 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad
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 (al-)Ṭūsī: see Muḥammad b. Muḥammad
 'Umar b. Yūsuf (al-Malik al-Ashraf, Rasulid king) 1641/1
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 Yahya b. Lamak b. Mālik 1486/1
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 (al-)Zamakhsharī: see Maḥmūd b. 'Umar

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'Abd al-[Razza]q b. ['Ab]d Allah b. Shara[f] al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṭabīb al-Shīrāzī	1650
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Index of Manuscripts Dated (or Datable) before CE 1800

The great majority of the manuscripts in this collection were copied in the 19th century and a few of them even in the first quarter of the 20th, but there are a fair number of codices that are dated (or confidently datable) to the period before 1800. In this index these are listed in chronological order. Here, only the year (Hijri and Christian) of copying is noted; details of all the dates and discussion of dubious issues can in each case be found in the relevant entries in the catalogue.

Islamic year	Christian equivalent	Ms. number	Provenance
760	1359	1458 (donation notice)	Yemen
not long after 857	after 1454	1639	Egypt
(9)25	1519	1659/6 (<i>waqf</i> notice)	Egypt
960	1553	1620 (one detached page)	Yemen
988	1580	1458 (second hand)	India
1006	1598	1490	?
1019	1610	1660/3	Egypt
1030	1621	1640–1643	Yemen
1087	1676	1529	prob. India
1101	1690	1652	Persia
1104	1692	1625	Persia
1104	1693	1657 (latest hand)	Yemen
1105	1693	1649	Persia
before 1110	before 1699	1541	India?
1114	1702	1402	India
1119	1707	1471	India?
1123	1711	1620	Yemen
1126	1714	1482	India

1128	1716	1429	India
1135	1722-1723	1648	?
		(acquisition note)	
1140	1727-1728	1660/2	Egypt
before 1150	before 1737	1448 and 1634	both India
1151	1738	1481	India
1153	1741	1658	Ottoman
1154	1741	1533	India
1158	1745	1544 (as emended)	Yemen or India
1161	1748	1413	Yemen or India
1162	1749	1492	Yemen or India
1164	1750-1751	1638	prob. Ottoman
1202	1787	1460	prob. India
before 1212	before 1798	1506	Yemen or India

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