

Manifesto of the Resurrection

A critical edition and translation of the *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw*, a newly uncovered Nizari Ismaili treatise written before the declaration of the *Qiyamat-i Buzurg* (the Great Resurrection) in 559/1164

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Abstract

Since the Mongol destruction of the Nizari Ismaili polity in Iran (fl. 483-654/1090-1256), only a handful of treatises have been retrieved and published from the foundational period of the rule of Hasan-i Sabbah (r. 483-518/1090-1124) and his two successors. Nizari *imams* had been in concealment (*satr*) following the succession crisis after the death of the Fatimid *imam-caliph*, al-Mustansir (r. 427-487/1036-1095). The third ruler of the polity executed and banished a large group who agitated for the manifestation (*zuhūr*) of their *imam*. A member of this subaltern group, persecuted by the Nizari hierarchy, may have authored the *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw*, critically edited and translated here. Most probably written between 541/1147 and 559/1162, the *Hikayat* is an important newly uncovered treatise dated before the declaration of the *Qiyāmat-i buzurg* (the Great Resurrection) in 559/1164 when the Nizari *imamate* emerged out of concealment.

Keywords

Nizar b. al-Mustansir; Nasir-i Khusraw; Hasan-i Sabbah; Nizari Ismailis; Fatimids; *imamate*; succession

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¹ Shiraz Hajiani, “Analyses of the *Ḥikāyat-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, a subaltern Nizari Ismaili text written before the declaration of the *Qiyāmat-i Buzurg* (the Great Resurrection) in 559/1164,” *Iranian Studies* (2025).; Shiraz Hajiani, *Concealment and Manifestation: Early Nizari Ismaili Treatises on Eschatology and Soteriology*. (London: Institute of Ismaili Studies and Bloomsbury Publishing, Forthcoming).

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Introduction

The death in Cairo of the Ismaili *imam-caliph* al-Mustansir (r. 427-487/1036-1095) on 18 *Dhu'l-hijja* 487/4 January 1095 precipitated a succession crisis in the Fatimid Empire. The deceased *imam-caliph*'s youngest son, Ahmad, was enthroned by the powerful *wazīr* al-Afdal b. Badr al-Jamali (d. 515/1121) with the regnal title al-Musta'li (r. 487-495/1095-1101).² This deathbed designation (*naṣṣ*) was contested by his eldest brother, Nizar (r. 487-488/1095), who escaped to Alexandria and was proclaimed *imam-caliph*.³ The struggle between the rival camps ended with the capture and killing of Nizar later in the year.⁴ The Ismaili *da'wa* (summons) in Iran, without any known exceptions, recognised Nizar as the legitimate successor. The Nizaris communities,

² Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, and Mudarrisī Zanjānī, eds. *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh: qismat-i Ismā'iliyān wa Fāṭimiyān wa Nizāriyān wa Dā'iyyān wa Rafīqān*. (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjama wa Nashr-i Kitāb (HII-etext), 1960). 78ff; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, Sa'īd 'Āshūr, ed. *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. (Cairo: National Library and Archives Press, 2002). 243-246; Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary—Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*. trans. William MacGuckin de Slane (Paris: Oriental translation fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1842-1871). q.v. "al-Musta'li" Vol I:160-161 fn 7.

³ al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*. 243-244; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī Maqrīzī, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, ed. *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-khulafā'*. (Cairo: National Library and Archives Press, 2016). III 438; Paul E Walker, "Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate," *Journal of the American Research Center In Egypt* 32 (1995). 248ff republished: Paul E Walker, "Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate," in *Fatimid History and Ismaili Doctrine* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2008). 2:12-13

⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 78

founded by the *da'i* (summoner), Hasan-i Sabbah (r. 483-518/1090-1124), awaited the manifestation (*kashf*, *zuḥūr*) of the *imam* descended from Nizar believed to be in concealment (*satr*). On 17 Ramadan 559/15 August 1164, Hasan (r. 557-561/1162-1166), the fourth ruler of the polity, declared the *Qiyamat-i buzurg* (the Great Resurrection) and was recognised as the *imam* with the messianic epithet *'alā dhikrihi'l-salām* (on whose mention be peace) attached to his name. The rule of *da'is* was replaced by that of the *imams* believed to be descended from Nizar b. al-Mustansir.

Since the Mongol destruction of the Nizari polity in 654/1256, only a handful of treatises from the realm of the *da'is* (483-559/1090-1164), the foundational period of Nizari Ismailism, have been retrieved and published.⁵ The history of the early Nizari Ismailis has primarily been

⁵ Among these are: Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm Shahrastānī, "Al-fuṣūl al-arba'a," in *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed. Muḥammad b. Faṭḥ Allāh Badrān (original edition 1955) (Qumm: Al-Sharīf al-Rāzī (etext), 1985). 232-235, tr: Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs Against the Islamic World*. ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1955). 325-328 and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm Shahrastānī, *Muslim Sects and Divisions: the Section on Muslim Sects in Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*. trans. A.K. Kazi and J.G. Flynn (London; Boston: Kegan Paul International, 1984). 168-170; Seyyed Jalal Badakhchani, "Shahrastānī's Account of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's Doctrine of Ta'lim," in *Islam: Identité Et Altérité: Hommage À Guy Monnot, O.p*, ed. Guy Monnot, and Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). 27-55; a purported letter of Hasan-i Sabbah to the 'ulamā' of Qazwīn edited and translated: Shiraz Hajiani, "Reconstructing Alamut: New Approaches to the Study of the Qiyāma and the Nizari Polity in Iran," diss., University of Chicago, 2019). 651-660 tr: 661-664; another purported letter of Hasan-i Sabbah in reply to the Saljuq sultan, Malikshāh b. Alp Arslān (r. 465-485/1072-1092) was published Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, "Javāb-i Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ bi ruq'a-yi Jalāl al-Dīn Malik Shāh Saljūqī," in *Hasht maqāla-yi ta'rikhī va adabī*, ed. Naṣr Allāh Falsafī (Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1951). 208-216 tr: Jawad al-Muscati, *Hasan Bin Sabbah*. trans. Abbas H. Hamdani (Karachi: Ismailia Association Pakistan, 1958). 29-36; Shafique N. Virani, and,

studied through the writings of Sunni author-historians in service of the Mongols with avowed antipathies towards the Ismailis.⁶ The *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw* (Story of Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw) critically edited and translated here, therefore, is an important newly uncovered treatise especially since it opens up new perspectives of a subaltern group of early Nizaris. The author advocated for the end of the era of *satr* and the urgent manifestation (*zuhūr*) of the *imam*. The text records how its author construed the transference of imamate from Egypt to Iran. Close analyses of the *Hikayat* suggest that it was most probably written after 541/1147 and before 559/1162, making it one of the earliest known Nizari Ismaili treatises.⁷ Despite

“Early Nizari Ismailism: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Khwajah Qasim Tushtari’s Recognizing God,” *Iran* 57, no. 2 (2019).; Anonymous, Akbar Irānī Qummī, ed. *Dustūr al-munajjimīn*. (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2019). This last publication consists of a facsimile of MS. Paris, BN Ar. no. 5968. It has been partially edited: Muḥammad Karīmī Zanjānī Aṣl, *Tārīkh-i wa ta’wīl bi riwāyati Dastūr al-munajjimīn* (Die Geschichte und ihre Interpretation zufolge dem Dastūr al-munajjimīn). (Bonn: Goethe & Hafis Buchhandlung und Verlag, 2013).

⁶ ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb-i Qazwīnī, ed. *Ta’rīkh-i jahān-gushā* Vol. 3: *Mangū Qā’ān, Hūlāgū and the Ismā’īlīs*. (London: Luzac & Co (HII-etext), 1958 (original edition 1912-1937)).; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi’*.; Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī Qāshānī, Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, ed. *Zubdat al-tawārīkh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān wa Nazāriyān*. (Tehran: Mu’assasah-yi Muṭāla’āt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987).

⁷ Major Nizari treatises available from this period include: Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib, *Spiritual Resurrection in Shi’i Islam: An Early Ismaili Treatise on the Doctrine of Qiyāmat: Haft Bāb*. trans. S. J. Badakhchani (London: I.B.Tauris, 2017).; Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī, Wladimir Ivanow, ed. *The Rawdatu’-t-Taslim* (Rawḍat al-taslīm), commonly called *Tasawwurat*. trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Leiden: Pub. for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1950).; Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī, Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, ed. *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashamī—wa sih risāla-yi dīgar-i ū*. (Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 1960). Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī, *The Nasirean Ethics* (Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī). trans. G. M. Wickens (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964); Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī, *Contemplation and Action* (Sayr wa sulūk): the Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar. trans. Seyyed Jalal Badakhchani (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998).; Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī, *Paradise of Submission* (Rawḍat al-taslīm): a Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought. trans. Seyyed Jalal Badakhchani (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005).; Naṣīr al-Dīn

anachronisms such as the encounter between the Central Asian poet, philosopher and Fatimid Ismaili *da'i*, Nasir-i Khusraw (d. after 465/1072-73) and Hasan-i Sabbah, or religio-political quandaries such as the killing of the *imam* by the Nizari *da'i*-ruler of the polity, the *Hikayat* allows a rare window into early Nizari doctrinal discourses.

Over the seven decades from the foundation of the polity, many in and around the territories controlled by the Nizaris advocated alternate religious authorities. The Ilkhanid chronicles report that the *da'wa* hierarchy strove to stamp out a raft of such movements. The third *da'i*-ruler of the Nizari polity, Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid (r. 532-557/1138-1162) is even reported to have executed two hundred and fifty people and banished another two hundred and fifty from the famed fortress of Alamut for believing that his son was the promised *imam*.⁸

A member of this exiled group, persecuted by the Nizari hierarchy, most likely authored the *Hikayat*. In the vein of apocalyptic literature, the *Hikayat* portrays Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid as the arch-enemy and envisions his ignominious death. The author construed continuities between the Fatimid and Nizari *da'wa* and imamate; between communities of followers of Nasir-i Khusraw and those of the founder of the Nizari Ismaili polity in Iran,

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī, Shi'i interpretations of Islam: three treatises on Islamic theology and eschatology. trans. Seyyed Jalal Badakhchani (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).;

⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 163; Qāshānī, *Zubdat 2nd Ed.* 183-184

Hasan-i Sabbah. If the dating proposed in this research is correct, then the *Hikayat* is the earliest known Nizari text which references Nasir-i Khusraw and is an exemplar of the Nizari appropriation of Nasir-i Khusraw and his teachings.

The *Hikayat* is not steeped in theological language and argument. Doctrines and theology are only tangentially alluded to in the narrative. The author, probably an educated person, was not accustomed to writing theological tracts since the text does not begin with an invocation of God or with praise and prayers in the name of the prophet and *imams*, nor does it quote doctrinal material from the Qur'an, *aḥādith* or *akhbār* of the *imams* found in Ismaili *da'wa* literature.⁹

⁹ It is noteworthy that the content and structure of the *Hikāyat* is very different from the surviving treatises of Nizari *da'wa* literature mentioned in footnote 6 above in that it does not have the features discussed in the above paragraph which are universally found in other Ismaili works. No study of the diverse genres, contents and structures of the corpus of Ismaili writings has been done. Such contours can be gleaned from the analyses of translators and editors of individual texts. For example see: Ṭūsī, *Contemplation and Action*. 11ff; Ṭūsī, *Paradise of Submission*. 1-11; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Qūhistānī, Wladimir Ivanow, ed. *Haft bāb, or Seven Chapters*. (Bombay: The Ismaili Society, 1959). 3-5; Shahrastānī, *Command and Creation: A Shī'i Cosmological Treatise: A Persian edition and English translation of Muhammad al-Shahrastani's Majlis-i maktub*. 11-17; Also see: Hajiani, "Reconstructing Alamut." 129-185; Daniel Beben, "The Legendary Biographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw: Memory and Textualization in Early Modern Persian Ismā'īlism," diss., Indiana University, (2015). 233ff; Shaftolu Gulamadov, "The Hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān," diss., University of Toronto, (2018). 127-149.

Three Witnesses

There are three witnesses of this rare and undated treatise. The first was copied by Muhammad Husayn Ghufrani in the early twentieth century and is found in a *majmu'a* of some 62 treatises in Persian MS 5 (formerly designated MS 32) ff. 114b–118b in the Institute of Ismaili Studies collection [sigla: IIS5, (انجمن)].¹⁰ The MS is described as written in black ink on paper in a very crude Nasta'liq; folio size: 18 x 15 cm; text size: 16.5 x 11.5 cm; 14 lines per page; bound in thick parchment and cardboard.¹¹ The treatise is separated from the previous tract in the MS with *يا على مدد اللهم يا مولانا* (O 'Ali help! O God, O our Lord!) and begins with the title *حكايت سيد ناصر خسرو* (The Story of Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw). The second witness of the text was catalogued by Ismail Poonawala as part of a *majmu'a* in the Waziri collection at Tehran University listed as Tehran-Markazi MS-F 2835 [sigla: TU, (تهران)].¹² The text is written in 17 lines per page of elegant Nasta'liq and is in a very different hand from other tracts in the MS. On the first page above the 17 lines of text, the title is written as *حكايت سيد ناصر خسرو رحمت الله عليه* (The Story of Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw, God have mercy on him). The copyist appended an

¹⁰ Karim Javan, Catalogue of Ismaili Persian Manuscripts, the Collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies (Unpublished). (London: Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012). 67 shows the copyist to be Ishāq Ghufrānī; however, Jalal Badakhchani stated that the MS was in fact copied by the former's father Muhammad Ḥusayn Ghufrānī see: Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib, *HB*. 40. I am grateful for the University of Chicago Humanities Division Research Travel Grant and to Dr. Farhad Daftary and Professor Eric Ormsby for kindly permitting me to have access to the digitised manuscripts at the Institute of Ismaili Studies. My grateful thanks also to Shah Hussain, Assistant Librarian at IIS for making certain MSS scans available to me during my research trip at the Institute in 2013.

¹¹ Javan, *Catalogue*. 28 and 36

¹² Tehran-Markazī MS-F 2835; Ismail K Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature*. (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1977). 353 no 281. I am grateful to the late Dr. Janis Esots for kindly securing a scan of this MS for me from the University of Tehran collection. The scan of 92 folios of the MS was made available and the *Hikayat* is the last tract on ff. 88b-92b. Unsuccessful further attempts to obtain additional pages of the MS confirms Danishpazhuh's observation that the *Sarguzasht-i Hasan-i Sabbah* listed by Poonawala is not found in the microfilm.

omitted line in the left margin, perpendicular to the main text, on f. 91b. Similarly, the colophon was written perpendicular to the main text on f. 92b and gives the name of the copyist as Shah Murad b. Muhammad.¹³ The *Hikayat* was previously edited and translated using these two witnesses.¹⁴ Muhammad Taqi Danishpazhuh located a third witness at the University of California Los Angeles in MS-M140/1 and he believed it to be a copy of the treatise from the Tehran MS. While Danishpazhuh referred to Poonawala's listings, it appears he was focussed on searching for the *Sarguzasht-i Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ* (Biography of Hasan-i Sabbah). He noted that

in the *majmū'a* of Āqā-i Ḥasan-i Āmūzgārī-yi Riḍawī, the microfilm of which is housed at [Tehran] University (2835/9s835:1), the late scholar Riḍawī, in the biography of [Naṣīr al-Dīn] Ṭūsī, has mentioned what appeared to be both biographical accounts of [Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ]; however, at present, we do not see the *Sarguzasht-i Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ* (Biography of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ) in the film. From the listing of UCLA MSS (Publication of the University Press 739: 11 and 12) in MS-M140/1, I found, possibly, that very biography (*bāyad hamīn Sarguzasht bāshad*). I believe this to be the MS of Āmūzgārī-yi Riḍawī.¹⁵

The *Sarguzasht* was also not among the scanned pages of the Tehran MS made available to me. In his search for the *Sarguzasht*, it appears, Danishpazhuh overlooked the *Hikayat* in Tehran University MS-2385. The colophons of the *Hikayat* text in the TU and UCLA MS are identical and thus corroborate Danishpazhuh's surmise that the UCLA MS may be the same as TU. He edited the treatise in his introduction to the second edition of Qashani's *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* [sigla: DP, (دانشپژوه)]; however, he erroneously posited that this text may, in fact, be the

¹³ Danishpazhuh was unable to decipher two marks after the name; in TU the last word is also undecipherable.

¹⁴ Hajiani, "Reconstructing Alamut." 666-675. I am grateful to John Woods, Nazeer Lotfi Fard, Fatemeh Mazaheri and Zubair Saifi for patiently reviewing my transcriptions and translation. Thanks also to Sunatullo Jonboboiev of the University of Central Asia and Qudratbek Elchibekov at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Dushanbe for checking to see if any copies of this tract existed in the collections in Tajikistan.

¹⁵ Qāshānī, *Zubdat 2nd Ed.* xxv. The UCLA Special Collections team provided a scan of MS-140 from the Minasian collection of Near Eastern manuscripts, circa 1100-189 Box 23; however, it appears the catalogue numbers may have changed since Dānish-pazhūh's work on the UCLA collections. The *Hikayat* was not located in MS-140.

Critical Edition

I have used the more comprehensive IIS5 as the base text and have noted the variants and a few instances of emendations from the other two witnesses in the critical apparatus. The absence, in IIS5, of the identical colophon found in TU and DP suggests that the copyists accessed two different source manuscripts. Three emendations were made: two from DP and TU, and one solely from DP. There are a total of 155 variances from IIS5 in DP and TU. The large number of variances from IIS5 that are common in DP and TU support Danishpazhuh's assumption that the UCLA MS140/1 may have been a copy of TU. The greater number of unique variances between IIS5 and DP than TU is suggestive of emendations by Danishpazhuh during his edition of the text.

The majority of the variances do not result in substantive change in meaning of the narrative. For the most part, the variances are alternations of singular to plural or uses of a different verb to denote the subject's sacrality (*pluralis excellentiæ*: گفتند for گفتند or فرمودند); similarly, the use of the third person plural (ایشان in place of مولانا) in IIS5 is frequently replaced by ان in the other two witnesses; use of the reflexive (با دو فرزند خود vs. با دو فرزند); there are word order changes (پادشاهی و سلطنت vs. سلطنت و پادشاهی), adjectival insertions (بلخ vs. دیار بلخ); differences in verbal element of compound verbs; to list a few. A repeating difference between the two MS and the DP edition is in the name of the Fatimid *imam-caliph* al-Musta'li; the two copyists rendered the name مست علی (*mast 'Alī*, pejoratively, the drunken 'Alī) which Danishpazhuh

¹⁶ Ibid. xxvi-xxxi. The edited text is included in the *dībācha* (preface) to the second edition of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*.

appears to have rectified as مستعلی (Musta'li).

Some forty variances which change the syntax and in a few cases, impact the meaning of the narrative have been noted in the Persian text and the translation as appropriate. To illustrate: مرا یقین vs. مرد یقین. IIS5 reads: مستنصر بالله است: "I had certainty that Mustansir bi'llāh is the true imam..."—مرد یقین from DP changes this to "the man had certainty..." which is incongruous since the next clause is attributed to Nasir-i Khusraw, he said: "however, I wished to listen to and challenge (*mujārāt barāwaram*) his [al-Mustansir's] *da'is*" [Paragraph 1]. Similarly, «دو ماه دیگر تحمل کردم تا نوروز شد» (Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw said: "I endured another two months until Nawruz arrived...") in IIS5; however, both DP and TU change the subject to the narrator: «دو ماه دیگر تحمل کردم تا نوروز شد» سیدنا گوید که: (Sayyidnā [Hasan-i Sabbah] said: "I endured another two months until Nawruz arrived..."). Again this is incongruous since Ḥasan was recounting Nasir-i Khusraw's account [para. 2]. This common flaw in DP and TU suggests a scribal error in the source manuscripts that Shah Murad b. Muhammad and Danishpazhuh carried forward. Such disparities are noted in the edition and translation. No information of authorship, date or provenance of the original text is available.

Content of the Hikayat

I have divided the text into twenty-one paragraphs. The text has a series of analepses and prolepses demarcated into sixteen episodes. The first two episodes [paras. 1-4] are narrated in Hasan-i Sabbah's voice as he recounted the *Hikayat* (story) from Nasir-i Khusraw and how al-Mustansir appointed him to carry out the *da'wa* in Balkh, Kabul and Badakhshan. These events, if tied to historical chronology, would have taken place in 440/1048-49. In the next seven

episodes [paras. 5-12] the time-scale shifts to 487/1095 with a *terminus ante quem* of 559/1164 for the remainder of the text.

According to the text, al-Mustansir divided the Fatimid realm between his sons Nizar and Musta'li and after their father's death, the latter moved to push aside his brother [paras. 5-6]. Nizar sought out Hasan-i Sa'id, a slave of al-Mustansir, asked for the letter given to him by al-Mustansir. This letter in the *imam-caliph's* own hand affirmed Nizar as his designated successor [para. 7]. Nizar set out from Cairo with his two sons and Hasan-i Sa'id. They stayed with a hermit who had been granted an *iqṭā'* (tax farm) by al-Mustansir and had been ordered to expect the party on a particular day and time. The hermit affirmed Nizar's status and offered his services as commanded by al-Mustansir [para. 8]. Al-Musta'li discovered that Nizar and his companions had travelled to Baghdad so he sent threatening demands to the 'Abbasid caliph for their return. Nizar secretly sent his designated successor along with Hasan-i Sa'id to Hasan-i Sabbah at Alamut and himself returned to Cairo where he was killed. [para. 9].

The remaining episodes of the story take place at Alamut where the true identities of the *imams* descended from Nizar (named Hadi, Muhtadi and al-Qahir) were known only to Hasan-i Sabbah and after him Buzurg Ummid (r. 518-532/1124-1138). The *imams* wrote treatises and covertly directed the *da'wa*, to the extent that Hasan-i Sabbah executed his four sons based on conversations with the *imam* in which he understood that his sons would turn out to be seditious [paras. 10-13]. The third ruler of the polity Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid, unaware of and opposed to the imamate, killed the *imam* al-Qahir and his eighteen companions. He took the *imam's* pregnant wife into his residence ordering that if the child were male, he would be

killed [paras. 15]. Miraculously, his own pregnant wife gave birth to a daughter on the same day as the *imam*'s wife birthed a son. She substituted her daughter in place of the *imam*'s son thus saving the child's life [para. 16]. As time went on Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid noticed that two of Hasan-i Sabbah's three prognostications about the *Qā'im* (the messianic Resurrector) had become manifest in his purported son, Hasan. As he discussed this with the community, the third prognostication also came true. The narrative culminates with Hasan putting an end to Muhammad's life and the *Raḥīqan* celebrating the manifestation of the *imam* (*zuhūr-i khudāwand*) with a feast [paras. 17-21].

The *Hikayat* does not conform nor purport to be a synchronic account of past actuality. Historic chronology and time-scale are not important here. The text operates within a paradigm Ehsan Yarshater observed about pre-Islamic Persian historical writing. A key feature of these histories, he noted, was that “no distinction was made between the factual, the legendary, and the mythical. All three are blended in a unified whole and presented as a continuous narrative of events.”¹⁷ The *Hikayat* raises three historical questions: First, given that the meeting between Hasan-i Sabbah and Nasir Khusraw could not have happened why does the text mention Nasir-i Khusraw? Second, why does the text cast the third *da'ī*-ruler of the Nizari polity, Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid, as a negative character? When might the *Hikayat* have been written? These questions are examined below after the edited text and translation.

¹⁷ Ehsan Yarshater, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran Vol. 3: The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968). 3.1:366

حکایت سید ناصر خسرو^۱

[۱] [114b] حضرت سیدنا، قدس الله سره، با رفیقان فرموده که: «ناصر خسرو^۲ بمن حکایتی کرد^۳ با شما رفیقان باز گوئیم.» فرمود که: «سید ناصر خسرو گفت که: «مرا یقین^۴ بود که امام بحق مستنصر بالله است، اما خواستم که از داعیان ایشان بشنوم و با ایشان مجارات براورم^۵. از بلخ^۶ بدیار مصر رفتم. مدت ششماه در مصر بودم مستنصر بالله را نتوانستم دید. روزی بر در دکان رفیق نشسته بودم، باوی گفتم: «ششماه است در این شهرم خلیفه را ندیده‌ام.» گفت: «ایشان در هفته یکبار از قلعه قاهره بیرون می آیند^۷ جهت امور پادشاهی. و از سلاطین و امراء و غیره چندان جمع می شوند که هر کس ایشان را نتواند دید. اما هر سال در نوروز یکبار در رود نیل، که مولانا حاکم باغات ساخته و اشجار نشانده، بجشن میروند و یک هفته آنجا می باشند. و سلاطین و امراء که از اطراف و جوانب^۸ می آیند خلعت^۹ می دهند و باز گشته بشهر می آیند^{۱۰}. در آن محل ایشان^{۱۱} [115a] می توان دید.»

[۲] سید ناصر می گوید^{۱۲} که: «دوماه دیگر تحمل کردم تا نوروز شد. رفتم بر سر راه بایستدم تا محل که می آمدند^{۱۳} لشکر بسیار [که] در خدمت بودند، چون رسیدند ناگاه جانب من نگاه کردند. یکی از مردم لشکر که در خدمت بودند فرمود که^{۱۴}: «فلان شخص را نگاه دارید^{۱۵} تا محلی که از^{۱۶} تو طلب داریم.» آنشخص مرا به خانه خود^{۱۷} برد تا وقت آن رسید مولانا مستنصر لذكره السلام باز گشتند^{۱۸}. و همراه آن شخص رفتم و بر سر راه ایستادم.

د و ت: رحمة الله علیه ۱

د ندرد: الله ۲

د ندرد: ناصر خسرو ۳

د و ت: گفته ۴

د: مرد یقین ۵

د و ت: برود ۶

د و ت: دیار بلخ ۷

د و ت: میفرمایند ۸

د و ت: از اطراف و جوانب، بجای: از جانب ۹

د و ت: ایشان را خلعت ۱۰

د و ت: باز بشهر می آیند ۱۱

د و ت: ایشان را ۱۲

ت: سیدنا گوید؛ د: سیدنا می گوید ۱۳

از د و ت بجای: بر آمدند ۱۴

د و ت: یکی از مردم لشکر که در خدمت بودند فرمودند که ۱۵

از د و ت بجای: شخص نگاهدار ۱۶

د و ت: او را از ۱۷

د ندرد: خود ۱۸

از د و ت بجای: باز گشتند ۱۹

[۳] مولانا مستنصر لذكره السلام رسید. ایشان را چنان دیدم که از سلطنت و پادشاهی^۱ ملول شده‌اند. بدر^۲ دکان رفیق روغنگر^۳ رسیدند. عنان^۴ اسب را کشیده^۵ رفیق را^{۱۸} فرمودند که: «دبه روغن مرا بیاور.» آن رفیق در دکان دویده^۶ و دبه روغن را بیاورد^۷ و به دست آن حضرت داد. ایشان این رباعی را فرمودند

در مسجد و بتخانه^۸ و میخانه منم

در هر دو جهان حدیث افسانه منم

به چند که عقل کل غلام در ماست

با این همه مستنصر دیوانه منم

و آن دبه روغن را^۹ بر سر مبارک خود ریختند، و جامه های پادشاهانه، که در نوروز پوشیده بودند، چرب ساختند و سواران و مردمان که در رکاب ایشان بودند چرب شدند. اکثر لشکر از ایشان برگشتند. و منافقان ایشان را دیوانه خواندند.

[۴] بعد از آن، چون بخانه آمدند، بنده ناصر را بخواندند و بنواختند و منشور دادند^{۱۰} که در دیار بلخ و کابل و بدخشان به دعوت مشغول باشم^{۱۱}.

[۵] چون چند گاه بر آمد مولانا مستنصر ولایت را بر پسران خود قسمت کرد^{۱۲}. مصر و نواحی را [115b] بمستعلی^{۱۹} داد. و ولایت مغرب را بمولانا نزار لذكره السلام که فرزند منصوح بودند. فرمودند^{۱۳} که: «با یکدیگر اتفاق کنید و

د و ت: پادشاهی و سلطنت ۱

د: در ۲

د: روغنگری، بجای رفیق روغنگر ۳

د: چنان ۴

د و ت: اسب باز کشیدند و ۵

د و ت: دویده ۶

د و ت: بیرون آورده ۷

د: ویت خانه ۸

د و ت: روغن ۹

از د و ت: دادند ۱۰

د: می باید بود ت: باید بود ۱۱

د و ت: بر پسران قسمت کرد ۱۲

د و ت: ندرند: فرمودند ۱۳

¹⁸ "Raḥīq" (comrade, friend, associate) implies the shop-keeper might have been an Ismaili. Nizari texts and Ilkhanid chronicles invariably refer to the Nizari Ismailis as *Raḥīqān*.

¹⁹ The name of the Fatimid imam-caliph al-Musta'li bi'llāh (r. 1095-1101/487-495) in IIS and TU is written pejoratively as مست علی = "drunken 'Alī"; DP appears to have corrected this usage to مستعلی. Hereafter مستعلی is used with notation of variance.

عداوت مکنید.» و انتقال^۱ فرمودند.

[۶] بعد از چندگاه چون بیشتر خاصان رجوع بمولانا نزار میکردند، منافقان و غمازان و غرض گویان مستعلی را گفتند: «اگر تو این برادر خود را همچنین گذاری^۲ زود باشد که شهر مصر^۳ از تصرف تو بیرون رود^۴ و لشکر به برادر تو جمع شود. مستعلی کسی نزد مولانا نزار^۵ فرستاد و پیغام داد که: «سخن همانست که پدر ما فرموده که تو پادشاه و من لشکرکش و خدمت کار تو^۶. مصلحت اینست که بشهر آئی و بجای پدر بنشینى.» چون فرستاده بخدمت مولانا نزار آمد و پیغام که داشت عرضه کرد، مولانا نزار لذکره السلام فرمودند با خاصان خود که: «بر قول مستعلی اعتماد نیست، و خلاف سخن خود^۷ خواهد کرد اما مصلحت آنست که برویم» و به مصر تشریف فرمودند و بعد از چند روز^۸ که در مصر بودند، مستعلی کسی بخدمت ایشان فرستاد که: «تو این مشقت و محنت^۹ دنیا را به من گذار و به حجره خود رو و در حجره بنشینى.»

[۷] مولانا نزار با حجره خود آمدند. و بعد از آن حسن سعید را، که از خادمان خاص مولانا مستنصر لذکره السلام بود، و در خدمت ایشان می بود، فرمودند که: «مولانا مستنصر لذکره السلام در فلان تاریخ و روز^{۱۰} کاغذی نوشته و سر بمهر کرده و بتو سپرده^{۱۱} برجا داری؟» گفت: «آری.» فرمودند که: «بیاور.» حسن سعید کاغذ را به خدمت^{۱۲} آورد. [116a] مولانا نزار آن کاغذ را بشکافتند، و باز کردند. مولانا مستنصر لذکره السلام بخط مبارک خود نوشته بودند^{۱۳} که: «فرزند من نزار است^{۱۴}. هر کس راه حق میخواهد متابعت او کند^{۱۵}.» حسن سعید سجده کرد و گفت: «مطیع و مامورم به هر چه فرمان دهی^{۱۶}.»

[۸] مولانا نزار لذکره السلام فرمودند که: «می روی و ده سراسب میخری و ایشان را واژگونه^{۱۷} نعل می بندى، و نماز

د و ت: و خود انتقال ۱

د و ت: بگذاری ۲

د و ت: مصر را ۳

د: برد ۴

د و ت: نزار علی ذکر السلام ۵

د: من لشکرکش و چون خدمت کار تو^۶؛ من لشکرکش و من خدمتکار تو ۶

د ندرد: خود ۷

د و ت: و بعد از چند گاه ۸

د و ت ندرند: و محنت ۹

د و ت: و فلان روز ۱۰

د و ت: سپرده بود ۱۱

د و ت ندرند: مولانا ۱۲

د و ت: بود ۱۳

د: فرزند منصوب حقیقی نزار است ت: فرزند منصوب حقیقی من نزار است ۱۴

د و ت: آنکند ۱۵

د و ت: فرمایى ۱۶

د و ت: واژگونه ۱۷

شام حاضر می سازی. «حسن بموجب بفرموده^۱ ده سراسب خرید و ایشان را واژگونه نعل بسته بخدمت مولانا^۲ لذکره السلام آورد. آن حضرت با دو فرزند خویش و حسن سعید، در همان شب، از مصر بیرون آمده^۳ بجانب رود نیل بخانه^۴ راهب تشریف. راهب در پس در آمد و گفت^۵: «تو مولانا نزاری؟» گفت: «آری.» گفت: «با دو فرزند؟» گفت: «آری.» گفت: «حسن سعید در خدمت شما است؟» فرمودند: «آری.» راهب در خانه را بگشاد^۶. گفتند: «ترا از کجا معلوم شد که من نزارم با فرزندان خود؟» راهب گفت که: «بعضی مواضع این نواحی را مولانا مستنصر باقطاع بمن داده بود^۷، و مرا فرموده بودند که: «در فلان شب مولانا نزار با فرزندان خود و حسن سعید^۸ بمقام تو خواهند آمد در متابعت او تقصیر نکنی. و من شب تا این ساعت انتظار میکشم، اگر نمی آمیدید مرا شکی می شد. اکنون بهره میفرمای استادگی دارم.» مولانا نزار فرمودند که: «چند روز اینجا خواهیم ماند^۹. اسرار ما را از مردم پنهان می باید داشت.»

[۹] بعد از چند روز عزیمت بغداد فرمودند^{۱۰}، از آنجا روانه شدند. چون یکچند برآمد^{۱۱} مستعلی خبر یافت [116b] که ایشان در بغدادند. کسی نزد خلیفه فرستاد که: «برادرم نزار با فرزندان خود بدان دیار آمده است، باید که او را بدینجانب فرستید و الا که اهمال نمائید لشکر بر سر^{۱۲} بغداد آورده انواع خرابی نماییم^{۱۳}. چون این خبر ببغداد

د و ت: فرموده ۱

د و ت: نزار ۲

د و ت: آمدند ۳

د و ت: فرمودند و در بکوفتند، ۴

د: فرمودند که ت: فرمودند ۵

د و ت: خود ۶

د: خانه بگشاده ۷

د و ت: مولانا نزار لذکره السلام در درون خانه رفتند، راهب را گفتند ۸

د و ت: مولانا بهمن داده اند، مستنصر به اقطاع ۹

د و ت: خادم حسن سعید ۱۰

د و ت: بود ۱۱

د و ت: فرمود ۱۲

د ندرد: برآمد ۱۳

د و ت: لشکرها به ۱۴

د و ت: نمایم ۱۵

رسید، مولانا نزار با مصر رفته. و چون بولایت خوزستان²⁰ رسیدند، مولانا هادی را، که فرزند حقیقی ایشان بود^۱، و حسن سعید را در خدمت ایشان بقلعه الموت نزد سیدنا قدس الله روحه فرستادند^۲؛ و خود بمصر رفتند. مستعلی علیه اللعن (sic)، مولانا^۳ نزار را شهید کرد.²¹ در مصر دو گروه پدیدار آمد و فتنه عظیم برخاست، و یک گروه که بر جانب مولانا نزار بودند در مصر میگردیدند و عادل حق الاهل^۴ میگفتند.

[۱۰] بعد از آنکه مولانا هادی عظیمت^۵ الموت فرمودند، چون بنواحی آنجا رسیدند حسن سعید را فرستادند و سیدنا را از آمدن خود خبر دادند، و فرمودند که سیدنا را بگوی که: «اسرار ما را از خلیق مخفی دار که صلاح کل عالم در آنست.»

[۱۱] سیدنا چون خبر یافت باستقبال بیرون آمد و با رفیقان فرمودند که: «مرد سیدیست از کعبه می آید. چون مولانا بقلعه آمدند^۶ غیر از سیدنا و حسن سعید از احوال ایشان کسی اطلاع نداشت^۷. و سیدنا با مرو فرمان ایشان کار میکرد و رفیقان بفرمان سیدنا کار میکردند.

[۱۲] و چون یکچندی برآمد سیدنا^۸ در خدمت مولانا بود، مولانا^۹ فرمودند^{۱۰} که: «بعد از تو خواهد بود^{۱۱}».

ت ندرد: بود ۱

د و ت: فرستاد ۲

د ندرد: مولانا ۳

د: عاد الحق الی اهلته: عادلی حق الی اهل ۴

د: عزیمت ۵

د و ت: آمد ۶

د و ت: کسی از حقیقت حال ایشان وقوف نداشت ۷

د و ت: یک روز سیدنا ۸

د و ت: ایشان ۹

د و ت: مولانا اورا فرمود ۱۰

د و ت: شد ۱۱

²⁰ Reading *Khūzistān* instead of *Khūristān*. The dot above the *z* is not clearly shown in IIS5; the small dot could be a stray mark. TU also reads *خورستان*. DP read this as *Khūzistān*. Francis Joseph Steingass, "A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary." (1892): <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/steingass/>. 484 notes: *khūristān* "(probably misreading for *khūzistān*) name of a country in Persia". Per Dekhoda, *Khūristāna* was a village in the suburbs east of Mashhad. There is an apparent geographic anomaly in that neither Mashhad nor *Khūzistān* are on the way from Baghdad to Cairo.

²¹ All three witnesses contain this curse on the mention of al-Musta'li for the murder of the *imam-caliph* Nizar b. al-Mustansir bi'llah who was immured. Building a wall to enclose one's brother to their death epitomises the cruelty and depth of the bitter rivalry. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 78:

حضرت سیدنا؟؟؟ متفکر شدند و از خدمت بیرون آمدند [117a] و آن روز تا شب^۱ در اندیشه و فکر بودند. دیگر^۲ روز
 بخدمت رفته سجود کردند و گفتند^۳: «یا مولانا بر من ظاهر بسازید^۴ سری که بود.» مولانا با سیدنا فرمودند^۵. سیدنا
 از خدمت بیرون آمد و طشت و کاردی طلب فرمودند. و چهار پسر داشتند، هر کدام را جداگانه بدست مبارک خود
 سر در طشت بریدند^۶. و با رفیقان فرمودند که: «چهار پسر خود را بدان جهت کشتم که فرزند مولانا نزار را که امام
 بحق است طلب دارید تا گمراه نشوید.»

[۱۳] و بعد از آن، چون محل آن رسید که با محل کرامت روند، بموجب فرمان مولانا، کیا بزرگ امید را بجای خود
 نشانند. و کیا بزرگ امید هم بفرمان مولانا کار میکرد. چون کیا بزرگ امید انتقال کرد، کیا محمد^۷ که پسر او بود
 بجای او نشست. و او را از حقیقت حال و اسرار مولانا وقوف بر اصل نبود.

[۱۴] مولانا هادی که بقلعه آمده بود، با مردم میفرمود^۸ که: «بمعلمی سیدنا آمده‌ام.» و رساله‌ای ترتیب داد که
 متعلمان را معلمی چون می باید کرد^۹. و بعد از ایشان چون مولانا مهدی فرمودند که من معلمی ام، و رساله‌ای
 ترتیب دادند که معلمی چون می باید کرد^{۱۰} و معلم را پدر جماعت بچه طریق باید بود^{۱۱}. و بعد از آن در دیگر جامه
 مولانا قاهر لذکره السلام فرمودند که من حجت امامم. و رساله‌ای ترتیب دادند^{۱۲} که «هر چه هست این امام است»^{۱۳}.
 و اثبات امامت فرمودند،^{۲۲} سیدنا میفرماید^{۱۴} که این است: سه شب^{۱۵} که اهل ظاهر میگویند که پیش طلوعی^{۱۶}
 قیامت سه شب خواهد بود که آن ظهور خداوند لذکره السلام است.

د و ت: آن روز و آن شب ۱

د: يك ۲

د و ت: گفتند، بجای: گفت ۳

د و ت: گردان ۴

د و ت: در میان نهادند ۵

د و ت: در طشت سر ۶

د و ت: محمدا ۷

ت: میفرمودند ۸

د و ت: کردن ۹

د و ت: کردن ۱۰

د و ت: نمود ۱۱

د: فرمودند؛ ت: فرمود ۱۲

د: و سیدنا میفرماید که هر چه هست این امام است ۱۳

د: سیدنا میفرماید، در جمله قبلی ۱۴

د و ت: یعنی ۱۵

د: طلوع ۱۶

²² TU f. 91b: appended perpendicular to main text—
 insertion point has been ascertained in correlation with IIS5

[۱۵] و بعضی رفیقان را معلوم بود [117b] که امام مولانا قاهر است. و کیا محمد این معنی را استماع ننموده از آنجا که جهل جلی^۱ او بود. در فطرت؟؟؟ سرشته بود^۲ منکر ذات امام بود. و در امام بشک بود، تا آنکه یک روز، مولانا با هیجده^۳ رفیق بآخر دره^۴ تشریف برده^۵ بودند، آن بدبخت از عقب رفته و جمعی را از ملاعین همراه برده، آنحضرت را^۶ با هیجده^۷ رفیق که در خدمت ایشان بودند شهید کردند^۸.

[۱۶] خاتون قیامت در آنوقت^۹ حامله بودند. آن بدبخت خاتون را به خانه خود برده، گفت: «چون حمل خاتون بسر^{۱۰} آید، اگر پسر باشد بکشند.» و در این محل عورت او نیز حامله بود. قضا و چنین تقدیر شد^{۱۱} که حمل خاتون و عورت او بیکراز بسر رسید. و حمل خاتون خود همان خداوند برد^{۱۲} که ظهور فرمودند؛ و عورت آن بدبخت دختر آورده^{۱۳}. عورت او چون مومن بود^{۱۴}؛ و دختر خود را نزد خاتون برده در کنار او نهادند؛ و حضرت را بر کنار آن عورت^{۱۵} نشانند. ^{۲۳} و خبر بدان بدبخت بردند^{۱۶} که خاتون دختر آورده؛ و آنحضرت را پسر خود تصور^{۱۷} میکرد.

[۱۷] تا در محل انتقال سیدنا، رفیقان بایشان گفتند که: «فرموده بودی که قایم^{۱۸} بشما نمایم.» فرمودند که: «از امر و اشارت مولانا چنان شنیدم که: کیا بزرگ امید را به جای خود نصب کنیم^{۱۹} اما بشما نشان بدهیم که قایم چه کسی

د: جلی ۱

د و ت: شده بود ۲

د: هژده ۳

د و ت: بآخر دره، بجای: با خود ۴

د و ت: فرموده ۵

د و ت: آن حضرت ۶

د: در آن موقع با هژده ت: در انموضع با هیزده ۷

د: کرد ۸

د و ت: و درین وقت خاتون قیامت ۹

د: پسر، درست نیست ۱۰

د و ت: قضا را چنان تقدیر افتاد ۱۱

د: بود ۱۲

د و ت: بود ۱۳

د و ت: و آن عورت مومن بود ۱۴

د و ت: کنار خود ۱۵

ت: دادند، در د: نیست ۱۶

د: پسر تصور خود ۱۷

د و ت: قایم را ۱۸

د: نصیب کنم ۱۹

²³ There is a subject change from singular to plural. It is unclear who carried out the substitution.

باشد. اول آن است که: چون به کتابخانه درآید زهراب پاشد. دویم آنکه: در شکارگاه^۱ بیک ضرب شمشیر دو جانوار را^۲ بدو نیم خواهد کرد. سیم آنکه: در حال نزاع^۳ کیا محمد، موزه پوشیده باشد، و نارنجی در دست خود داشته باشد، و از این دست بدن دست^۴ [118a] میانداخته باشد. »

[۱۸] تا آنکه حضرت بده سالگی^۵ بظاهر رسیدند؛ کیا محمد در کتابخانه بود، که حضرت از در در آمده، بر کتابها زهراب پاشیدند^۶. آن وعده سیدنا به خاطر آن رسید؛^۷ اما چندان اعتماد نکرد.^۸ تا بعد از دو سال در سال دیگر^۹ در شکار بودند که گور^{۱۰} پیدا شد^{۱۱} آبستن بود. حضرت اسب بآن گور دوانید^{۱۲}، و بیک ضرب شمشیر او را زد و بچه او را که در شکم بود بدو نیم کرد. و چون وعده ظاهر شد.

[۱۹] و رفیقان دانستند که امام ایشان اند. و منتظر می بودند که دیگر چه واقع می شود. تا آنکه یک روز، اکثر رفیقان در حضور^{۱۳} کیا محمد بودند، و او با رفیقان از این اسرار حکایت میکرد که: «من آن وعده ها که سیدنا قدس الله روحه کرده بر پسر خود می بینم.» رفیقان گفتند: «آن پسر تو نیست.» در این سخن بودند که مولانا از در در آمدند؛ موزه پوشیده بودند؛ و نارنج در دست مبارك خود گرفته^{۱۴} داشتند، و برانداخته از این دست بآندست میگرفتند.^{۱۵} کیا محمد را یقین شد که هر چه هست ایشانند. پس دست در دامن مولانا زد که: «خداوند^{۱۶} بر من رحمت کن» مولانا فرمودند که: «تواهل رحمت نیستی.» گفت: «بر کرم تو اعتماد است.» مولانا گفت که: «آن هیچده رفیق که با پدرم شهید کرده نمیگذارند که من بر تو رحمت کنم.» موزه مبارك خود بر سر او نهادند در حال جان برد.^{۱۷}

[۲۰] رفیقان بظهور خداوند شادمانی کردند^{۱۸} و جشنی ساختند. و خرمی نمودند: «سیدنا قدس الله روحه میفرماید

د و ت: شکار ۱

د و ت: جاندار را ۲

د و ت: نزاع ۳

د: ازین به آن دست ۴

د و ت: بظاهر بدو سالگی ۵

د و ت: بخای: پاشدند ۶

د و ت: به خاطر آن رسید، بجای: باطرار خطور کرد ۷

د و ت: نکرد، بجای: نبرد؟ ۸

د و ت: دو سال دیگر ۹

د و ت: گوری ۱۰

د و ت: شده ۱۱

د و ت: بآن دوانیدند ۱۲

د و ت: حضور، بجای: حضور ۱۳

د و ت: ندارند ۱۴

د و ت: میگرفت ۱۵

د و ت: ای خداوند ۱۶

د و ت: بداد ۱۷

د و ت: گشتند ۱۸

که آن امید که بخدا میداری^۱ درست^۲ اینجا معلوم میشود که رضای برادر مومن رضای خداوند است تقدس ذکره.»

[۲۱] مولانا همه را توفیق [118b] دهد^۳ و اتفاق رضا جوئی برادر مومن^۴ ارزانی داراد
وسلام^۵

د و ت کلفن : حسب الفرموده عالیحضرت امید گاهی این چند کلمه بخط^۶ قلمی گردید امید که هر گاه بنظر کما^۷ اثر
در آید بدعا فراموش نفرمایند شاه مراد بن محمد (؟؟؟ م ه)^۸

د: میدادی^۱

د و ت: بهبرادر مومن دراست^۲

ت: دهد^۳

د: رضای خود بر برادران؛ ت: رضا جو برادران^۴

د: یارب العالمین و السلام؛ ت: آمین یا رب العالمین و السلام^۵

از د: نامربوط بجای: نامربوط^۶

د: کیمیا^۷

ت: ناخوانا؛ د: محمد حدی؛ م=تم؛ ه=انتهای^۸

Translation: Hikayat-i Sayyid-i Nasir-i Khusraw

O 'Ali help! O God! O our Lord
Story of Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw²⁴

[1] [114b]²⁵ *Hadrat Sayyidna*,²⁶ may God hallow his secret, said to the *Rafiqan* (friends, associates, comrades, a term used for Nizari Ismailis): “Nasir-i Khusraw had told me a story, I will repeat to you” He said: “Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw said: “I had certainty that Mustansir bi'llah is the true *imam*; however, I wished to listen to and challenge (*mujārāt barāwaram*) his *da'is*. I went from Balkh to Egypt. I had been in Egypt for six months²⁷ but had not been able to see Mustansir bi'llah. One day I was sitting at the door of a friend's (*rafiq's*)²⁸ shop, I said to him: “I have been in this city for six months and have not seen the *khalifa*.²⁹” He said: “Once a week he comes out of the palace to deal with affairs of state. So many *sultans*,³⁰ *amirs* and others gather that no one is able to see him. However, every year during *Nawruz*³¹ he goes to the festival at the River Nile, where Mawlana Hakim constructed gardens and planted trees, and remains there for a week. The *sultans* and *amirs* who go to him are given robes of honour and they return to the city. In that place [115a] he can be seen.”

[2] Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw said: “I endured another two months until *Nawruz* arrived. I went and stood on the road where many of the troops in attendance came by. When they passed, occasionally, they would look in my direction. One of the troops in attendance said "Watch over that person until we call for him." The man took me to his house until time came for Mawlana Mustansir, peace be on his mention, to return. I went with this man and stood along the road.

[3] Mawlana Mustansir, peace on his mention,³² arrived; he seemed to me tired of the duties of sultanate and kingship. He went to the door of the shop of an oil-seller (*rafiq-i rawgangar*). Stretched out on the horse he ordered the *rafiq*: “Bring me a container of oil.” That *rafiq* ran

²⁴ In TU and DP the pious invocation *may God have mercy on him* is appended to the title.

²⁵ The folio numbers in IIS5 are indicated in square brackets

²⁶ *Sayyidnā* (Our Master) refers to Hasan-i Sabbah

²⁷ Nasir-i Khusraw arrived in Cairo on 7 Safar, 439/9 August, 1047. Six months after his arrival would mean that the conversation took place in Ramadan, 449/February, 1048

²⁸ *rafiq* pl. *rafiqān* is used for Nizari Ismailis

²⁹ Caliph as opposed to the *imam*—does this imply different usages in public vs Ismaili spaces?

³⁰ The title *sulṭān* is typically not found in Ismaili literature—indicative of Saljuq era usage?

³¹ Two annual festivals called '*nawrūz*' have been celebrated in Egypt: the Persian New Year in March which marks the spring equinox in the northern hemisphere, and the Coptic New Year which continued, perhaps, the ancient Egyptian festival of the first heliacal rising of Sirius on 11th September. The second festival took place along the Nile. See: Boaz. Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). 40-52, esp. 42ff

³² *li-dhikrihī'l-salām* and *li-dhikrihī'l-sujūd* are pious invocations attached to the names of the *imams* in Nizari *da'wa* literature and are epithets associated with the Mahdī-Qā'im

into the shop and brought a container of oil and gave it to His Majesty who recited this quatrain:

In the mosque, idol-temple (*but-khāna*) and tavern am I
In both the worlds, the account of mystery (*ḥadīth-i afsāna*) am I
In as much the Universal Intellect (*‘Aql-i Kull*) is a servitor of our threshold
With all this I, Mustansir, ecstatic am I (*diwāna manam*)

He poured that container of oil on the blessed head and the royal robes he had worn for *Nawrūz* were covered in oil; the riders and people who were in the procession were covered in oil. Most of the army withdrew from him and the hypocrites called him mad (*diwana*).

[4] After that when he came to the house, he called for, praised and gave an edict (*manshur*) for this servant, Nasir, to carry out the *da‘wa* in the regions of Balkh, Kabul and Badakhshan.³³

[5] When the time came Mawlana Mustansir divided the imperial realm (*wilayat*) between his sons. Cairo and the environs [115b] he gave to Musta‘li and the regions of the Maghrib to Mawlana Nizar, peace be on his mention, who was his designated son (*farzand-i manṣūṣ*). He commanded: “Be in harmony with each-other and do not go into enmity!” and he passed away.³⁴

[6] After some time when many of the nobles went over to Mawlana Nizar; the hypocrites, detractors and conspirators said to Musta‘li: “If you let this brother of yours be this way, soon the city of Cairo will be out of your possession and will join your brother.” Musta‘li sent a person to Mawlana Nizar with a message: “Everyone says our father commanded that you would be the ruler and I would be the commander of the forces in your service. The greater good is that you come to the city and take father’s place.” When the messenger came to Mawlana Nizar and presented the message, Mawlana Nizar, peace be on his mention, said to his nobles: “Musta‘li’s words cannot be relied on and while it is contrary to my own thoughts; however, the greater good is that we go to Cairo.” He came to Cairo and after a few days Musta‘li sent a man to him with a message: “Leave this worldly drudgery and tribulation to me and withdraw to your residence (*hujrat*, Lit. sanctuary) and stay there.”

[7] Mawlana Nizar went home and called Hasan-i Sa‘id who was a royal slave (*āz khādimān-i khāṣṣ*) of Mawlana Mustansir, peace be on his mention, and was now in his service. He asked: “Mawlana Mustansir, peace be on his mention, on a certain date and day had written a letter, put his seal on it and had given it to you. Do you have it?”
He said: “Yes.”

He commanded: “Bring it.” Hasan-i Sa‘id brought the letter to Mawlana Nizar. [116a] Mawlana Nizar tore open the letter and gave it back. Mawlana Mustansir, peace be on his mention, had

³³ Nasir-i Khusraw's appointment took place after al-Mustansir's self-anointment which evokes a ritual shift in the latter's role from mundane sovereign (caliph) to sacral ruler (*imam*)

³⁴ There is no basis in past actuality for this; the author appears oblivious of the historic succession crisis

written in his own blessed hand: “My designated son (*farzand-i manṣūṣ*) is Nizar. Whoever wishes for the path of Truth (*rāh-i Ḥaqq*) should obey him.”

Hasan-i Saʿid prostrated before him and said: “I obey and am at your command in whatever you order.”

[8] Mawlana Nizar, peace be on his mention, ordered: “Go and buy ten horses, shoe them backwards and come for the evening prayer.” Hasan, as ordered, bought ten horses, shoed them backwards and brought them to Mawlana Nizar, peace be on his mention. That evening, His Lordship along with his two sons and Hasan departed from Cairo towards the Nile and arrived at the house of a hermit (*rāhib*).

The hermit came out and said: “Are you Mawlana Nizar?”

He said: “Yes.”

He said: “With two children?”

He said: “Yes.”

He said: “Is Hasan-i Saʿid with you?”

He said: “Yes.”

The hermit went into the house; [Nizar] asked him: “How did you come to know that I am Nizar with my children?”

The hermit said: “Mawlana Mustansir had given part of this district as an *iqṭāʿ* (tax farm) to me and had instructed me that: ‘on a certain night Mawlana Nizar with his children and Hasan-i Saʿid will come to your place; do not hesitate in obeying him!’ I have been waiting this evening to this hour. If you had not come, I would have become suspicious. Now whatever you command I will obey.”

Mawlana Nizar said: “We wish to stay here for several days. Our secret must be kept from the people.”

[9] After some days they set out for Baghdad, however, after a little while Mustaʿli came to know [116b] that they were in Baghdad. He sent someone to the caliph [with a message:] “My brother Nizar with his children has come to that region. You must send him here. If you do not act, we will send our army and ruin Baghdad.” When this news reached Baghdad, Mawlana Nizar went to Egypt, when he reached the district of *Khuzistan*,³⁵ he sent Mawlana Hadi, who was his own son, with Hasan-i Saʿid, who accompanied him to the fortress of Alamut to Sayyidna, God sanctify his soul, and himself went to Cairo. Mustaʿli, may he be cursed, martyred Mawlana Nizar. In Egypt two groups appeared and a great chaos ensued. One of the groups turned towards Mawlana Nizar in Cairo and were called “the just for the right of the family” (*ʿādil-i ḥaqq al-āhl*).³⁶

[10] After Mawlana Hadi headed to Alamut and arrived in a district there, he sent Hasan-i Saʿid to inform Sayyidnā of his arrival and instructed him to tell Sayyidna: “Keep our secret from the

³⁵ Texts read *Khūristān*

³⁶ DP and TU fumble over this name—suggesting the copyists were not versed in the history and context. See: Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāz*. III 438

people; this is for the good of all the world (*ṣalāḥ-i kull-i ʿālam*).”

[11] When he received the news, Sayyidna went out to meet him and told the *Raḥīqan*: “This man, a *sayyid*, has come from the Kaʿba.” When Mawlana came to the fortress, no one other than Sayyidna and Hasan-i Saʿid were informed of the situation. Sayyidna acted in accord with his commands and decrees (*amr wa farmān*) and the *Raḥīqan*, [in turn,] acted in accord with Sayyidna’s decrees (*farmān*).

[12] Once when Sayyidna was with Mawlana—Mawlana said that after you there will be discord. Ḥadrat Sayyidna was bewildered by this. He left [117a] and that day and night was distressed and in contemplation. Later he went [to Mawlana Hadi], made a prostration and said: “O Mawlana, disclose the secret to me.” Mawlana disclosed [the secret to] Sayyidna. He came away and asked for a basin and a dagger. He had four sons; separately, he cut off each one’s head with his blessed hand. He proclaimed to the *Raḥīqan*: “I killed my four sons because you should seek after the son of Mawlana who is the true imam (*imam-i ḥaqq*) and should not go astray.”³⁷

[13] When the time (*maḥal*) came, by a miracle (*maḥall-i karāmat*), he appointed Kiya Buzurg Ummid in his place in accord with the command (*farmān*) of Mawlana. Kiya Buzurg Ummid also acted in accord with the command (*farmān*) of Mawlana. When Kiya Buzurg Ummid passed away, his son, Kiya Muhammad, took his place. He was not aware of the true circumstances and secrets of Mawlana (*ḥāl wa āsrār-i Mawlāna waqūf bar aṣl nabūd*).³⁸

[14] Mawlana Hadi, when he came to the fortress, had told the people: “I have come to instruct Sayyidnā.” He put together a treatise on how to instruct the teachers. After him Mawlana Muhtadi said: “I am a teacher.” He put together a treatise for the teachers to follow and on how the teacher should act as father to the community (*jamaʿat*). After that in another embodiment (*jāma* Lit. dress)³⁹ Mawlana Qahir, peace be on his mention, said: “I am the *hujja* of the *imim*.” A treatise was put together that “all that is—it is the *imam*” (*har chi hast īn imāmīst*). The evidence of imamate he said, Sayyidna had proclaimed, is this, three nights that the exotericists (*āhl-i ṣāḥir*) say that after the rising of the Resurrection (*ṭulūʿ-yi-qiyāmat*) are the three nights of manifestation of the Lord, peace be on his mention (*khudāwand li-dhikrihi-l-salām*).⁴⁰

[15] Some of the *Raḥīqan* knew [117b] that the *imam* is Mawlana Qahir. Kiya Muhammad had not heard this matter (*maʿnī*) such that he was ignorant of him. He was by nature opposed to the essence of the imam (*zāt-i imām*).⁴¹ He was suspicious of the *imam* such that one day when Mawlana with eighteen companions came out of the valley; that unfortunate, along with a

³⁷ An evil act turned into a teaching moment!

³⁸ There is no explanation of why a matter of such import would be kept from the ruler of the polity

³⁹ An uncommon usage—not found in Persian historical writing of the time

⁴⁰ The *imam* invokes the words of Hasan-i Sabbah which elevates the latter's sanctified status.

⁴¹ Rhetoric of a faction opposed to the *daʿi*-ruler.

group of the accursed (*malā'īn*), pursued and martyred His Majesty and the eighteen companions who were with him.

[16] The Lady of the *Qiyamat* (*Khātūn-i Qiyāmat*) was pregnant at the time; that unfortunate (*badbakht*) took the Lady to his own house and said: “When the pregnant Lady delivers if the child is male he is to be killed.”⁴² In that house, his own wife was also pregnant. By destiny and Divine decree (*qaḍā wa chunīn taqdīr shud*) the pregnant Lady and his wife both gave birth at the same time. The pregnant Lady carried that very Lord (*ham-ān khudāvand*) who became manifest (*ki zuhūr farmūdand*) and the wife of that unfortunate had a daughter. Since she was a believer, she brought her own daughter and gave her to (Lit. placed her next to) the Lady and His Majesty was given to the woman. That unfortunate was informed that the Lady gave birth to a girl and His Majesty was portrayed as his own son.

[17] At the time of the passing of Sayyidna, the *Rafīqan* said to him: “You had proclaimed that ‘I will guide you to the *Qā'im*.’”

He said: “By order and direction of Mawlana, I have heard, that I must appoint Kiya Buzurg Ummid in my place; however, I will give you indications of who the *Qā'im* is. First, when he will enter the library, he will urinate (*chun ba kitābkhāna dar āyad zahrāb pāshad*). Second, during a hunt he will split two animals in half with a single stroke of a sword. Third, during the controversy of Kiya Muhammad (*dar ḥāl-i nizā'-yi Kiyā Muhammad*) he will be wearing boots and have an orange in his hand and will be throwing the orange from one hand to the other.” [118a]

[18] When His Majesty was ten years old, he became outwardly manifest (*ba-zāhir rasidand*).⁴³ Kiya Muhammad was in the library, when His Majesty entered through the door and he urinated on the books. That prophecy of Sayyidna came to pass; however, he did not believe it. After another two years, when hunting, a pregnant wild onager appeared; His Majesty chased after it and struck it with his sword and cut the foal which was in the belly into two and so the [second] prophecy became apparent.

[19] The *Rafīqan* knew he was the *imam* and were awaiting what else would happen. One day, many *Rafīqan* were in the presence of Kiya Muhammad and he was telling them of these mysteries that “I see Sayyidna’s prophecies, may God sanctify his soul, in my own son.” The *Rafīqan* said: “This is not your son!”

As they were in this conversation, Mawlana came through the door and was wearing boots and

⁴² Danishpazhuh's reading چون حمل خاتون پسر آید is grammatically unsound; the meaning of the sentence is sensible reading the phrase as چون حمل خاتون بسر آید. Why would he take the imam's pregnant wife into his home? He is construed as opposed to the imamate and killed the *imam* so why does he hesitate in wiping out the whole family?

⁴³ TU and DP give the child's age as two-years-old at the time. While it makes better sense that a two-year-old would urinate on books; the age of ten in IIS5 is more plausible because two years later, the boy slew two animals with one stroke of a sword. A four-year-old would not be able to do this while a twelve-year-old might!

had an orange in his blessed hand and was throwing it from one hand to the other. Kiya Muhammad became certain that all that is—he is (*har chi hast ishānand*).⁴⁴ He took Mawlana's skirt in his hand and said: "My Lord (*Khudāwand*) have mercy on me."

Mawlana replied: "You are not of the people of mercy (*tū āhl-i raḥmat nīstī*)."⁴⁵

He said: "I commit myself to your generosity (*bar sar-i karam-i tu ītmādist*)."

Mawlana said: "Because of those eighteen companions whom you martyred along with my father it is not possible for me to have mercy on you."

He crushed his head with his blessed boot and Kiya Muhammad died immediately.

[20] The Rafīqān celebrated the manifestation of the *imam* (*zuhūr-i khudāwand*) and organised a feast. They exclaimed: "Sayyidna, may God sanctify his soul, had proclaimed that 'the hope that you have from God will be known when the pleasure of the brother-believer (*riḍāi-yi birādar-mu'min*) is the pleasure of the *imam* (*riḍāi-yi khudāwand*), may God sanctify his mention."⁴⁶

[21] May Mawlana grant everyone Divine guidance (*tawfīq*) and harmony (*ittifāq*) to seek the pleasure of the brother-believer.

Peace!

Colophon DP and TU: In accordance with the command of the sublime majesty, every time these few words, inscribed by this weak pen, come to view, a blessing should not be forgotten. Shah Murad b. Muhammad (?? undecipherable) completed⁴⁷

⁴⁴ This refers back to Para 14 where al-Qāhir stated that "all that is—it is the *imam*" (*har chi hast īn imamist*)

⁴⁵ When he became the *da'i*-ruler of the Nizari polity, Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi'l-salām declared an amnesty and repatriated a large number of people who had been taken prisoner if they wished. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 162. This contrasts with the lack of mercy and compassion to the leader of the Nizari polity construed here as the enemy of the imamate

⁴⁶ The cosmological event described in surviving tracts of Nizari *da'wa* literature which caused the Ilkhanid chronicles to describe the declaration of the *Qiyāmat-i Buzurg* as the commencement of heresy, in the *Hikayat*, amounts to an anti-climax!

⁴⁷ ۞ and ۞ denote *tamma* and *intahā'* both meaning "completed"

Analyses of the *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw*

These analyses of the *Hikayat* will examine three questions enumerated above. First, why were Nasir-i Khusraw and Hasan-i Sabbah juxtaposed the text?⁴⁸ Second, why was Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid cast as a negative character in the *Hikayat*? Third, when was the *Hikayat* written?

Nasir-i Khusraw and Hasan-i Sabbah

The *Hikayat* begins by establishing linkages between Nasir-i Khusraw and Hasan-i Sabbah [para 1-4]. Hasan retold a story told to him by Nasir that, in Cairo, as Nasir attempted to catch a glimpse of the *imam-caliph* he was sought out and apprehended by Fatimid officials. When he was brought to al-Mustansir, he observed a self-anointment by the *imam-caliph* after which he was designated to carry out the *da'wa* in Balkh, Kabul and Badakhshan [para 4]. Nasir-i Khusraw arrived in Cairo in 439/1047⁴⁹ and returned to Balkh in 444/1052⁵⁰—probably around the time of Hasan-i Sabbah's birth. Hasan departed from Iran for Egypt in 469/1077⁵¹ several

⁴⁸ In later Nizari writing the chronology of Nasir-i Khusraw and Hasan-i Sabbah biographies are inverted, where the former is construed as the latter's disciple. Anonymous (attributed to Khayrkhawāh-i Harātī), Wladimir Ivanow, ed. *Kalāmi pīr: a Treatise on Ismaili Doctrine*, also (wrongly) called *Haft-bāb-i Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir*. trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Bombay: Islamic Research Association, 1935).

⁴⁹ Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Nasir-i Khusraw's Book of Travels*. trans. Wheeler Tackston (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2001). 51 the day converts to Monday instead of Sunday in the text.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 132 the day converts to Friday instead of Tuesday in the text.

⁵¹ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 99; 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, Carl Johan Tornberg, ed. *Al-kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh*. (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir (HII-etext), 1965 (original edition 1851-1876)). IX:488 gives the date as 479/1086-87; see: David Durand-Guédy, "The Ismailis of Isfahan. A Reassessment," in *Science in the City of Fortune—the Dustūr Al-Munajjimīn and Its World*, ed. Eva Orthmann, and Petra G. Schmidl (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017). 233

years after Nasir-i Khusraw had taken refuge in Yumgan, in present-day Afghan Badakhshan.⁵² It is highly unlikely that the two ever met; let alone exchanged any matters of faith. Sources mention that Nasir was appointed *hujja* (proof);⁵³ there is no indication of this in the *Hikayat*. Other than *sayyid*, no honourifics and eulogies, common in later Ismaili writings, especially from Badakhshan, are attached to his name.⁵⁴ This is consonant with several mentions of him by Rashid al-Din and Qashani in the accounts of Hasan-i Sabbah which were mostly based on the latter's biography, the *Sarguzasht-i Sayyidnā*.⁵⁵ The copyist of TU and DP, Shah Murad b. Muhammad, simply appended the pious supplication "may God have mercy on him" (*rahmatu'llāh 'alaihi*) in the title. Nasir's invocation without elaborate eulogisation suggests that the *Hikayat* was written within the community of followers of Hasan-i Sabbah. While the text's audience might have been familiar with the memory of Nasir-i Khusraw, his juxtapositioning with Hasan-i Sabbah elides their sanctity, legacies and communities of followers.⁵⁶

⁵² Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). 207 "Nasir lived to be at least seventy, dying in Yumgan at an unknown date after 465/1072-73, the latest year mentioned in most sources being 481/1088-89."

⁵³ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 97; Daftary, *Ismailis*. 206; Alice C. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan: A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveller and Philosopher*. (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000). 250. In his *Divan* 26:37, Nasir-i Khusraw refers to himself as "*hujja* of Mustansir". *Hujja* was the second highest rank, after *imam*, in the hierarchy of the *da'wa* (*ḥudūd al-dīn*); in the Fatimid conception, there were twelve such *hujjas*, each in charge of the *da'wa* in a region designated a *jazīra* (island); in the Nizari contexts the *hujja* was a high representative of the *imam* and was preeminent in the time of the *imam*'s concealment (*satr*). The major doctrinal treatises from the early Nizari period which survive date from after the middle of the 7th/13th century and in these texts Nasir-i Khusraw and especially Hasan-i Sabbah are accorded this rank even though they may never have formally been appointed as such in the Fatimid *da'wa* hierarchy. See: Anonymous (attributed to Khayrkhawāh-i Harātī), *KP*. xviii; Daftary, *Ismailis*. 360-361

⁵⁴ In addition to *Sayyid*, Nasir-i Khusraw's name in Ismaili literature is, with few exceptions, preceded by *Shāh* or *Pīr* and followed by pious invocations such as *quddisa sirr-hu* (may his secrets be sanctified) or *qaddasa Allāh rūḥ-hu* (may God sanctify his spirit)...

⁵⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 77 and 97; Qāshānī, *Zubdat 2nd Ed.* 113 and 133

⁵⁶ Beginning with incidental mentions of Nasir-i Khusraw in the *Sarguzasht*, their biographies became intertwined and even their chronologies reversed in later writings. See: Anonymous

Negative Portrayal of Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid

The text adduces a second set of continuities between the *imams*: al-Mustansir, Nizar and his successors whom it places in Iran [para 5-14]. In it, the legitimacy of Nizar's succession was attested by the letter in al-Mustansir's hand given by the latter to Hasan-i Sa'id [para 7] and it was further affirmed by the hermit who had been allotted a tax-farm (*iqṭā'*) and told by al-Mustansir to await and serve Nizar's party at a specified time [para 8].⁵⁷ Nizar's departure from and fatal return to Cairo in the *Hikayat* echoes his departure from the enthronement of al-Musta'li, found in the Mamluk era (fl. 648-923/1250-1517) chronicles. In these accounts, Nizar left al-Musta'li's enthronement to retrieve a purported letter from his father in which he claimed that he had been designated as the legitimate successor and escaped to Alexandria where he was proclaimed *imam-caliph* and mounted an unsuccessful revolt. The events and time-lines in the text suggest that the author of the *Hikayat* was heedless of the chronology, contexts and even geography—Nizar's journey back from Baghdad is construed through Khuzistan, a province in Iran [para 8-9]. The paramount focus of these episodes was to explain the transference of the progeny of Nizar to Iran.

The *Hikayat* explains that Hasan-i Sa'id brought Hadi the son of Nizar to Hasan-i Sabbah [paras. 10-11] and after him, his son, Muhtadi and grandson, al-Qahir clandestinely lived near Alamut

(attributed to Khayrkhawāh-i Harātī), *KP*.

⁵⁷ Paul Walker, in examining Fatimid succession postulated an interesting concept of *mustawada'* of *naṣṣ* (repositor of the proof of designation). Ḥasan-i Ṣa'īd and the hermit acted as such without knowledge of the bequest they safeguarded; rather, it was Nizar's agency which brought these confirmations to light. Walker, "Succession-Rev." 2:12-13

and administered the *da'wa*. Only the rulers of the polity, Hasan-i Sabbah and after him, Buzurg Ummid were aware of each *imam*'s true identity [para 10-14]. The three Ilkhanid chronicles also record the role of Hasan-i Sa'id in secretly conveying a grandson of Nizar to Hasan-i Sabbah at Alamut in 488/1095 and thereafter the *imam*'s descendants lived below the fortress.⁵⁸ Unfathomably, in the *Hikayat*, Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid was not apprised of this secret. The text construes him as not only ignorant about but also opposed to the *imamate*; so much so that he killed the *imam*, al-Qahir and his eighteen companions [para 15]. He then took the dead *imam*'s pregnant wife into his own household and ordered that if her child would be male, he was to be killed [para 16]. There is no evidence other Nizari texts that Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid killed the *imam*, so why was he portrayed negatively in the *Hikayat*?

The Ilkhanid chronicles report that as the Nizaris differentiated from Fatimid Ismailism and countered the ideological attacks from the Sunni '*ulama*' in the Saljuq-*Abbasid* domains, Hasan-i Sabbah and his successors struggled to maintain doctrinal unity in their polity. The three *da'i*-rulers maintained constant vigilance against religio-political threats to their polity and ruthlessly extirpated doctrinal opposition. The execution of Hasan-i Sabbah's two sons points to such challenges to the authority of their father and perhaps, opposition to his doctrines.⁵⁹ The *Hikayat* claims that Hasan executed four sons based on an admonition of the *imam*, Hadi b. Nizar. In both sources Hasan-i Sabbah took pride in this filicide, declaring it to be

⁵⁸ Rashid al-Din Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 166; Juwaynī, *Jahān-gushā* v3. 231; 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*. trans. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958). 692; Qāshānī, *Zubdat 2nd Ed.* 202. Preferred Sa'id (happy) from *Hikayat* in place of Ṣa'idī in the chronicles.

⁵⁹ Hajjani, "Reconstructing Alamut." 360ff

an act of loyalty to the concealed Nizari *imam*!

The Ilkhanid chroniclers also enumerate harsh treatment of other doctrinal opponents. In 526/1131, Buzurg Ummid's forces defeated Ba Hashim 'Alawi, a Zaydi who proclaimed himself as *imam* in the Caspian region and Khurasan. The Nizaris "produced much proof against him and burnt him."⁶⁰ Twenty years later, the latter's son Kiya Hadi was captured and imprisoned at Alamut.⁶¹ Also in 526/1131, in the village of Sarim in Daylaman, two *amirs* (military commanders) and three others conspired to betray the Nizaris. One of them informed on his co-conspirators. All were taken to Alamut and interrogated, tortured and imprisoned.⁶² In 533/1139, the chronicles report that the Nizaris attacked Rayy and captured the chief (*ra'īs*) of the city, 'Abd al-Malik Qasrani and his son, and there "was another group who lived in hypocrisy and subterfuge. They captured all of them and killed them after they had admitted their crimes and offences."⁶³ These and other such reports indicate that during the period of *satr* (concealment) of the *imams*, many individuals led movements to break away from the Nizari *da'wa*, challenging the authority of the *da'i*-rulers in favour of Zaydi, neo-Mazdaki and other claims of religious authority and seeking urgent manifestation of their soteriological saviour.

During Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid's reign, according to the Ilkhanid chronicles, while

⁶⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi'*. 141

⁶¹ Ibid. 157

⁶² Ibid. 148

⁶³ Ibid. 148

putting down a raft of doctrinal opponents, he even had to harshly deal with the followers of his own son, Ḥasan. Because of Hasan's knowledge, eloquence and charismatic appeal, according to Rashid al-Din, the *Rāfiqān* began to think that he was the *imam* promised by Hasan-i Sabbah. In response, Muhammad gathered the people and said to them: "Hasan is my son and I am not an *imam*; in fact I am a *da'ī* from among the *da'īs* of the *imam*. Whoever listens to and affirms other than these words is an infidel and irreligious." As mentioned above, he punished a group who had believed in the imamate of his son and "on one occasion he put two hundred and fifty of them to death at Alamut and bound their corpses to the backs of two hundred and fifty others who were implicated in this way and evicted them from the castle."⁶⁴

No precise dates are given in the chronicles for these events. The relationship between the ruler and his son may have devolved into acrimony; however, this was not always the case.

Rashid al-Din reported that

on 7 *Ramadan* [5]41/17 February 1147 Kiya Muhammad [b. Buzurg-Ummid] appointed his son Hasan as his deputy at Alamut and himself went to Lar and came [back] to Alamut. At the beginning of *Shawwal*/March he went in the direction of Daylaman by way of Filamrud and from there he came to Daylaman and built the fort of Alikā.⁶⁵

Such an important and lengthy deputisation would not be placed on someone accused of heresy! At the time of this deputisation, Ḥasan would have been about twenty years old.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 163

⁶⁵ Ibid. 155

On the other hand, according to the *Hikayat*, as Muhammad recounted to a gathering of *Rafiqan* that he had seen two of Hasan-i Sabbah's prognostications of the *Qā'im* (the Eschatological Redeemer) in his son, at that very moment, the young boy entered wearing boots and throwing an orange from one hand to the other [para 17-18]. Seeing the third prognostication come true Muhammad realised that this was the *imam*. He fell to the boy's feet and asked for mercy. Because he had killed the previous *imam*, the boy's father in actuality, the putative imam crushed Muhammad's head with his booted foot. According to the text, this unnamed imam would have been a little over twelve years old [Ep. 14-15]. The Ilkhanid chronicles give the date of Muhammad's death as Tuesday 4 Rabi' al-awwal 557/28 February 1162. Rashid al-Din wrote that "Kiya Buzurg Muhammad [b. Kiya Buzurg Ummid] passed from this world. He governed for 25 years; during his reign, they [*Rafiqan*] achieved a lot and erected many forts. Previously he had designated Kiya Buzurg Hasan as his successor (*qā'im-i maqām*) and heir (*walī 'ahd*)."⁶⁶ Hasan would have been twenty-seven years old at the time.

Again, the *Hikayat* does not correlate with historical chronology. What was the function of these narratives and for whom? Sometime after 541/1147, is it possible, that the clamour grew

⁶⁶ Ibid. 159; Juwaynī, *Jahān-gushā* v3. 222; Qāshānī, *Zubdat 2nd Ed.* 181

around Hasan, so much so that Muhammad had to take drastic repressive actions against those who believed his son was the *imam*? Even if the numbers are exaggerated five-fold, the execution and banishment of such large numbers would have been extreme. There is no report of this purge in contemporary non-Nizari sources. This information was preserved in Nizari accounts and picked up by the Ilkhanid chroniclers. Was the *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw* penned by and for victims of this persecution and violent repression? Did this subaltern group coalesce in eastern Iran where the Ismaili followers of Nasir-i Khusraw might have been more numerous? Was the *Hikayat* part of an effort to consolidate this marginal faction and draw more Ismailis into their circles? Mindful of the perils of *argumentum ex silentio*, tentative positive answers to these questions open vantages onto a subaltern Nizari community. This group wished Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid dead. He had not only anathematised their hopes and beliefs but had massacred and exiled many of theirs. As such, if the text was authored by this marginalised and persecuted community, the earliest possible date for the *Hikayat* would be after 541/1147, in the last years of Muhammad's rule of the Nizari polity.

Dating the *Hikayat*

While the author of the *Hikayat* cast the persecutor of his community, Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid, as the arch-enemy and in this manifesto depicted an ignominious death for him [para 19], his primary aim was to explain how the young boy, who was construed to be the *imam*,

came to be in the household of the arch-enemy of his community [para 15-19]. This subaltern community of Nizari Ismailis sought the urgent manifestation of their *imam*. The community prevailed, in that two years after becoming the ruler of the Nizari polity in Iran, Ḥasan declared the *Qiyāma*. Rashīd al-Dīn wrote that on 17 Ramadan 559/15 August 1164, Ḥasan

mounted the *minbar* which was facing the *qibla*. To the *Raḥīqan* it seemed that from the leader, that is the supposed *imam*, whose whereabouts were unknown, someone had arrived in secret. He had brought a *khutba* to explain to them the manner of their traditional belief. Atop the *minbar* he delivered an eloquent and rhetorical oration and at the end of the *khutba* said: “The *imam* of the time sends you greetings and mercy; and has summoned you his exceptional chosen servants and has removed the toil of the *shari’a* from you and has delivered you to the *Qiyama* (Resurrection).”⁶⁷

The *khutba* named Hasan not only as the *imam*’s *da’i*, *hujja* (proof) and *khalifa* (deputy), but he was to be followed in all spiritual and temporal matters, and his word was that of the *imam*’s. Subsequently, Hasan, was regarded as the *imam* descended from Nizar b. Mustansir and the messianic epithet ‘*alā dhikrihi*’-*l-salām* (peace be on his mention) was attached to his name. No reference is made in the *Hikayat* to the events of the *Qiyama* other than in the name, Lady of the *Qiyama* (*Khātūn-i Qiyāmat*), the mother of future imam-Qā’im [para 16] and Hasan-i Sabbah’s prognostication of the Qā’im [para 17]. The text’s silence about the momentous events of the declaration of *Qiyamat-i Buzurg* on 17 Ramadan, 559/15 August, 1164⁶⁸ suggests that the *Hikayat* would have been written prior to this date.

⁶⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi’*. 164

⁶⁸ Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*. 148ff; Daftary, *Ismailis*. 358ff; Hajiani, “Reconstructing Alamut.” 573ff

Conclusions

The *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw* is a unique witness to an early subaltern Nizari community's effort to bring about the *zuhūr* (manifestation) of the Ismaili imamate in Iran. The author sought to attract Ismailis who adhered to the teachings of Nasir-i Khusraw by establishing a continuity between the latter and Hasan-i Sabbah. The *Hikayat* may be the earliest exemplar of the Nizari appropriation of Fatimid *da'ī* Nasir-i Khusraw and his teachings. While Nasir-i Khusraw is mentioned without honourifics and eulogies, Hasan-i Sabbah is revered as a sacred authority who prophesied the nature of the *Qā'im*. The juxtapositioning of the two elides their sanctity, legacies and communities of followers. The text demonised Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid, the third ruler of the Nizari polity in Iran. This manifesto of the *zuhūr* of the *imam* is, most likely, the product of the persecuted subaltern group banished from Alamut sometime after 541/1147. They sought refuge with other communities of Ismailis, possibly among followers of Nasir-i Khusraw, in Quhistan and Khurasan in Eastern Iran.

In the period when the *imams* descended from Nizar were believed to be in concealment (*satr*), groups of Ismailis sought revelation (*kashf*) of the person of the *imam* and agitated to bring about the manifestation (*zuhūr*) of their *imam*. The *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw* is a manifesto of *zuhūr* which cast the leader of the *da'wa* of *satr* as the enemy and their victory

would come about when the *imam* would put an end to life of the arch-enemy and manifested his full glory in the era of *kashf*. The negative constructions of the Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid must stem from the historic events detailed here. There would be no logical cause for defamation of early Nizari leadership in later times.⁶⁹ From this evidence, the writing of the *Hikayat* can be placed between 541/1147 and 559/1162, between Hasan's deputation by his father to govern Alamut after which their relations declined and when Hasan, who would later be recognised as the *imam*, became the ruler of the polity. The absence of any mention of the events of the declaration of the *Qiyamat-i buzurg* suggests that the *Hikayat* was most likely written before 559/1164.

The *Hikayat* asserts the legitimacy of Nizar as successor to al-Mustansir and is, perhaps, the earliest known text which enumerates the line of *imams* consonant with later Nizari reckoning. The lineage in the text, Hasan 'ala *dhikrihi*'l-salam b. al-Qahir b. al-Muhtadi b. al-Hadi b. Nizar b. al-Mustansir, connects the Nizari *da'wa* and imamate to Fatimid origins. Most significantly, the treatise illustrates the elevation of Hasan-i Sabbah into the sanctified forebear of Nizari

⁶⁹ Several tracts from Badakhshanī Ismaili *da'wa* literature contain segments and in one case, the almost complete narrative of the *Hikayat*. See: Gulamadov, "Hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw." 249-252. Badakhshan At the time of writing of this paper, access to manuscripts from Badakhshan has not been possible due to government repression in the region.

Ismailism. If the dating of the *Hikayat* proposed here is valid, then we have in our hands, the writings and kernels of the thought of a subaltern community that had suffered repression by the Nizari *da'wa* hierarchy for their urgent desire of the manifestation of their *imam*; yet their doctrine became dominant with the declaration of the *Qiyama* in 559/1164 and the establishment of the Ismaili Nizari imamate in Iran. The text has survived since scribes, over the centuries, continued to copy it perhaps because in its continuous narrative of events it records the factual, legendary, and mythical resonances of a sacred past and evokes the sanctified memories of the poet, philosopher and Fatimid *da'i*, Nasir-i Khusraw, and of the founder of Nizari Ismailism, Hasan-i Sabbah as well as of the *imam* of the *Qiyama*, Ḥasan 'ala *dhikrihi'l-salam*. Further analyses of the *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw* and its reception will open doors for greater understanding of socio-political and religious discourses of dominant and subdued voices and communities in Nizari, Ismaili, Shi'i, Islamicate and Persianate histories.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ In a forthcoming study, I develop the analyses of the *Hikayat-i Sayyid Nasir-i Khusraw*, in Badakhshani manuscript traditions as well as to examine factional voices in early Nizari Ismaili history cf. Hajiani, *Concealment and Manifestation: Early Nizari Ismaili Treatises on Eschatology and Soteriology*.

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